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HITLER

over

EUROPE

by

Ernst Henri

1934

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Note to the American Edition

This book has only one purpose: to show the actual laws of motion, the dynamic, of that force which last year arose in Central Europe as if in an explosion, casting more and more its shadow across the whole of Continental Europe.

The book attempts at the same time to throw light behind the scenes of Hitlerism. It is based in this not only on long and detailed study of those mysterious forces which are harnessed to the real, inner motors of the Nazi Movement; not only in part on official material and figures (for example in the chapter on unemployment); but also to a great extent on special material and facts which Hitler and his friends will never admit and never surrender.

But Hitler's adversaries, particularly those within the frontiers of Germany, follow every step he takes. No Secret Police of Göring's is able to prevent the German Revolutionaries from doing this.

This book is called "Hitler Over Europe." But for us there can be no doubt that in the solution of this question there lies also the fate of America.

—ERNST HENRI

FOREWORD

(Cabled July 5, 1934)

The 30th of June, 1934, is the direct continuation of the 30th of January, 1933. Röhm is dead. The man who created the Brownshirt army of millions and whose bayonets brought Hitler to power; the man who exclaimed "Europe—the whole world—may go down in flames. What does that matter to us?"; the man whose last proclamation, as recent as June 8, 1934, was "The S. A. is and remains the destiny of Germany"—this man is lying with bullet-ridden brain somewhere in one of the refuse-pits of Munich.

History is inexorably logical; this terrible picture is a classic fulfilment of its laws. This man was the last hope of the vast masses who a year and a half ago followed Hitler; that is why he was shot by Hitler.

What has happened? This book has already, in the conception of five dynamic forces of National Socialism, set down the base lines of that which has happened. Two of these dynamic forces, the masses of the radical middle class, and the cohorts of the S. A. generals impelled by them, wanted to revolt; two others, the triumvirate Hitler-Göring-Göbbels, and the terrorist guard—the Blackshirts' secret state police—massacred them in order to save the dictatorship of the fifth, the solitary real and secret power of National Socialism: the dictatorship of Thyssen, the man of coal and of steel, the commander of the formidable Ruhr monopoly.

Not for nothing was Hitler in Essen one day before the slaughter. Röhm fell by order of Thyssen. He was

Hitler over Europe

a homosexual psychopath, a gangster of giant dimensions, a murderer of many hundreds of workers, socialists and Jews. But at least he was the official spokesman for millions of petty bourgeois, small traders, peasants, proletarian and semi-proletarian unemployed, whose sons were under his command and were protesting more and more loudly against their misery and against Hitler's treachery. He wanted to utilise their demands and their ideas—the ideas of the Second Revolution—in order to realise his old fantastic mercenary soldier's dreams—in order to become, from generalissimo of the S. A., the marshal and Napoleon of Germany, climbing even higher than Hitler himself. He demanded estrangement from the reaction, the fulfilment of the promises made to the middle class, the absorption of the Reichswehr by the Brownshirts, the removal of Göring, the subjection of Hitler. It was the last attempt of the collapsing middle class to save its revolution, its last attempt on Fascist lines. Röhm and his generals, pressed back by Blackshirts and Göring, utilised the opportunity for themselves. On June 30th everything was ready. And then came the vengeance of the fifth power. The S. S. liquidated the S. A. The black guard of monopoly-capital closed around Hitler, Göring and Göbbels and put the leaders of the radical middle class up against the wall. Once again the flashlight of history lights dazzlingly upon the true nature of Fascism. The Thyssen-Hitler-Gestapo group were victorious for the second time by means of surprise.

What now after the 30th of June? Germany has entered a revolutionary period. On the one hand Hitler is being driven more and more and faster and faster

Foreword

to the side of reaction, to the side of the trusts, the Reichswehr and the secret police. On the other hand the approach of the betrayed S. A. millions towards the proletarian revolutionaries will become complete. The new chiefs of the oppositional middle class will no longer be Fascists. And while the rift between these two currents, between the diminished camp of the dictators and that of the reunited revolutionary people, is becoming wider and wider, more and more threatening, Hitler, in order to avoid the inner explosion, will move the helm over entirely for the external explosion: for the war which is to devastate the world so that he and Thyssen shall be saved.

We repeat with increased emphasis the alternative that we put forward at the end of this book. January 30, 1933, was the first stage of the inevitable dynamic of National Socialism. June 30, 1934, the second. The third stage will be either the death of Hitler and the socialist revolution, or the European conflagration.

—ERNST HENRI.

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PART ONE

THE POWER BEHIND HITLER

I. Thyssen's Plot

WHO sent Hitler?

Many believe that it was the German middle class, that forgotten social force, which nobody thought about and which suddenly, in a rapid awakening, burst on to the political scene and smashed everything around it. So it seemed from without. This is an illusion. The middle class has emblazoned Hitler on its shield and supplied him with his armed forces; but it was not the driving force, it was driven. All these sons of butchers and publicans, of post-office officials and insurance agents, of doctors and lawyers, certainly imagined they were fighting for the interests of their fathers as well as for their own ideals when, on the 28th of February, they swarmed out of the storm-troops' barracks and struck down defenceless workers—Jews, Socialists, and Communists. But neither a revolution nor a counter-revolution is ever made by the petty bourgeoisie *alone*. And it would not have been able to do this now in Germany either, had it not been mobilized from some other source. Hitler, the idol of this mass, and himself at bottom only a petty-bourgeois—a petty-bourgeois posing as a Napoleon—in reality followed the dictates of a higher power. The events that in reality led to Hitler's seizure of power at the beginning of 1933 and to the consolidation of his position in face of every resistance in the months that followed, have been all too little disclosed. In Germany itself no one dares to mention them. These events lead to a complex which is always carefully kept dark; but which, ever since the war, has none the less

again and again played, in all decisive phases of German politics, a decisive—and only too often a fatal—part. It is the complex of the internal relations in the camp of the heavy-industry oligarchy in Germany, the complex of the high international politics of *Coal and Steel*. Not in the little shops of German suburbia, but in the large curves and movements described by these politics, are to be found the sources of the genesis, the rise and the victory of German National Socialism. Not Hitler, but Thyssen, the great magnate of the Ruhr, is the real prime mover of German Fascism.

About six months before the last political upheaval in Germany it became clear that the existence of the greatest private undertaking in the country, the powerful *German Steel Trust* (Vereinigte Stahlwerke A.G.) was at stake. Everyone who has any knowledge of Germany to-day will realize what this fact meant. Some time previously, the bankruptcy of a comparatively much smaller undertaking, the 'Nordwolle' woollen concern in Bremen, which involved liabilities to the extent of several hundred million marks, had already shaken the whole of German economy, and led to the collapse of the leading bank—the Danat Bank of Jakob Goldschmidt. But now the crisis threatened the *foundations* of the whole structure of German economy, an undertaking which at its most flourishing period employed, including its subsidiaries, nearly 200,000 workers and clerks, and was capable of throwing nearly 10 million tons of steel on to the market (almost twice the total steel output of England to-day); the Steel Trust produced roughly one-half of Germany's coal output, its landed property amounted to 134 million square metres, its railways were equal in length to the line between Paris and the German-Polish frontier; it owned 14

harbours of its own and 209 electrical power-stations, and its workers' cities numbered 60,000 dwellings. Now the trust's daily production of steel dropped from 25,000 tons to 5,400 tons, of coal from 100,000 tons to 40,000 tons. The collapse of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke A.G. would have meant a national catastrophe. It would mean not only the disorganization of Germany's entire coal and iron production, as well as the electro-technical industries (the great electrical firm of Siemens is a part of the Steel Trust group); not only the dissolution of the mighty German coal and steel syndicates in the foreign markets, and an invasion of French, English, and American products; not only the final break-up of the German banking system—that had lent to no other undertaking so much money and so unfavourably (for the banks themselves) as to the dominant Steel Trust—resulting immediately in a new run by the public and in a general moratorium with all its incalculable consequences; but the bankruptcy of the Steel Trust would simultaneously have meant a deadly blow at the whole *capitalist* and social system in Germany, the proud leader and basis of which was the Steel Trust. It would be the beginning of the end of the whole system of monopolies, which has dominated Germany in recent years, and perhaps of private property generally, whose inability to direct the economy of the nation would in this way be demonstrated before the eyes of the whole indignant and desperate people. That had to be prevented, if Thyssen, Friedrich Flick, Otto Wolff, and the other giants of the Ruhr were to preserve their property, and if Germany were not to be converted into a country of nationalization. On the last day of 1931 the Bourse quotation for Steel Trust shares, which at its foundation were offered at 125 per cent, stood at 15 per cent. The State, at that time still the Brüning Government, stepped in and

'bought' from the Trust insiders nearly half the shares, nominally 125 million marks, of the Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks-A.G., the holding company which owned the majority of the shares of the German Steel Trust. For these shares, which shortly before could be bought on the Bourse at 22-25 per cent, the Government paid a rate of about 90 per cent—100 million marks net. It was a disguised subsidy of tremendous scope and the Steel Trust was 'saved'. It was clear that the State would very soon sell the shares of the Steel Trust back to private control—and sell them very cheaply.

But only now did the real struggle inside big capital in the Ruhr flame up. Who should hold the shares and the leadership in the new Steel Trust, and with it the command of the Monopoly oligarchy, the most important economic and political position in Germany? This question was a *political* one. Its solution had to go the way of the Wilhelmstrasse. That group on the Ruhr, which would have the biggest influence over the Government, had to win the advantage and gain the key of the German Steel Trust. At this juncture, Thyssen stepped in with his National Socialist battering-ram.

On the Ruhr *two* rival groups confronted each other: the *Otto Wolff-Deutsche Bank* group, which was strongly connected with Catholic circles in Germany and so preferred by the Brüning Government; and the *Thyssen-Flick-Vöglers* group, which was menaced in the first place. Both groups had been interested in the Steel Trust since its foundation, and for years had been competing in every possible way for its leadership. Each of these two groups in Germany represents different financial interests (similar to the Morgan and Rockefeller groups in U.S.A.), has different political connexions and alliances, and,

above all, has different conceptions concerning the direction of German and European politics. The Otto Wolff group tends more towards 'Liberalism', because its leading members spring from the younger Catholic and Jewish commercial and banking circles, regarded as 'strangers' and intruders in the diehard *milieu* of the 'native' Prussian coal and iron barons of the Ruhr. Otto Wolff himself is a leading Catholic who was only a small iron merchant before the war, and who later, thanks to his connexions with the Centre Party then in power, came rapidly to the fore and piled up interests in the steel industry; he was closely associated with nearly all the Catholic Chancellors of the Reich in Germany after the war, such as Marx, Fehrenbach, and Brüning. His partner, Ottmar Strauss, is one of the best-known Liberal Jewish politicians in Germany who was very near the Social Democrats. The personal fortunes of Otto Wolff and Ottmar Strauss together have been estimated in Germany at 170 million marks. Other members of this group are Paul Silverberg, a coal magnate and partner in the Catholic-Jewish bank of Louis Hagen in Cologne, the greatest private banking house in Germany, and also Klöckner, a steel industrialist and then a member of the Central Committee of the Centre Party. This Ruhr group is closely allied with the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, which, on the other hand, by its connexions with important Catholic circles in the Rhineland, Bavaria, and Silesia, and by financing the Catholic Press, had a strong influence over the Centre Party, and thereby, in recent years, over the Brüning Government as well. On the board of directors of the Deutsche Bank there were, besides Otto Wolff, Silverberg, and Klöckner, men like Dr. Adenauer, the famous Mayor of Cologne and leader of the Rhine Centre Party; Dr. Heim, the 'Bavarian Peasant King', and founder of the

Catholic Bavarian People's Party; Dr. Porsch, representative of the Catholic Silesian aristocracy, etc.; one of the directors of the Louis Hagen Bank and of the Deutsche Bank, Pferdenges, was even the closest financial adviser of Chancellor Brüning. It was clear that if the Brüning-Schleicher Government should remain (General Schleicher, too, was himself closely connected with Otto Wolff, and was interested, besides, in steel shares for military reasons), the shares of the Steel Trust and the leadership of German industry would pass into the hands of this Liberal-Catholic group which in internal politics supported a levelling, medial course, and in foreign politics favoured a close understanding with France. Linked up with this was an idea prepared long ago by this circle (namely Otto Wolff and Silverberg), the idea of a *Continental Steel Trust* by means of a fusion of German and French interests, even at the price of recognizing the political supremacy of France. The most important fact was that Wolff and Silverberg had, during the last few years, taken a number of practical steps for the realization of this plan, and, for example, created a close relationship with the great French steel concern *Aciéries de la Marine et d'Homécourt*—that influential Lorraine group which in post-war times in France had advocated more zealously than any an alliance between the German and French heavy industries (metal and coke), and which possessed a strong political supporter in the person of the French Minister in Berlin, M. François-Poncet, former director of one of its companies. Their preparations had already gone so far that the Otto Wolff group had begun to participate in the great Luxemburg steel concern '*Arbed*', where, on the other hand, it met the French shareholders, Schneider-Creuzot and De Wendel, and that news began to appear in the international press concern-

ing an eventual direct French participation in the German Steel Trust by the acquisition of a number of shares in the Vereinigte Stahlwerke A.G.

This, however, was the most ominous sign of war for the other, rival oligarchic group on the Ruhr which was led by Thyssen, and always has been, and still is, the stronghold and instigator of the most extreme and aggressive German nationalism. The real father of this group is none other than *Stinnes*—that old King of the Ruhr who, from 1914 to 1918, was the most prominent war-monger in Germany, who, after the war, by deliberately organizing inflation sequestered a great part of the German national wealth for a heap of worthless paper, and then ruled Germany for a time as his private duchy. *Stinnes* was perhaps the first National Socialist in Germany. As early as 1920, at the Spa International Conference, he shocked his own colleagues in the German delegation by the declaration that 'those of other races' (the Jews are meant) 'would never understand the German soul', and he never ceased to dream of a dominant 'Greater German Realm', which would include Austria, Belgium, and Lorraine, and in whose centre would stand the triumphant German Steel Trust on the Ruhr. Not only are Thyssen and his friends, Flick and Vögler, the political heirs of *Stinnes*—representing the same circle of extreme reactionary and extreme imperialistic coal and iron magnates for whom not even the Wilhelm monarchy itself was reactionary and militaristic enough; the *possessions*, too, of this group in the Steel Trust are based on the old *Stinnes* possessions which were distributed among them after *Stinnes*' death (Flick and Vögler were his personal adjutants during his lifetime). And this group has now been fighting for years to force the other out of the Steel Trust. Thyssen, the chairman of the Steel Trust,

and Vögler, his general manager, first endeavoured to buy up Otto Wolff's shares three years ago, but suffered in the attempt losses of dozens of millions. They also attacked the Deutsche Bank, equally unsuccessfully; especially since, on the occasion of the great German banking crisis of 1931, the Deutsche Bank had 'choked' the Danat Bank which was closely attached to this group. The most important obstacle was Brüning's Liberal-Catholic Government which for political reasons fostered the other fraction of the oligarchy. And when there appeared even the possibility that the Steel Trust shares bought by the State would change hands, and that French interests would be involved, the Thyssen group felt its very existence endangered. Thyssen, too, stands for a German-French steel alliance on 'Continental-European' lines, and he, too, had prepared for his transactions. But he demanded for the future alliance a definite hegemony for the German partner, and at the same time, in spite of the idea of alliance, he never abandoned the idea of a later military attack by Germany on France. Thyssen, whose personal fortune was recently estimated at 120 million marks, owned before the war metal mines in French Lorraine (Briey-Revier), and the German demand for annexing Lorraine during the war was mainly a result of an ultimative demand by Stinnes and Thyssen to the Kaiser. Subsequently, in 1923, at the time of the French invasion of the Ruhr, Thyssen, as the only one of the big captains of the Ruhr, was arrested, and spent several months in a French prison on account of the same aggressive attitude towards the French demands. Ever since, his nationalism has been growing still stronger. At the beginning of 1933, the situation for Thyssen was such that at all costs he had to take action. He had to overthrow Brüning and Schleicher

and to erect his own Government. So he opened the way to Hitler.

How this was effected and organized in detail is a chapter on its own: one of the darkest and dirtiest intrigues in German history. The so-called 'National Socialist Revolution' has nothing to do with it. For that came only when Hitler already possessed all the powers in the State and had nothing left to do but to set in a cowardly manner the armed Brownshirt gangs on to the defenceless citizens. Before this, the Thyssen group had, in an entirely 'legal' fashion, delivered up the State apparatus to him.

Thyssen, since 1927—the year in which he and Vögler were received in Rome by Mussolini, and shortly before the sudden growth of National Socialism in Germany began—has been a member, the chief financier, and the real inspirer of the Hitler party. He became the closest personal friend of its leader. Hitler took no important step without first consulting Thyssen and his friends. Thyssen systematically financed all election funds of the National Socialist Party. He it was who already in 1929 invited Hitler to Düsseldorf, the headquarters of the Steel Trust, and there introduced him for the first time to an assembly of three hundred leading industrialists of the Ruhr. He it was who, three years later, at the beginning of 1932, brought Hitler a second time to Düsseldorf, this time in order to develop his programme for the future before two thousand German industrialists. The first step was then taken towards the coming upheaval in Germany. Thyssen persuaded, by a majority decision and against the most pointed opposition on the part of Otto Wolff and Klöckner, the two political centres of German Ruhr capital, the 'Bergbauverein Essen' and the 'Nordwestgruppe der Eisen-und Stahlindustrie', to agree that every coal

and steel concern had, by way of a particular obligatory tax, to deliver a certain sum into the election funds of the National Socialists. In order to raise this money, the price of coal was raised in Germany. For the Presidential elections of 1932 alone Thyssen provided the Nazis with more than 3 million marks within a few days. Without this help the fantastic measures resorted to by the Hitler agitation in the years 1930-1933 would never have been possible. Without Thyssen's money Hitler would never have achieved such a success, and the party would probably have broken up already at the time of the Papen elections at the end of 1932, when it lost 2 million votes and the Strasser group announced its secession. In January 1933 Schleicher was on the point of hitting the Hitler movement on the head and putting it under his own command. But just as before Thyssen had raised Hitler by his financial machinery, so he now rescued him by his political machinery.

To bring off this *coup* Thyssen employed two of his political friends and agents: Hugenberg (who is one of the directors of the Thyssen Steel Trust group) and von Papen.

In the middle of January a secret meeting between Hitler and Papen was held at Cologne in the house of Baron von Schröder, partner of the banking house J. H. Stein, which is closely related with Flick and Thyssen. Baron Schröder is at the same time a personal friend of Papen's. At this meeting Hitler came to an agreement with von Papen, whom he had up till then opposed in public as vigorously as possible, to form a coalition Government together. Hitler at once went to see Thyssen; it was settled that Hitler would in any case accept a renewed invitation from Hindenburg to enter the Government (Hitler had

previously rejected such an invitation). The action could begin. Although, thanks to an indiscretion, the news of the meeting in Cologne got into the papers a few days later, the conspiracy against Schleicher was complete. The allied group, Thyssen-Hitler-von Papen-Hugenberg, backed by the entire German reactionary forces, succeeded in drawing to their side the son of President von Hindenburg, Major Oskar von Hindenburg, who had so far stood by his old regimental friend Schleicher. In this way the sudden fall of Schleicher and the sensational nomination of Hitler came about. Thyssen had won. And Hitler set the scene for his St. Bartholomew's eve.

That which followed was a revolution—not, however, a revolution for the middle class, but a revolution for Thyssen. The second act completed the first. National Socialism absorbed Germany. But another power absorbed National Socialism.

Thyssen had, when making his political attack, fundamentally six aims:

1. To save the Steel Trust for his own group;
2. To save the great coal and steel syndicates, the basis of the entire capitalist system of monopolies in Germany;
3. To eliminate the Catholic-Jewish rival groups and to capture the whole industrial machine for the extreme reactionary fraction of heavy industry in Germany;
4. To crush the Socialist workers and to abolish the trade unions, so as to strengthen German competition on the world market against the great rivals England and the U.S.A. by means of further wage-reductions, intensifying of physical exploitation, etc.;
5. To increase the chances of inflation, in order to devalue the debts of big industry (a repetition of the

astute transaction invented by Stinnes in 1923); and finally

6. To initiate a pronouncedly aggressive imperialist tendency in foreign policy in order to appease the powerful urge for expansion in Ruhr capital.

All these points have been fulfilled already by the Hitler Government. But they have become only the starting-point for a development which has gone far beyond that, and is changing the very structure of the German State.

The change begins in the Ruhr, the point on which the whole process hinges. Immediately after the Nazi Revolution the cardinal question for Thyssen—the surrender of the Steel Trust and heavy industry, Germany's economic basis, to his group—was solved—solved first of all by means of one of the greatest State transactions ever undertaken in Germany at the cost of the taxpayer. The vast trust of 150,000 workers becomes 'reorganized'. While up till now the State, by owning shares to the value of 125 million marks, controlled half the capital of the holding company of the Steel Trust (Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks-A.G.), this company now becomes amalgamated with some others, mostly worthless undertakings belonging to the Thyssen group. In the new combine, of which the capital amounts to 560 millions, the State, with its 125 millions, controls just 22 per cent of the shares—has therefore formally not even the rights of the so-called 'qualified minority' (associated with a share of 25 per cent)! But Thyssen, who before had third place among the private shareholders, after Flick and Otto Wolff, is now the largest private shareholder. Together with the State shares, which depend in practice on him, he controls from now on about 40 per cent of the total capital of this mightiest undertaking in the country, which visibly or invisibly influences hundreds of other undertakings; Otto

Wolff has now only 9 per cent. The rôle of the Catholic magnate, with all his far-reaching plans, is played out. Ottmar Strauss, Wolff's partner and the real intellectual author of these plans, is excluded, together with one of the leading personalities in the Deutsche Bank, Solmssen, from the new management of the 'Vereinigte Stahlwerke'.¹ At the same time the Ruhr trust receives fresh Government orders for armaments; its price on the Bourse rises. The fight, which had lasted right through the post-war period—Stinnes was once fighting with Otto Wolff and his international group—is decided. Thyssen is the sole king over coal and steel; the keys of German economy are in his possession. At the celebration general meeting of the reorganized trust on November 29, 1933 he is able to declare: 'The Company's plants are to-day at the head of all similar undertakings in the world.' The international offensive of the German heavy industry, the great attack on the markets of the world, planned and prepared for years, can begin.

But this is only the introduction. It is no longer a matter of single transactions. For now something is happening that in the political history of all countries is still without example: Thyssen, a private industrialist, is formally appointed by the Government to be once for all dictator of the entire West-German industrial district, the seat of heavy industry. A few months after the Nazi victory the designation of Thyssen as 'State Councillor' for Western Germany suddenly occurs—a new political office standing above all local authorities, the holders of it being

¹ The understanding with Thyssen's ally, Flick, takes place on the basis that while Thyssen receives the Ruhr, Central Germany—the other German steel-province—becomes in the same way the unconditional property of Flick; the 'Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke', which hitherto has belonged to the Steel Trust, is turned into a family undertaking belonging to Flick. The frontiers are fixed; nobody is allowed to penetrate into these territories.

subordinate only to Göring personally. Immediately afterwards the leaders of the Nazis in the four provinces of Essen, Düsseldorf, North Westphalia, and South Westphalia address a declaration to Thyssen, in which they officially recognize him as 'in matters of economic policy the supreme State authority for our district', and instruct all offices of the governing party 'to apply in all questions of economic policy, with the exception of agrarian questions, exclusively to Thyssen and to regard his decision as binding'. At the same time the following takes place in Berlin. Göring receives a special 'economic adviser'—Herr Tengelmänn. Herr Tengelmänn is the son of Herr Ernst Tengelmänn—general manager of the Thyssen coal-concern 'Essener Steinkohlenwerke'. As Hitler's own 'economic adviser' the engineer Wilhelm Keppler is appointed: a friend of the same Herr Ernst Tengelmänn.¹ The declaration of loyalty made by the Nazi leaders of the Rhineland and Westphalia is published. That is the real revolution. Thyssen can no longer be overthrown—so long as the Nazis are in Germany. He is an integral part of the Government; his monopoly over the most important raw materials and sources of energy in the country—not only coal and iron, but also electricity, gasworks, manufacturing industry, etc.²—is a part of the

¹The family of Tengelmänn plays an important part behind the scenes of the Nazi Germany of to-day. Apart from Herr Ernst Tengelmänn, the general manager of the Thyssen coal-trust and father of the Göring 'economic adviser', Walter Tengelmänn and Fritz Tengelmänn appear also as managing directors of the same concern. It is here, in fact, a matter of a branch of the great Thyssen dynasty.

²The 'Rheinisch-Westfälische Elektrizitätswerk' (R.W.E.), one of the biggest electricity undertakings in the world, supplying a large part of Germany and using Ruhr coal, belongs to the Thyssen group. The yearly supply of current of the R.W.E. amounts to no less than 3.2 milliard kWh. Thyssen and Vögler are at the same time directors of the 'Preussische Elektrizitäts-A.G.', the State company controlling practically all the rest of the German electrical supply. Another company of this group, the 'A.G. für Ferngasversorgung', is at present organiz-

regime; the Brownshirts themselves are only his Prætorian guard, subject to his orders and obedient to every word from him. No decision may be made without him; he determines all policy as regards wages, social conditions, and personnel, and if the local governors of provinces, the 'Oberpräsidenten', appoint an official who displeases him, he can veto the appointment. He is the Nazi Party itself, and when in the autumn of 1933 the great Hitler elections to the new Reichstag take place, the following appear as candidates for this district: in South Westphalia—Thyssen himself; in East Düsseldorf—his managing director Vögler; in North Westphalia—another steel director, Springorum. Around them—a suite of glittering Nazis. As chief of the technical Government inspectorate in the industry, even, the so-called 'Oberberghauptmann' (chief mines captain), a personal friend of Thyssen's is appointed, the assessor Winnacker—whose first act is to abolish the pit inspectors, who hitherto protected the miners against excessive exploitation and technical dangers. This is a quite definite system—its name is feudalism. That which Thyssen, the day after Hitler's victory, here achieved and established was foreseen and dreamed of perhaps by one man only—Stinnes, the man who once (in the inflation years 1922–1923) proposed quite openly to Germany that she should become his, Stinnes', private property, a territory under his administration, and thus rescue herself from threatening State bankruptcy. Stinnes died nine years before Hitler and the Brownshirts. But the system that his pupil and heir has set up is the same *capitalistic neo-feudalism*, the same type of a *private monopoly dukedom*, placed in the stead of the old 'liberal' democracy. Such a dukedom is to-day

ing the long-distance supply of gas to all German towns through a vast national system of pipes, starting from the Ruhr.

the Ruhr, the economic centre of Germany, and Thyssen is the new feudal lord. From here he governs the rest of the country, economically and politically. The new supreme economic leadership in Berlin—the Minister for Economic Affairs Schmitt, the President of the Reichsbank Schacht, and Hitler's 'Economic Plenipotentiary' Keppler—is only the expression and representative of this invisible Government in Düsseldorf. That is the background of the events in Germany, the background of Hitler, Göring, and Göbbels. That is the final import of the 'National Socialist Middle-class Revolution': transition to the neo-feudalism of the raw material and power kings. The middle class has least of all to do with this—apart from the trade-mark it provides, and its sons, who are equipped with bayonets for the protection of this new State system. At the very same moment that Hitler appoints Thyssen as 'supreme State authority' for the Ruhr district, he disbands with one quick stroke the 'Fighting League of the Trading Middle Class'—the general staff of those enthusiastic petty-bourgeois who had proclaimed Hitler as their Messiah, and who, through their Brown and Black Shirts, have secured for him victory—so as to be master of the coming State. Now they are Thyssen's new vassals. The first thing Thyssen does after his appointment—which is a political coronation—is to issue, in supplement to the declaration made by the district leaders of the Nazis, a proclamation of his own: He 'expects that same discipline—voluntary, but dictated by a proper sense of responsibility—which finds expression in this document' (of the Nazis) 'from all those composing economic life as well'; he will tolerate no more 'liberalistic' dealings, such, for example, as termination of wage agreements by workers or 'animation' of new industrial 'outsiders'; he will 'prevent any conceivable disturbances or

attempts at disturbance, by using the influence over the proper State authorities given him by his appointment as State Councillor'. That is the language of a mediæval feudal lord and of a modern political dictator. Thyssen is both—he has the property of the former and the power of the latter. He is the new super-monopolist. Whoever is against Thyssen, him will Hitler destroy (the 'proper State authorities'). For Hitler is the Connétable of the new State and of the new duke.

That is the first immediate result of the decision reached in the great fight for the German Steel Trust—decided by the Nazis. Those are the preliminary dimensions of Thyssen's victory. He has not only won the commanding position in Germany's economic organism. He has not only prevented the great danger of a new European steel combine under France's leadership with the Catholic-Jewish magnates of Germany as sub-partners—a danger which threatened not only the old reactionary circle in German heavy industry, but the entire basis of Germany's economic, political, and military imperialism. He has created a new type of the modern State—the neo-feudalism of monopoly capital in the form of a middle-class dictatorship. And from this basis he goes on. For Thyssen is not standing still; his achievements up till now are for him only a beginning. The way is clear. The conquest of the Steel Trust is only one section in a much larger chain of transactions, which stretch over all branches of economic life and can have only one result: comprehension of the entire national capital, capitalist 'totality' equal to the Nazis' political 'totality'. The same interests that have expropriated the 'Vereinigte Stahlwerke' are beginning to show themselves in more and more places. The instances are innumerable.

A few weeks after the Steel Trust transaction comes the

case of the great coal concern 'Ewald-König Ludwig', another undertaking in which Thyssen and his friends stood on the verge of bankruptcy and liquidation. This concern had debts of 95 million marks and was passing into the hands of its creditors, especially into those of the Deutsche Bank, which chanced also to be pursuing, together with the Rhine brown-coal mine-owner Silverberg (a keen opponent of Thyssen and one of the cleverest 'Liberal' capitalists in Germany), the plan of building up a new independent coal trust; both had also secured control of the 'Harpener Bergbau A.G.', the largest producer of coal still remaining in Germany outside the Thyssen group. It was a part of the great fight for the German heavy industry. The banks now proposed to rescue the bankrupt company (Ewald), and from the new 16 million marks' worth of shares to hand 10 million over to themselves, as the creditors, and 6 million to the bankrupt Thyssen group. That was shortly before Hitler. And those are the final conditions of reorganization for the Ewald concern a few months after Hitler: the banks, which have lent 70 million marks to the company, receive 6 million marks in new shares; the Thyssen group, which had incurred this bankruptcy and should have been utterly suppressed, receives 14 million marks in shares, and in addition 8.4 million marks in convertible bonds, for which the first profits are reserved; the banks allow the company six years in which to pay its debts, partly at 4 per cent, partly entirely free of interest, and in the meanwhile grant new credits; the State allows freedom from taxes for the whole reorganization. Thyssen saves from this transaction—once again—an immense sum. The plan of the Deutsche Bank and Silverberg for forming an independent coal trust is done for: the new chairman of the Ewald concern is Fritz Thyssen! At the same time

the Harpen concern and Silverberg's own company ('Rheinische A.-G. für Braunkohlenbergbau') pass into the hands of the Thyssen group¹; Thyssen's closest friends, Flick, Baron von Schröder, Ernst Tengemann, etc., fill the whole new board of the Harpen concern. Silverberg is forced to resign from the chairmanship of the Rhenish brown-coal syndicate. The operation is complete—here as well.

And so on—all along the line of German industry. Thyssen becomes the new chairman of the 'Industrie-bank', an institution in which all German undertakings share. Thyssen becomes president of the new Federation of West-German Industries, and instigator of the new nitrogen-syndicate in the Ruhr district. Thyssen-Flick interests secure new directors' seats in the rolling-stock trust 'Linke-Hofmann-Busch-Werke A.-G.' On the other hand, the organized mass-persecution and elimination of Jews and Catholics in Nazi Germany, under the watch-words 'racial policy' and 'Gleichschaltung' (co-ordination), is to a great extent nothing other than a deliberate and universal dislodgment and expropriation of the old Jewish and Catholic competitors of the reactionary heavy industry and of Thyssen through the new victorious oligarchy. Throughout the country a 'cleansing' is going on in the directorates of the joint-stock companies and undertakings, from the very large down to the very small. It is a little revolution on its own—the entire personnel of capitalism is being changed, whole categories and groups are being thrown out. The managing director of the Catholic-Jewish Deutsche Bank, Oscar Wassermann, the most dangerous and most powerful of the Thyssen group's rivals in the struggle for the Steel Trust, resigns for 'reasons of health'. Against Otto Wolff a charge of cor-

¹ Via the 'R.W.E.', the electrical trust in the Ruhr.

ruption is even brought—meantime his ‘voluntary’ submission and absorption as ‘junior partner’ has already taken place. Klöckner, another Catholic Steel Trust outsider, ‘renounces’ his seat in the Reichstag. Louis Hagen’s banking house in Cologne, which arranged the international contacts for the anti-Thyssen group, above all with France, becomes involved, through one of its directors (Dr. Anton Brüning), in a trial for fraud; the director himself is sentenced to two and a half years’ imprisonment. From the German Shipping Trust in the north, even, the union of the Hamburg-Amerika Line and the Norddeutscher Lloyd, the two most influential directors, the honorary president of the Deutsche Bank, Max von Schinckel, and the well-known Hamburg banker, Warburg, are got rid of. And while the old competitors are disappearing, going into liquidation, travelling abroad, ‘becoming ill’, or simply being handed over to concentration camps, the triumphant Thyssen begins to form around himself *a new oligarchy of assistants and parasites*—composed exclusively of old *National Socialists* and leading members of the Hitler Party. As director of that ‘Industriebank’, whose chairman Thyssen has become, Herr Walter Granzow is elected—none other than the brother-in-law of Herr Göbbels, Hitler’s great paladin. The same Herr Granzow becomes chairman of the board of directors of the Deutsche Rentenbank—one of the most important and wealthiest financial institutions in the Reich. In the Dresdner Bank, the second largest bank in Germany after the Deutsche Bank, in which already a director from Krupp (Buschfeld) and a friend of Thyssen’s (Friedrich Flick) are sitting, there appears, as a fresh personality, Herr Baron Harro von Zeppelin—personal aide-de-camp to Herr Walther Darré, one of the highest Nazi leaders and Minister of Agriculture. Two Nazi

leaders, the Bavarian Minister, Esser and the Governor of Hesse, Sprenger, are elected to the board of directors of the German Commercial Aviation Trust 'Lufthansa', and one of Hitler's former friends, Gregor Strasser, becomes a director of the chemical concern, Schering-Kahlbaum A.G. The chairmanship of the great Hamburg-Amerika Line goes, in place of the Deutsche Bank man, to Herr Emil Helfferich—for years member of the Nazi Party and 'economic adviser to the party leadership'.¹ Those are the new oligarchs, the new cadres of parasites of monopoly capital. Without them there can be no business, no Government commissions, no dividends. Another bank, the 'Allgemeine Deutsche Credit-Anstalt' in Leipzig, declares quite frankly at its yearly meeting (on October 15, 1933) that it 'is endeavouring in the future to do its business on National Socialist principles; it is out of the question for the bank to develop if it is not based on the confidence of the National Socialist Party'.²

Committees of the Nazi Party take part in negotiations between private concerns and in cases of industrial reorganization (thus, for example, the district committee of the party in South Westphalia had a hand in the reorganization of the 'Lothringen' concern, and the Nazi 'connecting staff' in the creation of the Cement Syndicates). If monopoly capital is a part of the Nazi regime, then the Nazi Party becomes a part of monopoly capital. It is always the same association—old trust-dukes and new Hitler politicians. And the first really big action of this

¹ In his speech delivered on assuming office the new chairman of the German Shipping Trust declared characteristically: 'The election of the board of directors is in itself only an outward incident; it is, however, closely connected with the political upheaval. . . . Thus the new board of directors approaches its task in the spirit of Hitler, in the best National Socialist spirit.'

² Speech of the chairman, Consul-General von Schön.

new united oligarchy in Germany is then truly sensational: it is a grand concentric *cartel-attack on the consumers*, such as Germany has not yet experienced. It is not that the great coal and steel price-syndicates—the basis for the whole power and wealth of the German heavy industry, burdening the entire nation with their monopoly tributes—are under National Socialism more majestic and more secure than ever—while previously they were on the verge of dissolution; that was also the case already earlier and that will not alter. But now there is passing over Germany an immense wave of cartels and price-conventions, such as never existed before and such as no one had expected. Hitler (on July 15, 1933) suddenly issues a law ordering the whole of industry to combine into syndicates and to dictate fixed prices; every competitor or outsider who dares to undersell these syndicates on the market or to establish a new factory can, on grounds of ‘economic sabotage’, be reprimanded by the syndicate committee, arrested by the State authorities, and interned in a concentration camp.

That is the new legislation of Thyssen-feudalism. Within a few weeks Germany—in spite of the deep depression and the frightful impoverishment of the people—is as if in the middle of a boom—cartels and price-alliances come into being almost daily in some other branch of industry (as in the wire trade, the glass trade, the manufacture of paper for news, preserved-milk and casein products, jute, soap, yeast, preserved foods, hosiery dying, hardware, and building materials; in preparation also in the cigarette industry, in the manufacture of china, etc.). At the beginning of the century Germany had 300 industrial cartels; under the Republic in 1925, 1,500; to-day under Hitler there are more than 2,100,

covering already more than one-half of all industrial products. The Brownshirts keep guard over each new monopoly; competition is a crime against the State. Result: prices rise in leaps by 20–30 per cent. The Union of German Machine-builders established the fact—even in the autumn of 1933—that prices for rough and semi-manufactured goods as well as for auxiliary materials rose in the course of a few weeks by 30–100 per cent. The whole market level is rising, for the first time since the aggravated crisis; the index for wholesale prices in Germany stood in the middle of December, 1933 at 96.1 as against 91.2 in the middle of March. But the price to leap first of all and to the greatest extent is that of those products coming from *Thyssen's territory*: the price of steel castings and jointless piping rises up to 100 per cent, of bar- and hoop-iron up to 50 per cent, of special steels up to 120 per cent. The people pay. For this is the interest on the National Socialist Revolution: new extra profits for the new Thyssen-Hitler oligarchy.

Thyssen's operation, the erection of monopoly feudalism in Germany under the name of the Nazi State, is not at an end. The 'totality' of the new dukes is not yet complete. But the next great objective is already visible: the *expropriation of the big banks*. The German banks, three-quarters of their capital concentrated in the Big Three (Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, Commerz-Bank), have still at their disposal a reservoir of capital amounting to about 10 milliard marks (nearly 4 billion dollars) and control the financial life of the country. And among them the Deutsche Bank, the old chief rival of the Steel Trust group and pillar of Catholic-Jewish 'Liberalism', controls alone, with its 3 milliards, nearly one-third of this sum; the Deutsche Bank is also the only one which, thanks to its

vast mobile reserves, was able, after the great German bank crash of 1931, to maintain its private independence, while the control of the other two Big Banks had provisionally to be placed in the hands of the State. If German banking capital—and above all the Deutsche Bank, the last relic of those independent capitalist forces which competed with Thyssen—is finally absorbed, then Thyssen's power in Germany is also *financially* absolute and he becomes one of the mightiest money-factors in the world, a new super-Stinnes (this idea too comes actually from Stinnes, who in the inflation-years carried on a famous duel with the Berlin banks, in order to expropriate them). It is a prospect of international significance. In August, 1933 the Hitler Government called a conference in Berlin to decide the fate of the banks, and for the first time Thyssen openly demanded the end of the Big Three. That same Baron von Schröder, who once at the instance of Thyssen organized the Hitler-von Papen plot against General Schleicher, suddenly brought forward, with the support of the Government, a revolutionizing plan: the Big Banks with their milliards were to be 'taken over by the State' (i.e. first of all just that one big bank which alone is not yet controlled by the Treasury), and then divided up into about twelve new 'regional banks'—for twelve different districts of Germany; the shares in these banks gradually go back into private hands, but in the meantime the State pays their losses (precisely as in the case of the Steel Trust transaction). That is the coronation of the new feudalism: for the new banks, of which each will govern financially a definite territory, will be Thyssen's banks.

Thus finishes the great National Socialist Revolution. It has achieved its goal. It could not end otherwise. For

the king of the Ruhr is the emperor of National Socialism. That is Hitler's secret.

II. The Downfall of the Middle Class

HITLER seized power with two forces behind him: a secret and an open. The second knew nothing of the first. The first pushed the second to the front. The day after the victory the crushing of the open force through the secret began. Hitler and Thyssen overthrew the middle class.

This is an historical event. Never yet has an entire social class been so dealt with in such a short space of time as has been the case with the lower middle class in Germany. Never yet has a party to an alliance been so rapidly, so cynically, and so brutally betrayed and trodden in the dust. On January 30, 1933—the day of the acquisition of power by Hitler—the little German petty-bourgeois was a proud, exalted, impetuously advancing giant, drunk with the future—a Commandant of the Nation. To-day he is a bewildered, whipped, fearful little man—smaller than he was before. The idea of elevating the petty-bourgeois mass above the classes and transforming it into a new caste of rulers and heroes—this brilliant point in the 'philosophy' of Fascism is brilliantly reduced *ad absurdum*—by Fascism itself.

German Fascism from the very outset has marched into battle in two separate columns. On the one side there stood the broad grey mass of the lower middle class—the small shopkeepers, the artisans, the employees, the smaller officials, the impoverished intellectuals and rentiers, the

small and intermediate peasant farmers—a force from 12 to 15 million people. The military organ of this column was the Brown Army of Storm-troopers (S.A.), composed overwhelmingly of the sons of these people, along with unemployed workers. The economic organ was ‘The Fighting League of the Trading Middle Classes’—an organization of millions of the fathers. The war-cry was Anti-Semitism. The battle aim was: destruction of the large stores, destruction of the Consumers Co-operatives, destruction of the one-price stores, destruction of the Jews, abolition of the taxes on the middle class, re-institution of the mediæval guilds (‘*Ständeordnung*’), occupation of the State apparatus by these guilds, transformation of the State into a Republic of the sovereign middle class. This is what the Brownshirts marched for.

On the other side—in step with the first column but without ever mixing with it—there marched the second column—the wealthier traders, the officers, the students, the professional men, the higher officials, the sons of large-scale farmers—a force of perhaps 1–2 million people. This column, better bred, better educated, better fed, better clothed and therefore still more active, still more aggressive, in its secret heart despised the first. Its military organ was the Protective Guards (S.S.)—the select, specially pampered black-shirted Prætorian Guard of the Hitler Party; while, for example, in an average Brown-shirt formation in the east of Berlin 44 per cent are artisans and technicians, 17 per cent clerks and small dealers, and only 3 per cent officials, professional people, and students, with the Blackshirts the proportions are quite different. The war-cry of this column was Nationalism, which for the majority of them had the same simple significance as Anti-Semitism for the lower middle class—a

job (war as an occupation for the officers and students, as a means of furnishing a market for the bigger merchants, etc.). Their war aims had but little in common with those of the first column. The destruction of department stores and capitalist multiple businesses (which have bank and mortgage debts amounting to a milliard marks, equal to 75 millions sterling, and are already, therefore, taboo for high finance), hardly interested them, if only because they wished to buy more cheaply and conveniently. But, on the other hand, they had a most pronounced interest in the maintenance of Big Business—their great employer, protector, and patron in society. They despised the sons of the lower middle class, and they secretly hated its obscure, badly educated, and plebeian-smelling Brownshirts. They viewed their future as one of even closer leaning upon and fawning on the ruling big bourgeoisie—the big industrialists, big bankers, big squires, of an even larger share in their rate of profit, even more ready access to their salons, even greater honours in their wars. And for this reason they wanted first and foremost to ally themselves and be of service to *this* higher class of their protectors. This is what the Blackshirts marched for.

They carried out their revolution together. They stormed together into the streets, took the rest of the nation by surprise with their Brown Terror—the cruellest there has ever been—and occupied the State for their common hero Hitler—the Brownshirts doing rather the dirty work, the Blackshirts occupying rather a position of command and control. The country was in their hands—in the hands of the united 15 million rebellious petty-bourgeois. And then there began at once Hitler's second big operation: the *coup d'état against the lower middle class*.

Hitler suddenly declared the Revolution to be at an end. Under this watchword a quite definite and far-reaching operation was in fact carried through: the dispersal and demolition of the 'Fighting League of the Trading Middle Class', the great general staff of the lower petty-bourgeois, with its whole organization, its leaders, and its positions of political power. No other Government would have dared that. This event was more than it seemed on the surface. This organization was more than itself: it was the real, pure representative and embodiment of the German middle class as a class, as an independent social force, and its policy and aims were the real policy and aims of the middle class. For this reason it was in fact more 'National Socialist' than Hitler—for it had nothing to do with Thyssen, nothing to do with the secret forces behind Fascism; it fought for and sprang from only the 'third class', this almost forgotten power that for a century has wavered, dull-witted and aimless, between the two great antipodes, the big bourgeoisie and the proletariat—without purchase, without ideas of its own, without strength, and without teeth, and being more and more ground down from both sides. Now it believed in its renaissance—that is why it followed Hitler. This organization, with all that was behind it, was in fact prepared to absorb the State when won—on its own account and for nobody else. It meant, in fact, to carry through a 'petty-bourgeois revolution': to fling society, in a fantastic experiment, back to the level of the Middle Ages, into the epoch of the middle-class guilds. It believed in this—for it believed in Hitler; it was perhaps the last outbreak of energy and will on the part of this sinking class. For a few moments this plan seemed on the point of realization. For a few weeks after the Hitler victory the Fighting League of the Trading Middle Class seemed to be the

mightiest organization in the State, drawing the whole of Germany into its orbit; and it itself felt itself to be this. Groups and branches of the League covered in hundreds the entire country; new 'irregular' organizations sprang up spontaneously. The local sections of the League, with the Brownshirts behind them, held the mastery in the towns. It was a completely new power. The petty-bourgeois tried to behave like revolutionaries. They began to occupy trading businesses, offices, and finance institutions—just as revolutionary workers occupy factories. The League's commissars, with and without mandate, appeared at the head of armed Brownshirt companies in the department stores, in one-price businesses, in Jewish shops, in all competitive undertakings, in order to take over the actual direction and to get this capital into the hands of the middle class. They even entered the banks, in order to place them under the same control and to turn their credit-policy into a weapon for the small traders, innkeepers, and master-artisans against the remaining grades of society. Special committees of the Fighting League began to compile new price-lists, decree 'minimum trading profits' lower than which no business might go, and to force prices madly upward; the whole nation was to be exploited by the shopkeeping class. Representatives of these groups went through the private dwellings raising contributions for their various organizations. The central leaders of the Fighting League tried to get the placing of State orders into the hands of the League. Every association, no matter how small, of a middle-class nature published proclamations to the nation. A sort of ecstasy took hold of these people, who had always been only hangers-on and now felt themselves to be at the top. The culminating point, the natural political and legislative conclusion to this process was to be the

proclamation of the new National Socialist form of State—the ‘Corporate State’ of the victorious petty-bourgeois guilds, the Fascist realm of the League and its allies. And then everything collapsed as if at a wave of the hand. For now there appeared on the scene that other power which was Hitler’s real, if secret, support and driving force.

The ‘Revolution of the Middle Class’ was dead within a few days. The organization of the Fighting League, the ‘Trust’ of the middle class, was disbanded, a large number of their local groups declared illegal, all the commissars withdrawn; ‘interference in economic life’—that is to say, occupation of businesses and offices by the middle class—was prohibited. The biggest man in these circles, the Reich Commissar for Economic Affairs Wagener, who carried through the policy of the League in the apparatus of the State, was deposed and was even faced with the danger of arrest; four members of the ‘Economic Department’ of the Nazi Party leadership, who supported Wagener’s nomination as Minister of Trade and Commerce, were arrested and sent to a concentration camp. A number of district leaders of the Nazi Party organization who supported this wing, like Lenz, the leader in Hesse, disappeared. In Munich 169 small traders were suddenly arrested for ‘price usury’ (charging exorbitant prices) and sent to the camp at Dachau—that inferno for Communists, the name of which is used by mothers in Bavaria to frighten their children. A new leadership appeared suddenly at the head. As Reich Minister for Trade and Commerce Schmitt, a big insurance company director—and consequently greatly interested in department stores—was appointed; as head of the Reichsbank and of credit policy—Schacht, former director of a bank of milliards (Danat-Bank); as economic adviser to Hitler—an agent

of the Steel Trust, the engineer Keppler. This triumvirate—in place of the League—became the new official directorate of the country's resources. Invisible over the entire thing reigned the man in Düsseldorf. At the same time the whole theoretical programme of the middle-class battalions fell with a crash. The demolition of the department stores and co-operative societies—the chartist life-dream of these people, intended with one stroke to regenerate them and to put them back a century—was declared to be dangerous nonsense, dangerous for the employees and dangerous for economic life; only the establishment of new businesses was prohibited—existing department stores and co-operatives, with their turnovers of milliards, which have meant the ruin of tens of thousands of independent members of the middle class, even secured big State credits. The programme for creating sovereign guilds was called off as inopportune. The fixing of obligatory minimum prices through guilds of small dealers or artisans was forbidden as sabotage. The introduction of 'artisans' cards' and 'traders' cards', designed to exclude once and for all fresh competition in these occupations, was stopped. The opening of the universities to the sons of the petty middle class, so as to raise them to be the new leaders and the élite in the State, was quashed on account of 'overcrowding in the academic professions' and the 'danger of the intelligentsia'. That is Fascism *after* seizure of power. This happened at the very time that Thyssen was occupying the Ruhr. Yet that was only one side of the Government's action. It knew what it was doing. While destroying the political organization of the 'Fighting League', it laid hands also on its gigantic armed organization—the Brownshirts. In the same way as it struck at the fathers it paralysed the young men. The 'Auxiliary Police' of the Brownshirts—

that armed force which was to carry through the conquest of the national riches on behalf of the small petty-bourgeoisie—was disbanded. Hundreds of refractory Brown-shirts were disarmed or sent to concentration camps. For the others the service conditions and drill were ruthlessly intensified, the material conditions were worsened. New Brownshirt members were ordered to pay for their uniforms themselves; those among the old members who got work received wages scarcely exceeding their old unemployment relief. The same thing occurred above and below. It was in very fact a complete *coup d'état*.

This is the catastrophe and the ignominy of the lower middle class. Its ideas are overthrown. Its leaders are struck down. And now the process is continuing against the masses of this class themselves. Instead of economic renaissance, they get economic degradation: for monopoly capital and its new State cannot get on without exploiting them. All members of the middle class receive, instead of the abolition of taxes, additional 'voluntary' taxes: countless compulsory and regular 'donations' to the 'Hitler funds and the Labour Front', compulsory subscriptions to Nazi papers, Nazi theatres, etc. The small shopkeepers, artisans, and innkeepers receive, instead of a gigantic boom, a sinking turnover, because the monopolies of the new industrial cartels, together with the new tariffs introduced for the sake of the Junkers, increase prices of food and other products and cripple the purchasing power of the working masses: upward leap in the price of butter by 46 per cent, of margarine by 40 per cent, of pork by 36 per cent, between the spring and winter of 1933; decline in sugar consumption by 30 per cent, in the sale of margarine by 35 per cent, as compared with the year before! The clerks and employees receive, instead of a new luxury salary, a declining real wage; the small officials are

even forbidden to sublet rooms, an important subsidiary source of income. The small encumbered business people receive, instead of the 'smashing of interest-slavery', that is, annulment of debt and reduction of interest to 2 per cent—one of the most popular of the earlier Nazi slogans, filling millions with hope—the order not to meddle in the business of the banks; fresh credits remain closed to them. The younger sons of the peasantry—the rural middle class—receive, instead of the opening up of more land, the new law of inheritance by which a farm can be inherited by the eldest son only—a law throwing fresh tens of thousands of small and intermediate farmers into the towns and dooming them to proletarianization—and the new tariffs on foreign fodder (maize, oilcake, etc.) which will encumber afresh the stock-raising carried on by the smaller farmers and further reduce their sales in the towns.¹ The general situation of these sections of the middle class is, after the Hitler upheaval, worse than before; the decay of its various branches has not been checked—it goes on irresistibly. The number of hotel and restaurant businesses in Berlin falls during 1933 from 19,945 to 18,644; the total number of all such businesses in the Reich is to be further reduced by 30 per cent—at the cost of the weakest, that is the smallest, businesses. The tobacconists, another main group in this class, are on the verge of ruin—hundreds of thousands of them, according to a statement made by their national association; in Hamburg-Altona alone more than 60,000 small dealers are in a hopeless position. Owners of house property are being drawn into the fate of the shopkeepers; in the west-

¹ The *New York Times* of May 16 reports a law passed forbidding freedom of movement among the agricultural population so that industrial areas may be closed against 'immigrants' from the country seeking town employment.

ern districts of Berlin there was at the end of 1933 not one single building in which several flats or shops were not standing empty. The number of suicides among the middle class amounts to dozens every day.

This is the price paid for January 30th, 1933. This is the reward given to the Brownshirts.

But what is denied and taken from the lower middle class and its Brownshirts is given to the upper middle class and its Blackshirts. This is the whole secret of the most recent policy in Germany. That second, smaller, better-bred, and better-dressed column, which follows Hitler along with and behind the first, that auxiliary wing of petty-bourgeois with starched collars and clean fingernails, which in reality despised those others from the shop-counter, the office-stool, the farmyard—this column has indeed been victorious. Hitler is with it—for Thyssen needs it to-day too, as his body of attendant and armed dependents. Immediately after the Reichstag fire this upper section of the middle class made a pact with the oligarchy of heavy industry and the Junkers to expropriate the other group. This pact is and remains the second axis of Hitler's policy for the entire duration of his rule. The entire 'work of reform' which Hitler is actually carrying through—boycott of the Jews, clean sweep in all official and commercial posts, military armament and agrarian autarchy—is nothing but one single undertaking for the sudden enrichment and social advancement of the upper middle class in the service of its higher capitalist protectors. The academic and civilian middle class receives the new well-paid intellectual apparatus of the country—the hundreds of thousands of civil servants', employees', doctors', lawyers', journalists', and directors' jobs cleansed of Jews, Liberals, and Socialists (on the

other hand, small traders have profited hardly at all from the boycott of Jews and 'Marxists'). Alone the new Nazi 'unified trade unions' ('Labour Front') provide within their apparatus a corps of 20,000 new bureaucrats, hardly one of which is an ex-worker—nearly all are former officials, tradesmen, or members of the professions. The old officers' corps receive *in corpora* the command of the new army of 3 millions (S.A., S.S., Stahlhelm, Reichwehr, Labour Corps, secret air and gas detachments). The large-scale peasantry, along with the Junkers, receives the new tariffs on corn and fats, and the feudal law of inheritance; they are the leaders and the beneficiaries of the new 'syndicate' of German farmers. Even unmarried women of the upper middle class, living in the better urban districts, receive, if they marry and give up their former jobs, a so-called 'marriage-loan' of 800–1,000 marks (300–350 dollars); while women of the lower middle class, living in the poorer districts, get only 200–300 marks (75–100 dollars). And the Blackshirts, the military executives of these groups, become the new aristocracy, a luxuriously endowed guard, held in calm reserve, whose task is to control the State and to produce a 'new master race'; admittance to this caste is being rendered still more difficult by stricter control and by special conditions of a social and even physiological kind. This is the other price paid for January 30th, 1933. This is the reward given by the ruling Thyssen-Junker clique to its immediate clients and agents.

The front of the petty-bourgeoisie, Hitler's front, is split. The two columns which marched forth for his victory are still there under arms. But now their appearance is different. The first, large column, is confused, excited, and overawed. It has lost its leaders and it cannot understand what has happened. The second, smaller

column, has tightened its ranks and is ready to defend its victory and its booty against all claims. The basis of existence of the first column remains the crisis—unemployment, dwindling incomes, and, in part, hunger. The other column has liquidated the crisis for itself. The programme of the first column remains revolutionary—the programme of the ‘second revolution’, the subsequent social transformation following upon the political transformation. The programme of the second column is henceforth aggressively reactionary—the programme of smashing anyone who demands the second revolution.

This is the tragedy of the German middle class, which ‘conquered’ itself only to disintegrate from within. The last act in this tragedy must be an internal explosion, a collision within the middle class, whereby one part relies upon the anti-Hitlerite working class, the other upon the Hitlerite Trust and Junker oligarchy. This collision is a question of the future. But the preliminary skirmishings are already there. The first great effect of the split of the middle class is the open accentuation of the contradictions between its two armed forces—the S.A. and the S.S.

The fathers remain silent as yet. But the young men can no longer be restrained unconditionally. In the summer of 1933, almost at one stroke, 200,000 Brownshirts—an entire army!—are dismissed from the storm-troops and thrown on to the streets. Why? The first, though as yet weak, wave of Brownshirt revolts swept over Germany: in Frankfurt, Dresden, Berlin, Königsberg, Hamburg, Cassel, Essen, Dortmund, Freiburg, etc. The watchword—although these revolts and mutinies take place without any connexion one with another—is always the same: against the Blackshirts, for the ‘second Socialist revolution’. The picture is always similar: above all in the

larger towns, where the middle class is most in touch and mixed with the proletariat, individual Brownshirt detachments, sometimes with their leaders, march out into the streets, carry through illicit processions and meetings, put forward radical anti-capitalist slogans, demand better food and quarters, attack the Blackshirts, and occasionally even attempt to confiscate their quarters for themselves (Essen). In Frankfurt the entire S.A. was disbanded on account of a telegraphic ultimatum to the Government—they demanded from Hitler, within three days, the promise of a 'Socialist Four-year Plan'; the same in Freiburg, where they were to be disarmed by the police, but hid their weapons (the headquarters staff of the Brownshirts had to issue a special order strictly forbidding the despatch in the form of an ultimatum of political demands to Hitler, 'as has several times occurred'). In Western Germany a new saying circulated among the Brownshirts: 'Hitler gib uns Brot, sonst werden wir rot' ('Hitler give us bread, or we'll go red'). In the Berlin-Brandenburg district, 3,870 Brownshirts were excluded in the space of four weeks from the storm-troops 'on account of political unreliability'; whole detachments (for example, storms in Gesundbrunnen and Charlottenburg) were taken to concentration camps. The concentration camp in Oranienburg, at first a notorious terrorist spot for Socialists, began to specialize in rebellious Brownshirts. At the same time attempts were made to separate within the Brownshirts themselves a specially reliable group, the so-called 'Old Guard', receiving special privileges and being played off against the rest of the storm-troops. In this way this first outbreak of dissatisfaction among the Brownshirts is for the moment nipped in the bud, with the help especially of the Blackshirts. In Berlin the Brownshirts are forbidden to visit Blackshirt barracks. The Blackshirts

never mutiny; they spy on the Brownshirts, disarm and arrest them. The police protect the Blackshirts. The Brownshirts demand economic and political equality with the Blackshirts and the police, and call the Blackshirts 'Guard of Bureaucrats' ('Bonzengarde'). The Blackshirts demand the disbandment of the Brownshirts and call them 'beefsteaks' (brown outside, red inside). Both as yet remain under Hitler's command and obey him, and will probably continue to obey him for a long time yet. But already they are, in essence, *antagonistic* armies.

This is the main point. For the future this has more weight than the fact that the masses of the civilian middle classes are also becoming restive, as in Munich, where a mass meeting of shopkeepers drives the Nazi Premier of Bavaria from the platform, or as in the Palatinate, where the small traders threaten to cease selling butter on account of the rise in the price of fats owing to the new tariffs (a storm against the policy of the Government broke loose at the last Congress of the 'Fighting League' held in Bad Neunahr, on August 16—the Press remaining dumb). But there are already other indications. It is absolutely clear that the latest sensational *rebellion in the German Protestant Church*, the surprise outbreak, expected by no one, on the part of the 7,000 pastors with their parishes against Nazi dictatorship in religion, is actually a veiled but energetic expression of that same accumulating indignation among the German lower middle class: that class which forms the main basis of the German Evangelical Church, and which will relieve its feelings first in precisely such a sphere as this. Monarchist elements of the Junker-class are leading this movement in their own political interests; revolutionary workers, too, are making the most of the new opposition platform. But the main social impulse here comes from the lower middle class, the chief category of devout church-goers in the towns; with-

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out them the whole occurrence would be impossible. This is the sole solution for the sudden inexplicable Church-war against the Nazis. Still further symptoms of this kind will appear on the scene.

The forces within the middle class are gradually separating themselves along the whole line. This separation has been retarded until now by outside factors. So long as the crushing of the working class was not yet completed, the middle class could not begin an internal controversy. As long as an intermediate element between the middle class and the Hitler Government—Hugenberg—existed the whole weight of the collision could be diverted to this buffer: in actual fact Hitler throughout the whole of the first period laid the whole blame for the policy directed against the lower middle class on the shoulders of the Minister for Trade and Commerce, Hugenberg, the Non-Nazi, and then sacrificed him officially to the rage of these classes. But now the fronts are open. Marxists, Jews, and Hugenberg can no longer serve as scapegoats, nobody remains but Hitler and his prophets. Only one great barrier hinders the clash of the divergent forces of German Fascism—the existence of the gigantic, dictatorial, iron-disciplined National Socialist Party.

Yet just this barrier is beginning to crumble. *The rift in the middle class is beginning to transform itself—as if of necessity—into a rift in Hitler's National Socialist Party.*

III. The Five Dynamic Forces in the Nazi Party

ON August 30, 1933 half a million leaders and officers of National Socialism, assembled in Nuremberg from every

part of the country, raised their hands as one man in the salute—‘Heil Hitler!’ 160,000 party officials, 200,000 Brownshirt and Blackshirt officers, 60,000 Hitler Youths, shouted their loyalty to the Leader. The whole country quaked anew at the spectacle of these gigantic battalions, in whose hands Germany now lies, who can do what they please with this people of 65 millions, who within twenty-four hours can dictate a new national history, a new Bartholomew’s Eve, or a new war. Never has the might of National Socialism seemed greater than at that moment, never did the solidarity of Hitler’s Party seem stronger than at this ‘Congress of Victory’. This is an external view. And this is the work of the greatest theatrical managers in the world. Göbbels, Hitler’s Propaganda Minister, organized this performance. He did it in order to deceive the country, foreign opinion, and the National Socialists themselves with regard to the real situation. Behind the curtain of Nuremberg the real process takes its course—the formation of groups, the differentiation and the preparation for conflict within the Hitler Party, the beginning of an internal collision between various groups and leaders. Like its social base, the middle class itself, the National Socialist Party has never been a solid, united political entity. To-day, however, when it has won Governmental power, proclaimed itself as the State, and swallowed up every social formation outside the working class, it has become all along the line the battle-ground of a number of quite definite groups struggling and manœuvring for leadership and domination. The divisions and lines of demarcation between these groups become ever sharper. *Five* main centres of power, five central groupings, stand out to-day, seven months after Hitler’s nomination to the Reich’s Chancellorship, within the internal structure of the Nazi Party:

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1. The *supreme ruling triumvirate* (Hitler, Göring, Göbbels).

2. The power-unit *Blackshirts (Protective Troops)*—*G.S.P. (Secret State Police)*.

3. The group *Brownshirts (Storm-troops)*—*old Officers' Corps* (Röhm, Heines, Killinger).

4. The *right capitalist group* (Thyssen, Schmitt, Keppler, Funk, Schacht).

5. The *left group of the Radical middle class* (Reventlow, Brückner, Stöhr, Wagener).

This is the real image of the Nazi Party of to-day. Between these five centres of power its fate will be decided. On the relationships between these groups, their influence, their weight, and their struggles, depend the whole line and all the waverings of Hitler's policy. For this reason the analysis of these groupings is the analysis of Germany's future history.

1. The Hitler-Göbbels-Göring triumvirate constitutes not a social or political group of itself, but is only the *personal* apex of the entire movement. It is the directorate of the nation, entrusted and empowered by the other groups, who wish in it and through it to realize their policy and interests. These three personages, the demi-gods of German Fascism, rest on the bayonets of the various groupings of their 'supporters'. From this it follows that they have to maintain the equilibrium between these groupings—if they do not want to fall on the bayonets. The other specific law generated by the particular hierarchic construction of German Fascism is this, that the moment this triumvirate itself collapses from within, the danger automatically arises that the various groupings below can immediately utilize the quarrel among the leaders for a quarrel among themselves, that is, for a struggle of *mass* formations. This means: the Hitler-Göring-Göb-

bels triumvirate does not only rest on bayonets; it is also sitting in a glass case. The personal relationships of these three become—as never under conditions of bourgeois democracy—a first-class political question. Hitler himself, the divine leader, is less than any a personal figure. He strives—and in the degree in which he succeeds depends the strength of his political power and popularity—to be the mathematical result of the addition of the forces of all the groups in the party, in order to remain its universally recognized herald. He fears nothing more than to be dragged into a quarrel among the leaders. He wants, in his colourlessness and neutrality, to hold the equilibrium for all, and to retain his position of German Mussolini, the Supreme Lama of all petty-bourgeoisie. But Göring and Göbbels are decided political personalities. The one, the one-time adventurous flying officer during the war, tainted by a dark vice, of forcible appearance, affecting women and young people, full of political ruthlessness, full of a longing for outward consequence, full of the belief that he, and he alone, is the German Mussolini. The other, with a severe physical deformity, more intellectual but more neurotic, more clever but more decadent, more imaginative but more Machiavellian, aspires to this same Mussolini rôle, but in the manner of Robespierre. And both of them, of good bourgeois stock, full of inward (and at times with open) contempt for this *parvenu* Hitler, this ‘drummer’, this suburban corporal of the Nazi Revolution, full of lust for personal power, and full, above all, of unbounded hate one for the other, the hate of the cripple for the drug-fiend. This is a personal characterization, it is true. But this personal characterization becomes a political analysis, a political calculation when applied to a movement which sees in the dictatorship of personalities the apex of political wisdom and political

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organization. The cult of personality is the means of attraction, but also a tragic burden of Fascism—in Germany as in Italy. The relationships among Hitler-Göring-Göbbels, the relationships within the ruling triumvirate, constitute one of the most sensitive and weakest points in the whole grandiose edifice of the Nazi Dictatorship. The moment the differing pressure on this apex coming from the other, lower, groups becomes too strong, then it must break from within.

2. Of these lower groups one in particular is pushing itself more and more—in very fact from day to day—to the forefront. Those Blackshirts who up till now were only an armed executive of the upper middle class and the bodyguard of the Nazi leaders—better maintained and equipped than the Brownshirts, but much weaker numerically and militarily than these—are now going beyond that. The special influence of this group goes right back to the time of their establishment: the Blackshirts were originally a kind of order for the closest and earliest among Hitler's intimates, composed of the few dozen people who, as far back as ten years ago, in his first *putsch* on November 9, 1923, clad in black caps with the death's head, protected the leader against the bullets of the police. Even in 1933 they consisted of only a hundred men. The hundred became 120,000 on the eve of the Hitler upheaval and roughly 300,000 in the first year of his rule. Now, under the conditions of the completed 'Totalitarian State', this group becomes a quite new and almost sinister power. It is the development, *the transformation of the S.S. into the 'G.S.P.', the Secret State Police*, providing this group and its economic background with such new and overwhelming power. The Brownshirts, since they are both connected with the discontented and betrayed middle class and are semi-proletarian, cannot be

given police functions by Hitler (compare the disbanding of the Brownshirts' auxiliary police); they can only be utilized as recruiting material, for drilling an ordinary army directed against an external foe. The Blackshirts, however, the organ of the sated triumphant upper middle class, consequently unconditionally loyal and devoted to Hitler and filled with an unappeasable hatred for everything proletarian and revolutionary—this smaller formation, including a lot of trained and educated and qualified people (students, professional men, and higher employees), is the obvious police force for the new Hitler State. But the police force in the Hitler state is no ordinary organization or authority. In a country where a small fraction of the people (the lower middle class no longer counted among the Nazis) maintains an absolute 100-per-cent 'total', dictatorship over the great mass of the people, where the creation of a new party, a new society, or a new canary club is a crime against the State, where, however, in secret a new revolutionary movement is simultaneously developing—in such a country the secret police is a terrible force, the real possessor and executor of all State and political power. This is precisely what the new 'State Secret Police' (G.S.P.) is, with its gigantic apparatus distributed over the entire country, its army of agents among the authorities, in the factories, in the streets, in private dwellings, and in the cells of the Nazi Party, its right to arrest anybody and everybody, to control and suppress any opinion and any newspaper, to keep watch on every official, and to decree every State measure. The Blackshirts and G.S.P. have at their command the most important stores of arms in the country, the best motorized troops, the best cavalry, the fastest aeroplanes and—those tanks of which, so the German delegates in Geneva declared, there are none in Germany. And thus

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the G.S.P. begins to develop into a kind of octopus. *If Hitler previously absorbed the German State, then Blackshirts and G.S.P. are now beginning to absorb the Hitler State.* Both are identical in the main. The real director of the G.S.P. is not that erstwhile Democrat *Dr. Diehls*, who even under the Republic, before Hitler, was chief of the Berlin Political Police, and who then purchased the retention of his position from the Nazis through his complicity in the Reichstag Fire Conspiracy, and is now Göring's chief assistant. The real leader of the G.S.P., of the secret police and terror headquarters of Germany, the centre of which to-day lies less in Berlin, with Göring, than in Munich, is *Himmler*, the supreme commander of the police in the whole of Southern and North-western Germany (Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, Hess, Thuringia, Hamburg, Mecklenburg, Lübeck, and Anhalt), a man whose name will perhaps one day become famous like that of Fouché. This man is, however, simultaneously the national commander of all Blackshirts. The same personal union exists in Berlin, where the police general *Daluege* is at the same time commander of the Eastern Division of the Blackshirts (Gruppenführer Ost). This united group is now commencing to honeycomb all the decisive positions in the State and party apparatus. It controls Hitler's entourage where its henchman, *Rudolf Hess*—a divisional leader of the Blackshirts (Gruppenführer)—is the official 'deputy' to Hitler. It occupies the Press—in a country where one single party has the monopoly of the Press, a mighty factor!—in that both the decisive figures in this sphere, *Amann*, the head of the Party Press, and *Dietrich*, the State Press Chief, are divisional commanders of the Blackshirts. It finds its way into the Foreign Office, the sacrosanct traditional fortress of German diplomacy, in that the former chief of staff to

the National Commander of the Blackshirts, the *Prince of Waldeck and Pyrmont*, is commanded by Hitler to a special mission to the Foreign Office—woe to the Wilhelmstrasse! It penetrates into the Ministry of Trade and Commerce, in that the new Minister, General-Director Dr. Schmitt, becomes a member of the Blackshirts. It establishes contacts with the old royal family of Hohenzollern, by taking *Prince William of Brunswick*, a nephew of Prince Eitel Friedrich (one of the Kaiser's sons), into its midst. It secures control of the entire racial policy, that 'moral' basis of the Hitler State (and in actual fact the means for the selection of the leading personnel), in that Hitler decrees that there is only one official 'race authority' for the whole of Germany—namely the 'Race Department' of the Blackshirt staff; and only the Blackshirts receive the right to have the so-called 'assisting members', that is to say, unofficially affiliated persons and financial backers. Thus the cordon is drawn closer and closer around Hitler. Of the fourteen members forming the supreme 'Reich leadership' (Reichsleitung) of the Nazi Party, the most important group belongs to the Blackshirts. The rôle of Hess, Hitler's personal deputy, who has to-day in Hitler's name the official leadership of the whole party in his hands, was recently appointed Minister without Portfolio as well, and whose words must carry the same weight as those of the 'Leader', becomes more and more important. Hitler is hardly ever to be seen without Hess; the burly figure of this man is always close to or behind that of the Chancellor. What, then, is this group, whose power in Germany overshadows that of all other groupings? It is—what it was—the organ and the executive of the upper middle class, which since the Reichstag fire has bound itself body and soul to the great oligarchy of the Trusts and Junkers. The deeper rôle and policy of this group

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will become clearer once its close relationship to the other, purely oligarchic, group in the Nazi Party is understood, the group of Thyssen-Schmitt (we will deal with this later on). It is, however, perfectly clear that its task consists, together with these higher protectors, in preserving, extending, and defending the position won by the oligarchy and higher middle class since Hitler's last 'invisible *coup d'état*', against no matter whom—and above all against the Brownshirts, this old competing executive of the lower middle class. It is typical, in this connexion, that during recent months a man has joined the Nazi Party who, together with his organization, played a quite specific rôle in the post-war history of Germany. Captain *Erhardt*, the man who with his 'Erhardt Brigade' attempted the famous Kapp Putsch in 1920 and ruled in Berlin for a few days, who, with his purely terrorist 'Organization *Konsul*', organized the murders of *Erzberger* and *Rathenau*, and who in more recent times was an enemy of the Nazis because of their too 'proletarian' complexion—this old leader of the terrorist big bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois aristocracy in Germany has placed himself and his entire organization under the Nazis. But he did not simply hand over his organization to the Nazi Party; he placed it specially under the national leader of the Blackshirts! The old terrorists from the ranks of the big bourgeoisie flock to this new common centre, this new concentration point of the higher Nazi classes, attracted by their growing power in the State. And the Blackshirt-G.S.P.-*Erhardt* group will defend this power with all the means at its command. It will defend it most vigorously of all against the other colleagues in the Nazi Party. Not for nothing is there established within the Secret State Police the even more secret 'Department 4'—a section specially intended for the surveillance of the Brownshirts

and the suppression of Brownshirt revolts. The chief of this department is not known. But the aim is identical with that of this entire faction within the Nazi Party: to form an armed organization of the oligarchy—upper middle class entente, against the future rebellion of the lower middle class and the working class.

3. Where, on the other hand, does the other, manifestly antipodal power-centre in the Nazi Party stand—the commanding group of the Brownshirts, this new German army of 2 million men? It is clear that if this group sympathizes with the interests of the mass of the lower middle class and unemployed under its command, and joins their opposition, then the front is distinct and its breach is only a matter of time. But the position is not so simple. What is the commanding group of the Brownshirts? It is, reduced to a social formula, the old German Officers' Corps. It is the force of 200,000 lieutenants and captains who, after the Revolution and demobilization, could find no place in the new diminutive army of the Reichswehr, and for this reason became forever counter-revolutionary and Fascist. These are the same lieutenants and captains (above all naval and air officers as well) who, in the Republic's earliest days, under Noske and Scheidemann, made up those famous irregular 'Freikorps' (Rosbach, Epp, Lüttwitz, Hofer, &c.) that crushed the Spartakist workers of Germany; who then in 1920 attempted the first counter-revolution, the Kapp Putsch; in 1921 fought the illegal war against Poland in Upper Silesia; and in 1923 organized in the Ruhr the sabotage struggle against the French occupation. They were all along the strongest rivals of the Reichswehr, which had thrown them overboard, and whose leaders, Seeckt, Gröner, Schleicher, Heye, they called 'office generals'. To-day these lieutenants and captains have again got their army—the

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Brownshirts—and have become majors, colonels, and generals in it. That is why they follow Hitler. The leading group among these people—who, properly speaking, are nothing other than a corps of mercenaries and desperadoes—consists of a clique of the formerly most active elements and leaders of the ‘Freikorps’ and terror organizations, completely occupying to-day the entire staff of the Brownshirts. They hold the post of Chief of Staff and the seven posts of ‘Obergruppenführer’, corresponding roughly to an Army Commander, each of whom commands a force of 100,000–200,000 men. Among these are *Röhm*, former army captain and terrorist—Chief of Staff; *Heines*, former first lieutenant, Rossbach-man and Feme terrorist—commander of Division III (Berlin and Eastern Germany); *Killinger*, former naval captain, Erhardt-man and organizer of the murders of Rathenau and Erzberger—commander of Division IV (Saxony); *Luyken*, former general-staff captain—commander of Division II (North Germany); *Schneidhuber*, former major and staff intelligence officer—commander of Division VII (Bavaria); *Lutze*, former adjutant—commander of Division IV (Western Germany); and so on. To this same group of Brownshirt commanders belong *Schulz*—former first lieutenant, terrorist, and organizer of the ‘Black Reichswehr’; Captain *von Pfeffer*—former battalion commander and organizer of the Kapp Putsch, the Upper Silesian struggles, and the Ruhr sabotage; Lieutenant *Ludin*, cashiered from the Reichswehr a few years ago on account of his connexions with Hitler; and a few old generals, like *Epp* and *Litzman*, who could not forgive Seeckt and Schleicher for excluding them from the new army. Will, then, this clique of ex-lieutenants and brand-new generals join in the social move of their troops against the Blackshirts and Hitler’s oligarchic policy—or will they restrain it?

It is clear that they will never join a revolt against Hitler, a revolt in the sense of the sons of the lower middle class and the unemployed. For that, their own social interests as a privileged officer-caste are too much bound up with those of the remaining Hitler bourgeoisie. Their competition, too, with the Blackshirt clique is not so strong as their competition with the Reichswehr—a competition about the question of who shall have the command in the coming war. It is the same competition as that between the Fascist militia and the regular army in Italy, and the new Brownshirt generals will never allow the old Reichswehr generals to form the General Staff alone (this was the original position and demand of the Reichswehr). But even if the Brownshirt generals will never lend themselves to a *social* movement in the Nazi State, there is a natural *fractional* rivalry between the clique of the Brownshirts and the clique of the Blackshirts. The Blackshirts mean solely to concede to the Brownshirt clique the honours of the coming war against external foes. The Brownshirt clique is dissatisfied with the already existing internal monopoly of the Blackshirt-G.S.P. group. And it is quite possible that the Brownshirt clique will *utilize* the dissatisfaction existing amongst the masses of its army precisely in order to carry through their own special interests and desires in the game for the leadership; that they will place themselves on the side of one or another faction or combination *within* the Hitler-Göbbels-Göring triumvirate. The more acute Germany's position abroad becomes and her preparations for war increase, the more will the special rôle and the claims of this camarilla grow. Its head, the Marshal of the Brownshirts Röhm, one of the most able military organizers in Germany, a mercenary soldier in the grand style, who knows only his army and for its sake and his own would trample over everything and

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lay everything waste,¹ has been pushing himself since the end of 1933, along with the Blackshirts, more and more rapidly to the fore. In December, 1933 he is appointed (together with Hess) Minister without Portfolio; his military influence is extending; the shadow of this Nazi Wallenstein, with the 2½ million bayonets behind him, is beginning for its part to reach the great triumvirate itself. The position and power of the young Brownshirt generals, the Röhm-Heines group (these two are associated not only politically and professionally), become thereby a special factor in the incipient process of differentiation within the Hitler Party.

4. But there is another definite group in this party which is much more likely to take up the policy of discontent and disillusion, the Radical slogans of the lower middle class—even if it will never by itself dare to extend them to the slogan of the ‘second revolution’. This is the real ‘left wing’ in the Nazi apparatus, whose known leaders are *Brückner*, Governor of Silesia, *Koch*, Governor of East Prussia, Count *Reventlow* of Berlin, the leader of the Radical small dealers *Wagener*, the trade-unionist *Stöhr*, Colonel *Hierl*, the organizer of the unemployed, and until recently *Muchow*, leader of the Nazi factory organization, the ‘N.S.B.O.’. In fact, it is here a question above all of the *intermediate* apparatus of the Nazi Party, that is, of that section of the *civil* propagandist Hitler organization which stood midway between the leaders at the top and the masses, and consequently had the difficult task of con-

¹ He himself says this in his book, *The Story of a Political Traitor*, where he lays down that ‘in a State based on power the soldier must play the leading part’ (before the politician) and continues: ‘Europe, the whole world, may go down in flames—what does that matter to us? Germany must live and be free. . . . War awakens and encourages the best forces in the nation. In these times it is an internal and external necessity for a people that means to exist and assert itself in this world. For the soldier it is at the same time rejuvenation, hope, and fulfilment.’

verting the sham Radical promises of the former into an inflamed mood of the latter. To-day the position of this group in relation to the masses—who make *them* first of all responsible—is the most difficult of all. This explains, too, why the left wing is particularly strong in East Germany (Brückner and Koch are the official leaders of the Nazi Party in the east)—that is, just where the big land-owners are most wealthy and powerful, the small peasantry most impoverished and Radical, and the lower middle class of the small towns intimately connected with the small peasantry. Brückner and Koch had promised the East German peasants the confiscation of all Junker estates over 250 hectares. But when, harried and pushed on by these same peasants, they tried to make a beginning, and Brückner especially attacked the magnates of Upper Silesia—those half-dozen feudal dynasties, like the Hohenlohe, Donnersmarck, Schaffgotsch, Pless, Balles-trem, each of which rules despotically, in this part of Germany, over tracts of land covering from 30,000–50,000 hectares—they were peremptorily and sharply stopped by the leadership in Berlin and completely repudiated. They were compelled to leave the Junkers in peace, and these then ‘voluntarily’ placed a few hundred hectares—mostly fen- and heathland—at the disposal of the peasants. Crushed in the same way were the radical champions of the employees, workers, and intellectuals in the Nazi apparatus. Thus Stöhr, the old trade-union leader of the shop assistants and clerks, who before the Hitler Revolution had the leadership of the Nazi Reichstag fraction, but to-day, on account of the too extreme demands of his adherents, is in practice eliminated in the interest of the Thyssen group. Thus Muchow, one of the first founders and most popular representatives of the Nazi factory-cell organization (‘N.S.B.O.’), who enthusi-

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astically demanded for this organization the supreme control in industry, then was very quickly reduced to a subordinate position (a large number of the local radical leaders of the N.S.B.O. were even interned in concentration camps), and finally, in mysterious circumstances, shot 'by accident' by another Nazi leader. Thus Colonel Hierl, leader of the 'Work Provision Campaign', whose programme conflicted with the interests of the State finance and the banks; and Count Reventlow, the old ideologist of the impoverished unemployed intellectuals, with their honest romantic Utopias ('Neo-Paganism', 'Birth of a new aristocratic race', etc.). Reventlow dared even to write an open letter of protest to Hitler against the terrorizing of trade-union members, and for this was subjected to preliminary censorship. This section of the propagandist (as opposed to the military) Nazi apparatus is in fact still attempting, at least to some extent, to link up its destiny with that of the Radical lower middle class, and is thus becoming the 'left opposition'. Actually this opposition is a relic of that Radical Strasser wing in the Nazi Party which, already before Hitler's victory, raised the slogan of the 'second revolution' and rebelled against the all too capitalist 'Führer'; Strasser at that time carried off a group of the membership and a large part of the Berlin Brownshirts (the Stennes revolt) with him. Through Reventlow these elements are also connected with the extremist Ludendorff group. This 'left opposition' is weak, vacillating, extremely opportunist, and at the moment completely paralysed by Hitler. But, through the pressure from below of the dissatisfied Radical middle class, above all of the small peasants, it can acquire an especial weight within the Nazi front. It is no accident that the 'left-wing' Koch, after a four months' struggle, is nominated 'Oberpräsident' of East

Prussia, and that Brückner remains Governor of Silesia. In the first case it was the demands of the East Prussian Brownshirts; in the second, the fear of a peasant march. Koch is still carrying on a fight against the Berlin authorities (particularly the Minister of Agriculture, Darré), and in December, 1933 he even tried openly to organize the Nazi peasants against their new 'reactionary leadership', which 'to-day has almost entirely thrown aside the propagandists of the movement and the old fighters for the peasantry'; a split in the Nazi peasants' organization in the district is taking place. Brückner refuses—only for a time, it is true—to receive officially leading industrialists of his district (Silesia), following their disputes with Nazi workers. These 'Radicals', too, are becoming very easily and very rapidly renegades, and many of them have already become so. But this group can be strengthened by reinforcements from two sides: from the remnants of the apparatus of the liquidated 'Fighting League of the Trading Middle Classes', whose leaders (Wagener, Marwitz, etc.) were dismissed at the wish of Thyssen and the Minister for Trade and Commerce Schmitt, and from the apparatus of the 'N.S.B.O.'—the Hitlerite factory organization for the workers (leader, Dr. Ley), which, under pressure from the workers, is often compelled to present Radical demands to the employers, and which was likewise paralysed recently by Schmitt. A concentration of all these 'left' demagogues, subject to the pressure of their own masses, can bring about, *over the heads of these same leaders*, or with new leaders, a new active fraction in the Nazi camp.

5. But all the groups, cliques, and formations in the National Socialist Party—the Hitler-Göbbels-Göring triumvirate, the block of the Blackshirts and the Secret State Police, the cohort of the Brownshirt generals and

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the 'left opposition' of harried demagogues—yield place before another supreme group—the monopoly oligarchy of the kings of the Ruhr, the group around *Thyssen*. This group keeps, more than all the others, in the background; but it is more influential than all the others. It is, measured by the *number* of its adherents, quite negligible; but the material power in its hands embraces and penetrates the entire system of National Socialism from top to bottom. The aim and policy of this group (elaborated in detail above, see Chapter I, 'Thyssen's Plot', and in Part II) is absolutely clear, strictly logical, and scientifically exact. It is the policy of transforming Germany, by means of the 'Totalitarian State', into a single iron block full of productive energy, which energy is to be projected all over the world in the form of cheap export commodities. It is the policy of making German industry, radiating from its heart, the Ruhr, in this way the lord of the Continent, the hub of a new Continental European Empire, which shall attack the other world empires, such as the British Empire, the Pan-American Union, the Eastern Asiatic system, and the Socialist Soviet Union. It is the policy of the trustification of European coal and iron through the subjection of France, the annexation of Lorraine and its iron ore, Luxembourg and its steel, Belgium and its furnaces, Holland and its Limburg coal. It is the policy of economic Pan-Germanism. It is the policy of frenzied imperialist energy. It is the policy of war. And therefore it is the policy of the National Socialist Party, the policy of Hitler. For the sake of this policy the Thyssen oligarchy overthrew the Republic. For the sake of this policy it has now chained to itself all the influential groups in the Hitler movement through a special system of ententes. It has the entente with the Junkers in order to exploit the workers, peasants, and middle classes by

keeping up the prices of industrial and agrarian products. It has the entente with the Blackshirts and the G.S.P. in order to keep down these same workers, peasants, and middle classes by means of terror. It has the entente with the Brownshirt generals in order to prepare the army for its war. It has the entente with the Hitler-Göbbels-Göring triumvirate in order to give this entire undertaking, *its* undertaking, an outward name, to cover the 'economics' with the 'idea'. And so it becomes and remains the prime mover in this whole, head-long rushing system. It orders and dictates everything in Germany. It directs invisibly that invisible *coup d'état* by which Hitler shatters the positions of the Radical lower middle classes. It nominates and inspires Hitler's new intimate entourage, which overshadows the 'leader'—the 'deputy leader' Hess, the Chancellor's immediate State-Secretary Funk (a former editor of the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* and agent of heavy industry), the new economic heads Schmitt, Schacht, and Keppler. It carries through the complete dismissal and displacement of Hitler's old economic executive—Wagener, Feder, Ley, etc.—by this new conventicle—Hess, Funk, Schmitt, Keppler, Schacht. It decides that Thyssen himself is to be nominated Dictator of industrial Western Germany. It takes care that the connexions with the tools of the Junker caste, hitherto of German-Nationalist complexion—with the Reichswehr, the Stahlhelm, the Hindenburg circle, the old diplomacy (Neurath)—are not broken, but knotted still more tightly. It continues to use Colonel Oskar von Hindenburg, the Reich-President's son, and Herr von Papen as intermediaries between Hitler and the old Wilhelmist Germany. It manipulates, controls, watches over, executes everything in Germany—that unhappy country, which has endured four years of war, ten years of defeat, four years of crisis,

in order now to sink into a still darker epoch, the epoch of the Totalitarian State of Hitler-Thyssen.

But, in doing this, it becomes at the same time the main lever in the dawning differentiation and decomposition in the Nazi camp. While mobilizing and driving onward the capitalist forces within this party—the Hitler-Göb-bels-Göring triumvirate, the Blackshirts, the G.S.P., the Brownshirt generals—while oppressing and violating the middle-class and proletarian forces within this same system, it becomes the chief instigator and chief organizer of that split which, sooner or later, must drive right through the body of National Socialist Germany.

IV. Göring versus Hitler

THE analysis of the dynamic forces of German National Socialism gives the result: this party is in a state of constant and increasing inner tension. The tendency is *centrifugal*. The next, the politically most urgent question is in what practical form this tendency will be expressed. Where will be the weakest, the thinnest place in the structure of this formation, in which this tendency will first break out?

It is perfectly possible that the *apex* of the entire pyramid of National Socialism—the supreme triumvirate Hitler-Göring-Göbbels—will prove to be this place. It is possible that whilst the forces *below* will still be held together by the coercion of the dictators, the dictators themselves will shatter or break the apex. This apex, in contrast to Mussolini's construction, is not unitary—not Cæsarean. It consists of three elements, each of which contains within

itself the urge to Cæsareanism. The 'totalitarian' state is triune. This is a very important paradox. In sharp contrast to Italy, the supreme power in Germany is quite obviously divided: politics with Hitler, executive with Göring, propaganda with Göbbels. But not only that. Hitler, Göring, and Göbbels in fact represent also, looked at more closely, three different political conceptions, *three different strategic ideas* within German Fascism. This is perhaps the most important point for the future. If in the relation of the various groups at the bottom and in the centre of the Nazi Party it was a matter of *social* differences, here at the top it is a question of a perspective of strategic and tactical divisions. There is already in existence a uniform strategical world-plan of German Fascism (this will be dealt with in the second part, 'Where is Hitler Going?'). But each of the triumvirs already has his own tendency, his particular orientation, upon which he will attempt to concentrate the party and the State. The fate of Germany may possibly be determined by this decision among the oligarchs.

Hitler is the representative of *legitimism*¹ in the Nazi movement. His conception is the conception of consolidation. His idea is the idea of a slow, cautious advance, with all possible precautions, of a gradual strengthening at home and a slow defensive in foreign politics—until the time is ripe for a counter-offensive. Hence his slogans of 'evolution', 'education', and 'peace'. Hence his policy of apparent attempt at compromise with Western European democracy, which he hates no less than his antipode Göring, but which he fears more and which he perhaps needs. It is an attempt to imitate the famous 'breathing-space' tactic used by Lenin for the Bolshevik state after the revolution of 1917. This former putchist never for-

¹ Not in the sense of monarchism.

gets that his precipitate tactic in his first conspiracy on November 9, 1923 cost him six months' imprisonment and ten years' loss of time. This former lance-corporal never loses the longing for tradition and legality. Hence his fear of Radical, over-rapid development. Hence his attempt to repeat now for his State as well the opportunist tactic of hesitation and waiting which he used for his party before the seizure of power (Hitler had already, in 1932, repeatedly refused Hindenburg's invitations to him to join the Government). Hence also his endeavours not to cut the threads joining him to the old Conservative ruling faction, to Hindenburg and Papen, to the Reichswehr and Neurath. And hence also Hitler's reserve plan to set up, in the event of the disappearance of Hindenburg from the scene, a regency under a Hohenzollern prince, and to act himself, after the pattern of Mussolini, as the trustee of the dynasty. One thing is clear—Hitler will within the Nazi Party press for the line of opportunism. He will slow things down. And the first one he will slow down is Göring.

If Hitler is legitimist, then Göring embodies *Bonapartism*. This man, who organized the Reichstag fire, sees the whole of world politics through the same spectrum. He knows nothing but the war of revenge. He sees nothing but his air armada. And he wants nothing but himself in the rôle of a German Bonaparte. This nihilist among the Nazis compels the Reichswehr to appoint him an infantry general. He is Germany's future Air-Marshal. And the whole of his doctrine for Germany is the thesis that if Germany concentrates her entire technical and military energy on the construction of an aero-chemical fleet, this fleet will, within a short time, be able to win a world war—despite weakness in all other arms, despite the enormous superiority of France in land arma-

ments, in artillery, tanks, etc. This idea—the serious military justification for which will not be investigated at this spot—is to-day at the bottom of the whole of Göring's activity. Through Göring to air fleet, through air fleet to world war, through world war to Göring's rôle of German, even European, Bonaparte—that is the only categorical imperative, the only national policy that this man sees to-day. For the sake of this idea he is capable of anything—even of standing up against the Fabius Cunctator Hitler. He already has Prussia. He already has the police. He has the Air Ministry, the Presidency of the Reichstag, and a generalship in the Reichswehr. But he needs more. The present division of power in the triumvirate does not suit him. He needs the leadership—in spite of Hitler or over his head. Hence Göring's plan to make Hitler President of the Reich and himself Chancellor of the Reich. And he will do everything to win this leadership. He will try everything in order to concentrate, above all, the military policy and the military executive in his own hands, to convince the Reichswehr of his doctrine, or, if necessary, to march over its heads. It may be that Göring's personality is a subject for psychiatry. But his air fleet, which is to-day being built in Germany uninterruptedly night and day, is a subject for practical politics. And this object may become stronger than all Hitler's parvenu opportunism.

The man, however, who is apparently to turn the scale, the third member of the triumvirate, the Minister of Propaganda, Göbbels, is the representative of *Fascist internationalism* and Messianism. His doctrine is propaganda. His idea is the idea of a deliberate political and propagandist spread of German National Socialism over Europe. It is the idea of the political conquest of the Continent *from within*, by systematic invasion and infec-

tion with National Socialist ideas, by founding Fascist sub-parties in all the neighbouring countries—Austria, Holland, Scandinavia, England, those in Eastern Europe—parties which actually will only be mass agencies of German imperialism. It is the conception of a new *National Socialist International*, with its centre in Berlin and its organization throughout the entire globe.

That is Göbbels. This man, standing roughly in the middle between Hitler and Göring, is perhaps the most far-seeing of the three. He knows that Hitler's philistinist legitimism alone, with the prospect of a further economic decay in Germany, cannot save the Nazis. He realizes that Göring's bloody terrorism cannot last for ever, and that his air fleet can be brought into action only in the event of a certain problematical world-political constellation. Hence he makes a third, additional calculation. He counts on that general regrouping process in the world which is nowadays driving certain classes of society in a certain direction. He speculates on the hypnotic international propaganda force of the Fascist idea. He counts on a Fascist Europe. When Göbbels declares that 'a National Socialist Europe is the next stage', he means this strategic way for Germany. When Göbbels prophesies (speech at the meeting of the Nazi Party in Hamburg on 15 June 1933): 'Germany's position in the world to-day is similar to that of the Nazi Party in its initial stages in Germany; just like the Nazis at that time in Germany, Germany will also in the end find acceptance in the world'—then he means again: through the German Nazis to European Nazis and through the latter back to Germany's victory over Europe. This man, who is without doubt one of the best orators and propagandists in the world and to whose vast propaganda campaign throughout Germany over a period of five years Hitler owes a great part of his

victory—Göbbels is undoubtedly more important and more modern than the petty-bourgeois Hitler and the maniac Göring. He stands nearest to Mussolini. He has best understood the changes which have occurred in the modern social world machinery in the last epoch, and he adjusts his future and that of the Nazis to these changes. The organization of a National Socialist European International has already been begun by him, in co-operation with Rosenberg. Various events in Austria and in certain northern and eastern European countries are only indications of this grandiose plan, which also includes a certain trump card in foreign politics: the offer of orientation against the East. Göbbels must be taken absolutely seriously—no less than Göring. He is Germany's future official Foreign Minister. His Propaganda International is until the outbreak of a war just as much a political reality as Göring's Air Armada after its outbreak. And just like Göring, he will fight for his idea, his plan, his strategy. Just like Göring, he will oppose anyone who interferes—even should it be Göring himself.

That is the real inner appearance of the 'triumvirate'. There is no one leader, and there is no one strategy. The 'triumvirate' consists of three elements with three strategic programmes. What will its future be?

Everything goes to show that the Hitler programme and the Göbbels programme can combine more readily than any of the others. They both have as a prerequisite the same decisive factor—that of time. They both wish to endeavour to defer as long as possible the moment of the final decision, the war. Hitler needs time for his consolidation and legitimization. Göbbels needs time for his European propaganda and Nazi International. Both fear and hate the impatient nihilist Göring—although it is to his nihilism, which was theirs also, that they owe their

existence. Both have the support of the big monopoly-oligarchy which thinks just as much in terms of practical politics. Thyssen wishes to make use of Göring's air fleet, but not too soon. And, in fact: the existence of a Hitler-Göbbels fraction in the triumvirate is an open secret.

The silent struggle for hegemony in Germany between Hitler, Göbbels and Göring has now been going on for months. It is an underground struggle, but its stages are becoming more and more visible. Göring is systematically attempting to concentrate the *executive* in his own hands, although he already has a great part of it. He acts in this quite ruthlessly and inconsiderately. He fights for police powers, for administrative posts, for positions in the Nazi Party, for the Reichswehr, and, above all, for the Brown-shirts and Blackshirts. The first result is that *Prussia*, his particular sphere of power, is becoming a special, growing, Göring State, within the Hitler State. He does not shrink from semi-illegal actions. On July 21st, 1933 Göring suddenly convened a secret conference of the highest officials in the police and the judiciary of Prussia at his summer residence on the island of Sylt—without the permission and without the knowledge of Hitler, who was at the time in Bavaria. The conference decided to demand from the Government of the Reich, that is, from Hitler, the proclamation of new special laws against the opposition—the laws which have since become famous for introducing capital punishment for illegal propaganda. The idea is unambiguous: with these laws, such as nobody has ever had at his disposal in history, the power of the police dictator Göring becomes absolute, the power of the other authorities more and more nominal. Although Göring's conference was held in secret, although formally he has no right at all to take steps of such importance without Hitler, although all Press interviews

even with Göring are subject to a preliminary censorship of the Reich, the news of this meeting at Sylt was published in the Press. Almost simultaneously Göring demanded the right for Prussia to prohibit newspapers independently (without the Reich). The terrorist law becomes fact a short time afterwards. But at the same time Hitler takes a step that with one blow gives to the entire situation a totally different direction. He appears personally at the great congress of the Nazis at Nuremberg and states, seconded by Göbbels, that the next task facing interior policy in Germany is—the liquidation of all the federal states in Germany, in order to create a strictly centralized united State! Fresh elections to federal parliaments may no longer take place. This has only one meaning: the overthrow of Göring with his special powers. Now the position is reversed. The old rent between Prussia and Reich is gaping open right through the ‘iron body’ of the Nazis.

The Hitler-Göbbels programme is: dissolution of all autonomous federal states into small administrative ‘provinces’ of the Reich, subject only to Hitler’s Reich Home Secretary, Frick, and therewith the end of the Prussian parallel Government (nearly all the other federal governments, like those of Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, etc., are already purely nominal). The Göring programme is: absorption of the Reich by Prussia. He is playing the part of a new Frederick the Great. He rules from Potsdam, while Hitler is sitting in the Bavarian village of Berchtesgaden. He dominates Berlin, while Hitler convenes his Party Congress in Nuremberg. His defensive against federal reform begins at once. He organizes his own Privy Council—the new ‘Prussian State Council’, in which he assembles the most important Nazi leaders in Prussia, the officers and the heads of the nobility and of

science, while also offering a seat to Thyssen, the duke of the Ruhr. And when, on September 15, 1933, standing before the writing-table and chair of Frederick the Great in the Palace of Potsdam, he opens this brilliant council, there is only one person lacking, Hitler. Göring openly declares that Hitler's Nuremberg watchword is only a distant 'final aim'; meanwhile 'Prussia will now, too, have to achieve the completion of the Reich'. This means: Prussia *c'est moi!* Göring extends the power of the Prussian provincial governors (Oberpräsidenten), and does away with all the political 'State commissars' appointed after the upheaval, in so far as they are not directly subordinate to him or his departments. He appoints himself sole leader of the secret police in Prussia. He goes farther. He attempts to form a block with the *South German* Nazis, so as to extend the particularist Fronde against Hitler all over the Reich. The Nazi rulers in Bavaria especially, General von Epp and the Ministers Siebert and Esser, begin to form a common front with Göring against the project for Reich reform, carrying on almost undisguised a campaign of sabotage, and the Bavarian Nazi deputies in the Reichstag even combine to form a special group.¹ The result is that the completed plan for the reform of the Reich is apparently being postponed for the time being; Hitler's Home Secretary, Frick, has to state in December, 1933 that 'as yet no plans of a definite nature have been laid down', and Hitler himself remains away from the opening of the new Reichstag—elected with such solemnity with 40 million 'Nazi votes'—which is opened

¹The chief of the Bavarian State chancellery, Esser, is reported even to have declared, at a Press interview in December 1933, that Bavaria, in spite of every plan for reform, will remain an administrative unit. And the Bavarian Nazi Premier emphasized in his *official* New Year speech his expectation that 'Bavaria would be left in the coming reform of the Reich those undivided historic, economic, and cultural forces she needs, to be a vigorous limb of the united Reich'.

by Göring. In the meantime the quarrel over the executive and the apparatus becomes more acute, and there begins even an open *race for the secret police* in the Reich. While Göring at the end of 1933 placed the whole of the Secret Police in Prussia under his personal orders, the secret police in nearly all the other federal states are suddenly, within a few weeks, one after the other, concentrated in the hands of another man—the chief of the Blackshirts, Himmler. Himmler, who up till now was only chief of police in Bavaria, becomes appointed: on November 26, 1933 commander of the political police in Hamburg; on the same day in Mecklenburg; on December 11 in Württemberg; on December 19 in Hesse; on December 20 in Anhalt; on December 27 in Thuringia; on January 6 in Oldenburg and Bremen; finally, on January 18, in Saxony; with this Prussia alone remains still outside his jurisdiction. Göring's attempt to secure the monopoly of the 'Gestapo', the most terrible instrument of the Nazi regime, is thereby foiled. He rules still with unrestricted power in his citadel of Prussia; but Hitler and Göbbels will not give up their plan. The provisional law for the reform of the Reich which Hitler announced on January 30, 1934 is a compromise, but a compromise rather in favour of Göring. For the main object of contention, the Prussian Federal Government, and with it Göring's own special position, remains, even if under the 'supreme' control of the Reich. The conflict is continuing.

And this duel for Prussia and the Reich is already finding its expression in the internal party machinery of the Nazis. It is no mere chance that Göring has not been appointed by Hitler to the highest official body of the Nazi Party, the 'Reichsleitung' (national leadership), consisting of fourteen members—although Göbbels, Hess, and Rosenberg belong to it and several subordinate leaders are

members. It is no mere chance that at the great 'Victory Congress' of the Nazis in Nuremberg Göring was the only one of the leaders who did not deliver a speech, but remained silent. It is no mere chance that Hitler has not only systematically transferred all decisive party councils to Bavaria (Berchtesgaden, Nuremberg), but has also fixed, as the permanent seat of the 'Reichsleitung', Munich—the old antithesis of Berlin. It is no mere chance that of late Göring has almost consistently been absent from the great official demonstrations and parades held by Hitler or Göbbels—at times seemed altogether to disappear for whole periods from public life—and that his speeches have been in part suppressed by the censor (for example, Göring's speech on July 17, 1933, publication of which was not permitted). One episode in this controversy follows another. Hitler forces Göring, by way of a public statement that Nazi Ministers may have no special connexions with individual organs of the Press, to remove his name from his special organ, the Essen *Nationalzeitung*; a few weeks later this paper is confiscated by the Secret State Police—'by mistake', so they stated! Hitler issues an order forbidding Nazi leaders to visit heads of foreign States and to take presents to them without the express permission of his deputy, Hess—a few days after Göring's reception in Sweden by King Gustav. Göring meddles in the Göbbels cultural department, demands independence for the cultural policy in Prussia, and carries on a bitter struggle with the Göbbels Propaganda Ministry, until Hitler intervenes here as well and forces 'an understanding concerning the respective spheres of duties' of Göring and Göbbels in favour of the latter. Rumours, as, for example, that Göring had influenced the resignation of Göbbels' brother-in-law, Granzow, from the premiership of Mecklenburg, and the resignation of Frau Göbbels

from the presidency of the 'German Fashion Office', or that Göbbels in return has sent a special memorandum to Hitler, exposing Göring's private life and morbid vices, can be left out of consideration. More important is that these differences are beginning evidently to assume a military aspect. Göring, by his appointment as General of Infantry, secures an active military rank immediately below that of the Commander-in-Chief Field-Marshal Hindenburg and the official heads of the Reichswehr; he has proclaimed a special 'vote of thanks' to members of the Reichswehr. The Stahlhelm, always intimately associated with the Reichswehr, appoints him an honorary member. He is quite obviously drawing nearer to the old military Hindenburg-Reichswehr group (including, too, the Junkers east of the Elbe and the German monarchists), who since the Reichstag fire have had to give up their exclusive power in Germany to Hitler and, in the military sense also, have been driven, owing to the growing importance of the Brownshirts, into the background. But this group has not yet lost its aspirations, and Hindenburg is still the official President; sympathy from this side, the side of the monarchist-Junker reaction and the old 'Prussian' corps of officers, is of special advantage to Göring. And Göring stands quite clearly in the background of the conflicts which are obviously beginning to develop between the two armed forces of the Nazi movement, the upper cliques of the Brownshirts and the Blackshirts.

The dissatisfaction of the lower middle class and the revolutionizing of individual sections of the Brownshirts along the lines of a 'second revolution' had compelled Hitler and his staff to consider the possibility of at least a partial dissolution of the Brownshirts in favour of the Blackshirts, and the police—just as the 'auxiliary police' of the Brownshirts has already been dissolved. These

rumours are spreading to the Brownshirt masses and causing unrest in the barracks. But the weakening and driving into the background of the Brownshirts means at the same time an imperilling of the position of their commanding clique, the Röhm-Heines group. Röhm has connexions, dating from an earlier period, with the left opposition group, Strasser, Brückner, etc. On August 6, 1933, Röhm and Heines assemble a demonstration of 80,000 Brownshirts at the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin—for the first time since Hitler's victory. None of the higher party leaders was present; on the same day Hitler held a council at his castle in Berchtesgaden. Röhm made a speech, outwardly in the spirit of the usual 'loyalty to the leader' but inwardly concentrated quite distinctly upon one single theme: the Brownshirts will not retreat from the position they have won, the Nazi revolution is their work, they are on their guard. Göring was not present, but his bodyguard detachment, the famous 'G-troop' of the Brownshirts, made a ceremonial appearance. A week later (August 13) Berlin was the scene of the demonstration of Blackshirts who marched through the Brandenburger Tor. This time Göbbels, Funk, and other members of Hitler's entourage were present. But Göring, the Premier of Prussia, was absent and the Brownshirts were uneasy (so far there has not been one single case of mutiny amongst the Blackshirts in Germany). It is possible that Göring will attempt to exploit the radicalism of the Brownshirt masses for his own purposes. Göring's special organ, the Essen *Nationalzeitung*, is even carrying on demagogic agitation in this direction, by staging, for instance, a 'Radical' campaign against the stock exchanges. Yet that is only a means to the end. Göring comes up here against the real personage in the Brownshirts, Röhm, who is fighting for his

personal military supremacy and is dissatisfied with the Air Minister Göring's associations with the Reichswehr; since December 1933 Röhm has been the 'second' War Minister in the Cabinet. The grouping of the political and military forces in the Nazi camp is still very unstable. The relations and the combinations of the leading cliques may change very quickly and at any moment, as they have often done before; Hitler up till now has overshadowed everything. But one thing is clear. The stronger the tension between the individual dynamic elements, between the real social and political groups in the Nazi movement, the greater and more significant will the special rôle of Göring become. This man, who ever since the burning of the Reichstag has been in a state of permanent intoxication, will not give up his aim. For his Bonapartism he will follow any course. And he will not follow it alone. He is not only the possible leader, or at least the hope, of the discontented Nazis. Göring is becoming more and more the representative of the 'strong hand' within the Nazi Party, the old North-German Prussian spirit as opposed to the vacillating 'centrist', the 'Austrian', Hitler. Should Hitler get over the next period, should he achieve at least a temporary consolidation, then Göring's rôle in the triumvirate will decline. The Leipzig Reichstag trial has, moreover, greatly weakened his position since its conclusion. Should, however, the Nazi State get into special difficulties this year—in the economic sphere, in foreign politics, with the revolutionary workers' opposition or within their own party—then the demand may very easily be made to invest Göring, the strong man, with new special powers. And then the fate of Germany will hang by a thread. It would be folly to imagine that the *quality* of Göring Fascism would differ in one single point from that of Hitler Fascism; for actually it is a question in

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both cases of the same Fascism of the Ruhr oligarchy. But it would be a political error of calculation to overlook the possibility that the *tempo* of a Göring Germany may be still quicker than the *tempo* of a Hitler Germany. It is the *tempo* leading to war.

The circle is closing. The tragedy of the German middle class is turning into the tragedy of the National Socialist Party: they were both victorious in order to release their own internal tensions. There is the same coercive trend and the same dynamic. Far below are hidden the contradictions between the middle class and the Ruhr oligarchy, the two central forces of National Socialism. The triumvirate Hitler-Göring-Göbbels cannot even escape from itself. It will share the destiny of its movement, it may even provoke it itself. It would be wrong to believe that this party and its State will meet its end as a result of its own disintegration. That is an illusion. But the disintegration of this party, like the disintegration of the middle class, will one day increase the forces of that real enemy of the Nazis, who will assail their power from the front—the forces of the working class.

V. The Transformation of the Working Class into a Sub-human Race (How Hitler is Solving Unemployment)

THE fusion of two of the three great dynamic forces in Germany, Thyssen and the middle class, has produced the immense explosive power of National Socialism, which in one stroke penetrated the whole country. The separation of these two forces is the first real weakening and disinte-

gration of this rocketing power, Hitler's first incipient crisis. But the real decision lies not with them. The decision lies in the problem of the third force in Germany; the force which, with its 20 million productive members and as many dependents, is carrying the real burden of this nation on its shoulders, and on the existence of which the entire social machine depends: the working class. If Hitler can solve this problem, which is convulsing the whole nation, the State itself, and thereby at the same time attach this class to himself, then he becomes, in spite of everything, in spite of the fiasco of the petty-bourgeois programme, a hegemonic, invincible power—invincible, not only from within, but also from without; for no one could overthrow a 65-million State supported by workers. If he cannot do that, then his whole structure collapses under any circumstances, and nothing can save him from the abyss, neither Thyssen nor the middle class; then—and only then—the disintegration of National Socialism must develop into a *Revolution* against him. Such a significance presents for Hitler only one problem: the problem of *unemployment*.

The catastrophic landslide in the German production-basis, the ever-increasing cleft in its centre, does not merely expose nearly one-third of the entire population to physical annihilation. It has in recent years already thrown the industry of Germany back to the level of the last century, bringing it to the verge of final bankruptcy, and it is undermining further the entire economic basis of the new, politically triumphing system, in practice placing it at any moment in danger of explosion. Nazism cannot go on like this. The middle class may be deceived. But so long as the problem of unemployment remains unsolved, so long as the foundations of national production lie there in ruins and an army of unemployed of 8 mil-

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lions, without bread and without peace, weighs down upon them, there is for National Socialism not even a temporary consolidation. Göbbels, the brain of Adolf Hitler, has formulated this point most categorically: 'If we solve the problem of unemployment we are invincible. If we fail we shall not last long' (speech on September 23, 1933). The reply of National Socialism is that it can solve this problem within three years. 'In the summer of 1935 there will be no unemployment in Germany'—so runs the Nazi plan according to the same speech by Göbbels. And this plan is already in the midst of being carried out.

It is a decisive step. Hitler has already changed round the entire scene of labour in Germany. He has placed the two great divisions of the German working class, the 13 million employed and the 8 million unemployed, in an entirely new situation, and with entirely new prospects, which change the whole future of this class—no longer merely its material existence, but also its whole social position, its place in civilization. It would be utterly wrong, wrong and perilous, to believe that the Hitler method of dealing with unemployment consists solely in statistical manoeuvring and playing with figures. More than that is at stake; actual material things are at stake. *Hitler has begun, on the basis of the catastrophe of unemployment, partly to destroy the working class, partly to transform it into a new category—into an inferior category.* That is the most profound idea and mission of his movement. He has divided up the great German army of unemployed of 8 millions into three new armies:

The bondage-army of 1 million.

The starvation-army of 3 millions.

The transition-army of 4 millions.

The first army is robbed of its personal liberty and of its wage, interned in camps, and fed only for the mainte-

nance of its capacity to work ; it is the army of semi-serfs. The second army is outlawed and officially left to starve ; it receives no relief, is not registered, and counts as non-existent ; it is the army of the 'invisibles', that is to say, the unemployed cut off from the commonwealth. The third army, the officially registered unemployed, receives still a gradually dwindling fraction of its old wage in the form of relief, in order to be kept as industrial reserve-army and later to be transferred likewise to the status and character of the first army. The entire category that here comes into being is no longer the old working class and no longer a class at all. It is a *corps of semi-slaves*, without liberty, without property, without wage, and without the right to think. That is the Fascist solution of the unemployment problem.

This corps is growing in the stead of the old working class. It is, in fact, to take its place or to bring it nearer and nearer to its own status. Therein lies the meaning of the Nazi operation. The proletariat, which Hitler, on the basis of unemployment, has begun to organize afresh, is no longer free. It lives, partly, not in private dwellings, but in camps and barracks. It is not civilian, but uniformed. It is no longer faced by an employer, but by a superior—the labour-overseer or the lord of the factory. It receives no wage, but a ration. It has no trade unions, but obeys the corporations. It has at its disposal no leisure time, but spends it in shut-off quarters and prescribed functions. It has no ideology of its own and no ideas, but only the service-regulations and the slogans of its overseers. It does not go in for politics, but obeys, works, and amuses itself at official places of amusement. And if it revolts, then it comes under mass-terror. It cannot defend itself. For it is that new *sub-human race*,

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which Hitler has announced—created by Hitler himself. That which once appeared to H. G. Wells in one of his utopias as a ghostly fantasy—that army of enslaved, inferior, sub-world proletarians, with their liberty and their human rights lost—is becoming the future of the German working class. That is the programme of Thyssen, who means to bring not only the middle class for ever into subjection. And that is the effect of the great Hitler Plan for the ‘abolition of unemployment’.

Germany has 20½ million workers and employees. At the end of 1932, on the eve of the Nazi Government, 12 millions of these were employed and 8.5 millions unemployed. At the end of 1933, after one year of Nazi Government, 13.3 millions were employed,¹ and 4.1 millions registered as being without employment; 3.1 millions have disappeared (we shall see where they have gone to). But 1.3 millions are in possession of fresh work. That is the net result of the Hitler operation; it is by this figure that unemployment in Germany has fallen—at no time by 2 millions, of which the Nazis speak—by not quite 17 per cent.

But in part even this increase is in reality only apparent. A certain section of Hitler’s new workers have, in fact, not received any fresh work at all: they have only taken over a portion of the work formerly done by the old workers—exchanged with these. This section has been brought into the factories to work only a few hours or days in the week; by the same length of time the hours of work—and the wages—of the former employees have been cut. The result is unchanged—the gain and loss in

¹ According to official statistics of the German Health Insurance Fund.

labour balance. These unemployed have become semi-employed; but, in compensation, the workers formerly employed have become semi-unemployed. The total amount of work done has not increased by one hour, the total sum paid in wages not been augmented by one pfennig; the real work-deficit remains the same, only extended quantitatively; but the official unemployed figures have fallen. This is one of Hitler's secondary methods, applied on a grand scale, of transforming the unemployed into the apparently employed; the interchange of the hours of work of the workers with those of the unemployed by reducing the working week to 40 and even 20 hours, by fixing long 'rest-shifts', etc., is being systematically applied by the big firms in Berlin, in the Ruhr district, and everywhere in the country. In reality the number of the proletariat who are pining away for want of work is not thereby falling, but *increasing*; for, while those hitherto unemployed have to work and those hitherto working must pay them, the wage thus divided between them has frequently become less than the old unemployment relief—both groups are debased!

The process in practice: an automobile factory in Berlin (Ambi-Budd-Werke) takes on 300 unemployed; the working week is reduced to 2 days; instead of 300 unemployed drawing relief there are now 800 'employed' drawing 2 days' wages—far below the existence-minimum. In another concern, in Upper Silesia (foundry works), 15 men are now earning less than 10 previously. The average weekly wage in a big electrical works in Berlin (A.E.G. Brunnenstrasse) sinks to \$2.25–\$2.75 after a group of unemployed have been taken on. A quantity of work corresponding to a weekly wage of \$6.25–\$7.00 is the most frequent norm after this operation, the actual result

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of which must be that the new workers and the old have to starve each other to death.¹

This part of the Nazis' increase in employed persons, who in actual fact have received no fresh work and are only creating an increased number of exploited semi-unemployed, living in part below the level of the totally unemployed, is purely fictitious; it has merely received a different form. Real in actual fact is only the other part of the 1.3 millions which—after allowing for a small number who, owing to the special armaments-boom in Germany, have been provisionally absorbed—wavers between $\frac{3}{4}$ and 1 million. Here is the real solid kernel of Hitler's newly-arisen labour reservoir, a kernel that is meant to grow very much greater yet, so as to overshadow all other categories and to become Hitler's main department for unemployed in general. What has happened to these 1 million unemployed?

They are no longer in their home-towns and no longer with their families. They have lost their personal liberty. They form a new, grandiose edifice in Germany: the *Labour Corps of Nazism*, the first modern reconstruction of the bondage-armies of the Egyptian Pharaohs. This corps is Hitler's great social solution. After the S.A., the military cohort of the Brownshirts, it is in actual fact the largest mass-creation of the Nazis—the proper, newly arising social or civilian counterpart to this organization. This corps of bondmen is now quartered at various points in the country. At its head are Government overseers. The Government feeds it, equips it with working tools, and sends it out to work. It uses it in various ways. A

¹The conference of German municipal administrations ('Gemeinde-tag') recently confirmed this state of affairs officially, by establishing that as a result of the new short-time 'the wages of men with several children are below the scale of relief paid by the employment exchange and care committees and therefore below the existence-minimum.'

part of it is concentrated directly in large isolated labour-camps—these are the 260,000 ‘labour-service’ men (Arbeitsdienstler) who are mostly carrying out military works, laying out fortifications and trenches, building bridges, and at the same time doing recruit training. Another part is hired out for bond-labour to big land-owners and farmers, to do harvesting work, to clear forests, and to weed: these are the 250,000 ‘land-helpers’ (Landhelfer) sent out by the Government. A third part is driven about all over the country to build roads, thousands of kilometres in length: these are the 300,000–400,000 ‘emergency workers’ (Notstandsarbeiter).

These people, a year ago still unemployed drawing relief, are variously designated and are under various service-regulations. But they all have the same characteristic: they are semi-slaves. They work like slaves: in large columns, drilled, under supervision, often threatened with truncheons and whips, without the right to leave their place of work, constantly and unconditionally subject to their labour-overseer, partly even in uniform clothing. They live like slaves: separated from their families, in large shut-off colonies, sometimes in buildings that were formerly convict-prisons (Labour camp Sulzbach, near Nuremberg), sleeping in mass-dormitories on wooden bunks or straw, receiving a starvation ration, and always doing nothing but work and training, training and work. And they have not voluntarily become semi-slaves (semi-slaves, because in the formally legal sense they are still not yet transferred to a status of bodily dependence). They have become so under compulsion, like every newly created slave-category. Enlistment in the corps of bondmen is, under Hitler, *by force*, and what is more, by physical force. For any one of the unemployed destined for it who refuses to go to the labour camp, to the ‘land-assistance’,

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or to the 'emergency works' is at once, in any circumstances, excluded from every other chance of working and at once loses the unemployment relief he has drawn hitherto. Not only that, however: 'In cases of proved refusal to work or of disinclination to work orders will in addition be given for the notorious idlers to be taken to a concentration camp, so that they may accustom themselves to discipline' (official notification of the Nazi Labour Office in Osnabrück). Young persons, in the event of refusal, are brought to industrial schools. This is a forced enslavement-process, a few centuries after feudalism.

It is absolutely superfluous to use here the arguments of moral indignation: the Nazis are fulfilling their historic task, the task placed before them by Thyssen. The forced enslavement of a million unemployed is being carried through throughout Germany. In North Germany persons have in actual fact been placed in a concentration camp for refusing to go to a labour camp. In East Prussia, the shining spot in the Nazi campaign, where unemployment is supposed to be totally liquidated, 'work-shy Marxists' have been driven with the aid of cattle-whips (ox-yards) out of the towns to bond-labour. In certain agricultural parishes the payment of relief to unemployed was altogether stopped—as they could enlist in the 'land-assistance' corps. In Berlin the Nazi State-Commissar Lippert declared that in future all unemployed drawing relief would be strictly 'tested for their willingness to work'.

The unemployment offices send out circulars instructing the unemployed man concerned, even in the event of his believing, on account of illness or incapacity for work, that he is unable to take on the new 'work', to report himself on such and such a day. The armed Brownshirts compel obedience. And escape from these camps is a

crime against the State—as once escape on the part of slaves. Material for these labour-corps is provided in the first place by youth, that is to say precisely by that category that year by year refloods the labour market; the yearly fresh draft of young wage-earners in Germany numbers about 700,000. The so-called ‘labour-service’, where isolation in camps and military discipline are at their strictest, consists only of young persons beginning at seventeen years. That is the most inexperienced, most immature, and most easily broken-in section of the working class. And that is the fundamental, integral part of the new pyramid-army of the Nazis.

Yet why this new order of bondage, this deprivation of liberty and status of the workers? Not only because such a labour-army is politically declassed and sterilized, but also—and this is the whole secret of the Hitler solution of the unemployment problem—because it receives a *slave-wage*. The transition to a slave-wage—more correctly, the *transformation of the wage into a slave-ration*—is the great economic key to this process and to the social policy of the Nazis in general. Since they are unable to maintain the former production of surplus value, they are restoring—at first to a limited extent, for a million workers—the feudal conditions of labour. And as they proceed to hire out the new slave-labour created by them to private capital, they are beginning by this means to rescue the capitalist rate of profit or ground-rents, collapsing in the crisis. That is the background to the process of enslavement in Germany.

All three categories of the new bond-workers—the ‘labour-servicemen’, the ‘land-helpers’, and the ‘emergency workers’—receive practically only food and shelter, plus a purely nominal sum of money intended outwardly and formally to hide the status of slavery. The money-wage

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of a labour-serviceman, the military forced-labourer, is about 3.75 pfennig an hour—something over one cent. The money-wage of a land-helper, the agricultural forced-labourer, in so far as it is allowed at all, and is not replaced entirely by free food and housing, amounts to as little as 30–40 pfennig a day, equal to 10–14 cents in cases where the married land-helper pays for food supplied, he and his wife, who, separated from him, has remained to keep up the home in the town, each receive half what is left over, about \$2.25–\$2.50 a week. The money-wage of the emergency worker, the forced road-builder, is hardly higher: he must provide his own work-clothes, boots, and shovel. That is the payment given to the new slave-proletariat—in practice a mere ration for the daily maintenance of existence and capacity for work. But on a corresponding scale is the profit to the new slave-owners and slave-hirers. *The existence of the new bond-army has, in 1933, already brought an immense volume of profit to the German landed estates and relieved them of a large part of their debt*—this result is already absolutely established.

The Junkers, especially those of East Prussia (the district where unemployment has been 'liquidated by 100 per cent'), made use of the new 'land-helpers' from the towns during the harvest in precisely the same way as their forefathers a few centuries ago made use of their 'estate-serfs'. Here the Junkers received from Hitler that reward which Thyssen has received in another way. But it is not only agrarian capital that will make the most of the slave-proletariat that is coming into existence. The Nazi overseers will hire it out to anybody wanting this labour, and there is no reason why the big industrial mass-works should not be carried out in the same way and under the same administration (motor-roads and bridges are

already being built by these battalions). Thyssen has a great future in the Pharaoh-State of the Nazis.

One element out of this social transformation is already being taken over by industry—the form of the slave-wage. Large undertakings in Berlin—for example, the well-known metallurgical concern ‘Knorrbremse’—were beginning to take on last winter the agricultural forced-labourers driven back from the land on account of the cold: on the same conditions as those obtaining in their late service, one hot meal and 18 cents a day. Thus will the bond-army of the former unemployed not fall asunder; it will continue to grow and more and more impress its mark on the social life of Germany. It is only in embryo. Its present size varies to a certain extent with seasonal influences, falls in the winter and increases in the summer; the cold lets the State drive a portion of the forced labourers back into the towns, and in December 1933, for instance, the number of ‘emergency-workers’ sank by 120,000—while the main body of them were kept in barracks in the country.

But, on the whole, this army will, under the Nazis, swell irresistibly, drawing into itself more and more grades of starving unemployed and carrying the frontiers of the new slavery in Germany farther and farther. Alone the ‘labour-service’ corps, which combines forced labour for the young unemployed with military recruit-training, is intended to reach a total normal strength of 1.2 millions—larger than the entire bond-army is at present; and in 1934 a fresh stream of 850,000 raw young people seeking work are coming into the labour-market. The problem of their future is solved. On January 10, 1934, the Nazi State-Secretary in the Finance Ministry, Reinhardt, declared that by the end of July 1934 unemployment would be reduced by another 2 millions. The new Pharaoh-

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system in Central Europe is gaining ground. The slave-overseers are liquidating unemployment.

But simultaneously and just as rapidly the other army in Germany is growing, the army of those from whom the right to work again has altogether and finally been taken, and who have been consciously abandoned to ruin, to physical extermination: the permanent *starvation-army* of Hitler's outlaws. These are the 3.1 million 'invisible unemployed'—those 3.1 millions who have disappeared from the Nazi statistics. This army covers already more than 36 per cent of the total number of unemployed existing before Hitler. It is three times the size of the new bond-army. And for it there is no hope—so long as Hitler is in Germany. While the Nazis, on the one hand, are turning the unemployed into *semi-slaves*, on the other hand they are turning another portion of the working class, the Communist and Socialist workers, the Jews, the women in employment, and some other sections, into a new *pariah* class. These pariahs—who to a great extent represent the best and most progressive group of the German proletariat—have been officially and once for all struck off the list of those entitled to an existence in the Hitler State. They are excluded from all employment exchanges. They appear in no Nazi statistics. They are deliberately and systematically being exposed to slow starvation.

A part of them is directly outlawed and isolated—those are the 100,000–150,000 workers imprisoned in concentration camps and gaols, where starvation is supplemented by physical torture. Another part leads an illegal existence—the 100,000 'internal exiles' in Germany, who have left their homes and are hiding from the Brownshirts in odd corners of the great cities, in con-

spirators' haunts, in the forests and in the mountains, carrying on an heroic underground struggle against Hitler. A third part has managed to escape—the 100,000 exiles abroad. The great mass of the remainder are simply starving. This part is being constantly reinforced by the uninterrupted flow of fresh reserves of unemployed, whom the Nazis, on one pretext or another, are debarring from the right to work.

It is no longer merely the Jews, the new 'untouchables' of Germany, who, with few exceptions, have to give up their occupations; no longer merely the married women, whose independent work is declared to be a crime against the State and the laws of family and to whom are once again permitted only the three 'K's'—'Kinder, Küche, und Kirche' (children, kitchen, and church); not only all persons connected in one way or another, often even quite indirectly, with the old Republican regime and its forces—persons who a short time ago were deprived, by a decision of the courts even, of the right to unemployment relief. But it is now also the members of the families of individual persons in employment, their sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, or fathers, who are likewise being struck off the unemployed register, because otherwise they are forming 'multi-earning families', because they—in the opinion of the Nazis—can be supported by the one employed member of the family, or because their relations have besides a little property and a vegetable-garden. Families with small savings are being compelled to spend these on the support of unemployed who have been struck off; the Nazis (through the mouth of the president of the Westphalian Labour Office, Dr. Ordemann) have officially declared that 'cases in which any surplus beyond the consumption of the family is being saved' must now cease; 'the accumulation of savings of this kind must be re-

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nounced'. Thus, together with the new pariahs, their families too are going to ruin.

At the same time a number of definite worker-categories are likewise being entirely excluded from unemployment relief—those categories, namely, that occupy the lowest social grade of labour, are at the lowest level of political education, and are therefore least in a position to offer resistance and protest: domestic servants, agricultural workers, inland and coastal fishermen. They have all been added by the Nazis, since the second half of 1933, to the army of the throw-outs (those persons not registered by the Labour Exchanges). The total spread of this pariah-caste has in fact exceeded the figure of 3.1 millions. To it belong at least $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 million members of the middle class who have become unemployed; that is to say, small farmers, shopkeepers, artisans, and others, who have lost their property or business, and now, like the others, are starving; who, however, do not appear in German labour-statistics at all, because they count not as workers, but as 'independent' persons. To-day, after the downfall of the middle class, they are in actual fact just as much 'invisible unemployed' as the others.

Actually the starvation-army numbers to-day already at least 4 million men and women¹—one-fifth of the *entire* German working class, employed or unemployed. For the Nazis they are only dead and dangerous ballast; the more rapidly and thoroughly they become exterminated, the better: Hitler does not require this section of the working class; it must disappear. They will go on trying to increase this army, like the first; all those who are their

¹ Also those members of the forced-labour-army who, on account of the cold or for other reasons, are provisionally removed from it, are transferred to the invisible unemployed; thus, for example, the drop of 120,000 'emergency workers' in December 1933 means a corresponding addition to the number of unregistered unemployed.

enemies, whom they cannot dispose of and whose place they want to occupy, will sooner or later, on one pretext or another, find their way hither and become Untouchables, Outlaws, Persecuted, and Invisibles. German Fascism is applying to the solution of the unemployment problem, not only the method of the Egyptian Pharaohs, but also the system of the Indian castes. That is Hitler's second discovery.

The 'liquidation of unemployment' is nearing its end. While on the one hand the bond-army and on the other hand the starvation-army are growing, the old, solely official unemployed-army is, at their expense, decreasing—and *this decrease is counted by Hitler as 'decline in German unemployment'*. Both the new categories are struck out of the unemployed statistics. Thus there remains a section of roughly 4 millions (as against 8½ before), which Hitler still recognizes officially as unemployed. But these, too, are changing in appearance. They, too, are being expropriated. In this sector this is taking place through the *continuous decimation of the rate of unemployment relief granted*, until it, too, falls below the level of the slave-ration or becomes altogether purely nominal. The basic tendency of the Nazi operation is in all sectors the same. Hitler cuts without discussion the amount for the relief of publicly assisted unemployed by 400 million marks. The result is that the relief drops as low as 33 cents a day, and that in Berlin, where are alone 900,000 'welfare unemployed', the newly arriving unmarried unemployed draw 10–12 cents a day in relief! More than 900,000 of the 4 millions do not draw a pfennig—although they are officially registered. Certain towns to which the Nazi Government gives no grant of money, or no more than a totally insignificant sum, and which therefore are

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practically bankrupt, are no longer able to support their unemployed at all; and all the time—for instance, in a town like Offenbach—nearly half the entire population are living on public relief. The towns have to try, by means of every possible kind of collection, which expand into organized mass begging-processions (the famous ‘Winter Aid’), to save the population from hunger and cold. And in some cases these registered unemployed, too, are already being ordered to forced labour, as in Pirmasens, where 3,000 unemployed, one armed overseer to every ten men, had in extreme cold to finish building an aerodrome; the overseers on such occasions received police-powers.

A special group, whose position equals that of the unemployed drawing relief, but whose lot in life is still more wretched, is being treated in the same way: the contingent, numbering millions, of aged and incapacitated workers receiving disability allowances, of widows and pensioners. The Hitler Government is cutting the sum for the relief of disabled workers from 434 million marks to 200 million; and the average pension for a poor pensioner, which under Brüning still amounted to 39 marks (\$15) a month, drops to 25 marks (\$9.50) and less; besides this they have to pay taxes, from which they were hitherto exempt. The practical situation of the whole of this official army of unemployed is more and more approaching that of the invisible starvation-army; it is nothing more than a trans-shipment station. Only one single group has a secured future—the unemployed Nazi-aristocrats. The interchange of employed workers with unemployed Nazis is taking place systematically and without cease: that is one of the real main proceedings behind the whole process of the ‘reduction of unemployment’. Persons hitherto in employment become and remain unemployed; but in their place Nazis come in—and,

what is more, strictly in accordance with the serial number of their party membership-card. The Nazi members with the card-numbers 1-100,000—that is, the original Guard—have already without exception been taken out of the mass of the unemployed and placed in employment; after them comes the group of members joining the Hitler Party up to 1932, then the group that came between 1932 and 1933, etc. (five of these groups have officially been formed, to be placed in employment one after the other). This narrow Nazi sector among the unemployed receives, not only the monopoly for all new work that occurs, but also the higher scales of pay.

Thus, for example, the whole bureaucracy of the new Nazi trade unions, which alone receives more than 20 millions a year in salaries, is filled exclusively with these Nazis; the officer-corps of the new Brownshirt-army of 3 millions is provided in the same way, and so it goes on right up to the topmost peaks of the new State apparatus, where the new Nazi bureaucrats are drawing fantastic salaries: the incomes of the district governors (Oberpräsidenten) amount to more than \$15,000 a year, the incomes of the ministers to nearly \$20,000, Göring's salary to \$35,000. Thus, from the general army of unemployed, a small caste composed of the new parasitic *Nazi aristocracy* is becoming detached—as necessary counterpart to the formation of the castes of the semi-slaves and pariahs. For this is the proper *overseer-caste* for these other castes. But the fate of the 4 millions who are still registered as unemployed is not altered by this. It is following its course. This remaining army of unemployed will more and more be decimated and dissolved for the filling up of the other two. And the moment Hitler declares at last that there is no more unemployment in Germany, then

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there will be only slaves or the starving—under the whips of the new overseers.¹

That is the result of an analysis of the Hitler unemployment-operation. What has he done? He has not done away with unemployment. He has not created new *work*—with the exception of a small boom in war-material and a bureaucratic-luxury-profession for his Nazi guards. He has only amputated the *unemployed* themselves. He has for this used unemployment, the terrible economic catastrophe of the German working class, as a lever. He has made use of the distress and misery of these masses in order to bring about a still greater catastrophe for them, in order to take from them the last thing still remaining to them—their limited personal freedom. He has degraded them. Instead of bread he has given them still heavier chains. He has turned them from hungry unemployed into hungry forced labourers and pariahs. He has *operated on them socially, maimed them socially—in order to adapt them to the new, narrower capitalist conditions of existence*. That is the essential meaning of the whole process—and the historic significance of the appearance on the scene and the function of Fascism generally.

What Hitler is doing here is what Fascism as a world-whole is being summoned to do; for that it has come. The degradation, the social amputation of the working class, in order to force them into the shrunken confines of the final capitalist stage, the final capitalist crisis, in order to restore the dwindling capitalist rate of profit—that is the *great mission and the meaning of Fascism*. For it is the sole alternative to the other historic possibility of the moment: instead of adapting the working class and the new

¹The following paragraph should be regarded as one of the basic sections of this work.

social forces urging their way through it to dying capitalism, to 'adapt' capitalism to the new urgent social forces—that is to say, to let it die, to destroy it, to overthrow it. Thyssen knows that. These forces are in secret no worse Marxists than the people of the Third International. He knows that there is only one choice: either the working class flings him out of the new society, or else he tramples the working class down into the old society. This he can now do only by taking a leap backward to the methods of the pre-capitalist era—of feudalism and yet farther back, the era of slavery. The conditions of feudalism and of slavery—but only for the working class, not for capital itself. Capital is growing as before in a super-capitalistic way—but now it can do so only with a working class pressed back into feudalist conditions. Thus there arises the apparent discrepancy in the new system: the super-capitalistic apex above, the feudalized mass below. It is the last desperate and frantic attempt on the part of these sinking titans of capital to save themselves and their system, themselves and their rate of profit. That is why democracy falls and neo-feudalist Fascism comes. He who does not realize that cannot grasp anything of the whole present period and politics; he stays blind. That is why Liberalism, with its partner, Social Democracy, fell in Germany, that is why Hitler came, that is why he began his solution of the unemployment problem. And what Hitler does, the whole of world-Fascism will do. This Mussolini in Italy will do, Mosley in England, the unknown future Fascist in America—or try to do, if their hand is not stayed by the counterforce, the working class whose vital substance is threatened. For this class everything is now at stake—life, material situation, honour, culture, and future. If it does not step in and stop this development—and to stop this development means to de-

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stroy Fascism, to tear it out by the roots—then it has lost all, and to-morrow will wake up in a situation from which there is perhaps no more salvation, the situation that for it existed hundreds and even thousands of years ago. Once again—things are moving towards those ‘morlocks’, which H. G. Wells has seen in a nightmare. Hitler is ‘putting the clock back’—back by an unimaginably long, dark period. The operation of the ‘liquidation of unemployment’ is only the beginning. For the present one thing must be made clear once and for all: the basic axiom that *Hitler is destroying not unemployment, but the unemployed*, is not creating new work, but amputating the army of unemployed. The second verdict: he is doing this at first through the transformation, the dissolution of the unemployed class into inferior castes, into semi-slaves, and pariahs. It is quite possible that in a short time the Nazis will announce the absolute ‘liquidation of unemployment’. But this will only mean that this process of declassing and degradation, of the erection of the new inferior caste-system among the *unemployed*, is finally complete and that Hitler can continue on his way.¹

¹ Expressed in figures the balance-sheet of the Nazis’ unemployment operation looks like this:

	31.12	31.12
<i>In millions</i>	1932	1933
Number of all workers	20.5	20.5
Number in employment	12.00	13.3
<hr/>		
Unemployed	8.5	7.2
Registered	5.8	4.1
‘Invisible’	2.7	3.1
<hr/>		
Fall in registered unemployed		1.7
Increase in invisible unemployed		0.4
<hr/>		
Actual fall in unemployed		1.3
Number of these transferred to the new forced-labour army		0.8-0.9

Actually the number of the ‘invisible unemployed’ (the starvation-

For this is the finally decisive point: that this operation, based on the unemployment crisis and brought by it into motion, into play, no longer remains limited to the unemployed. It is being extended to the *entire* working class: now, too, to its other, larger wing, the actual army of the *employed* workers. That is the extent and the range of this development. The crushing of the 8 million unemployed is becoming only the prelude, the great artillery preparation, to a complete process: for there, in the ranks of the proletariat whose basis of existence has been destroyed, Hitler finds the first line of least resistance. But at the same time the whole fire is being turned broadside against the great spinal-column of the 13 millions who are still at the rudder of the production-process, and thus, above the crisis, apparently immune, continue to

army) is, as has already been emphasized, considerably larger still, even if the ruined members of the middle class are left out of account; thus, for example, in this table, the yearly contingent of new (juvenile) workers coming on to the market for 1934 is not taken into consideration, and in view of this the increase in invisible unemployed under the Nazis amounts to not 400,000 but to several hundreds of thousands more. The figures are based on official reports of the Nazi organizations (Labour Offices). The table shows that roughly 60-70 per cent of the total real increase in those securing new employment is to be placed to the account of the new forced-labour army. This estimate is actually substantiated by certain local reports that have become public concerning the distribution of the newly employed; thus, for instance, in the district covered by the Labour Office of Gütersloh, where the Nazis have abolished 'all'—that is, of course, only registered—unemployed, 51.8 per cent of them have been enrolled in the corps of the 'land-helpers' (agricultural forced labourers) and 11.4 per cent in the corps of the 'emergency works' and the 'labour-service', making together 63.2 per cent of all newly occupied unemployed. Another 10.4 per cent in this district were, 'on account of unwillingness or inability to work', cut off altogether from the chance of work—that is, given over to the permanent starvation-army or imprisoned—so that altogether only one-quarter of the total number have found really new productive work, whether at the expense of the hours of work of those working hitherto, whether through temporary employment during the seasonal boom in summer, or in the armaments industry. This example is typical of the entire Nazi method.

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represent the solid class-kernel of the proletariat. Hitler's course is simple. It is not the army of unemployed that is being gradually led back to the status of the employed, that is, to a higher material and social level; it is the reverse: the army of the employed is being brought, all along the line, down to the new level of the unemployed and put on a par with it. That is the second stage. The same process is being repeated in another form. That which Hitlerism is accomplishing with the unemployed through their degradation to a bond-army and a starvation-army, it is realizing with the employed working class in two ways, by two processes: the *process of wage-confiscation* and the *process of turning the factory into an industrial prison*. The result is the complete expropriation and robotization of the employed section of the working class.

Fascism is working here too with scientific certainty of purpose. The meaning of the first process is a systematic and deliberate *wage-bombardment* and *wage-splitting*: until it has been reduced to the level of a slave-ration. That is the direction of the whole new wage-policy in Nazi Germany. But since the employed workers are subject not, like the unemployed, to the State, but to private undertakings and paid by them, the Nazis cannot simply decree the transition to slave-wage forms as in the other case. They enforce the same thing in another, indirect way. Hitler is beginning to bombard the wage uninterruptedly from four different directions; piece after piece is breaking off from its substance.

The first part of the wage becomes immediately, before even the worker receives it, confiscated by means of direct *contributions*: for the Treasury, for the care of the unemployed, for the administrative apparatus and for armaments, for the hospitals, for the corporations. These

form the official obligatory levy for the State. The German worker had already in the old days given up one-seventh to one-fifth of his wage in such deductions; that was the main prop of the whole State budget. But Hitler is switching these contributions straight up to a crazy, typically feudal level: to *one-quarter* or even *one-third* of the total wage! The worker, who previously paid 15 to 20 per cent of his income to the Republican bureaucracy, is paying now to the Brown bureaucracy 10 to 15 per cent more. He is maintaining now not only the whole financial machine through his wage-tax; he is paying in practice not only for the entire organization of the new unemployed-army, for the hunger-rations of the forced-labourers in the camps and in the towns, through increased 'insurance' contribution; he is financing not only the removal of women from the industrial process, through a special deduction for unmarried men; but he is now maintaining also the whole of the new Nazi aristocracy, that newly-formed parasitic overseer-caste, which is to dominate over him and which demands special contributions for itself. The result is as follows:

	<i>Per cent</i>
Nominal wage of a German worker	100
Deductions:	
Wage-tax	3-4
Unemploment insurance about	5
Health insurance	4-5
Disability insurance	2-3
Head-tax ('Bürgersteuer')	1-2
	<hr/>
Under the Republic	15-19
Nazi 'Unemployed Aid'	2-3
Nazi 'Marriage Aid'	2-3

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Nazi Corporation contributions about	2
Nazi 'Winter Aid'	" 1
Nazi Factory cell (N.S.B.O.)	" 1
Various Nazi collections ¹	2-3
	<hr/>
New Nazi contributions	10-13
	<hr/>
	25-32

That is a typical wage-sheet of the German worker of to-day. At least one-quarter of the wage is no longer handed to him. With a weekly wage of \$11.25, \$3 are deducted; there are cases, as in the Berlin refuse-collecting trade, where the contributions sequester one-half of the wage. This wage is no longer a free worker's wage. It is the wage of a vassal.

The bombardment continues. Another part of the wage is being confiscated less obviously but just as forcibly through the transition to an *inferior wage-form*. The Nazis are securing this in various ways. Unemployed men, taken on in the place of women who have been dismissed, are simply put on a woman's wage, as in the Westphalian textile industry, where the women's piecework rate has been officially laid down as the 'basis for computation' for all such new workers. Other groups of workers are transferred to the 'output-wage', which automatically

¹ Among these are all kinds of 'voluntary' contributions and taxes to the Nazis, refusal to pay which actually means physical danger: thus the 'People's Social Aid', the 'Provision of Work Programme', the 'Harvest-Thanksgiving Celebrations', the enforced buying of Nazi literature, etc. The above is a very moderate estimate. With the workers especially—in contrast to the office-employees—the amounts of the various contributions often exceed the figures given very considerably. In certain parts of the country there are in addition special local taxes, exacted quite arbitrarily by the local Nazis; as, for instance, in the Palatinate, where a head-tax of 2 pfennig a day was collected. The tax-free income stops in Nazi Germany already at 720 marks a year—compared with 1,832 marks in France, 1,732 in England, 2,006 in Austria, and 3,733 in the U. S. A.

drops if a given quantity of work is not reached, or to the commission-wage, which is being applied to many groups of workers instead of the fixed wage; thus the deliverymen in the Berlin wholesale newspaper trade were offered, in place of a weekly wage, a 10 per cent participation in the takings, representing a reduction in wages of \$1.75—\$2.50 a week. Piecework rates are being reduced directly, by about 10 per cent. But women's wage, output-wage, commission-wage, or piecework-wage are only different new names for the same process—the plundering of the wage-substance.

Third blow. This part of the wage is disappearing not financially but technically: through increase in the rate of physical exploitation, the extortion of more work in the same time or for the same money. Work is being extended, without payment, beyond the agreed hours of work, holidays are being shortened, the regular pauses no longer count, the prescribed rate and intensity in the working process are being speeded up. As early as the summer of 1933 a number of workers, greater by only 7.5 per cent, were producing in Germany under the Nazis a quantity of industrial products larger by 22.4 per cent than one year before, of which only 4 per cent was covered by a paid increase in hours of work. Mechanization and with it the degree of extraction of physical labour are growing; the speeding-up system has become more severe: the real wage for a unit of work is becoming more and more slender.

The fourth part of the wage, however, is taken, under the Nazi system, from the worker not in the factory, but on the market: through the increase in the *prices of food-stuffs* demanded from him. This part disappears out of the pockets of the worker's wife, who in December 1933

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had to pay for her margarine three times as much, for her lard and salad-oil twice as much, for her butter, potatoes, and cabbage half as much again, for her meat and eggs 20–30 per cent more than in December 1932, on the eve of the Hitler Government. Alone the increase, put through by the Nazis in favour of the Junkers, in the price of margarine, one of the most important articles of food in the working-class family (because practically the only fat used by it), from, on an average, 30 to 90 pfennig, means the expropriation of a considerable portion of the family's net income, which must be covered at the expense of other requirements. But the price of textiles and consequently the cost of clothing have also risen. In the factory—depreciation of the value of labour. Outside the factory—depreciation of purchasing power. That is the vice into which the workers in the Third Reich have been forced.

But the whole process has only one meaning. Hitler is bombarding the wage, as previously he blasted the position of the unemployed; bombarding it from various sides, openly and invisibly, in the factory and on the market, through the State and through the employers, without pause—and as yet without bounds. The result of the first year of Nazi rule is the *undermining by 20–30 per cent of the German worker's real wage*—and in actual fact the *halving* of it compared with its level before the crisis. The average weekly income of the German industrial worker amounted in 1929 to 42.2 marks. At the end of 1933 it is standing at 21.6 marks. The wage has been halved. That is no casual trade occurrence. That is a social revolution.

The average wage in Germany fell during the first years of crisis 1930, 1931, and 1932 by roughly 20 per

cent from 102 to 80 pfennig an hour for the qualified worker and from 80 to 63 pfennig for the unqualified. Now, in the course of one single year the entire army of employed workers in Germany falls precipitously one step lower. The standard drops, as if at a word of command, in the most varying branches of industry. In the printing trade the weekly wage earned by a machine compositor or any other specially qualified worker falls from 70-80 marks to 50-60—by 30 per cent (pure money-wage, leaving out of consideration depreciated purchasing power or increased physical exploitation). In a large electrical works in Berlin (A.E.G.-Treptow) the women-workers' hourly payment drops from 64-68 pfennig to 50-55, and only a strike prevents a further reduction to 45 pfennig—that is to say, altogether by 31 per cent. In the Permasens boot and shoe industry wages drop by 11 per cent; the wages of the saleswomen in shops suffer a loss of one-quarter (150 marks a month compared with 200 marks for specially well-paid posts). Similar developments in the mines, in the building trades, in municipal concerns, in the chemical industry. Not one single wage-position holds out—with the exception of the salaries of the Nazi guards; the force depressing them is too powerful. And so the new German wage-standard is coming into being: the lowest since the nineteenth century. The income of the German working class has with one stroke been put back to the period before the great progress in modern industry (roughly since 1885). The achievements and the gains of this whole period of working-class advancement and emancipation are as if obliterated. The new wage-standard is on the level of that of a Chinese coolie.

The halved income of 21.6 marks a week is not universal; it is only a mean average. Twenty-six per cent of all

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workers have already an income not exceeding 12 marks a week; another 22 per cent—between 12 and 18 marks.¹ Hitler is bombarding the wage. That is the real and the most profound continuation of the National Socialist *coup d'état*. The wage is the material basis and gauge of the whole cultural position and social independence of the working class. If it falls, then this independence decreases. If it crashes, if it loses the essential part of its substance, then independence changes to dependence, emancipation to *de-emancipation*. This is the way the German worker is going under Hitler. This worker is already living 44 per cent below the normal existence-minimum.² His starvation is permanent. He hardly oversteps the income and the standard of life of the unemployed man drawing relief.³ The distance between these two armies of the proletariat is becoming more and more slight and illusory; 'employment' is becoming more and more a merely formal distinction—since both groups are working and both are starving. The modern worker, relatively free from hunger and provided with a certain portion of the values of civilization, no longer exists. The level of the coolie worker has been reached and, to some extent, reduced. The period of the worker with a slave-wage is beginning. The first part of the Hitler De-

¹ This impoverishment is substantiated, moreover, on a national scale also by the development of the national income, which—according to the Nazis' own trimmed estimates—had fallen already in the first half of 1933 by 400 million marks compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. The revenue from the wage-tax too is sinking uninterruptedly—although unemployment is being "liquidated".

² According to the calculations of the well-known statistician Dr. Kuczynski (existence-minimum for a family with two children).

³ Typical of this, for example, is the case of a worker in the great chemical trust, whose wage, covering a working week of 48 hours, amounts to 2 marks more than the relief drawn by an unemployed worker, but who, in order to get to his place of work, has an extra expense of 2.8 marks a week.

Emancipation Action, the bombardment of the wage, is achieving its aim.

But he is already approaching this aim simultaneously from the other side. He is also blasting, in a coup on just as grand a scale, the other foundation of the worker's independent existence: his relative *working freedom* and autonomy in the factory. He is taking the second step—the step that is to place the employed worker not only materially but also *legally* on a par with the slave and pariah corps of the unemployed; he is binding the worker bodily to the private factory, as he has bound the unemployed worker to the forced-labour camp. The Nazis' new Labour Law of January 20, 1934 ordains the end of the free factory—with all the workers' rights of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—and places from now on the enclosed labour institution in its stead. The employees lose their collective liberty. The employer becomes the owner of the employees. He is no longer the partner to a commercial agreement, but the 'Leader of the Works'; not only proprietor of the machines, but lord of the personnel. These are only his 'followers', without status, without rights, just devoted¹: they work and obey.

This is the direct transference of the principle of the State bondage-camps into private industry. The employer manages the factory in the same way as a camp. He appoints the overseers—'Works Trustees' (*Vertrauensmänner*)—who take the place of the former works councils elected by the workers. He 'decides for the followers in all matters affecting the factory' (extract from the law). He dictates the factory regulations, the hours of work, and the wage. He determines the punishments

¹ 'The followers are to observe towards the Leader of the factory the loyalty founded in the community of the factory' (Law of January 20, 1934).

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and penalties for insufficient work or disobedient behaviour. He is responsible only to the 'Trustee of Labour' (Treuhandler)—the head-overseer for large economic districts, appointed by the Nazi Government. All independent dealings on the part of the workers cease; all their independent organs—the works councils, the delegates in wage-negotiations, the strike-committees—disappear—as already before their political parties and trade unions, which held the approaches to the factory, the key-position of the class. The power of the factory-owner and his overseers is absolute. Whoever resists, whoever fails to obey this lordship, goes before a special court—the factory court—and to prison (special paragraph in the law). With this, the new factory-feudalism has its own sovereign jurisdiction even. Thus the constitution of the new sub-world is coming into being.

Hitler's second operation, the operation against the employed working class, completes the first, that against the unemployed. To the labour-camps are being added the labour-prisons. To the mobile pyramid slaves the shackled robots. Both form the new sub-human class—the sub-world of the new Nazi State. Over both rules Thyssen. And over both Hitler holds the whip.

PART TWO

*WHERE IS HITLER GOING? (THE SECRET
FOREIGN POLICY)*

I. Thyssen's Continental Plan

HITLER's foreign policy is the greatest of his secrets. It is a unique conspiratorial system which has nothing to do with the old German Wilhelmstrasse. The official Foreign Office, the Foreign Secretary Neurath, the State Secretary von Bülow, the old ambassadors and diplomats, serve now only as a blind behind which the real executive for foreign affairs of the new Germany works. The conspirators of the Reichstag fire have introduced their own methods here also. Nothing in Germany, not even the military organization, is so carefully cut off and guarded from the outside world as this new organization for foreign politics. For here are to be found the deepest roots and driving forces of this whole movement. The inspiration, the brain of this system, which works out the plans, is the Thyssen group. The man who directs the execution of these plans is the former Russian, Alfred Rosenberg. The body that brings these plans to realization is an illegal international organization, the Berlin headquarters of which is called the 'Office for Foreign Affairs of the N.S.D.A.P. (German National Socialist Labour Party)'. The idea, finally, for which this entire system works, with an enormous expenditure of energy and with scientific precision, is the plan for a Northern, Eastern, and Central-European Germanic Empire, the plan which has been the pivot of German history during the last three decades, which drove Germany into the World War, and for which Hitler has carried out his 'national revolution'.

This plan is no Utopian fantasy, but a law, a categorical imperative, which is dictated by the capitalist struc-

ture of Germany to-day. Its authors and legislators are not one or two romantic German professors and fanatics, but the *Ruhr*, that gigantic reservoir of raw materials and machines in the heart of the Continent, near the Rhine, which concentrates the most important and most massive productive forces of Germany and which is bursting with its own energy. It is an economic spectacle of the most intense, almost volcanic magnificence. Ever since the coal of the Ruhr combined with the iron and founded *German heavy industry*, a centre of energy has arisen there of such high tension and intensity that it attracts, penetrates, and electrifies everything around it. This centre of energy, in the process of its political and economic progression, actually created the entire modern post-Bismarckian Germany. It transformed it from a backward, peasant country into a seething, sinister imperialist State. It compressed the numerous scattered German petty states into a closed customs union. It gave birth to the first great industrial dynasties, the Krupps, the Thyssens, the Stinnes, the Haniels, the Stumms, which supported the State of William II on their shoulders. It liberated modern German finance—the great D banks (Deutsche Bank, Diskonto Gesellschaft, Dresdner Bank, Danat Bank) which attacked Throgmorton Street, and which grew great as a result of the commodities and capital of the Ruhr. It formed the chain of new German trusts whose strength and activity placed Germany on a par with America, in juxtaposition to the Morgans, the Carnegies, the Rockefellers, the Mellons. It built up the German export trade, which, from the Continent, challenged and overtook the old-established trade of England. It pushed forward, through the constant driving force of its coal and iron, the German mercantile fleet, German electrical engineering, the German machine industry, and

German chemistry, which became the leading industries of the world. Every atom of productive energy that the Ruhr hurled forth in this way from within itself became thus a new dynamic mass, a new fragment of an offensive Germany, a new part of that aggressive, imperialist machine, into which this country had turned, and which drove its people irresistibly forward against the rest of the world. And so the Ruhr had also to take over the other function. It created the German foreign policy. If, formerly, it had grown to be for Germany what Manchester, Sheffield, Wales, and the City, taken together, are for England, the Ruhr now of necessity also became the German Foreign Office and the German Admiralty. To provide a way out *abroad* for its own energy and the energy of the industries which became the manufacturers or the transporters of its raw materials, it created the German colonial and expansion policy. It directed its attacks on all sides. It staged the German expansion in the Balkans. It dispatched German troops to Africa and the Far East. It unofficially conquered Turkey—for Krupp and the Deutsche Bank. It built the Bagdad railway. It intrigued in Persia and pushed forward as far as the British key positions in India and Egypt. It directed its gaze on the great, rich zone of Russia. And, in order to clear a way for this expansion by force of arms, it constructed that terrible German military machine, that German army and fleet for which Krupp supplied the cannon, Stumm the armour-plate, and Stinnes and Thyssen the political line.

For four years, between 1914 and 1918, the heavy industry of the Ruhr endeavoured to achieve its ultimate aims, and from being the economic centre of Germany to become the economic centre and master of the world. For four years the capitalist volcano in the west of Germany

hurled forth, instead of the means of production, the means of destruction, compelling 2 million Germans, the best part of the adult manhood of the nation, to lay down their lives for the politics of coal and iron. When, as a result of this policy, it had ruined its own country and sent it to Versailles, this was, for the foreign policy of the Ruhr, merely an interruption, merely the beginning of a new interim phase, the phase that began with the diplomatic defensive of the 'pacifist' Weimar Republic, but which sooner or later was bound to end in a new *offensive*. Thus arose the basis for National Socialist Germany. Thus became inevitable, after Stresemann and Brüning, the new foreign policy plan of Thyssen-Hitler-Rosenberg.

For the nineteen years since 1914 have changed nothing in the economic nature and programme of the Ruhr, although they have, for a time, modified its tactic. On the contrary, the economic pressure, the dynamic of the Ruhr, of Germany's great centre for heavy industry, has not only been maintained, it has been intensified 100 per cent. It has actually become so all-powerful, so violent, that it has thrown the whole country into a paroxysm. That is the fundamental point, without which an understanding of contemporary German politics is impossible. His own mechanical forces are driving Thyssen on to a new grandiose offensive in world politics. Should he not obey, he will be exploded by these forces (this is the meaning of the great German economic crisis of the last few years, in particular of the crisis of the Thyssen Steel Trust, of which we have given an account in Chapter I). And the forces of Thyssen are driving forward the forces of Hitler.

Why is the Ruhr of 1934 still more expansive, still more dynamic, and therefore more internationally aggres-

sive than the Ruhr of 1914? Three changes in its structure, in the Thyssen system, compel it to be so.

Of the two supporting pillars of this system, coal and iron ore, Thyssen to-day controls only one, coal. This means that there is a permanent danger that his entire edifice will collapse. Germany's natural source for iron ore is the rich mines of Lorraine, the 'minette' of which mixes excellently with the coke of the Ruhr. Owing to the fact that the iron ore has been cut off from the Ruhr by the loss of Lorraine to France after the war, the whole basis of German heavy industry has been shattered. Since the discovery of the Bessemer and Thomas processes for the production of steel, coal combined with iron ore is a world power, but coal without iron ore a danger. Germany cannot, as England can to a much greater extent, sell a large part of its coal in crude form and ship it as home-ballast in its import and colonial ships. The whole economic system of Germany is primarily organized for the metallurgical utilization of coal, for the production of *steel*: for the armament industry, for electrical engineering, for railway construction, shipbuilding and other mechanical industries, in which Germany has a leading position and carries on a world export. But without iron ore, without steel smelting, German coal is a helpless giant. The great 'vertical' concerns of the Ruhr kings, which begin with a pit, but end in a machine construction works or an electrical engineering workshop, are blockaded, as it were, without their own guaranteed basis of iron ore. They cannot advance securely. They cannot export on long-term bills, since the price of raw materials does not depend upon them. They cannot even, in the event of war, deliver steel for guns. But this is not all; it is only half the danger. The German heavy industry has not only lost, with Lorraine, its basis of iron ore; it has lost

it to its mortal enemy. There is no one—with the exception of the Bolsheviks—whom the Ruhr hates and fears so much as the French steel kings of Lorraine—the messieurs of the Comité des Forges. They are the direct capitalist antipodes of the German coal kings of the Ruhr. Thyssen is the direct competitor of De Wendel, the largest French producer of steel (and owner of a fortune of 8-10 million francs). Krupp has carried war on for decades against Schneider-Creuzot to obtain the mastery of the international gun market. Both sides are situated close up against each other, divided only by the political frontier. Both produce the same manufactured article. Both have the same export territories. Both have grandiose political and financial forces behind them. But whereas the Ruhr pushes forward from coal to iron, Lorraine pushes forward from iron to coal. Just as Thyssen and Krupp need the Lorraine minette iron ore, De Wendel and Schneider-Creuzot need the Rhine-Westphalian coke. They carry out the same operation, but in an opposite direction. There are two starting-points for the same process of production—the production of steel. And here lies the root of the great *Thyssen opposition to France*: the drive of coal collides with the drive of iron. The victor of the two will absorb the other and get the mastership of European steel supplies. This is possession of the military and industrial leadership of the Continent. This is what Thyssen lives and breathes for. And the people of Lorraine have already not only snatched from him his iron ore. The Comité des Forges has not only confiscated the best mines and the largest foundries of the German concerns in Lorraine—the steel giants of Hagendingen (the property of Thyssen), Differdingen (Stinnes), Rombach (Stumm), etc., which are among the largest and most modern workshops in the world, which

have cost hundreds of millions of marks, and which to-day form an integral part of the French concerns ('Arbed', 'Hadir', 'Nord et l'Est', 'Marine et de Homécourt', etc.). But it has developed, on the basis of this expropriation, a new powerful French steel industry, which threatens to swallow up the Ruhr and its coal—exactly as the Ruhr formerly wanted to swallow up Lorraine! The arrow has been turned round. That is the end of Thyssen and his coal he would defend with Germany's life. French steel production amounted, before the war, to 4.7 million tons (1913)—a quarter of Germany's 18.6 million tons. In the year 1931 it amounted to 7.7 million tons—almost as much as Germany's 8.4 million tons. Lorraine has overtaken the Ruhr. And at the same time the Comité des Forges is systematically besieging the German coal syndicate on all sides. First, by attempting to drive continually upwards the price for iron ore which the Germans have to pay. De Wendel, Laurent, Cuvelette, Drioux, and the other French iron magnates do not limit themselves to monopolizing their own Lorraine ore; it is their endeavour to combine with all the other large ore producers of the world in order to establish against Germany a united, international monopoly for dictating prices. French interests (above all the Acières de la Marine et de Homécourt or Theodore Laurent group) conclude an entente with the Swedish Grängesberg iron ore trust, the second most important suppliers of ore to Germany, and with the Dutch iron ore dealer, Kröller, who brings into this combination the rich, unexploited ore mines in Morocco and Algiers. The great Paris banking house Lazard Frères (Daniel Serruys, the former director of French commercial policy) is arranging and forcing these negotiations and preparations, which are isolating the German buyer. Thyssen and his friends are endeavouring to

escape from this predicament by buying up unexploited iron ore mines all over the world—in Northern Sweden, in Norway, in Lapland, in Chile, in Spain—and thereby investing a large amount of capital at great risk. But this provides no real solution. As long ago as 1911 Thyssen and Krupp nearly brought about a war with France on the question of iron ore (the famous Morocco crisis in connexion with the concessions to the brothers Mannesmann). During the World War of 1914-18 the demand of Thyssen and Stinnes for the annexation to their private concerns of the iron ore basins of Briey and Longvy in the French part of Lorraine was the most important driving factor in the whole German war programme, and the reason why Ludendorff, Hindenburg, and Colonel Bauer, of the German general staff, again and again urged the continuation of the war. To-day France has turned the tables and raised an iron ore blockade against Germany, which is cramping Thyssen more than ever. But France is going farther still and is endeavouring to short-circuit German coal as well. The Comité des Forges holds the German *Sarre district*, and is systematically reorganizing the French foundries to use Sarre coke instead of Ruhr coke. Sarre coal, which is under the political administration of France, has already become an integral part of the Lorraine steel industry, which has correspondingly curtailed its orders to Germany. At the same time De Wendel, Creuzot, Laurent, and Cuvelette are developing the coal districts of the Nord and the Loire in France itself, are participating financially in the Belgian-Dutch coal basins (Campine, Limburg), and investing in the Polish coal districts of Upper Silesia and Dombrowa. This is the second onslaught by the constantly swelling Lorraine steel block on the positions of Essen and Düsseldorf, on the heart of the Thyssen system. And the

third onslaught, after those on iron and coal, is being directed on the German steel works themselves, on the finished products of the Ruhr. There exists a European syndicate uniting almost all the steel works of the Continent for the purpose of joint regulation of production and exports (the so-called Continental Steel Cartel). And the Comité des Forges is organizing within this cartel a united front of all national groups to reduce the production and export quotas of the Ruhr, to throttle Thyssen's and Krupp's production of finished goods. These same people, De Wendel and Creuzot, are exerting a financial influence on the entire Belgian-Luxembourg steel industry, the third largest manufacturers on the Continent; they are intimately connected with all the large works in this district, such as 'Arbed' and 'Hadir' in Luxembourg, 'Ougree-Marihaye' and 'Cockerill' in Belgium (The Société Générale de Belgique group). In Poland Schneider-Creuzot controls the Huta Bankowa Steel Works; in Czechoslovakia the powerful armament firm of Skoda and the Prague Steel Works; in Austria, indirectly (through the Niederoesterreichische Escompte-Gesellschaft), a section of the Alpine Montan Steel Works; in Rumania, in combination with English interests, it has an influence on the armament firm 'Reșita', etc. The result is that the steel production of the Ruhr-Thyssen group is as though in a strait-jacket. At every conference of the European steel syndicate Thyssen attempts to obtain higher quotas for German production and exports. But Lorraine raises its veto and with it all its vassals. Thyssen cannot break the European cartel by withdrawing from it, for in the ensuing competitive struggle of all against all he would be the first to be exposed to the concentric attack of American and English steel. Thyssen cannot risk the collapse of the Continental alliance, for an invasion by America

and England into the exposed European market would be a still more terrible danger. But he also cannot allow himself to be held down any longer by France. His productive forces are too strong, his coal needs markets, his giant steel works and formidable machines must pay interest, must pay for amortization. He must free himself from these chains, he must fight for a clear road for himself, cost what it may, by no matter what means. He must break through France's blockade. And Thyssen knows that this blockade has not yet reached its zenith and its strategic goal. Thyssen knows that the ultimate aim of the operations of the Comité des Forges is not the isolation, but the *seizure*, the *conquest* of the Ruhr—by means of this isolation and by means of political and military campaigns. Thyssen has not forgotten that in the year 1923 France was on the verge of retaining the Ruhr district and its entire heavy industry for ever, of transforming the German coal syndicate into a branch of the Comité des Forges, and Thyssen himself into a sub-director of De Wendel's. Thyssen knows that this objective, the absorption of the Ruhr by Lorraine and the establishment of a united French steel block on the Continent, has never been abandoned by his French colleagues, any more than he and Krupp have ever forgotten their attempt in 1914 to occupy, for their part, Lorraine. He knows that in Briey and Longwy only the first opportunity is being awaited, only a more favourable constellation, the moment of a fresh weakness on the part of Germany, to repeat the operation of 1923—and this time never to depart. Thyssen cannot risk suicide. And for this reason he must march on, cost what it may, by whatever path—primarily against France. For this reason Thyssen's foreign policy is first and foremost—a front against France.

But therewith the post-war intensified imperialist dynamic of the Ruhr is not exhausted. If its own productive energy, the energy of coal, iron ore, and steel, urges it forward against France, the energy of the forces, for which it is the *basis for raw materials*, urges it on still further. The Ruhr is to-day an enormous block, on which the entire structure of German economy is built up. The heavy industry inspires the machine industry, electrical engineering, the locomotive industry, shipbuilding, the mercantile fleet, banking capital. It supplies them with their raw materials or the material for trade, and is thereby interested in the *market* for this whole system, as they themselves are. In that the Ruhr grows, this whole upper system, as well as its need for power, grows too. The Ruhr must provide for this need. It can only satisfy it in Germany itself to a small degree. The German machine industry can only sell about a third of its products in Germany itself, the German electrical engineering industry somewhat more. The Ruhr must therefore also open out or force a way on the world market for this *block that has grown considerably since the war*. It must do this in competition with the other powers which produce and export the same goods; in competition, above all, with England and America. If France and Lorraine are the great adversaries and competitors as regards raw materials, iron ore, coal, and iron, then the Ruhr must attack the other industrial centres as regards the more finished goods: Sheffield, Pittsburgh, Tokio, and Moscow. It must break into the great marketing systems which these centres have created for themselves and around themselves: into the *British Empire*, into the *Pan-American system of the U. S. A.*, and into the *Eastern European system of Russia*. The Ruhr must attempt either to wrest customers from these systems, i.e. to dump goods,

to evade customs barriers, to conclude commercial agreements on special terms—or it must create its own new marketing system for itself which would be on a par with the systems of the others. The Ruhr does both. It causes German industry to export to all parts of the world at low prices: it competes with Pittsburgh and New York machine and locomotive manufacturers in South and Central America, with British exporters in India, China, and South Africa, with Owen Young and Sir Hugo Hirst (General Electric Company) in Russia and the Balkans, with British shipbuilding firms in Spain and Northern Europe, with Vickers, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and Mitsui in Turkey, in Mexico, and the Far East. (The murderous war of competition that the Ruhr has been waging for years with her surplus coal on the exporters of Wales and Northumberland is also a part of this campaign.) It endeavours to conclude commercial preference agreements with the Governments of the Union of South Africa, Austria, the Argentine, and the Soviet Union. But primarily it pursues the second plan—the building up of a special German commercial sphere, of a particular German marketing and customs empire, which would be as protected from, and as closed against, foreign competitors as the British Dominions and Colonial Union or the new Japanese Empire in Eastern Asia. There is only one such trade route, only one zone of this kind for Germany: via Central Europe to the Near East. It is the zone which the Ruhr has for decades regarded as its possession, its empire. It is the zone which caused Germany and the Ruhr, even before the war, to proclaim the famous ‘Mittel-europa-doctrine’ (as a counterpart to the Pan-American doctrine and the British Commonwealth doctrine): the plan to make the millions of the Balkan peasants and the inhabitants of the Near East, right down to

Egypt and India, with their 'virgin', undeveloped needs, exclusively purchasers of German goods. That is why Thyssen, Krupp, and the Deutsche Bank built the Bagdad railway; that is why William II inaugurated the Balkan policy of the Triple Alliance; that is why Turkey was colonized by Von der Goltz and Liman Pasha.

And this same zone once again forms to-day, twenty years after the outbreak of the World War, the specific, irresistible object of attraction for the Ruhr. Thyssen and Krupp are once again on the same path. The 'Central-Europe doctrine' has been restored. Step by step, stage by stage, the German heavy industry is traversing the path the end of which it thought it had reached in 1914. Austria is being economically colonized, politically undermined, and nationally 'united as a brother'—for Vienna and the Danube are the first gate to the Near East. Hence the first attempt at a customs union with Austria in 1930. Hungary is being incorporated into the same route. In Bulgaria, Rumania, and Jugoslavia the German heavy industry, in conjunction with the banks, once again holds the decisive economic positions (Otto Wolff and Krupp are particularly active here). In Turkey the syndicate Otto Wolff-Krupp-Holtzmann, in competition with the French and Americans, are building the greater part of the new railway net of the Kemalists in Asia Minor, the Deutsche Bank is once again represented on the board of directors of the old Anatolian Railway, and Siemens and the A.E.G., the kings of German electrical engineering and sub-agents of the Ruhr, are supplying the new towns of Asia Minor with modern equipment. In Persia this same Holtzmann-Wolff syndicate is building the great transversal railway from the Caspian Sea to the Persia Gulf, the first great railway in Central Asia, which leads directly to the British sphere of

influence (petroleum wells and air stations) on the Persian Gulf, while the German firm of Junkers is taking over the Persian air communications and German bankers the Persian finances. In Mesopotamia the Otto-Wolff-Krupp-Thyssen-Haniel syndicate has compelled English interests to cede to them a share in the building of the new petroleum pipe-lines (Mossul syndicate). This is only the beginning. But the idea and the execution of it are not new, any more than the perspectives. The Ruhr has once again taken up at full speed the old policy of the Bagdad railway. Thyssen goes on playing the rôle of the Deutsche Bank. Long live Mitteleuropa, for the second time! And he can never, will never, give up this idea, this plan. Just as he is fighting on the right, western, wing against Lorraine, so on the left, eastern, wing he must struggle for Central Europe—no matter against whom, no matter by what means. The whole weight of the Ruhr block and its superstructure, the whole weight of German economy, rests on him and drives him, more violently than ever, on, to the conquest of the East.

But if the drive against Lorraine and the drive against the East are only *an intensified repetition* of the *old* imperialist dynamic of the Ruhr, a *third* capitalist force has developed in Germany since the war, which supplements this dynamic from quite a new source. For besides the *natural* Ruhr, based on coal, there exists to-day in Germany a second, artificial or *synthetic* Ruhr: *the chemical block of Leuna* in Central Germany. This is the new gigantic complex of the chemical works of the I.G. Farbenindustrie¹, a few hours from Berlin. Leuna is the same Ruhr, but with a doubled potency and a trebled tempo. If the coal complex of the Ruhr has required decades in which to develop a giant industry, the German

¹ I.G. Dyestuffs Industry.

heavy industry, the chemical complex of Leuna is traversing the same road in a few years and is creating an entire octopus of new industries: the artificial petroleum industry (distillation of coal), the artificial manure industry (nitrogen extraction from the air), the artificial textiles industry (artificial silk from cellulose), the industries of artificial rubber, artificial dyes, etc. The task which the Ruhr has solved by extracting natural resources from the earth on a grand scale, but laboriously and with enormous difficulty, Leuna solves by synthesis—the chemical *re-creation* of natural resources. The result is that the new German chemistry—the chemical machines and apparatus of the I.G. Farbenindustrie were installed and developed mostly during and after the war—is launching out on a new world expansion from Leuna. The production of the German chemical trust is more rapid than the world demand for synthetic goods, its discoveries are more rapid than its production. By erecting its new giant coal compressors, from whose pipes the manufactured and distilled benzene is poured out, the German chemical trust is encroaching upon the markets of the former petroleum producers, the great trusts of Shell, Standard Oil, and Baku; it is going to produce 2 million tons of this coal benzene in one single year. By extracting nitrogen from the air, the chemical trust is overflowing the markets for Chilean saltpetre, nitrate of carbon, etc. By producing in its retorts enormous quantities of cheap artificial silk, it is endangering the old kingdom of King Cotton and the Far Eastern silk trade. The German trust of the I.G. Farbenindustrie has to-day, with its milliards of capital, its army of 130,000 workmen (position before the crisis, in comparison with the 175,000 workers of the Thyssen Steel Trust), its countless interests in other industries, its influence on the big banks, and its network of branches in the

whole world, already overtaken the German Steel Trust. It is certainly far stronger and more powerful than the British 'Imperial Chemical Industries', and even, technically, than the American trust giants Du Pont de Nemours. And now it must also tread the same *imperialist* path of world expansion as the Ruhr and Thyssen before it. The pressure of the chemical machines, the giant reservoirs, the giant pipes, giant compressors, is in the capitalist sense (in respect of payment of interest and amortization of invested capital) as heavy, if not heavier, than the pressure of the coal-boring machines, the hoists, and the blast furnaces of the Ruhr. And thus Leuna *adds* its imperialist drive to the drive of the Ruhr. In reality, viewed from the standpoint of the financial interests, it is the same drive. For to-day the German chemical trust and the German coal and steel trust, Thyssen and Duisberg (the leader of the I.G. Farbenindustrie), are capitalistically completely intertwined and interwoven—they are a union. Duisberg's right-hand man, the financial manager of the I.G. Farbenindustrie, Schmitz, is even a member of the board of the Thyssen Steel Trust, and the chemical trust owns many million shares in the Steel Trust. The explanation is simple—quite apart from the general economic and political attraction to each other of such giants of capital. The Leuna chemical trust replaces all natural products by synthetic products. But for this synthesis it itself needs natural raw material. This raw material is, in the majority of cases, coal. Without coal there can be no synthesis and no chemical trust. Thyssen has the coal. The chemical trust has, it is true, its own brown-coal resources in Central Germany. But these do not suffice and it needs the Westphalian pit-coal of Western Germany. For a time the chemical trust even endeavoured to obtain such coal independently of Thyssen

and bought up the shares of a coal concern (Rheinstahl) which belonged to the Thyssen combine. But Thyssen's answer was to turn the tables. He threatened to manufacture petroleum and nitrogen from coal himself and himself built new synthetic works in the Ruhr. The result was a complete reconciliation and alliance between the powers of coal and chemistry. The Ruhr and Leuna are, in fact, to-day *one* power, one block of capital, one energy. And if the Ruhr is being driven by its coal and its iron to make an onslaught on Europe, an onslaught on the world, Leuna with its synthetic machinery is driving it all the more.

This is the position for Thyssen. This is the inevitable dynamic of this grandiose coagulation of capital, which was not, like the German nation, broken by the World War, but which has once again to break this nation, in order to find a way out for this dynamic. Thyssen—who is only a representative, the exponent of this coagulation, like Jakob Goldschmidt before him, like Stinnes before Jakob Goldschmidt—must get outside the contemporary framework of Germany. This framework has become too constricted for him. He needs a wider one—he needs the Continent. He needs the Continent in order to hold out against France, against England, against America, against the Soviet Union. And thus has arisen Thyssen's great continental plan.

This plan is quite simple—it is only the sum and embodiment of the individual tendencies and movements which proceed from his capitalist dynamic. Thyssen's plan lays down that Germany must be transformed from a comparatively small district within the Continent into an octopus spreading *over* the Continent, into the Continent itself. Germany needs all the Continent's reserves and supplies of raw materials—the ore of Lorraine, the

coal of Belgium and Holland, the steel works of Western and Central Europe, the copper of the Balkans, the metals of France's colonies in North Africa. Germany needs the entire internal market of the Continent—the internal markets of all the continental countries, the peasants of the Danube and Northern Europe, the great Ukrainian zone, the approaches to the Near East. Germany needs the entire liquid financial resources of the Continent—in order to finance this expansion and organization. Germany needs the continental customs union, to complete the conquest and partition of the Soviet Union. In short, Germany must become the Continent. The Ruhr, which first made Germany a national State, is also to make it a continental empire. This is, in essence, Thyssen's continental plan.

And to bring this plan, the plan for a continental offensive on a Napoleonic scale, to realization, Hitler was called on to the scene, after Rathenau, Stresemann, and Brüning had served in the defensive period. So the great transformation had begun. The dynamic of coal, of iron, and of chemistry has become the dynamic of the S.A., the S.S., and the Stahlhelm. The Ruhr project for a continental empire has become the project for a 'Germanic Nazi Empire'. The foreign policy of Thyssen has become the foreign policy of Rosenberg.

II. The Rosenberg Plan (Project for a Nordic-Central-European Nazi Empire)

Only Hitler and his National Socialism can carry out Thyssen's continental plan. This is the central, decisive

fact, the explanation, which is at the bottom of the whole of the recent developments in Germany. It is this that is to-day making German history. Only when this connexion, the *absolute* relation of cause and effect between the foreign policy of the Ruhr and the nature of Hitlerism, is understood, does the actual reason emerge why Hitler had to come in Germany and why he could come in no other shape or form than that in which he did in fact come. Nothing in Hitlerism is accidental, nothing distorted or provisionally out of adjustment. What he is, in his immensity, his immoderation, his brutality, with his millions of mobilized and hypnotized masses, his unbridled racial philosophy shattering all frontiers, and his militant Pan-Germanism—that he has to be. For thus, and only thus, does Hitlerism constitute an adequate political expression of Thyssenism, only thus is the National Socialist movement the correct external form for the drive and the will of the internal capitalist forces in Germany. Without Thyssen Hitler would not exist. But only through Hitler can Thyssen continue to be.

Why should this be so? Why do we make this assertion and lay the whole emphasis of this book on, put its whole essence into, this thesis? Why could not the economic forces in Germany carry on any longer with the old system, the Republic and its foreign policy? Why did not Stresemann and Brüning, who were just as definitely German nationalists, suffice for them any longer? What change does Rosenberg make in the Wilhelmstrasse?

Thyssen's economic dynamic is no longer *national*. The great productive machine of the Ruhr and of its subsidiary structure has become so enormous, so intense, the radiations from its centres of energy reach so far, that its object has become no longer an individual national state, not even an aggrandized national state, but at the least a *continent*.

Therein lies the quintessence of the development of the Thyssen system, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter. But a continental drive also needs a continental executive. Thyssen cannot do anything more with a purely national German foreign policy. The foreign policy of the former Liberal state, which was restricted itself to the restoration of the old national frontiers—the abolition of the Danzig corridor, the regaining of East Prussia and Upper Silesia, the re-annexation of the Sarre Territory—is only a drop in the ocean for him. For this reason the whole previous conception of German diplomacy, Stresemann's reconstructive policy of a return to the *status quo* of 1914, means nothing to him. He does not want to return to 1914; he has long since gone far beyond that point.¹ He needs something fundamentally new, for which the conception of a national restoration, and the national state in general, is too restricted; he needs the conception of, *the foreign policy of, a continental state*. As such a foreign policy does not exist, it has to be invented—matter determines ideas. And it is being invented. It is the new 'racial state' or, more correctly, the *racial empire* of National Socialism. That is the innermost meaning, the true origin of this, the most frequently used, the most sacred, of Hitler's watchwords.

It is not a question of the Jews. The Jews are the Nazis' best catchword for agitation purposes and their cheapest scarecrow. Anti-Semitism is Hitler's opium. It is, in addition, a means of diverting special privileges and

¹This has been said on behalf of Thyssen most clearly by no one other than Hitler himself (in *Mein Kampf*): 'The demand for the restoration of the frontiers of 1914 is a political lunacy of extent and involving results that make it appear a crime. . . . The frontiers of the Reich in 1914 were . . . in reality neither complete, as regards the unification of people of German nationality, nor reasonable in respect of their military-geographical suitability. . . . The frontiers of 1914 mean for the future of the German nation nothing whatever.'

special profits from the nation's wealth to one section of the middle class, namely the upper section, and to one section of the oligarchy, namely the select Steel Trust group, at the expense of the Jews. But it would be the greatest mistake and the most short-sighted political error to see the essence of the Nazis' 'racial philosophy' in anti-Semitism, the struggle against the Jews. More than this is at stake; the struggle is against greater powers than the little heap of shattered existences in the old and new ghettos of Berlin and Frankfort. The future map of Europe is at stake. The Thyssen continental plan is at stake.

The National Socialist racial doctrine of Hitler, Göbbels, and Rosenberg states: the old national state belongs to the epoch of Liberalism and must disappear with it. Just as its internal form, democracy, has been discarded, so its external form must also be changed. The new form of state for the victorious National Socialism is the racial empire. 'The nineteenth-century idea of a national state was merely a preliminary stage towards its culmination in the National Socialist and Fascist state, and thus the onslaught of the new conception of the state on those remnants of a medieval political system is only now reaching its climax' (Alfred Rosenberg). The national state was the ideal of the great French revolution. The racial empire is the child of the great National Socialist revolution. The national state is only a dwarf in comparison with the racial empire—just as a nation is only a fragment of the race. The national state, therefore, must disappear—it must be transformed into the racial empire.

The logic is weak (the whole connexion of 'race' and 'state' is a singular confusion), but here there is no question of logic. It is a question of an ideological cloak for actual developments, for the fact that the capitalist pro-

ductive forces, having reached the pinnacle of their mechanical expansion, are actually breaking through the national framework. Hitler cannot accept for this the Socialist sequel of a 'Single World-State'—for Socialism means the confiscation of Thyssen's private property. But he takes the nebulous conception of 'race' and fits it to the matured form of the productive forces—and Thyssen has his ideology.

This means: Thyssen can now act in the field of foreign politics only with the National Socialists, their ideas, their philosophy, their slogans, their leaders, and their diplomats. For the general theory of a racial empire means in the concrete practice of the Nazis—a Germanic European Empire. And this and the continental programme of German heavy industry are one and the same thing.

Since the night when the German Reichstag was burned and the power in Germany passed into the hands of the Hitler-Göring-Göbbels triumvirate, the whole of German politics, the whole of the new Government's internal and external activity, has turned in reality upon one single point: the so-called 'Rosenberg plan'. This secret plan is to-day the unofficial fundamental Monroe Doctrine of the new Germany. Every political action, every diplomatic step, every ministerial speech, and every military preparation is, in fact, inspired by it and is in some relation or other to it—to an even far higher degree than, for example, British policy is determined by the 'permanent plans' of the Admiralty. The secret import of the Rosenberg plan is that the new Nazi State is only a preparation and a provisional phase, only an interim stage towards another, higher system: towards the *Germanic Union*, the combination of all the German peoples, which is to replace the former Bismarckian Germany. So long

as this is not achieved, the National Socialist revolution is not finished, but is going on raging; the 'third Reich' is realized only internally, but not externally. Hitler is only the leader on the road towards this goal. Göring is only the marshal in this campaign, Göbbels is only the herald of this idea. The Rosenberg plan must become the holy of holies of the new German effort, the doctrine of all the initiated. It must be supreme in the whole of German politics. It must be more important than any other part or facet of National Socialism. For its sake any sacrifice, any concession can be made, any act of treachery even can be committed against party principles—only the plan itself, as, in its time, the Schlieffen military plan of the German general staff, must not be assailed. For the Rosenberg plan transforms the Central European State of 60 million inhabitants into a trans-continental Nazi Empire of 100 millions. It means the Hitlerization of Europe, with the exception of the Western Latin and Anglo-Saxon zones. It federates all the 'Germanic' nations of the continent by uprooting them, either with their consent or by force, either by means of 'anschluss' (union) or conquest, from their former national state structures and by flinging them together into one block—Hitler's new racial empire. The Rosenberg plan prescribes the end of *Austria*, which is only a South-German clan on the Danube. It prescribes the liquidation of *Switzerland*, the German part of which, a Germanic alpine branch, must be detached from the unnatural union with French Switzerland, a relic of the Middle Ages. It demands the breaking-up of *Czechoslovakia*, in order that German Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia may be brought back to the racial fold. It demands the disintegration of *Belgium*, the Germanic, Flemish part of which, together with Brabant and Luxembourg, is, as in the case of Switzerland, to be separated

from the French, Walloon part. It makes Flanders and *Holland*, the old German Burgundy, the North-Western part of the racial empire. It incorporates Scandinavia, a fragment of the Nordic-Germanic race, the three states of which lead an unnatural national existence, into the same system. It claims *the Baltic* and its bordering states—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania—for the Hitler Empire, as the ancient possessions of the German Livonian Order. It claims Western Flanders and Lorraine from France, South Tirol from Italy, South Styria from Jugoslavia, Schleswig from Denmark. The power and the sovereignty of this empire—by virtue of this new law of race—must reach out everywhere wherever even a fragment of the Germanic race has fallen, as far even as Rumania and Jugoslavia with their German colonist districts. This is the Rosenberg doctrine, for which the old Bismarckian state is only a province of the whole empire. This is the real political concept and meaning of the ‘race manifesto’ of the Nazis, for which the ‘Jewish problem’ serves only as a cloak. And this is the new map of Europe after the establishment of Hitler’s empire, the map of the ‘National Socialist revolution’, which is to replace the map of Europe of the Liberal ‘French revolution’. It is this map that Göbbels has in mind when, in a great fundamental speech made to the Nazis in July—perhaps the most important speech a Nazi leader has ever made—he speaks of a ‘tremendous European mission’ of Hitlerism, when he declares that the future of National Socialism, as in its day the future of French Liberalism, does not lie within the country of its origin, not in Germany, but in Europe. And that is why German Fascism, in the matter of racial politics—perhaps in this matter alone—differs so strikingly from Italian Fascism. Whereas Mussolini can discover no ‘Italian’ race for his

expansion abroad, because it does not exist—outside the Adriatic—and whereas he cannot seriously proclaim any ‘Latin’ race, because it would refer primarily to France, his rival—Hitler has geographically in the ‘Germanic race’ in very truth half the continent as object for his empire. This is worth a new ‘philosophy’. All the other ‘Germanic’ states outside the Reich, such as Austria, Switzerland, Holland, or Denmark, are politically and militarily weak little countries, which in relation to Germany have not sufficient powers of resistance. On this is based the strategy of the Rosenberg plan. Here again logic is of no consequence. It is of no consequence that this geography of the ‘Germanic race’ is, historically and biologically, nonsense—politically and as propaganda it is a fact. The Rosenberg plan does not contemplate individual re-annexations or rectifications of the frontiers, it implies the wholesale invasion of entire spheres, entire zones of the Continent, after the system of the old barbarian invasions. Anyone who does not see this, anyone who still fulminates against the racial policy of the German Fascists from the standpoint of the Jewish question, fails to grasp the essence of Hitlerism and cannot understand it. For it is precisely in this that the enormous advantage for Thyssen of Hitler’s racial policy lies. It supplies Thyssen not only with the necessary ideology, but also the necessary geography. The map of the ‘Germanic racial empire’ is, point for point, identical with the map of the expansion of German heavy industry. The Hitler empire is geographically nothing else but *the inherent field for the productive forces of the Ruhr*.

For what will the ‘Germanic Union’ of the Rosenberg plan mean in Europe? It turns the whole continent upside down. It reaches as far as the Atlantic and the Suez Canal on one side, as far as the Arctic Ocean and the Adriatic on

the other. It changes the North Sea and the Baltic into German inland seas. It thrusts back all the other, purely 'national', states to the edge of the Continent and turns them into third-rate subsidiary structures. It creates within this part of the globe such a gigantic, central block that everything still situated outside it must succumb to the magnetism and the power of this block. It unites in this block all the vital raw materials and food supplies of the Continent. It joins the industrial centres of the Rhine and the peasant plains of the Danube. It combines the most intensive centres of industrial production with one of the mightiest corn-producing zones. It makes Berlin immune for ever from the danger of a new blockade ('autarchy'). It frees the Ruhr from its dependence on French iron ore (Lorraine, Sweden). It unites all the great European coal seams outside England and Russia—the Ruhr, the Sarre, Campine, Limburg, Upper Silesia—into one single block. It provides for this mass of raw materials and manufactured goods an enormous internal market of 100 million customers. It gives the banks of the Ruhr access to fresh strata of the population with liquid savings. It wrests from England one of the most important spheres for its commerce and its shipping—North-Western Europe (Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia, and the Baltic countries). It bars to France—and perhaps Italy also—the road to the Balkans and the Near East. It delivers up all the weak peoples south of the Danube and to the west of India into the arbitrary power of the kings of the Ruhr. It creates in the middle of the continent of Europe a separate economic continent for itself. It transplants thither the American system and American intensity. And it begins to paralyse and to crush all the other powers of Europe from a military point of view also. The Germanic Union from the Alps to the

Channel makes the defence of all these powers illusory and impossible. It crushes France by means of the almost threefold strength of its man-power (100 millions compared with 40), the colossal basis of its mechanical armaments, and the vast radius of action of its air fleet. It outflanks the concrete wall of French defences along the eastern frontier by marching in from Holland, or by an operation via Switzerland (cf. Chapter VI, 'Can Germany Win a War'). It does what it likes militarily with Poland. It holds Italy in check from the Alps and threatens the Mediterranean and France's possessions in North Africa. It paralyzes England militarily by 90, if not 99 per cent. From the Belgian and Dutch North Sea coasts it ends finally and for ever the epoch of splendid isolation of the little island. It mounts long-range guns in the immediate vicinity of the Channel and it establishes air force depots on the coast and in the floating aerodromes in the vicinity. Should England attempt to protest, then it is once again 'perfidious Albion' and 'Gott strafe England'—but without the ratio of forces of 1914. The Germanic Union dictates to Europe, will dictate to the world. And then it will proceed to the second part of its task—the *conquest of Russia* and of the road to Asia.

This is the second, subsequent, essential idea of the Rosenberg plan. The Germanic Union, however vast it may be in itself, needs a vast colonial empire. The 100-million system of Hitler's 'super-race' needs a 160-million system of a 'sub-race' in order to solve its master-'complex'. This is one of the most amusing, but at the same time most grave and most menacing constituents of the Hitler-Thyssen 'racial' world policy, its reverse side. The inferior sub-race is the Bolshevik race. The inferior race is the great, obscure peasant mass which dwells between

the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Pacific Ocean, which refuses to buy anything from Thyssen, although it is poor, which refuses to have anything to do with Hitler's culture, although it is 'stupid', and which is even developing its own culture—an industrial and Socialist culture. Thyssen knows that the development of the Socialist Soviet Union constitutes a deadly peril for Hitler's Germanic Union—perhaps the only danger which can really threaten him. However large Hitler's Union is, the Soviet Union is still larger. However vast the productive forces of the Ruhr, the productive forces of the Ural basin, the Don basin, the Kus basin, the Moscow district, developed in the form, and at the tempo, of a Socialist planned economy, overshadow them. Thyssen knows that he can never keep pace with the Russian Five-year Plans, for all his technical and financial resources—the Socialist resources of Stalin, of the people of 160 millions and the country of 8,240,000 square miles, are more powerful and more rapid, and are bound to be so. The Germanic Union can easily overtake France and England, with more difficulty the United States of America, but never Russia. Thyssen knows this, while Göring knows that militarily only the Soviet Union will one day later on be able to act as a real opponent of a Germanic Union. Göring knows that Germany alone is unable to overpower the vast frontier of Russia, the Soviets' eventual army of 20 to 25 millions, the new Russian air fleet and, above all, the propaganda-powers of a fighting Soviet Union. The 'sub-race' is mightier than the 'master race'. That is why the second essential idea of the Rosenberg plan is the destruction of the Soviet Union. It cannot be divorced from the first one. The establishment of Hitler's racial empire and the colonization of Russia are absolutely wedded together.

One of these blocks can exist only if the other is destroyed. And when Thyssen, Hitler, and Göring have destroyed the Soviet Union, when the Don basin, the Kus basin, and the Ural basin have been swept off the face of the earth, when Russian coal has become the property of the Essen Steel Trust, Russian petroleum the property of the Leuna chemical trust, when the Ukraine with its black soil has become a German peasant colony (settlement of younger sons of German peasants and of the unemployed), and the rest of the Russian population a German colonial market, when the road to Central and Eastern Asia is clear—then there will truly be no limits and no adversaries for Hitler's racial empire. 'To give the German peasant freedom in the East (Russia) is the basis for the entire regeneration of our nation', says Rosenberg (*Das Wesensgefüge des Nationalsozialismus*—'The Essential Structure of National Socialism,' Munich, 1933), the 'colonization of the eastern area' is 'our primary problem'. Hence the fight against Bolshevism—as completion of Thyssen's world power, as completion of Hitler's Cæsarism. This is the ultimate vision of the Rosenberg plan—and its ultimate practical political reality. Nothing would be more erroneous than to regard this plan as a Utopian fantasy. The Reichstag fire, too, was an unimaginable fantasy—and became a sober reality, the basis for the political overthrow of a whole people. The Nazis, in their sudden explosive appearance in Central Europe, brought with them their own equally explosive methods, which in foreign politics are no different from those in internal politics. Their designs are devised on a grandiose scale and have the strength of desperation. In reality it is the mechanical productive forces of German capitalism that, in their fettered dynamic, their explosiveness, are driving the Nazis to these

wild tactics and movements, forcing them irresistibly into them. But that is precisely why the Rosenberg plan is a concrete political reality. It is a concentration of the entire essence and the entire programme of National Socialism. It has never been made public, and will never be made public before the day of its fulfilment—any more than the German Schlieffen plan before the battle of the Marne, any more than Göring's plan for the burning of the Reichstag before February 27th. But the entire activities of Nazi Germany are concentrated upon it. The whole of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, the Bible of the Nazis, is imbued with it from the first to the last line. It is the Rosenberg plan that Göbbels has in mind when he issues his European slogans to the Brownshirts. It was in the execution of the Rosenberg plan that Göring acted when he offered in August large subventions to the leader of the Swedish Fascists, Furugard, if they pledged themselves to cede the northern provinces of Sweden as a colony to the Nazis in the event of the establishment of their rule in Sweden (Furugard himself then disclosed this offer in the Swedish Press, and retired from the leadership of the party). The Rosenberg plan trickles through in the well-known secret scheme of the Dutch Fascists for a 'federation of Flanders, Holland, and Germany', which was disclosed in the English Press (*Sunday Times*) and elsewhere. A single instance of the carrying out of the Rosenberg plan may be seen in the whole destiny and suffering of Austria. And it is of the Rosenberg plan that its author, the chief of the Nazi diplomatic service, Alfred Rosenberg himself, is speaking when he makes his biographer say: 'The plan for a foreign policy which Rosenberg has drawn up is indeed on a grand scale. The form of the future of Western civilization will depend

upon whether the generation of to-day, inside and outside Germany, has overcome the nineteenth century sufficiently to think on an equally grand scale' (S. Th. Hart, *Alfred Rosenberg, Der Mann und Sein Werk*, Munich, 1933).¹

Yes, the nineteenth century has been overcome, the foreign politics of the twentieth century are being carried on differently, and Rosenberg intends to become, on Thyssen's behalf, the prophet of the new era. Will he succeed in this? Can the Rosenberg plan be realized? That depends on *how* it is realized, *how* the Hitler-Thyssen foreign policy is put strategically into practice, what means this policy has created to achieve realization.

¹Other well-known Nazi leaders also occasionally let fall hints with regard to the secret Rosenberg plan. Thus *Kube*, the leader of the Prussian Nazis, for example, in a letter to Count Coudenhove-Calergi, the secretary of the Pan-European Union, openly indicates the annexation of Austria, Luxembourg, Alsace-Lorraine, Flanders, Switzerland, and Bohemia, etc., as the future German programme; furthermore, he claims for Germany the presidency of the European State League. Precisely the same claims are made by the leader of the Nazis in the Sarre Territory, *Simon*, in a speech to the representatives of Sarre associations. *Lüningek*, the Chief Administrator for Westphalia, declared on August 6th: 'The work is not yet completed—in the Third Empire an eagle does not yet stretch its wings from Aix to Vienna, from the Burgundian gate to the German sea in the Far East, from the Alps to the coast. But the work will be completed.' Hitler's chief slogan, the 'sovereignty of the Nordic-Germanic race', is only the general headline for the Rosenberg plan, and this plan is even incorporated in the official party programme of the Nazis, the first point of which reads: 'We demand the union of all Germans . . . to form a Great Germany.' 'All those who are of German blood, whether they live under Danish, Polish, Czech, Italian, or French suzerainty, are to be united in one German Reich' (*Feder, Das Programm der N.S.D.A.P.*, p. 42).

Best of all, however, and most honest is the Nazi periodical *Volk in Werden*, which quite simply says: 'The hour is not far when every German, every man and woman of German blood, let them live where they will, will belong to Adolf Hitler and National Socialism in the same way that once every Mohammedan from all the ends of the world belonged to the Caliph of all Believers.' The fundamental essence of the Rosenberg 'racial' plan, the return to the Mongolian-Arabian system of the Barbarian invasions, could not be better revealed.

Thus begins the third act of the new Wilhelmstrasse production—its *organization*.

III. Herr Rosenberg's Secret International

THERE are in the Berlin of to-day three buildings in the vicinity of which passers-by display a tendency to shrink nervously to one side. One of these is Göring's luxurious palace in the Prinz-Albrechtstrasse in the centre of the town, where the Dictator, amidst mystical, medieval decorations, passes his nights behind closed doors. Another is the building in the same street, number 8, previously known to nobody, to-day occupied by the Secret State Police, the hidden terrorist power, which stands behind Hitler and which knows the truth about the burning of the Reichstag. The third is the unostentatious little building in the Wilhelmstrasse, Number 70a. Not everyone knows this address. Still fewer know that it is here that the real foreign policy of the new Germany is created. All the diplomatic and international schemes of Hitler's Government are worked out here. All instructions to German agents abroad originate from here. And yet it does not house Germany's official Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Messrs von Hoesch, Koester, Luther, and other famous ambassadors and envoys of the Reich still, indeed, send their reports to the old address of the 'Iron Chancellor', Wilhelmstrasse 74, where the official residence of Messrs von Neurath and von Bülow is situated. But they know that, just like themselves, their chiefs in Berlin have long been mere shadows. Others write the real reports, and others read them.

The building Wilhelmstrasse 70a is the seat of one of the most interesting organizations of German National Socialism—and perhaps one of the most interesting international organizations in existence. Its official title is 'The Foreign Office of the Nazi Party' (Aussenpolitisches Amt der N.S.D.A.P.). This apparently implies nothing more than a private office of a party, a ruling party, it is true. But this private office is organized more like a general staff. There are several 'main departments' and various 'sub-departments'. There are departments bearing the name of every single foreign country. There is a main department 'Austria', a department 'foreign trade', and even a 'youth section'. There is a complete staff of 'chief directors' and 'sub-agents' in charge of the whole of this work. Who are these people? Their names have hitherto been for the most part unknown in Germany. In any case they had no connexion with the official diplomatic staff. Where have they come from? The few that are known are of very obscure origin: Germans from abroad, international adventurers, commercial agents; in particular, many Germans and half-Germans from the Baltic and former members of anti-Bolshevik military organizations. The supreme chief of this circle, Alfred Rosenberg, to-day a man of forty, the head of the Foreign Office of the Nazi Party, Hitler's special confidant in foreign affairs, is perhaps of all these people the most singular. A former Russian subject and student of architecture in Riga, during the war in Moscow, then teacher of drawing in Reval, then journalist and agitator in Munich, one of Hitler's first followers, 'putchist' in the night of November 9, 1923 (Hitler's first, unsuccessful armed revolt in Bavaria), then one of the official seven or ten leaders of the new Nazi Party, editor of its central organ (the *Völkischer Beobachter*), and finally its recog-

nized chief foreign agent—this young man, who has tried everything and changed his occupations so rapidly, had in reality during this whole period inside the Hitler Party a quite definite task. There are three definite internal circles which have created the Nazi Party of to-day and have made Hitler's name. The first circle is that of the terrorists—the former officers, chiefs of armed bands and political 'Vehme' murderers who have created the nucleus of Hitler's armed forces and who are to-day the leaders of his S.A. and S.S., the army of Brownshirts and Blackshirts. The second circle is the capitalist Thyssen circle with its allies in the heavy industries, in the banks and in politics, which has established the financial basis for Hitler and to-day rules his economic policy. The third circle is the circle for which Rosenberg was the intermediary with Hitler. It is the least known and the most obscure circle: it contrived Hitler's international connexions and it rules to-day his foreign policy.

What actual personages form this circle, and how far its interests and ramifications extend, it is difficult and perhaps too soon to say. Certain it is that this circle represents not a German but an international grouping. Its limits and origin are very nebulous. Participating in it or having a hand in the game there are political groups and associations in various countries, just as much as certain more than doubtful international 'intermediaries', lobbyists, and simply spies or anonymous capitalist companies. Various political scandals and lawsuits in recent times have, from time to time, thrown a flashlight on these combinations, which are far more consistent and more centralized than might be believed. There is perhaps a common root and a permanent motive-force for this grouping: that is the Russian Revolution of November 1917. This Revolution created in the years following the war a

front stretching from certain extreme reactionary organizations in the Russian émigrés-colonies, in Hungary, in Italy, in England, from 'anti-Bolshevik leagues', 'anti-Freemasonry associations', 'anti-Semitic committees' in Switzerland and in Rome, from 'intelligence-agencies' in Berlin, in Paris, in London, to well-known international financiers, elements interested in Russian oil and agents of the armaments industry. Men like Prince Bermond-Avalov, the former commander of the Russo-German Baltic troops in the war against the Bolsheviks, like Bell, the organizer of the forgeries of Soviet notes and alleged intermediary with Sir Henri Deterding, like Lieutenant-Colonel Hejas, one of the leaders of the secret association, 'Awakening Hungary', and a former organizer of the 'white terror' which followed the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919, like Monsignor Benigni, head of a very restricted, very exclusive circle of Catholic 'integralists', anti-Semites and anti-Freemasons (the 'Veritas' circle), like some other eminent personages in Western Europe—they all had various motives, of a political, social, financial, religious, or personal nature, but they all had the same aim. It is an extremely reactionary, extremely anti-Socialist, and extremely anti-Russian international circle, which might also be termed the 'White International'. And it was this circle, the territorial centre of which was in Munich, like that of the Nazi Party, that Rosenberg served and for which he worked. He kept it in touch with Hitler. He negotiated its material support for him. He co-ordinated the international policy of the two systems, with the purpose of amalgamating them into one, or at least bringing them into coalition for common action. Rosenberg led for many years a political double existence. He was not only a Nazi and Hitler's right-hand man. He was at the same time a member of an international anti-

Freemasonry group, a participator in international anti-Semitic congresses in Switzerland and Hungary, and the editor of a special newspaper against the 'superstate powers' of the Freemasons, the Jews, and the Bolsheviks. He belonged to an international grouping that carried on a violent struggle against the Jesuits and the Catholic parties in the various countries of Europe. Thus he united these elements with the Nazi terrorists and the Nazi capitalists. Thus he became chief of the 'Foreign Office of the Nazi Party'. And thus he became the real Foreign Minister of the new Germany.

The Foreign Office, which he now erected on entirely new foundations, in order to realize his plan, the Rosenberg plan, has become a true-to-type organ, blood of his blood, and flesh of his flesh. It is not a Foreign Office at all. It is a Secret International.

The Rosenberg plan, like its basis, the Thyssen plan, has not a national but a continental direction. The organization, then, which is to realize it must be built up on an equally continental scale. It must extend beyond the framework of its own country. It must operate simultaneously in Germany and *in other countries* which are to become parts of the future Germanic Union. And it cannot go in merely for diplomacy. It must at the same time be a *machine for the seizure of power*, a German instrument of power in *the internal politics* of foreign countries. That is the cardinal difference between Mr. Rosenberg's Foreign Office and the Foreign Offices of other countries.

How can the Rosenberg plan, the conquest for Germany of all 'Germanic' countries of the Continent, be accomplished? For the military conquest of such a vast area—from Holland to Austria, from the Baltic to the

Adriatic—Hitler is, in all circumstances, even in those of unrestrained arming on the part of Germany, too weak and will never risk such madness. A military struggle for the Germanic Union would mean a war against the whole of Europe, probably against the whole world, and no one knows this better than Thyssen and Rosenberg, who are strategists with a sense of reality. They know that any attack on Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland would bring the French army, any attack on Holland and Belgium the English army, into action, to the accompaniment of, at the very least, the hostile neutrality of Italy, America, and the Soviet Union, and that the collapse of the entire Nazi rule, whether from external or internal causes, would then be a matter of days or weeks. Not one of the Nazi leaders is crazy enough to contemplate such a possibility—Göring included. On the contrary, the entire strategy of the Nazis is concentrated upon letting Germany's *military* power be heard only *after* her political elevation; either after Germany's foreign adversaries have been suppressed or outmanœuvred one by one and any kind of coalition against Germany has become impossible, or after the Germanic Union has already been established, and *then*, on this basis, a new military power is set up which acknowledges no opponents on the Continent and can dare anything. But until then the military reserves cannot be called up for the aims of foreign policy; they can only be accumulated and strengthened from day to day, but they cannot start a war against a European coalition. This means that for the immediate future other than military means must be found for the realization of the Rosenberg plan. How, however, can the Germanic Union be established without arms? How can Austria, Bohemia, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Flanders, Holland, Scandinavia, the Baltic countries be conquered without a Prus-

sian army, without Göring's air fleet? At this point the new system, Rosenberg's new Foreign Office, comes into action.

The Nazis seized power in Germany not by arms, not by military revolt—they were too cowardly and too self-seeking for that—but by the 'democratic will of the people'. They seized power from within, not from without, 'legally', not by revolution. Why not employ the same method for the other 'Germanic' peoples? Within the 'Germanic race' the Nazis do not recognize any national frontiers—it is all internal politics. Why should not the Germanic Nazi detachments in Austria, Bohemia, Switzerland, or Holland carry out the same 'internal' operation as the central column in the Reich? Official Germany will have nothing to do with this, for it is a matter of the internal politics of the countries in question. But the sum total of these internal politics amounts to the foreign policy of the Germanic Union.

This sounds simple and naïve. But it signifies a radical change, a revolution in European politics—just as formerly the Nazi movement signified a revolution in German politics. The moment a state concentrates its foreign policy on the conquest of another state by means of an *internal political revolution*, on capturing it from within, the whole business of diplomacy takes on a new aspect. It is no longer a question of notes, negotiations, treaties, and annexations. It is a question of organizing internal armies within the other countries fighting the Government of their own country, overthrowing it, setting up their own Government, and then uniting with the enemy country. For it is clear that a Nazi Austria can wish for nothing but a union with the Reich and that a Fascist Government in Holland will regard the 'North-Germanic Federation' as the principal part of its programme. Conquest

of the other Germanic countries by means of *internal Nazi revolutions* and then *their federation with the Reich*—that is the new Nazi tactic in foreign politics, that is Rosenberg's new system. And that is the third enormous advantage that Hitler's 'racial doctrine' has secured for Thyssen's aims, for the big business men behind the scenes in the Ruhr. It procures for him not only a new ideology—racial empire as a screen for economic continental expansion—not only the necessary geography—Germanic Union as an exact reproduction of all imperialist demands of the Ruhr—but it also presents him with the new and only possible tactics for the execution of this programme, the tactic which requires no soldiers, no war, no ententes, and only trivial financial investments—a tactic which for Thyssen almost amounts to genius. Through separate Nazi federations to a single and indivisible Germanic Nazi Union. Through national Hitlers to Continental Hitler Empire! A thing like this is well worth a Reichstag fire. This is Rosenberg's third system. This is the aim and the task of his new Secret International.

The 'Foreign Office of the Nazi Party', Rosenberg's diplomatic organization, is only the hidden centre, the executive of this International, which is already in full working order, which covers all the countries surrounding Germany, and which is becoming stronger and more menacing day by day. The Nazi International to-day operates over half the Continent. It is stronger than any other international organization, stronger than Liberal alliances, stronger than Jewish groups, stronger than Catholic federations, stronger than the Second International of the Social Democrats, and the Trades Unions. Only one international organization equals it in power, activity, and unity—the Red International of the Com-

munists. This international will remain its most dangerous and most powerful adversary. Berlin and Moscow are irreconcilable. But in the meantime the Nazi International has built up an entire network of Nazi subparties in Europe. It is thereby divided into three large geographical sections: the North, comprising the Flemish-Dutch district and Scandinavia; the South, comprising Austria, the Danubian countries, and the Balkans; and the East, directed against Russia. In each of these sections a new compact Nazi federation is coming into being, legally or illegally, with native members, native or German leaders, and German money. In each of these sections national Fascist parties are developing with the Nazi ideology, the Nazi demagoguery, and the Nazi tactic, ready to follow the Nazi road towards the seizure of power. And each of these sections acts uniformly and centralized according to instructions from the Berlin executive, according to the Rosenberg plan.

THE NORTHERN SECTION

Here Holland is the base for the attack, the springboard of the Nazi international. Here where there lives a 'racially related' people, where, apart from Austria, cultural, economic, and military dependence upon Germany is strongest; here, in van der Lubbe's native land, a 'Netherlands National Socialist Party', the Dutch Blackshirts, is breaking ground. Its leaders, Dr. Haighton at The Hague, Adalbert Smit in Limburg, the dentist Koster in Groningen, maintain permanent organizational and financial connexions with the German Nazis, their official organ, *De Nederlandsche National-Socialist*, appears in a German town in Westphalia (Datteln), their slogans are identical with the demagoguery of the Nazis: 'We will no longer be ruled by a Jewish Holland!' 'Hitler is our

leader! These Dutch Blackshirts are as yet weak, as the German Brownshirts were at first. But they are already holding innumerable meetings, they are developing an unscrupulous agitation against the Dutch Liberals, Catholics, and Socialists, they are procuring adherents in influential military circles (General Westermann), and they are concentrating their activities very significantly on two Dutch provinces which are of the greatest economic and military importance for Germany: Limburg and Groningen. Limburg (between Belgium and Germany) is the site of the Dutch coal basin, the old bone of contention between the Ruhr concerns and the French groups; anyone who dominates Limburg can in the event of war control the economic life of Holland and thereby its political orientation. Groningen (in the north) is a railway junction and the point of intersection of various canals; from this point Holland can be strategically intersected. At the same time the leader of the fighting organization of the Dutch Nazis, Captain Roselveede, states that already they have 8,000 combatants, and in six months at the latest will have 50,000—in a tiny little country like Holland. And this entire organization is most intimately bound up with the German Nazi Party machinery on the other side of the frontier, in Westphalia and Aix; the district leader of the Nazis in Aix, Tykfer, although he was expelled from Holland, is one of the real instigators of the Dutch Blackshirts. The more Germany's economic pressure and expansion increase in Holland—and Thyssen is seeing to this—the more will the idea be hammered into this people that a solution for distress and crisis is to be found in a close association with the great Germany. All the more will the 'racial idea' and the political rôle of the Dutch Fascists grow. All the more will the orientation towards England, which is to-

day still paramount in Holland, decline. For Mr. Rosenberg's secret international has need of this country as a jumping-off point for a new war.

Precisely the same forces that are developing Dutch Fascism are also organizing a Nazi movement in Belgium—the *Flemish National Solidarists* (Dietsche Nationale Solidaristen) and their leaders, the 'Flemish Hitler,' van Severen, and Ward Hermans. The latter is the same Ward Hermans who in the year 1929, together with van Beuningen, launched the famous 'Utrecht documents', the revelations concerning military agreements between Holland and Belgium which were shortly afterwards shown to be forgeries from a German source. To-day Ward Hermans and van Severen have transformed the old historical Flemish movement for independence from Belgium into a purely Nazi organization. The 'Dinasos' wear Swastikas, sing the Nazi song, the 'Horst Wessel Lied', in Flemish, go in for Jew baiting, demand the abolition of Parliament and the Socialist workers' movement, and have their own military organizations with standardized uniforms. Their only aim, however, is the dissolution of Belgium and the union of Flanders with Holland and the Burgundian provinces of France in a new 'Greater Netherlands'—the north-western section of the future Germanic racial union. They go still farther. They declare the Boers to be an organic part of the same community, and they already have far-reaching connexions with extreme Dutch circles in the Union of South Africa. It is the old line of William II's famous 'Kruger telegram'; the Thyssen group to-day has very considerable interests in South Africa, where it is endeavouring to develop a steel industry independent of England and where some years ago it even succeeded in obtaining a commercial treaty with special preferences for Germany, which was

later abrogated as a result of the Ottawa agreement. It is very probable that the recent intensification of nationalist agitation in the Boer provinces, and the refusal of a section of General Herzog's Nationalist Party to agree to a fusion with Smuts' Anglophile Party, were facilitated by new influences from the Continent. The 'Greater Netherlands' Fascism here runs parallel with Thyssen's colonial policy; and a 'national racial block' of the Dutch farmers in the Union and the German farmers in the former German African colonies would conform exactly with the direction of this policy. In October 1933 there is founded officially in Capetown an 'African Aryan National Socialist Movement' even and imported German Nazis, clad in grey shirts, begin a large-scale anti-Semitic agitation—the usual tactical preparation of the ground. In the meantime the Flemish Nazis in Europe are developing an energy which has suddenly become very lively. From their 'Green House' in Ghent, a small replica of Hitler's 'Brown Houses', they are carrying on a wild separatist agitation against Belgium amongst the peasants and the middle classes of Flanders, and are endeavouring, above all, to bring the youth under their influence, precisely in accordance with the German example. The Brussels Government has even been obliged to decree a general prohibition against the wearing of uniforms. One of the leaders of these circles, Dr. Borms, who was a member during the war of the separatist 'Council of Flanders' appointed by the German generals, and was, on this account, condemned to a term of life imprisonment by the Belgian authorities, has now founded a new secret 'Council of Flanders', which is to make preparations for the uprising against the Belgian Government (disclosures by Otto Burgemeister in *Deutsche Freiheit* of September 13, 1933). Here, too, the actual slogan is: Back to Germany,

back to the Germanic race! Hitler as a new Emperor Charlemagne! That is the real interpretation of the 'Third Reich' code. But, instead of the Germanic mercenary armies, a sober political international is now at work.

This international does not even stop at Scandinavia, which was never a part of the German domains and is politically much less open to Fascism. But here is the apex of 'Nordic culture', of the Nazi heathen religion. Here are to be found the raw materials (ores, wood) and the districts for colonization which are useful to Germany's overcrowded industries. Here is the Baltic, which—in view of Russia and England—is to become a German inland sea. Here there is a strong peasant class, which the Nazis regard as the basis of their systems. And here is the special sphere of interest of Göring, who has lived for years in Sweden (not always in asylums) and has left behind connexions with aristocratic and military circles. One of his emissaries operating here is Commander von Pflugk-Hartung, one of the reputed murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, to-day an organizer of the Scandinavian Nazi movement. Just over the northern German frontier, in *Denmark*, a new, semi-legal Nazi group under the leadership of a certain *Major Lemke*, is attempting to stir up the distressed peasants of South Jutland and to build up a secret military organization; 'marine storm troops' are in action, directed from headquarters behind the German frontier. These groups carry out in Copenhagen by night exercises in barricade fighting and bomb-throwing, and above all attempt to win for themselves the official Danish rifle associations. But whereas here the movement is in its beginnings and has not yet had much success, in *Sweden* a local National Socialist Party has already been formed. It numbered in

the summer of last year 4,000 members, demonstrated in smart uniforms—the Government had to ban it—and sent a special mission to Göring in Berlin. But on its return, one of the leaders revealed what conditions Göring had made for subsidizing the Swedish Nazis (with the help of the German Treasury!): the surrender of the northern provinces of Sweden as a colonial sphere to German interests. That was to be one of the secret points in the programme for a future Swedish Nazi Government. This leader preferred not to await this eventuality and handed in his resignation from the party. To make up, however, Göring himself came in October 1933 to Sweden, in order in Rockelsta, the castle of his highly placed brother-in-law, Count Eric von Rosen, to hold a secret council of the Swedish Nazi leaders. The plan is directed towards enticing over, with the help of the nobility, a part of the Swedish Conservatives and forming here as well armed military formations. There is one factor which impedes the political advance in Scandinavia of the Nazi International—the lack of Jews. But, to make up, there is here, too, a powerful group which can in time be conquered and is already being conquered by this International: the bourgeois youth, which feels that it is not sufficiently considered by the Social Democratic and Liberal Governments in office. The sons of the rich peasants, the children of the middle class, the young officers and students feel that they are threatened by the competition of the trades-union officials, and they are raising the slogan: the saving of Scandinavia from Marxism and Communism. The geographical proximity of the Soviet Union and particular strength of the Second International in Scandinavia provide the Nazis with the impulses for these young people which they derive in other zones from anti-Semitism and

nationalism. The result already is the rapid progress of a new Nazi Party in Norway, under the leadership of the former Minister for War, *Major Quisling*. This officer, who for some time appeared to be very interested in the Socialist work in the Soviet Union and who even made a journey thither, is to-day the Norwegian Sir Oswald Mosley, and his party, the 'National Front', is already putting up their own candidates for the parliamentary elections. An influential paper in Oslo, *Tidens Tegen*, suddenly goes over to his side, and many organizations of the governing parties, the Conservatives and the Peasants' Party, begin to support him. Quisling's 'programme of salvation' for Norway is word for word Hitler's programme: national dictatorship, Corporate State, abrogation of the franchise for 'enemies of the State', coercive laws against the trades unions and banning of all revolutionary organizations, extension of the State police, etc. But the really most important and most characteristic point in this programme is another one. Quisling demands a 'Nordic League of Nations'. That is why he and his programme exist. The 'Nordic League of Nations' is the Scandinavian complement of the Flemish-Dutch federation of Rotterdam and Ghent Nazis. Both here and there the same secret hand of Herr Alfred Rosenberg. Both here and there the same geographical policy of the Nazi International.

This Nordic League of Nations of Hitler's will not end at the Scandinavian eastern frontier. It is completely to surround the Baltic, from the east too. It is in the same way to embrace *Finland* as well, whose powerful 'Lappo' Fascist movement, which some years ago was already on the verge of seizing the Government, is approaching nearer and nearer to the Nazi road, and whose governing military oligarchy has become absolutely pro-German

since the time of General Mannerheim,¹ and the two Baltic border states of *Esthonia* and *Latvia*, which were ruled as recently as before the war by the so-called German 'Baltic Barons'. These Baltic Barons owned nearly the whole country and kept the native Latvian and Esthonian peasants in a kind of slavery, according to the best traditions of the old Livonian Order. At that time they were enthusiastic supporters and subjects of the Russian Tsar. To-day they are enthusiastic National Socialists and see in Hitler the salvation of the world and their landed estates. They still control the considerable German population in the border states. Here is the native place of Rosenberg. Here is the playground of a whole army of German-Russian adventurers, who are only waiting for the opportunity of a new war, ordered and commanded from Berlin. And here again there are Jews. The ruling generals of Esthonia and Latvia—like all the generals round the Baltic—have long been waiting for Fascist slogans and Fascist cadres. The Latvian General Gopper has declared openly for Hitler, and a new league, 'Donnerkreuz', is making mysterious preparations. In Esthonia the governing Fascist 'Ex-Soldiers' Association' is tending in the same direction; in November 1933 there comes into being an Esthonian Nazi Party under the leadership of the Cavalry Captain zur Mühlen, supported by all the Germans in the country. And the slogan of a Fascist Baltic federation is only another version of the slogan of a Nordic league of nations, the North Star in Hitler's imperial crown.

THE SOUTHERN SECTION OF THE NAZI INTERNATIONAL

This is more important than the North. The whole fate of the Hitler empire is being decided in the South. It is

¹ A representative of the reactionary Finnish military organizations (the 'Volunteers') takes part, in October 1933, in the secret meeting of Göring with the Swedish Nazi leaders at Castle Rockelsta.

there that Thyssen is pressing on. The southern section is the touchstone of the whole Rosenberg plan, its first real battle front and its most difficult and dangerous field of operations. Should Rosenberg fail here—and there may be a war over this section—then Hitler will be finished in Berlin.

The entire frantic and desperate struggle that Hitler is carrying on for and in *Austria* is directed in reality by a certain department of the Rosenberg International: 'Main Department IV of the Nazi Party Foreign Office'. The entire National Socialist Party, which, it is alleged, unites 40 per cent of the voters of the nation, which actually has a majority in the Tirol, in Salzburg, in Carinthia, which is dogging the footsteps of Dollfuss and which already has one hand on the government of this state with the object of turning the future of Central Europe upside down—this party is nothing but an emanation and an executive of this department. Its famous leaders and 'heroes', the national inspector, Habicht, the district leader of Vienna, Frauenfeld, the provincial leader, Proksch, the Tirolese agitator, Hofer, are nothing but pawns and marionettes in the hands of Rosenberg, Dr. Emil Schneider, Hans Dits, and other unknown and secret directors of 'Main Department IV' in the Wilhelmstrasse. But not only this official party. The secret terror organization, which has for months past been keeping Austria in a state of panic, which menaces the streets of the Austrian towns and villages by day and by night, which has cost the life of dozens of people and despatched in October a former soldier to murder the Chancellor, Dollfuss; the 'Austrian legion', which is being formed on the other side of the Austrian frontier in Bavaria, in order at the appropriate moment to march into Austria and occupy Vienna; that mysterious 'Chief Division VII'

which is entered in the registers of the German Brownshirt army (S.A.) as a part of this army, but whose staff is to be found somewhere in the suburbs of Vienna or in the mountains of the Tirol—all these, like the official Nazi Party, are manipulated by the wires of the Berlin International in order in this way to conquer this country from all sides and by every possible means. An accident—the fear of the Vienna Catholic police of being replaced by a new Nazi police force, as in Berlin—has demonstrated how in reality a definite, strictly conspiratorial body in Vienna, namely the direct representatives of that Berlin International, coherently and centralized, directs the entire work of local Austrian National Socialism. One day in August the Vienna police make a raid on a certain house in the Brandstätte, Number 4. The house contains the office of a little-known cultural society—the ‘Society for Cultural Co-operation in Eastern and Southern Europe’. The directors and officials of this association are harmless non-political people—writers, merchants, draughtsmen. They issue some kind of unknown periodical—the ‘Zentral-europäische Presse-Korrespondenz’. But then the police find documents in this pretty little office and amongst these nice people. Documents that have no connexion with any culture at all, unless it be the ‘culture of the Germanic race’. Documents concerning the secret organization of the Austrian National Socialist Party; concerning the tactic of terror in Austria and the ‘Austrian legion’ in Bavaria; concerning the secret influencing of the Press and concerning espionage amongst the officials; concerning methods of exerting pressure on Austrian industry and agriculture and concerning plans for sabotaging the Government’s economic measures. The director of the office in Vienna, Dr. Herbert Schneider, is the brother of Emil Schneider, director of ‘Main Department IV in

the Nazi Party Foreign Office', Rosenberg's immediate assistant. The second official of the Vienna office, Dr. Arthur Theodor Dits, is the brother of Hans Dits, an employee in Department IV. The four brothers correspond with one another daily in code (in addition they maintain contact with the German Embassy in Vienna—the official public announcements of the Government in Vienna confirm this). And in this correspondence the whole policy and life of Austrian National Socialism is settled—quite apart from its finances. The two brothers in Berlin give instructions to the two brothers in Vienna. The two brothers in Vienna give instructions to Habicht, Frauenfeld, Hofer, and other official leaders of the Austrian Nazis. And then things begin to happen: bomb outrages in Vienna, a prodigious election campaign in Styria, military preparations on the Bavarian frontier, liberation of prisoners in the Tirol, peasant demonstrations in Carinthia. That is the real work of the Rosenberg International, naked and exposed. That is why this example of Austria is so enormously important and instructive. It shows the Rosenberg International at its apogee. It shows what the Nazi International is and how it operates when it reaches at a given spot the *culminating point* of its policy, when its operations and preparedness are at their height. And this point it has reached in Austria. Then the Nazi International is no longer a mere instigator and financier of foreign and national parties. Then it is a terrible organization, the terrorizer and inquisitor of an entire country. Then it is a party, an army, a staff of dynamite-plotters, an espionage-bureau, an organization for economic sabotage, all in one. Then, like an octopus, it holds the foreign country between its feelers and sucks it dry. And the Nazi International will not again let Austria slip out of its hands—unless it is faced

with stronger adversaries. It will not bother about temporary defeats and reverses. It does not care a damn for the decrees and desperate remedies of Dollfuss. It laughs at this 'pocket Napoleon' of Austria, just as it once laughed at Brüning. It laughs at the desperate meanderings of Otto Bauer and the confused leaders of the Austrian Social Democrats whose worker-membership is determined to fight on its own account, just as it once laughed at Severing, Wels, and Otto Braun in Germany and their 'democratic resistance'. It will wait until it can deal the final blow. It will overrun the Viennese Social Democrats, shoot them down or put them in concentration camps.¹ It will overthrow Dollfuss and his Heimwehr or compel him to form a coalition with it, just as it compelled Hugenberg to form a coalition, and then quietly strangled him. It has only two real or possible adversaries. The first is Mussolini, who, the moment he comes to a final understanding with France, may close the road to Vienna to Hitler and Rosenberg with his diplomacy or his troops, but who, so long as he rivals France, may on a fifty-fifty basis let Hitler get to Vienna. The second and the only real adversary is the Austrian working class—the class which already once has won its freedom at the point of a rifle, and which, despite and over the heads of its leaders, will defend itself. But the working class of Vienna still keeps silent—remembering Berlin. The Rosenberg International, southern section, is acting.

It is acting not only in Austria. The southern section has already thrown a network of national Nazi Parties, fully organized and in full swing, over *the whole of Danubian Europe*—from the Alps to the Black Sea. In this

¹ While this book is still in the press Dollfuss is himself preparing the ground for the Nazis by drowning the heroic workers of Austria in a bath of blood (civil war in Austria, middle of February 1934).

it has advanced much farther and established itself much more surely than the northern section. This is how Rosenberg works on the Danube:

In *Czechoslovakia*: Here, for some years already a 'Southern German National Socialist Party' has been operating; with its membership of over 100,000 (figures up to last autumn), it was one of the most powerful political parties in Czechoslovakia and certainly the most strongly and actively organized of all of them. Here the Hitler racial law once more comes into force. The 100,000 organized Nazis are the leading party of the $3\frac{1}{4}$ million Bohemian Germans, who comprise more than a fifth of the whole population of Czechoslovakia. This means that by exerting pressure on the Bohemian Germans the Nazis can move a lever for splitting off a fifth part of Czechoslovakia. For that is the aim. The Bohemian Nazis wish to break up and disintegrate Czechoslovakia in exactly the same way as the Flemish Nazis Belgium and the Limburg Nazis Holland. Although they describe themselves, to the Government in Prague, as mere 'autonomists', perfectly legal patriots, they are carrying on a typical military and political irredentism, with the object of joining Bohemia on to Germany. In the small German towns in the north of Czechoslovakia they are already, unofficially, all-powerful, controlling the municipalities, influencing the authorities, and terrorizing the rest of the Germans, above all the workers. They win every election, using the same social and political material as the German Nazis: distracted petty-bourgeois, nationalist and desperate young people, bewildered peasants, wretched unemployed workers (Bohemia is to a certain extent a continuation of German Silesia). They have, under the name of 'sports clubs', their own illegal military organizations ('Volkssport') which are under the com-

mand of the German staff of the Brownshirts. The power of the Bohemian Nazis, whose leader, the deputy Rudolf Jung, is the oldest of all Hitler's adherents, has become so great that the Government in Prague was obliged to dissolve the party officially in October and to declare it illegal—on the ground that it was preparing an attack on the existence of the State. The party offices were occupied, the leaders, Jung, Kasper, Schubert, arrested, another leader, Krebs, fled to Germany. The history of Austria is being repeated down to the dots on the i's, the Rosenberg international is the same everywhere. It is fighting Beneš, exactly as it is fighting Dollfuss. And it at once orders, as before in Vienna, that in the place of the dissolved official party, a new, legal or illegal, Nazi Party must be brought into being in Czechoslovakia. This new party is already there, the very evening the old party was banned. It is called 'Sudetendeutsche Heimat Front' (Southern German National Front), it is strictly 'legal' and loyal to the State, it loves the Czech state and Mr. Beneš as itself, it has taken over the members of the old party, and its leader is the old Nazi, Konrad Henlein. The name and the trade-mark do not matter. What matters is the Germanic race and the corresponding department in the Berlin executive. Just as in Berlin there is a certain Herr Schneider as special commissioner for Austria, so there is a special commissioner for Bohemia, a certain Baron Czibulka. Just as the Rosenberg international has a hold on Austria, so it will not release Czechoslovakia. So long as it possesses in those classes of the German population who have become Fascist a lever against Prague, it will make use of this lever. And it is already attempting to add to this lever another one. It is encroaching upon another particular national district of Czechoslovakia—*Slovakia*. This country formerly

belonged to Hungary, the magnates of which, the Esterhazys, the Schönborns, the Windischgrätzes, owned whole kingdoms in it and treated the backward Slovak peasants like animals. They would like this state of affairs to return and they are instigating Horthy's Fascist Government in Budapest to build up an underground movement in Slovakia for a union with Hungary. The Bohemian Nazis make an offer of business on a fifty-fifty basis to the Slovak insurgents. Von Papen travelled to Budapest (in September 1933) to conclude this secret agreement. The state of Masaryk and Beneš is being excavated from within. The international in Berlin continues on its march.

In *Hungary*: Here exists likewise a special '*Hungarian National Socialist People's Party*', the Greenshirts, which, in place of the forbidden swastika, bear an arrow-cross (cross composed of four arrows). Their leaders are *Zoltan Mesko* and *Count Festeticz*, and they declare openly in a manifesto that they will stand 'in the great hour with heart and hand' at Hitler's side. But here Hitlerism must be thoroughly on its guard. There is an indigenous Hungarian Fascism which since the counter-revolution of 1919 has dominated the country without restraint and which voluntarily will yield it to no one—neither to the Habsburg King Otto and his Catholic legitimists, nor to Hitler and his Hungarian Nazis. It is the Fascism of the Horthy-Gömbös-Hejas Government, which has conquered this country by means of a white terror exactly in the manner of the Nazis, and which maintains itself to-day by means of the bayonets of the privileged, luxuriously living corps of officers, by means of the support of the Calvinist lesser nobility (the higher nobility is Catholic and Habsburgian) and—by means of Mussolini's sympathy. The Nazis cannot venture any-

thing against this sympathy. Rosenberg must act very cautiously and warily on this stage of the Danubian road—he cannot on any account involve himself in a clash with Horthy and Mussolini. On the contrary, he must win them over—on account of Austria, on account of Czechoslovakia, on account of the Little Entente, on account of France, on account of the whole of international politics. For this reason the position of the Nazi International in Hungary is: alliance and if possible amalgamation with the Horthy-Gömbös Fascism.

In the *Balkans*: Here, where the narrow road to the Near East begins, where there lives a population of humble peasants, eager to make purchases, where before the war the Deutsche Bank established one of its main positions, as the gateway to Turkey and Central Asia, here in the Balkans, which Thyssen even to-day regards as an important transit district for the productive forces of the Ruhr—here, too, Hitlerism is forging ahead with one bound, wearing a Balkan instead of a Germanic cap. It finds here again its best and most reliable instruments: the naïve peasant, the Nationalist officer, the rowdy student, and the persecuted business Jew; even, here and there, the 'Germanic racial brother' (German colonists in the Balkans). Typical is the development in *Rumania*. Rosenberg is here forming an anti-Semitic 'cultural block' with the racist '*Lanc*' *League* of Professor *Cuza* (*Liga Aparei Nationale Crestine*—League of National Christian Defence), which during the course of 1933 was becoming a purely Nazi organization. In March secret negotiations took place in Berlin between *Cuza's* son and Rosenberg's Foreign Office. Colonel *Tatarescu*, before the war Rumanian military attaché in Berlin, became military chief of the movement. The new inspiration is very rapidly having effect. The Rumanian Hitler *Cuza* de-

clares to the peasants, who form the overwhelming majority in this poor country, that he has only one programme: to confiscate the property of the Jews and to distribute it amongst the peasants. The result is that the cells of the Rumanian Nazis are spreading throughout most of the villages, that district conferences of the 'Lanc' attract up to 10,000 peasants, that the party obtains twelve seats in the elections (seventeen with other Fascist groups)¹ and that the 'Lanc' can form uniformed storm battalions after the pattern of the Brownshirts throughout the whole country. At the same time the number of pogroms in the small Rumanian towns is beginning to grow, and in Bessarabia a systematic boycott of Jewish businesses is being organized in strict accordance with the example of Berlin, with sentry-posts, provocative posters, etc. The students are demanding the exclusion of the Jewish youth from the schools and the universities. Finally it is getting so far that peasants with great farm-carts are driving to the meetings of the Cuzists to carry off the possessions of the Jews right away. Then, however, the other side of the new, now so powerful movement immediately becomes apparent. Cuza is demanding in Parliament a new orientation in Rumania's foreign policy: away from France, turn to Germany. Rumania does not belong to the Germanic race, but what does that matter! To the Germanic race belong certain German peasant colonies in individual parts of Rumania (Transylvania), which are forming their own Nazi group, affiliated to Cuza, organizing their own Brownshirt detachments, while the German Minister in Bucharest takes part in their congress (in July 1933). The Rumanian Government Vaida Voevod, which depends on the better-off peasants, sympathizes with Mussolini,

¹ At the last Rumanian elections in December 1933 the Lanc, together with Goga's similar 'Peasants' Party', received about 9 per cent of all votes, equal to one-fifth of all votes outside the Government party.

and is terribly afraid of the neighbouring Soviet Union, preserves a benevolent neutrality; in reality it is supporting the new movement. In November the spectre of this movement darkened the whole country. In Czernowitz, Klausenburg, Jassy, and other Rumanian towns large-scale Jewish pogroms are simultaneously breaking out—pogroms which already look more like organized civil war. The Government remains passive, allows everything to happen. Only the energetic intervention of France at the last hour, compelling King Carol to overthrow the Vaida Government, set up a new Liberal Government, and take steps against Cuza agitation, can this time prevent the Hitlerization of Rumania. But only for this time. At the end of 1933 Duca, the new Premier, who dared to take these steps, is shot by a member of the 'Iron Guard', an organization like Cuza's and connected with Berlin. Forces that hitherto operated openly take up underground positions. The Rumanian Nazis are now in opposition and are preparing for a fresh general attack. And that will be the end of French influence in Rumania. Thus the Nazi international continues the disintegration of the Little Entente from within. From Prague and Bucharest it presses farther forward towards Athens, where, under the leadership of a former general-staff captain, a Greek Nazi organization, the '*Ethnikos Enosta Elados*', is coming into being; towards Belgrade, to which a special emissary from Rosenberg, Herr von Hohenaesten, offers a part of Austria (district in Carinthia) in exchange for renouncing alliance with France; and especially towards Sofia, where it encounters *Mihailov's Bulgarian Fascist group*.¹ This group, which finds its support

¹ While proofs of this book were being corrected the press of May 20 reported the news of a successful Bulgarian Fascist coup, aided by the King.

in the armed Macedonian bands of the Komitadgi, the military league of the Minister for War, Kissiov, and the Ambassador, Volkov, and the Conservative Parties, is the real secret Government of Bulgaria. It has a leaning towards Italy, whereas the other rival group of Liberal elements (peasants' league, Gurov fraction, etc.) looks to France for help. Hitler and Rosenberg, then, are employing the same methods for Bulgaria as for Hungary; they are endeavouring not to interfere with these entrenchments of Mussolini Fascism, but rather to insinuate themselves—first only as allies and partners, later, however, as the real leaders.

Hitler's coalition with Mihailov and Zankov, pointed at France, will complete the whole Danubian chain of the Nazi International. And then this International can proceed to one of its most precious and important aims—the winning over of the *Turkish Kemalists*, the gate to the Asiatic block. On October 31, 1933 the Nazis in Berlin arranged a great celebration in honour of the tenth anniversary of the Kemal Revolution. The Turkish Ambassador, Kemaleddin Sami Pasha, and Herr von Papen were brought into it. On this day Herr Werner Daitz, Department Chief in the Rosenberg office, extols Kemalism for the first time as the Turkish Hitlerism. He declares that 'the Turkish Revolution is an historical example to the world of the racial worth of a people'. He confirms, then, that the descendants of Mohammed and the Turanian steppes are recognized in Berlin as racial brothers, as a kind of Asiatic Germans. And he adds that negotiations have begun 'concerning a greater share on the part of Germany in the programme for the further opening up of Turkey'. Ideology and practice agree again. Thyssen and Krupp, who are building the new railways of Asia Minor and who want to go much farther east, have at last

again a *political* basis in the Orient—fifteen years after the end of 'Young Turks'. The Ruhr is getting ready some new Enver Pashas. Turkish policy will be one of Rosenberg's most important tasks.

This is the achievement of the southern section in Wilhelmstrasse 70a—a vast, mighty achievement, and already a piece of world history. The work of this section shows that the orbit of the Nazi International is by no means confined to the doctrine of the 'Germanic race'—it reaches out far beyond this, whether it be a question of Germanic nations, the Balkans, or the Orient; it extends practically over the whole continent and its outlets. It does not even stop at little *Switzerland*, apparently so consolidated and independent, which also belongs to this southern section and which Hitler needs for the sake of his front against France, and for the sake of an eventual security against Italy. In this country of, it is alleged, idyllic Liberalism, an indigenous Nazi Party has grown up, practically within a few months, which is beginning to swamp the old senile Liberalism. This party is called '*Die Nationale Front*' ('The National Front'), its headquarters is Zürich and German Switzerland, its leader is the former Chief of the General Staff of the Swiss Army, General Sonderegger (also the Zürich Professor Freytag and the former Liberal politician Dr. Henne),¹ it draws upon the ideas and the money of the German Nazis and talks quite openly of a union with the 'Third Empire'. Result: at the first elections, in which the Alpine Nazis took part, the elections for the district council in Schaffhausen in September 1933, the 'National Front' obtained 3,000 votes against the 5,000 of the Swiss Liberals. At the second elections, the Zürich municipal elections some weeks later, it obtained ten seats, having previously had no representatives

¹ A few leaders have recently broken away.

at all, while the Liberal seats (Freisinnige and Democrats) were reduced from forty-four to thirty-four. These are the same symptoms as in Vienna, in Bohemia, and in Bucharest. The Danubian Nazis and the Alpine Nazis are marching in step with the Berlin Nazis.

There is yet another section of the Rosenberg International, the third—the *eastern section*. It is the youngest, the least developed, and the most dilettante section, which, compared with the other two, already agitating world politics, is still in an infantile stage. But it is a section with great, far-reaching tasks for the future, and it is the favourite child of Rosenberg, that Russian convert possessed by anti-Bolshevik psychoses and anxiety dreams (he calls these psychoses the ‘mythos of the twentieth century’). It is a completely conspiratorial section, which certainly swallows up proportionately more money from the Nazi exchequer than the two others put together, although it has no movement at all in its ‘territory’. For the territory of this section of the Nazi International is the *Soviet Union*, the great eastern empire of the Socialist workers and peasants. Here another, an antipodean, International reigns, in the eyes of which Hitlerism is only capitalist barbarism, the final barbarism of this century and this social order. The Red International in Moscow will never yield an inch of its soil to the Brown International, without calling up its entire forces, the forces of the 160 million socialistically organized workers and the forces of the millions of workers outside its frontiers, in its defence. And that is why the Brown International in Berlin, which cannot imagine a future for itself without this country in the East, without the dream of a vast colonization of Russia, has been compelled to establish its own organization, which is to make ready for this campaign,

this conquest, by *underground* methods. It has begun forthwith to create this organization. In Berlin there has come into being, on the direct initiative of Rosenberg and under the direction of his compatriots and friends, the Baltic German Russians, Heinrich *Pelchau* (alias *Svetosaroff*) and Colonel *Hörschelmann*, the first *Russian National Socialist Party*—the so-called '*Rond*' (*Rossijskoje Ob'jedinennoje Nacionalno-Socialisticheskoje Dwijenije*). Amongst the leaders of it are a handful of Russian princes (Prince *Dabischa-Gotromanicz*, Prince *Obolenski*, etc.) ; the party possesses a large headquarters of its own (in the *Meyer-Otto-Strasse* in Berlin), its own journal (*Pro-bushdenije Rossji*—'Russia's Awakening'), its own district groups and secret branches in Paris, Prague, Belgrade, London, and other European capitals. It acclaims Hitler as its supreme leader. What does it matter if this party, which is destined to rule one day in the Kremlin, after the old system is drowned in blood, is composed at the moment merely of a band of vagrant Russian and half-Russian adventurers, mercenaries, back-street financiers, degenerate aristocrats, Gogolian 'dead souls' squires and mere members of the underworld and the demi-monde?—it has, on the other hand, its own Nazi uniforms, brown shirts in Cossack style. What does it matter if these Russian Nazis no longer have any native land, any name, and any teeth?—Rosenberg supplies everything. The members of the '*Rond*' are armed by the Nazis, given military instruction by the Reichswehr in the camps at *Döberitz* and *Jüterborg*, they take part in all the Nazi congresses and processions as special formations, and the *Essen National Zeitung*, *Göring's* organ, requests all Russians to send their addresses to the '*Rond*'. The '*Rond*' is only the first nucleus. In reality the Nazi International is here boldly and purposefully introducing the attempt,

within a few months of the German revolution, to unite the entire body of white Russian émigrés, scattered in hundreds of thousands all over Europe, into a new, powerful Russian Hitlerism, which is to take over the heritage of Denikin, Kolchak, and Wrangel, but to be directed no longer from Paris and London, but from Berlin. This movement immediately becomes more serious than all the former attempts and experiments in the same direction of Miliukov, Kutiepoff, or the 'Tsar' Cyril. If the Austrian petty-bourgeois, the Flemish nationalists, and the Rumanian peasants are becoming blind tools in the hands of the Nazi International, the Russian White Guards, which were once the first real forerunners and preceptors of the Nazis—hence Rosenberg's position—are a conscious, enthusiastic, and ready-for-anything army for Hitler, such as he could find nowhere else in the world. They have nothing to lose. They are gradually going to the bottom in their slums on the fringes of the European capitals. They have lost and execrated their former 'French', 'Polish', and 'English' orientations, these countries having come to an agreement, one after another, with the Soviet Union. At this moment Hitler appears as their Messiah, the last and the only saviour. That is the basis and the spring-board for Rosenberg's eastern section. The 'Rond' is sending emissaries to all the centres of Wrangel's and Denikin's former military organizations (above all to Paris, the seat of General Miller's central 'Russian military union'), with an invitation to join the new military league, Hitler's Russian legion, which is to be formed after the pattern of the Austrian legion in Bavaria. The emissaries state that twenty-one half-regiments of this legion have already been formed. This cannot be checked, and the time for the great war against Moscow is not ripe. Until the Russian Nazis are employed against the Bolsheviks, they can, however, be em-

ployed against the German workers and the Jews. Their experiences in both directions, in the White Terror and in pogroms, is invaluable. Hitler's new 'Secret State Police' is full of white Russian agents. Yet actually Rosenberg is recruiting and training his 'Russian National Socialist Party' for a quite definite and specific task in the near future: for the conquest and domination of the *Ukraine*. This special plan is, like the conquest of Austria, one of the most immediate and most thoroughly worked-out schemes of the new Wilhelmstrasse. The new 'great Ukrainian' colonial empire in the East, including South Russia, Polish Eastern Galicia, and perhaps Bukovina, larger than Germany itself, with its unending fruitful plains, with its own harbour on the Black Sea (Odessa), is for Hitler not only the real solution of the German unemployment problem—in that all the workers who are thrown out of work and the younger sons of the peasants excluded by the new agrarian reforms will be transported thither—it is for him, in combination with the subjugation of the Danube, the decisive step towards European hegemony. If Berlin holds Vienna in the south and Kiev in the east, then Paris, London, Warsaw, and Rome will be paralysed for the future. That is why the 'Rond' is being founded. It, together with its Baltic Germans, is the future 'autonomous' Government of the Greater Ukraine. 'The efforts of the Ukrainians in their movement for independent autonomy should be attentively watched. In this natural enemy of Poland a further lever in Eastern policy can be discerned' (Rosenberg's biographer, Hart, on his 'ideas'). The unknown strategists in the 'Nazi Party Foreign Office' work more quickly, more boldly, and more imaginatively than the permanent officials in Downing Street or the Quai d'Orsay. The 'Rond' has founded a special 'Ukrainian Department', and has proclaimed a new national Ukrainian flag (swastika on a

yellow-blue background). It is collecting around itself the old adherents of the feudal Ukrainian Hetmans (Petlura and Skoropadski); with the latter, Göring is personally in touch. And it is entering into an alliance with the great secret party of reactionary *West-Ukrainian Nationalists*, which has for years been attempting to win over to its side the oppressed peasants in the Ukrainian districts of Poland (Eastern Galicia) by means of armed guerrilla warfare against the Polish authorities. Its secret military organization, the 'U.V.O.', works exactly on the pattern of the old Irish I.R.A. To this party, which for some time has been languishing away for want of 'orientation' in foreign politics, is now happening exactly what previously happened to the Rumanian Anti-Semitic Party—it is suddenly as if electrified. Its propaganda grows, its peasant-groups become more active, the terrorist outrages increase in number. And on its programme appears the magic point: Victory with German help! The Ukrainian Fascists have found their orientation. In November 1933 its representatives in the Polish parliament protested openly against the Polish-Russian non-aggression pact. The leader of the movement, Eugen *Conovaletz*, comes into direct, very close contact with Hitler. On both sides an attempt is being made to form new Ukrainian 'National Committees' for the support of the insurgents in various capitals of Europe. Any kind of competition on the part of other 'Ukrainian' pretenders is being smothered; the Berlin police, for example, arrested the whole of the group of the 'Hetman' Ostranitzka with himself at their head. German officers, who once, in the brutal Field-Marshal Eichhorn's army of occupation, beat up entire villages of Ukrainian peasants, are co-operating. The Ukrainian patriots publicly promise their German benefactors all the wealth of their country. Neither forgets that the Ukraine was already once for a

whole year (1918) a German colony and that for one year it saved the German position in the war. Thus the young 'eastern section' is growing, to become one day a full member of this International. In November 1933 the Soviet-Russian authorities in the Ukraine, on the occasion of the arrest of a secret agent named Bukshovanni, arrived from abroad, established the first concrete sign of a new separatist agitation in the Ukraine with a German background. Nothing in this development is changed when in October the Nazi Government officially dissolved the openly irredentist organization of the 'Rond' under the diplomatic pressure of the Soviet Government; it continues to exist and to carry on its activities unofficially, just like the Austrian Nazi Party.¹ On the contrary, the network of 'national' Nazi groups around the Soviet Union is being uninterruptedly extended. In Bessarabia, formerly the extreme south-western province of Russia, which is to-day under Rumanian rule, a *Russian-Bessarabian Nazi Party* is operating, the centre of which is the famous old pogrom town of Kischineff, the members of which are the former Tsarist 'black hundreds', Jew-baiters and gendarmes, the financial source of which is Berlin. The group already possesses two newspapers in the Russian language (*Telegraph* and *Woskresenie*), and works in the closest co-operation with Professor Cuza's Rumanian Nazis. In *Latvia* Russian Nazis are being organized under Prince Lieven, in *Poland* the threads lead to a Fascist group in Vilna,² and in the *Far East* bridges

¹ One of the organizations covering the continued existence of the 'Rond' is called, for instance, 'Deutsch-Russische Standarte'; its leaders are General von Golovatchev and Baron Moller-Sakomelski. Members wear a mauve-coloured Hakenkreuz on a brown ground.

² Even in this anti-German country an openly Hitlerite Nazi organization, the 'National Socialist Party of Upper Silesia', is being formed. Reports published in the *New York Times* of May 31 and June 1 indicate the growing strength of the Polish Nazis, which captured the Lodz municipal elections.

are beginning to be built between the Nazis and Russo-Japanese circles, which are just as much in touch with the former white generals in Siberia and Mongolia as with certain official quarters in Tokio and Manchukuo. This latter movement, instigated simultaneously from Berlin and Tokio, may perhaps very soon and very surprisingly acquire a quite special importance. Here the Nazi International comes in contact with a power that perhaps more than any other in the world is destined to become its mighty ally and partner. We shall return again to this decisive point. In the meantime no time is being lost in Berlin. Deliberately and systematically the eastern section is attempting to encircle Moscow just as the southern section is encircling the Danube and the northern section the Baltic. At the centre, at the intersecting point of these three circles, is Rosenberg, the chief of the Brown International. And on a little wire in front of him hangs, moves, and dances Baron Neurath, the Foreign Minister of the German Reich.

IV. The World-Rôle of the Brown International

The German Revolution is to change the face of the world. We want to fashion new human beings. One day the German Revolution will not remain confined to Germany. We have thrown the fire-brands into every State of the world! (THE NAZI GOVERNOR MEYER.)

THE Nazi International is an historical event and a new world power. It is this just as much as the Red International in Moscow, and it is this to a much greater extent

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than the Social-Democratic International in Amsterdam and the Liberal International in Geneva. It is much more powerful than the second, much more active than the third, and the first only is in both respects its equal in rank. The Brown International copies in many directions the Red; the Nazis have learnt most of their art of propaganda and their system of organization from the Communists (they even sing Communist melodies with Nazi words). Hitler is not Lenin and Rosenberg is not Stalin. In the final reckoning the dynamic and unalterable laws of history declare against this International, which one day—and inevitably—will be destroyed more terribly, and fall, crumbling into nothing, from its pedestal more tragically, than every other international force before it. But for the present, for the current historical period, this International is not only a mighty power-factor, but also a *mathematically progressing* one. It stands now right at the beginning of its development—practically speaking it is but a few months old. It will become much greater and much mightier. It will extend its grasp to new areas and increase the pressure on the territories it has already in its hold. It will swell like a snowball and move forward like a cosmic body, for the economic and social forces which shape it and propel it themselves grow and move forward so rapidly that they are suffocated by their own limits. The Brown International is to burst these limits for them and open up the way to them. They are the forces of modern monopoly capitalism. It is Thyssen, the immense eruptive productive forces of the Ruhr, which, in their contradiction to the terms of capitalist private property, to the laws of the capitalist market and the capitalist state, have *forced* the Brown International into existence—to act as their ram, as their explosive medium. Rosenberg's Brown Interna-

tional follows, along its entire course, point by point, Thyssen's way, the way of the productive forces of the Ruhr. It drives wherever these forces are driving. It establishes itself wherever these forces are seeking a base and a release. It is victorious wherever these forces are at their strongest. It destroys wherever these forces meet with resistance and competition. It is the political, ideological, and financial expression of them. Therein lies its strength—as one day its weakness. Therefore it must grow. And it will grow. The explosion of the monopolist productive forces has had not merely economic results—the outbreak of the crisis. It has had also social results—the violent changes in the class-structure of society, in the various sections of the bourgeoisie. It drives the upper section of the bourgeoisie, which sees its existence and its domination threatened, to frenzy and to barbarism—to Fascism. It drives the lower section of the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, to madness and despair—to the same Fascism. Thus monopoly capital supplies the Brown International not only with economic motive-power, but also with human material—the Fascist masses. It does this beyond the confines of the frontiers, right over the entire surface of the Continent tottering in the grip of the crisis. For this reason the Brown International is able to expand beyond Berlin. For this reason it lays hold of, wins, and works upon, just like the German middle class, the Austrian bourgeoisie, the Flemish and Rumanian peasants, the Russian émigrés and the Swiss professors. For this reason it is able to develop out of the German Hitler-system in Berlin a *federated system of national Hitlers all over the Continent*—all the Habichts and Cuzas, the van Severens and Quislings. It is the same force, the same material, the same masses. But the dynamic centre lies in the Ruhr—that is, in Berlin. For

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this reason the Brown International acquires German shape and German leadership. For this reason it overshadows already Mussolini, the actual ideological founder and the first prophet of Fascism. Mussolini has more brain and more Fascist ideas than Hitler. *But he has fewer productive forces than Thyssen.* That is the reason. Mussolini has no coal and no iron—that was one of the main reasons why the Italian bourgeoisie had to let loose Fascism, a proceeding contrary to that in Germany—and the electrified mountains of the Apennines cannot take the place of the Ruhr. For this reason Mussolini will remain Mussolini, the theoretical head and herald of World-Fascism, but the German Brown International will develop and dominate the *organization* of World-Fascism. For this reason Mussolini will for the time being remain more or less outside the Berlin Brown International, and will even be a little—and increasingly—frightened of it. Hitlerism—and not Mussolini—will more and more absorb international Fascism. It will create its national armies, form its national governments, proclaim its political slogans. It will lead the troops of the Fascist World-Bourgeoisie against the World-Proletariat, against the Moscow International. It will liquidate finally the effete power of the Second Social-Democratic International. It will lead the decisive storm-assault upon the tottering positions of World-Liberalism. It will give the initiative to new great wars. The word 'Brown' will lose more and more in Europe and in the world its German significance and will acquire an international significance. The International in Berlin will become more and more a world-power. German foreign policy, from which it proceeded, will be absorbed more and more into this larger spiral. For the radius of the Ruhr is not Germany, not even Europe; it is the world.

This is not a dream of Rosenberg's. This is not a prophecy of the author's. This is the dynamic of history, the compulsive trend of facts. So long as the Brown International is not destroyed, it must and will grow; that is the stuff it is made of. The more often this thought is hammered into the heads of the rest of humanity, the quicker it is finally realized, the better it will be. Many stick their heads into the sand. Others limit themselves to swan-songs. But there is one thing only. One must 'see what there is' (Lassalle). And 'there is' the new Brown World-Movement. 'There is' the new Brown Manifesto of the Nazi-International, which is the same, with tactical differences, for all countries: elevation of the middle class, renaissance of the peasants, cult of race, cult of nationalism, cult of war, anti-Semitism, anti-Liberalism, anti-Socialism. The sum-total is an illusion: one-third demagoguery, one-third deception, and one-third actual profit for small, hidden business interests. But from the same sum-total arises the practical general line of the Brown International for expansion in Europe, which is anything but an illusion: planned penetration of the dissatisfied middle classes; planned support for the Radical agrarian movements; planned incitement and exploitation of national separatist or autonomist movements (all of them, including even Jewish Zionism, can be only of advantage to Germany); planned cultivation of international anti-Semitic feeling; planned exploitation of the romantic military and fighting urge of youth and of the Nietzschean-Spenglerian decadence of the intelligentsia; planned exploitation of the international anti-Bolshevik movement (which, as is well known, attracts likewise circles quite other than the Fascist parties). These are not theories and Utopias; this is sober, practical politics in dead earnest. With this Brown manifesto, which—no less than the Communist

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manifesto of Marx and Engels—is directed and operating beyond the borders of the single countries, the Brown International is able more and more to strengthen the political foundations of its organizational progress through Europe. It can in this way consolidate more and more its influence and magnetism, apart even from the positions purely in the service of Germany existing hitherto. It can for a time become for the bourgeois Continent that which Catholicism was in the Middle Ages for the feudal classes. Already there is a Roman Hierarchy in Berlin.

And in actual fact, transcending the realm of ideas, the Rosenberg organization to-day has already become a stable and permanent element in international life which can everywhere be felt. It is now a perfected hierarchical-international association, working not only in the various countries, but carrying out beyond the borders a co-ordinated, uniform international policy, such as the Liberal Freemasonry movement, for instance, never achieved. All these ‘national Hitlers’—the Habichts, Jungs, Sondereggers, Cuzas, Meskos in the South, the Smits, van Severens, Quislings, Lemkes in the North, the Svetosaroffs and Konovalez in the East—are no longer mere local prophets of the most extreme ultra-nationalism; they are rather bishops of a new World-Church, working in the most intimate, organized, and uninterrupted contact with each other. Where are the mysteries of the ‘international Freemasons’ leagues’ and the Jewish ‘Wise Men of Zion’? To-day there are secret bureaux and secret world-congresses of the Brown International—such took place, for example, during the Nuremberg Party Conference of the Nazis on September 8th in Thielt in Belgium, when Nazi representatives from Holland, Flanders, Germany, Italy, and England met under the chairmanship of van Severen;

already in 1932 a delegate of Röhm, the chief of the German Brownshirts, took part in a Fascist congress in Sofia. There are international contact-officers, international inspectors—like the Dutch Thyssen agent van Beuningen, supervising the entire movement in the North, the Fleming Ward Hermans, who keeps touch between the Belgian and Dutch Nazis, or the Viennese district-leader Frauenfeld, responsible for keeping contact with the Balkans. There are particular departments and special organizations common to all. For to-day this International is no longer working and expanding merely horizontally—towards the various countries—but also *vertically*, towards various political lines of operation and social groups. Around Rosenberg a whole swarm of international ‘associations’ and ‘leagues’ of some kind or other are beginning very quietly to grow up—all somewhat obscure, all of a totally ‘independent’ character, and all, in fact, masked special sections of the ‘Foreign Office of the N.S.D.A.P.’.

Thus there is developing a ‘*Ligue Internationale Anti-Communiste*’, founded at the end of 1932, apparently with its main contacts in Western Europe and with practical working methods very difficult to fathom: a conspiratorial special International directed against the left-wing working-class parties on the Continent and against the Soviet Union. Thus there is coming into being a ‘League of Nationalist Europeans’ (‘*Bund völkischer Europäer*’), the ‘German section’ of which is led by Count Reventlow, a German Nazi leader, and whose general secretary is the leader of the ‘French National Socialists’, the anti-Semitic Baron Robert Fabre-Luce: Rosenberg’s masked section for cultural propaganda among European intellectuals, academicians, and aristocrats. Thus there is arising from the Phoenix an

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'International Middle Class Union' ('Internationale Mittelstands-Union'), aiming at 'co-operation between middle-class representatives of the various countries' and the 'arrangement of inter-State economic conferences'; for, writes the German *Frankfurter Zeitung* in announcing this, 'an active middle-class policy and the protection of the middle class is to-day not only a German problem', and 'it is greatly in the interests of German middle-class groups to maintain constant contact with the neighbouring European countries, to receive and give stimulus' (October 13, 1933). That is the vertical International in social form—deriving from the very people who have declared *every* kind of social internationalism to be devilry, to be the invention of the Jews, to be a crime against the nation. But now Rosenberg needs all this himself. Just as the political internationals of the Socialists have created their own affiliated trades-union internationals, in order to strengthen the social foundations of their national parties, so the Brown International has created its own affiliated middle-class International, in order, not only in Germany but uniformly throughout the world, to penetrate and win for themselves this class, the bulwark of Fascism. It is precisely the same principle, precisely the same method; only, perhaps, the international Aryans in Berlin are not yet so expert and so experienced as the 'international Jews and Marxists' in Amsterdam or Moscow. And so the Brown International establishes and spreads itself farther in every vertical direction of the international political scenery, systematically appropriating and capturing all the instruments of international political intrigue. It is undertaking a large-scale attempt to invade the *International Press*, in order to create for itself throughout the world its own obedient newspaper-power, serving the cause of World National So-

cialism all the better the more veiled and unofficial it is. Suddenly and simultaneously in various countries a whole series of well-known international organs swing round to 'sympathy' with Hitlerism: from certain papers in London and the *Telegraf* in Amsterdam to *Bohemia* in Prag and *Tidens Tegen* in Oslo. New popular weeklies appear in European capitals, superbly got up and sold in the streets for next to nothing; they hasten to assert that they have nothing whatever to do with Hitler and stand solely for their native country, but on the next page they extol the genius of Hitler and the Corporate State and publish terrifying pictures of Communist terrorism in Germany. Large and powerful boulevard-newspaper concerns, representing no particular political party but all the more regarding the Press as a form of dividends, suddenly discover justice in the cause of Germany. The new Press Department of the Brown International has begun its work. It will perhaps become one of the most efficient sections of this International, for standing unofficially at its head is the best journalist in the world—the great Joseph Göbbels whose entire 'Ministry of Propaganda' has been set up mainly for this purpose. And Göbbels has perhaps an even keener sense for political agitation, for the taste of the boulevard, and for the technique and business of the international Fleet Streets than the great Beaverbrook and the great Hearst.¹ In the same way the

¹The latest reports published in the World Press concerning Herr Göbbels' propaganda and corruption bureaux organized throughout the world are only a reflex of the systematic activity of this section of the Swastika International that has begun. According to later information Göbbels had already spent, up to the second half of October 1933, more than 20 million marks for propaganda abroad, of which 10 million marks alone in the Danube countries of Austria and Czechoslovakia—Rosenbergs' main field of operations at present! Professor Banse, the prohibited theoretician of the new International, has already postulated all this: 'Stable auxiliary bureaux abroad must draw a close net of unostentatious influence over enemy and neutral countries, and employ

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Brown International is covering the world with a uniform *international network of espionage*. This is one of the most characteristic and oldest professions followed by the leading Brownshirts—here, as in terrorism, as in the organization of outbreaks of fire in Parliament buildings and Communist conspiracies, they are in their most congenial element. Standing behind this section of the Rosenberg organization is the powerful secret foreign ‘intelligence service’ of the headquarters of the S.S., Hitler’s Blackshirts (not Brownshirts), to-day identical with the so-called ‘Secret State Police’ (Gestapo) also; an old organization which for many years now has been ‘working’ in most of the countries of the world and which operates with the methods, and in part with the personnel, of the famous German espionage organization directed by Colonel Nicolai during the war (in summer 1933, for example, the Vienna police published the name of the director of the ‘South-east European Section of this service, a Blackshirt leader). Now all this is being developed and enlarged. Governments, opposition parties, Liberal politicians, working-class leaders, and—last but not least—foreign military organizations are being systematically spied upon. The Brown International is a complete, all-round organization, a genuine product of German thoroughness. It provides for everything and considers every possibility. When once the time is ripe it will be prepared for anything. It is an up-to-date incarnation of the old Clausewitz-Schlieffen German General Staff—but now international in shape and with an international political radius of operation. This machine, improved from day to

every means that seems appropriate for their purposes: Press and broadcasting, cinema and espionage, philanthropic institutions and efforts. . . . Every means is justified in order from the very beginning and right down to the very bottom to undermine the moral condition of the enemy and on the other hand to strengthen our own.’

day, supplemented from month to month, will not again surrender its place in the world. It will, with the whole strength of its different forces, play its rôle—the rôle of organizer of the new *National Socialist World-Revolution*.

On one wing only does the position and strategy of this international seem not yet finally plotted out. If there are in Mr. Rosenberg's little palace a Northern Section, a Southern Section, and an Eastern Section, then the Western Section appears to have been left open. For here Central European Hitler-Rosenberg Fascism meets another great Fascist stream—Mussolini and his old and new satellites, still farther west, like Mosley, etc. What happens when these two streams meet? Will they blend one with the other? Will it lead, through the union of the Brown International with the Mussolini system, to a unified, centralized World Fascism, of which the power would then indeed be immense, so immense that the last relics of Liberalism in Europe and in the world would have sooner or later to yield to it once and for all? Or will the two streams halt face to face and remain separated by a line of demarcation? The significance of this question is plain. The relationship between Hitler's new Brown International and Mussolini-Mosley Fascism will be one of the decisive problems in international politics in the next few years.

At the moment there are actually *two* groupings, two systems within World-Fascism, differing more or less visibly one from the other and having both of them an international character and an international tendency. The Hitler-Rosenberg front is the 'Right' wing, the Mussolini-Mosley group the 'Left'. The Central European group preaches a pogrom-like anti-Semitism and the unlimited 'doctrine of race'. The western group is reserved on both points and concentrates on the 'Corporate State'. Its

tactics are more elastic and more cautious. Its methods are more subtle and devised more with an eye to Western 'Liberal' mentality. Its terrorism is more delicate, more veiled, and more psychological. Where the Hitlerite uses his revolver, the Mussolinist employs merely the castor-oil bottle. There is one Matteotti where there are hundreds of victims in Germany. The western Fascist is more civilized and more diplomatic than the frank barbarian in Central Europe. His master is not Spengler, who openly demands the setting fire to Culture (the classic Nazi 'releases the safety-catch of his revolver when he hears the word Culture'), but partly Machiavelli—for the initiated; partly Nietzsche—for the naïve. Mussolini, too, has his Thyssen—his name is Giuseppe Töplitz, managing director of the Banca Commerciale, and he is a Jew from Poland. Sir Oswald's Thyssen is said to be called Cohn.¹ Western Fascism has no need for anti-Semitism—for Jewish competition presents no problem for its middle class—or it needs it to a very much smaller extent. On the contrary, it needs the home-grown Jewish finance-capital in order to hold its own or to make a start. It sees in an alliance with the Jewish Big Bourgeoisie one more means—and one of the most important means—of starving out its Liberal competitor. That is why Mussolini is an opponent of anti-Semitism and a friend of the Jews. That is why Sir Oswald Mosley is extremely cautious in Semitic

¹The *Daily Telegraph* of September 30, 1933 referred to a letter alleged to have been written by the director of organizations of British Fascists Ltd., and read at London Sessions on September 29, 1933. A part of this letter was as follows: 'As you may be aware, Lady Cynthia Mosley's grandfather was a Jew named Levi Leither. It is known that a certain Jew, known as Cohn, is behind Sir Oswald Mosley as far as finance is concerned. . . . Anti-Semitism is one of the critical points of Fascism here, yet Sir Oswald Mosley has distinctly ordered its members, many of whom are anti-Semites, to drop their anti-Semitic stand altogether.'

matters. (Replying to enquiries Mosley has declared: 'We agree with Hitler as regards the Fascist idea of the Corporate State, but not as regards his treatment of the Jews.' The same position is taken up by the official Italian Press.) In reality it is a question here not of ideological distinctions, not even of tactical differences—the Western Fascist and the Central European Fascist are made of the same stuff, devoted to the same purpose, and would both demolish Culture rather than retire from the political scene—but of differences in the economic and social structure of the two zones. If Hitler adapts himself to Thyssen, then Mussolini must adapt himself to Töplitz. If, for the sake of fulfilling its expansion programme, the Ruhr demands a 'Racial Policy' from the German National Socialists, then Mussolini is an opponent, since he cannot extend the industry of the Alps and the Apennines with the same slogan. Central European Fascism and Western Fascism represent different *imperialist* zones of energy. For this reason they can and will together march against the common social enemy—the working class—and are agreed on the idea of the Corporate State, but their foreign policies will not become fused so long as the capitalist forces behind them do not become fused. They can combine for a tactical task—for instance, if Italy and Germany blockade France, if Mussolini exploits the German disarmament policy for his Mediterranean policy, and if Hitler supplies Mussolini with the coal and iron which the Italian armaments industry lacks. But neither will voluntarily submit to the other. Central European Fascism will not recognize the supremacy of Western Fascism and vice versa. The Brown International will again and again attempt to absorb the Mussolini group and thus supply the last link, the Western Section, missing from its chain. But this

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group will for its part make efforts to bring together its own, more 'Left', international Fascist system.

It is, for example, quite evident that the Blackshirts of Sir Oswald Mosley's 'British Union of Fascists' have the most intimate relations with the General Secretariat of the Italian Fascist Party, while their relations with Berlin are much looser and are rather of a 'generally sympathetic' nature. But to make up for this there are in London other rival Fascist groups, wearing shirts of other colours and accepting unreservedly and with enthusiasm the entire Hitler programme, including Jewish pogroms and racial principles. Representatives of the British Union of Fascists as well as those of Italian Fascio were present at the Nuremberg Nazi Party Conference and at other international conferences of the Nazis. But when, for example, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Rosenberg's organ (of September 27th), reports enthusiastically the 'spread of National Socialism in the Arabic countries', the foundation of a Fascist Greenshirt Party, etc., the question then arises, to which zone is this Arabic Fascism to belong—to the zone of the old German Oriental policy of the Bagdad railway and Thyssen, or to the zone of the historical interests of the British Admiralty and the Anglo-Persian Oil Co? Who is behind the bloody Arab disturbances that so suddenly broke out in the winter of 1933 in Palestine, with the slogan 'Go for the Jews'—and with the second thought, hit the Englishman? The leaders of the Arabs were shortly before in Germany. It seems that if the area between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea is being occupied by the Hitler-Rosenberg Brown International, then the 'Left' Anglo-Italian grouping of Mussolini-Mosley will spread rather over the Mediterranean and Atlantic, the Romance and Anglo-Saxon zone (for example, over Spain and her new Fascist

Party of the young Primo di Rivera; the new Scandinavian Fascist parties seem still to be wavering in their choice of orientation).

Thus towards the end of September 1933 a Fascist Party came into being in Canada too, numbering already more than 25,000 members and based upon the Federation of Labour Clubs of Quebec. In the United States, where a large German and Italian population is living and where, besides the old 'Ku-Klux-Klan', a new organization, the 'Khaki Shirts', with its headquarters at the gangster centre of Chicago, has arisen, will perhaps become a 'disputed sphere of influence'. Mention should also be made of the Silver Shirts, with headquarters in the South, and such organizations as the Friends of the New Germany. In any case the nocturnal heroes of the Ku-Klux-Klan, with their cowardly attacks on negroes, Jews, Catholics, and Socialists, were the true blood-brothers of the Nazis; and that, after prohibition and the 'speakeasies' have been abolished, the gangster army in Chicago and New York is able to find in Hitlerism a new ideology and a new job of a kind not to be improved upon, cannot be doubted in the least. This statement is anything but facetious; America may very quickly produce fresh surprises in this direction.

Still more important, perhaps even of supreme importance for the immediate future, is the question of the orientation of *Japanese Fascism*. This is a question amounting to a world-problem. *If the new 'Japanese Mussolini', the 'dictator' and ex-War Minister General Araki, combines his programme of the conquest of Asia with the Hitler programme of the conquest of Europe, and if Tokio becomes the Asiatic and Pacific partner of the Brown International, then a wedge has been driven into the world and a new world-war is much more immi-*

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nent than the collapse of the Geneva Conferences can make it. It is possible that on the whole the decision lies here. Araki, even after his official resignation as War Minister, still personifies Japanese imperialism and, as before, has the support of the powerful secret societies of Japan, the 'League of Blood-Brotherhood' and 'Japan's Soldiers of God'. *Araki is the classic counterpart of Hitler in Asia*, his Fascism is a typical species of Hitler Fascism (and not of Mussolini Fascism). He, too, demands the 'Totalitarian State', the 'one party', the suppression of Communism, absolute militarism, exaltation of nationalist youth, and so on. But, with him, precisely as with Hitler, the real essential urge is, beyond all that, the tendency towards the *imperialist continental empire*. It is merely another continent. Hitler's 'Pan-Germanic Racial Idea' is here Japan's 'Pan-Asiatic Racial Idea'. Hitler's anti-Semitism is here anti-China. Hitler's great rival France is for Araki the Soviet Union. From A to Z it is the same constellation and the same movement, only Asiatic instead of Germanic, Japanese instead of German, Chinese instead of Jewish, yellow instead of brown.

And thus, as Thyssen stands behind the project of the 'Germanic Continental Union', a yellow Thyssen, *Mitsui*, stands behind the plan of the Pan-Asiatic Empire of Japan and behind Araki. This gigantic capitalist, whose fortune and firm go back to the feudal epoch, whose family has been governing Japan economically for centuries, who controls banks, coal-mines, steelworks, shipping lines, cotton factories, sugar plantations, and import and export houses, who is the chief shareholder in the largest Japanese undertakings in China, who controls the South Manchurian railway and is seizing the Chinese Eastern railway from the Russians—he is the true father of Japanese Fascism. He is the real lord of the Japanese gen-

erals, of the 'Fleet Party' and the 'Land Party', of the noble clans and the 'Genro', of the secret terrorist societies and the dynasty. He needs the Asiatic continent in precisely the same way and for precisely the same reasons as Thyssen needs the European continent. *And he works together with Thyssen.* The syndicate of the German Ruhr kings (above all Haniel, a colleague of Thyssen's) is helping Japan in the colonization of China, building steelworks for the equipment and maintenance of the Japanese railways and the Japanese army in Manchuria and East China. Japanese trade delegations in Berlin conclude secret co-operation agreements with Thyssen's delegates—not solely for China and not solely for Manchuria. Japan, which has in its own country no coal and no iron-ore, but in compensation a colossal surplus population, threatens also the American, English, French, and Russian spheres of influence and territories in Asia, threatens the Philippines and Hawaii, India (the fight against Lancashire and Bombay!), Indo-China, Siberia. Germany has no territory of its own in East and Central Asia, but it is a competitor with England in Western Asia, an opponent of France throughout the world, and the mortal enemy of the Soviet Union, wherever there is a Soviet star. Germany and Japan together, Hitler and Araki, Thyssen and Mitsui—imperialistically and strategically, politically and socially, that is the natural way. *And that means a world-alliance between the Brown International and Japan. Already Rosenberg is organizing this alliance.* In August 1933 official delegates of the Japanese Fascist 'National Youth Movement' came to Berlin in order to establish closer relations with German National Socialist organizations. In October there followed them a man who is unofficially one of the real rulers of Japan: Prince Tokugawa, former President of the

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Japanese House of Lords and member of that 'Genro', the Council of Elders, which for decades has determined the fate of Japan over the heads of Parliament and the official authorities. Tokugawa negotiated with leading Nazis concerning a future 'co-operation'. In the same days Berlin was touched casually by another Eastern personage—the Chinese Marshal Chang Hsueh-Ling, formerly ruler of Manchuria at the instance of Japan. Chang Hsueh-Ling met Göring and declared himself openly and enthusiastically for the idea of Hitlerism. And while for a week Berlin was thus a mysterious meeting-place of oriental potentates, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, edited by Rosenberg in person, began an open and systematic campaign in defence of Japanese policy and Japanese invasion in Eastern Asia. In the face of the Press of the entire world, in the face of European public opinion and of the League of Nations, this organ of the 'Foreign Office of the N.S.D.A.P.' asserted that Japan is in the right and a thousand times in the right. Japan has 'a peculiar rôle to play in Asia' (so has the 'Germanic Race' in Europe); her purpose is not imperialism, but rather 'the desire, based upon moral principles, to establish law and order in Asia' (so did Hitler in Central Europe). The Chinese are an inferior race (so are the Jews). Rosenberg greets Araki and the 'young and active forces of Japan'. The Brown International occupies the Pacific Ocean.

That is the apotheosis of the world policy of the 'Foreign Office of the Nazi Party'. The world rôle of the Brown International becomes mightier and mightier. Its historical position becomes more and more decisive. Those are the most distant effects of the night of February 27, 1933. Those are the far-off ripples caused by the splash of the burning of the Reichstag. The Nazi International

is on the march—on through the world, as earlier through Germany. Once more: it is only beginning. It has not yet achieved its purpose, its programme. But it is making for its goal—whatever it may cost, whatever the route may be. It will shrink at nothing. And if, following this route, it lets loose the new World War, then it will greet it, with the ecstatic shouts of the Brown battalions, with the triumphant song of the new barbarism.

V. Hitler's International Tactics

THE BROWN INTERNATIONAL is driving the world to war. Its dynamic, its policy, and its aims make war inevitable. It is hastening it by years. It wants it ultimately, for only a world war can repartition the earth, in the way that Rosenberg wants. War is its final weapon and its final operation. But it cannot at present go into a world war. It cannot at the moment take up arms. Before it does that, before it dares the final *va-banque coup* and throws humanity into an ocean of blood and an inferno of poison-gas, it must first prepare the ground for the battle. It must be diplomatic before it can be military. It must bring about an international constellation of such a kind that its front is at its strongest, its opponents at their weakest, its offensive at its simplest. Not one hour sooner. This means: before the Brown International can realize its *strategy*, it must employ *tactics*. Rosenberg's strategical plan must be supplemented and introduced by a special tactical plan. The ceremonial march of the Germanic Union must be introduced by the prelude of a pacific Germanic diplomacy in a silk hat.

At this precise moment Brown Germany wants anything but war. Its leaders are speaking the truth when they say that. For just now war for them would be madness. Hitler, Göring, and Göbbels are clever enough to realize that. Not only because Göring's air fleet is not ready. Not solely because to-day and for a long time to come their hinterland could not endure a war even for three weeks. The 13 million Socialists, who after the burning of the Reichstag were driven underground and there hermetically sealed up, would in these three weeks break out, and nobody knows this better than Police-Dictator Göring. They would transform Hitler's external war into an internal civil war against Hitler; nobody appreciates this more clearly than the 'Revolutionary Expert' Göbbels. The Communist workers, once they were equipped and armed as soldiers, would by no means be pacifists; they would shoot—at the Brownshirts and the Blackshirts. No Nazi dreams of that kind of suicide. They need time. They need time until the 'Totalitarian State' and its Brown Terrorism have finally killed Germany spiritually and sterilized it morally (the Nazis believe in this), until the last remnant of a free spirit, the last remaining independent, will have collapsed, until no one in this nation-turned-barracks dares be anything other than a recruit. They need time until the Socialist workers doomed to permanent unemployment are done for physically, until the disgruntled petty-bourgeois have been disciplined and the new rising generation, taught nothing but war, but to regard the plague-germ as a moral ideal in the 'Cause of Germany' (Professor Banse), has been called up. Until then they can take no step, and for this reason alone they would endure any pressure from abroad, any provocation and humiliation even, such as no German Government before them would have endured.

When Hitler makes his coup against the League of Nations and blusters with his official demands to arm, he does so solely because he fears nothing so much as a French 'Preventive War', either now or in the near future. He simulates resolution—abroad and at home—so as to conceal his cowardice. In order to avert war at this moment he would, in fact, make any concessions abroad, be more of a national 'defeatist' and 'traitor' than ever Stresemann or Brüning were, more of a pacifist than Henderson and the Second International. In a fix he would accept any humiliation for Germany and even throw bouquets on it. That is why he sings his hymns of peace. That is why he begs like a dog to Daladier, and for Poincaré he would turn over on his back. He is not going to war just now. And he is not going to war, not solely because he has still a state of siege within his own frontiers, but also because at the same time he is besieged from *abroad*. For at the present moment the Rosenberg Plan is faced with a *World Coalition* against it.

In 1934 Hitler-Germany stands diplomatically at precisely the same spot where twenty years ago, in 1914, the Germany of William II stood. The external result of one year of Hitler Dictatorship is precisely that same *encirclement* of Germany which led the Kaiser, Falkenhayn, and Ludendorff to catastrophe. On this basis Hitler must begin. From this point he must proceed. The forces which by their pressure have brought him to power at home, have by the same pressure isolated him abroad. The Thyssen-Rosenberg dynamic, which is to permeate despotically the whole world, is mobilizing all the other forces of the world. It is mobilizing the iron kings of Lorraine, and consequently the French General Staff. It is mobilizing the coal interests of South Wales, the steel groups of Sheffield, the East India merchants—and con-

sequently the British Admiralty and Downing Street. It is mobilizing the forces of the international 'democratic' bourgeoisie and of Jewry—and consequently the Liberal political parties and the governments of the world. It is mobilizing the landowners and the clergy of the Danube zone and consequently the international forces of Catholicism. It is mobilizing the Radical working-class aristocracy and consequently the Second International, its influential parties and ministers. It is mobilizing the revolutionary working class—and consequently the world-power of the Third International and the Government of the Soviet Union. It is disturbing even the Danube and Balkan plans made by Roman high finance and the Italian middle class—and consequently Mussolini. The first international effects of Hitlerism and of the Brown International are: temporary break-through in the international blockade of the Soviet Union, the main diplomatic factor of the preceding period; *rapprochement* between Russia and France and between Russia and America; movement towards re-establishment of the Entente Cordiale between France and England; isolation on the part of the old Danube Monarchy (Austria and the Little Entente); alienation of Italy and attempts at an understanding between Italy and France; united front of international public opinion and public feeling. This is precisely the picture of July 1914. It is precisely the same 'Continental Encirclement' of Germany that after Bismarck was drawn round the State of William II, and it is a more powerful and more complete encirclement than at that time: the Triple Alliance with Austria no longer exists, the Balkan Allies (Turkey and Bulgaria) are now holding aloof, France is stronger than ever, and in Russia, in place of a rotten Tsarism there rules an iron Sovietism. *From this point* Hitler, with his Rosenberg Plan, must

proceed. His entire strategy of expansion on a world-scale comes up against a wall of steel right on the German border. This wall of steel, if it remains intact, can perhaps choke him itself. But in any case he cannot advance into the world arena until he has demolished it and broken it up.

This must be the task and the import of Rosenberg's new *tactical plan*, without which his strategical plan is a scrap of paper. Hitler and Rosenberg are no mere professors. They are practical politicians. They would never consider the project of the Germanic Union, if they had not at the same time a *second, diplomatic*, design in their pockets—a design for breaking through the international encirclement and isolation of Germany and for the establishment of a new international constellation of such a kind that Germany can in truth venture upon a world war.

Rosenberg's second, 'tactical', plan is not original. Actually it is nothing other than the *repetition of the old Bismarck diplomatic plan*, the plan that created modern Germany, led it to victory over all its opponents and raised it to a dominant position in the world. Hitler is returning to Bismarck. He is resolutely liquidating the William II tactics of the three decades between Bismarck and the catastrophe of 1918 which destroyed the power of Germany, and is accepting afresh the old method and the old system of the Iron Chancellor—whose true disciple and direct successor he perceives in himself.

Bismarckism is the official doctrine of the new German diplomacy. Rosenberg himself, its new 'Grey Eminence', is like one possessed with this idea, the repetition of the Bismarck operation; it saturates all his writings and speeches, as in the book *The Future Course of German*

Foreign Policy, in which already in 1926, cautiously and hazily, the coming Rosenberg Plan was predicted. 'As a politician Rosenberg is, as it were, the spiritual heir to that . . . idea of the racial German State first represented by Henry the Lion . . . and brought down to us by way of the Margrave of Brandenburg, Frederick the Great, and Otto von Bismarck' (Rosenberg's biographer Hart). Rosenberg wants to begin again at the point where Bismarck left off, and thus make up for William's forty years of mistaken tactics, which led from Caprivi through Bülow to Bethmann Hollweg, and through Erzberger and Stresemann to Brüning (the German post-war policy is for Rosenberg only a continuation of these 'aimless' and senseless tactics). If this succeeds, then Hitler's cause is won and the way is clear. The same tactical operation that between the years 1864 and 1871 created out of Prussia the German Reich, will now out of the Reich create the Germanic Union. The secret of this operation, of the tactics of Bismarck, can be expressed in one word: *policy of isolation* against policy of encirclement.

When Bismarck enabled the small and weak Prussia to triumph over a world of enemies, over France, Austria, Russia, Denmark, and, mounting their shoulders, to become the first Great Power of Europe, he was able to do this by applying an entire ingenious system of isolation and paralysation to his various opponents, by the method of *divide et impera*. He, too, like Hitler to-day, was facing a deadly encirclement, by Catholicism in the west and south, by Pan-Slavism in the east. The chain, stretching from Napoleon III to the clericalist Habsburgs, to Catholic Bavaria and the Rhineland, to the Hanoverians and Danes in the North, and to westward-moving Tsarism, was ten times, perhaps a hundred times, stronger than

Prussia. It would indeed have crushed and destroyed Prussia, had it remained intact. But Bismarck broke through it and turned it into its opposite—into a European offensive on the part of Prussia. He achieved this by separating one from the other the various links in the chain, playing them one against the other, and then beating them one after the other, beginning with the weakest and ending with the strongest, on the head: 1864 Denmark, 1866 Austria and her German allies, 1871 France, and 1878 Russia (at the Berlin Congress). The operation ended with Bismarck assuming the rôle of World Arbitrator.

There was for this no need for Bismarck to be a strategist; that was the affair of Moltke and the lords of the Ruhr. But he was a tactician of genius. He held Austria off, while he struck at Denmark. He held France off, while he attacked Austria, and Austria, while he destroyed France. He manœuvred them all asunder. He threatened England with Russia and concluded with Russia the 'Treaty of Guarantees' against England. He held Austria in check through Italy, and when he attacked France he was able already to play the card of the Dual Alliance with Austria. He paralysed the Russians through the Turks and the Austrians through the Russians. He set Prince Gorchakoff against Disraeli and won, as a German, the Russo-Turkish war. He won all the wars which others waged. And on the basis of these tactics, almost without risk, the strategical programme of Germany was fulfilled—continental hegemony. William II employed the opposite tactics. He collected the various links in the dilapidated anti-German chain and brought them violently together again. He attacked all simultaneously and disdained an alliance with any. He flung Salisbury's and Joseph Chamberlain's offer of alliance back in Eng-

land's face and drove her, through his fleet and his colonial policy, to Delcassé and Poincaré. He demolished the Treaty of Guarantees with Russia and provoked the Entente Cordiale into being. He drove Italy from the Triple Alliance and made an enemy of Japan with his slogan of the 'Yellow Peril'. He began the World War precisely when all his opponents were again together. William II was a tactical fool; he destroyed the whole strategy of the Ruhr. But Hitler is returning to Bismarck. Rosenberg's new tactical plan is nothing other than *Neo-Bismarckism*.

The task is the same as that of 1864-90: to break through the encirclement of Germany by means of an isolation policy of his own. The chief opponents, who must first be isolated, are the same: France and Russia, the two great neighbours. The 'Third Powers', which are to be neutralized, played against the others or won, are again: England and Italy, with the addition now of Japan and America. The diplomatic map is the same as before. It is therefore only necessary to bring the old roads back into use, to set going the old methods of intrigue, with new material. This presents no difficulty to the experts of the Reichstag fire; this is a question of art and of a game of skill—the outlines are already there. Is it surprising, then, that Rosenberg is intoxicated by Bismarck?

These people are thinking of nothing else and waiting for nothing else. They will go on working, operating, and dealing the cards, until they get there, until in one way or another they have re-established the 'Bismarckian Constellation', the Bismarckian opportunity. Rosenberg, who sometimes cannot control his tongue, says it openly:

'There was once a day of destiny for Germany. She could—had she recognized this fact—have changed her

destiny when in 1904-5 the Russo-Japanese war broke out, when it could at once be seen that Russia had to stake her whole military power in the Far East. In these days Germany felt that she was relieved from the nightmare pressure from the East. . . . Then there was fear of war in Paris. . . . In those days it meant more to Herr von Bülow and his friends to serve the cause of world peace than to see Germany great and powerful and strong in herself! In those minutes it was character that was wanted, and character was not available. The Chief of the General Staff von Schlieffen declared: if it had then come to a conflict, it may be assumed that we would have finished with France' (Alfred Rosenberg, *The Essential Foundations of National Socialism*, pp. 28-9).

That is the Nazis' method of thinking in foreign politics, naked and exposed. William II and Prince von Bülow missed the Bismarckian constellation which for a moment re-offered itself to Germany; they failed to use the chance of the severance of the encircling chain and did not fall upon France while Russia was paralysed. They were offenders against the cause of Germany and, what is more, brainless ignoramuses. Hitler and Rosenberg are different. They will not only not miss any new historical chance, they will consciously, systematically *bring about* such a chance—in order to act as the Master acted. That is what they are there for. And if there is no longer a Nicholas II and a General Kuropatkin, there is always a General Araki. If there is no longer a Joseph Chamberlain, there is always the 'Isolationist' Lord Beaverbrook, who wants nothing more than to cut England off from the Continent—that is, to relinquish the latter to the arbitrary will of the new forces. It is a joy to be alive; once again the Wilhelmstrasse is full of bounce—even if fifty-five years have passed since the Congress of Berlin!

And so there has arisen, based on the great model, drawn from the old design, *Rosenberg's concrete foreign-political programme of action* for the immediate future—Neurath will carry it out:

1. Isolation of the *Soviet Union* through the policy of an 'international united front against the Bolshevist peril'—substitution for Bismarck's bogey of Pan-Slavism.

2. Isolation of *France* through an alliance with Italy—Bismarck with Cavour—and through the separation of England from the Entente Cordiale—modification of the Bismarckian separation of Austria from France.

3. Diplomatic paralysation of *England* by playing the card of differences with Russia—exact repetition of Bismarck's trick of inventing the bait that 'England's interests in India can be much more easily defended on the Russian frontier than in Afghanistan'. Possible second check to England by playing up Japan in Asia. In reserve, dazzling of Downing Street with offers of support against a new 'Napoleonic continental hegemony' of France, against the colonial movement for independence on the part of the coloured races, against American competition overseas, and against all the spectres of the 'Victorians'.

4. Winning and duping of *Italy* by playing the 'Fascist' united front, common interests against France, and the 'parcelling out' of the Danube and Balkan zone (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia). Retention of Italy through offers of help against the Serbs, of an expansion-partnership in the Near East, and to supply coal and iron for Italian armaments. Actually, however, later, when the goal has been reached, betrayal of Italy's national interests—as in Bismarck's Trientino policy—and seizure of the 'Germanic' Southern Tirol from a weakened Mussolini.

5. Genuine and complete alliance with *Japan*, perhaps the only sincere offer in the whole programme. Closest possible entente in the whole world policy, on the basis of a front against the Soviet Union, of the leaving of China to Japan (industrial, technical, and military support of Japanese colonization), of a free hand for Japan in England's central Asian and Indian spheres of influence (industrial and financial support against English competition) and in the American island-colonies in the Pacific (Philippines, Hawaii); in return Japanese protection for German expansion in Western Asia. Eventual united front with Japan also for purposes of expansion in Latin-America. To sum up—more and more open transition on Hitler's part from the 'English' orientation to the 'Japanese'; Japan, rather than, as a year or two ago, England, as the decisive card, the spring-board, of the whole international Hitler tactics.

6. Paralysis of *Poland* and the *Little Entente* by encouragement of the insurgents' movement in Ukrainian Western Poland and preparation of a new 'Greater Ukrainian' state under German protection, to act as a new German ally on the Eastern European wing, a barrier simultaneously against Moscow, Warsaw, and Prague.

7. Neutralization of *America* through exploitation of the fear of Bolshevism, through the threat of Japan and of kindling the flame of a Latin-American 'nationalist policy' (the Zimmermann-Depesche policy), through the offer of advantageous opportunities for American investment in Germany and a deliberate policy of loans.

8. At all costs, in any circumstances—avoidance of a simultaneous conflict with more than one power, whether it be France or the Soviet Union, and even then only with the certain neutrality of all other Great Powers or when specific military chances exist (see the next chapter: 'Can

Germany Win a War?'). After surprise attack on and destruction of the big opponents, while the others are held off, attack on the remaining opponents with increased strength derived from victory over the first. In this connexion, choice of the *Soviet Union* as the object of the first attack—such a war offering the greatest chance of support from all the other powers. For this purpose, even a provisional 'sincere understanding' with France in accordance with the old von Papen-Rechberg-General Hoffmann plan for a convention between the French and German general staffs for the overthrow of Bolshevism. For this purpose, even provisional official 'renunciation' of all territorial demands to France, as was openly done at the end of October 1933 by Hitler ('we want nothing back but the German district of the Sarre', ostensible renunciation of Alsace-Lorraine). At this price, even repetition of Stresemann's and Brüning's sentimentalities. Then, after the conquest of the Soviet Union, the partition of Russia, the formation of a new, gigantic, victorious Pan-Germanic army—on to Paris! (Bismarck's Sedan after Königgrätz). The destruction of Russia is the second stage in Hitler's plan after the destruction of France. The third will one day be: 'Gott strafe England!'

9. In the event of a further definite *rapprochement* between France and the Soviet Union—creation of a great counter-coalition made up of Germany, Italy, England, Japan, Hungary, Bulgaria, a separate Ukraine, if possible America as well. Provocation of Italy and England against France and then—German dictation, German Versailles.¹

¹ Hitler in *Mein Kampf*: A league with England and Italy would 'give Germany the chance of quietly making those preparations which would have to be made in one way or another within such a coalition for a settlement with France. For the significance of a league of this kind lies precisely in the fact that the . . . mortal enemy of our nation,

10. At all costs—postponement of all military prospects and acts until the re-arming of Germany is complete; above all, in the air and in chemical apparatus. Until then—hold off at any price, no matter what the sacrifice. Until then—the most humanitarian pacifism, the most benevolent Christianity, great disarmament speeches. One must wait. Bismarck waited, too, until he had his 1871. And Hitler can wait. Goal—system of wars. Until then—system of speeches and intrigues.

That is Rosenberg's 'Neo-Bismarckian' tactical plan for breaking through the existing encirclement of Germany and for making the way free for the Germanic Union. This plan is anything but a piece of naïveté, and those who smile ironically at it will soon laugh on the other side of their faces. Napoleon III also smiled once at the comical man in Berlin, and so did people in Vienna. Whoever takes Hitler and his plan too lightly should give up dabbling in politics. The morphia-fiend Göring rules in Berlin to-day because the powerful economic forces in Germany wish it. The significance of the second Rosenberg plan too lies not in the personality of Rosenberg nor in the psychology of Hitler—that does not matter—but again in these ruling economic forces, which will see to it that it is carried out as they have hitherto seen to the carrying-out of all the acts of Hitlerism, however fantastic and incredible they may have seemed. In the year 1933 Utopias or fantasies are unknown in Essen. They know, and know perfectly well, that they are sitting on a volcano, that they will not be able to sit on it very much longer, that new forces which have dawned there

France, is doomed to isolation'. Rosenberg speaks again and again of an Aryan 'system of states', directed against 'Jewish domination of the world', made up of Germany, England, Italy, and 'the future Ukraine'.

with the coming of the crisis, the Red forces, will not wait patiently for their inheritance. One must act, one must take risks, if one is to save oneself and one's own forces from downfall. And so one is acting and taking risks with every means, with the most exquisite cunning, with the coldest brutality, and inventing plans like Rosenberg No. 2. They will carry it out—whether successfully or not is another question. But they will put it into action, and not bother themselves about how many millions of people perish in the process, how many countries are laid waste, how many nations destroyed. That they leave to the humanitarians. They are practical politicians. They are the exponents of their governing capitalistic power, the actors in the last capitalistic period in history, and they must do as they are commanded. That is their morality. That is their justification. They have none other. All the idealistic talk of German 'nationalism', of the 'Germanic race', of 'honour and purpose', etc., is nothing but propagandist whitewash. The cleverest of them, like Göbbels or like Thyssen himself, know that. But they act on the great principle: always keep it in mind, never speak of it. And so the Second Rosenberg Plan, the plan that must inevitably turn the world into an inferno of horror and death, becomes the culminating achievement of the 'will of the German Nation'.

This plan appears to be full of contradictions. It means to beat Russia with France and it attacks France with Italy, for example; or it plays Poland against Russia and the Ukraine against Poland. But these are not Rosenberg's contradictions. They are the actual contradictions, the existing conditions, of the present-day capitalist world. Rosenberg simply picks them up and makes the most of them. It is perfectly possible for him to do this. There is nothing easier to-day than to play two

capitalist powers one against the other, or, still more, to play all the capitalist powers against the Soviet Union. Rosenberg only takes this into account, and he is, as things are, objectively absolutely in the right. These fantasies are deadly practical possibilities. When, in his book on foreign policy, Rosenberg quite openly writes:

In return for covering her rear in the West and giving her a free hand in the East, Germany offers to England—protection of India on the Russian-Polish border, annihilation of Pan-Europe, obstruction of the anti-colonial movement, overthrow of Bolshevism in Central Europe. To Italy, if she keeps France in check, Germany offers pressure on Yugoslavia; to the Ukraine, in return for economic and political support in the question of the bordering states—industry and protection against Poland.¹

Then he is an astonishing cynic, an immoral 'Machiavelian' and even an incautious man, but he is a clever, practical politician. He reckons with actual possibilities. He takes into account interests actually existing. He makes his plans just like a general staff officer, who examines the lie of the ground for the coming battle. And who would assert that the factors which he sees and wants to exploit are not present? Since when has the capitalist world of to-day been a world of mere morality and pure philosophy? Rosenberg is right, both in his analysis of certain interests in England and of those in Italy (it is another question whether other interests in the same countries will not paralyse these). And he is right, too, when he applies the same methods to France and writes openly:

We have even declared that, if France would show some degree of reason, she would not have drawn the bolts on

¹This has a touch of the Shylock about it. But these are Aryans.

Germany, but have left us free to expand eastwards [by way of a combined war against Russia].

That, too, is possible—there are in Paris people who lend an ear to it. It is true that in another place (*Mein Kampf*) Hitler himself says something different:

We must be willing to accept every sacrifice calculated to aid in destroying the French efforts towards hegemony in Europe. To-day each power is our natural ally, feeling with us that France's domination on the Continent is intolerable. No approach to such a power should be too difficult for us, and no renunciation beyond utterance, if only the final result offers the chance of overthrowing our most bitter enemy (p. 757)¹. . . Only when this is realized in Germany, so that the will to live of the German people is no longer allowed to degenerate into mere passive resistance, but rather gathered together for a final and active settlement with France and flung into a last decisive struggle, for the purpose of fulfilling the final aims of Germany—only then will it be possible to bring the eternal . . . wrestle between ourselves and France to a close; but always with the condition that Germany really sees in the annihilation of France only a means of finally giving our people opportunities of expansion in another place (p. 766).¹ [Russia is meant.—The Author.]

—but it is precisely this double game that is the very essence of Neo-Bismarckism, the very essence of Rosenberg's tactical plan.

The 'pure moralists', who look on such things as impossible, should keep silent. They understand little of politics in the year 1934. And they understand nothing of Hitler.

The secret foreign policy of Nazi-Germany, the new

¹ In *Mein Kampf*.

world policy of the Brown International, is complete. It has been consistently thought out from the first stroke to the last. It is logical in itself, and there are mighty forces working for it—if there are also mighty forces against it. The tactics supplement the strategy. The national Foreign Office of the German Reich will direct its policy exactly in unison with the executive of the National Socialist World International. Each will supplement the other and play up to the other, the one through parties, the other through Governments. And now the moment is coming when the last and decisive factor in the drama, ‘Where is Hitler Going?’, must take the stage. It is the factor of pure force, and that is why *here* it is the decisive factor. It is the factor of the new German General Staff, which is to speak after the Foreign Office of the German Reich and the executive of the Brown International. Bismarck’s tactics, too, were in the end decided by the military dispositions of Moltke, and mere chance prevented Schlieffen’s brilliant military plan from saving the old Germany in spite of William’s foolish tactics. What has this factor to say to-day as regards Hitler-Germany? Is there a *military* culmination to the two Rosenberg plans? Is there a new German Schlieffen Plan?

There is—and that is why the eighty-year-old Hindenburg gives his support to the madman Göring.

VI. Can Germany Win a War?

LIKE one hypnotized, Hitler is continuing along his path. The forces which have brought him to a state of hypnosis will see to it that he follows his path to its end. Thyssen knows that *in no case* can he avoid the apotheosis of his

plan, a new world war. He knew that already in 1919, when his great master and true precursor, Stinnes, began to build up, in the middle of the ruins of the nation, a new expansive imperialistic Ruhr. He knew that in 1923, when the iron kings of Lorraine for the second time attempted to storm the sinister monster of capital on the right bank of the Rhine—and were repulsed, opening up the way for the future counter-attack. To-day, after he has created the Brown International—for Thyssen, and not Hitler, not Rosenberg, is the real head, the soul and the motor of this new world power—he knows that time is short. The Brown International without a world war is an absurdity, a Golem without a mission. The people who in reality are behind this whole movement are working like savants. They do not hold forth like Professor Banse; they do not blow a trumpet like Hitler; they nearly always remain silent. But they see and compute the coming development, the larger perspectives, with mathematical dispassionateness—they calculate. The diabolical crime of a world war, the picture of a gassed and dying world, is for them but one stage in the calculation—perhaps the last before the accounts are closed. Thus the Ruhr ordains. And they know that Rosenberg's 'civil' strategy and tactics, however much international ground they may in the meantime win for Hitler, will one day inevitably flow directly into the fire of the guns—for the preparation of which they are there. There is no other final solution. Hitler-Germany is the first objective, Brown International and Neo-Bismarckism the second, Germanic Continental Union the third; but in between, between the second and the third, or the moment the third is realized, comes the *military test*. The issue of this decides the fate of the whole. The later this test comes, the more time is won beforehand for the preparatory politi-

cal Rosenberg operations, the better it will be. But it is coming, one way or the other, and only gas, tanks, and aeroplanes can be the last expedients of the Germanic Union, the final criterion for the realization of the Thyssen Plan. No one knows better than the Nazis that one single advance of the French troops, one single attack across the Rhine with armoured cars and aeroplanes, can resolve the whole gigantic fantasy of the Rosenberg Plan into nothingness, turn the world-conquering 'Hakenkreuz' International into a heap of brown dust. For this reason there must be a *third* external Hitler Plan: after the revolutionary and the diplomatic plans—the *military* plan. Only if this plan, too, turns out positive is Hitler saved, and Thyssen has won the game against the world. Thus more and more clearly does the terrible historical risk which National Socialist Germany has taken upon itself become revealed. This game goes *va banque*. This experiment always has one chance only. If it fails, then there will perhaps be no more Germany, or there will be a Germany having nothing whatever to do with the old State of that name. And perhaps Hitlerism's military plan is the most difficult and the most risky of the three plans determining its future. It is easy to unleash illegal Nazi parties abroad. It is more difficult to transform the diplomatic encirclement of Germany into the diplomatic hegemony of Germany. But it seems almost impossible to win a war for Germany. It seems impossible that Germany, after twenty years of struggle, hunger, and crisis, after the destruction of the whole of her old military power, after a terrible internal convulsion, can to-day risk again a new world war with any prospect of success—even if it be against but one of its great opponents, like France.¹

¹ The question whether a war in which Germany, with all the other capitalist world powers, marches against the Soviet Union could suc-

Mr. Lloyd George is of this opinion—and he has himself once waged a war. It seems unthinkable that Hitler—for a reasonable, considerable time—can on the whole dare anything here, without the 100-to-1 certainty of being pulverized more terribly than ever William II was pulverized. And it seems, therefore, that if only for this reason Hitler's entire path is, after all, at bottom a blind-alley path, and that the great dream of the Nazis, the dream of the conquest of the Continent, must remain an audacious Utopia; a Utopia which, while it may fill some with enthusiasm and shock others, is in fact not to be taken seriously. The normal course of orderly politics will gradually diminish these pretensions to innocuous and insignificant dimensions; the laws of evolution, together with Pacifism and Liberalism, will be victorious—under cover of General Weygand's¹ guns.

Is this so? Can Hitler-Germany not win a war?

Göring, the real Marshal (with Röhm) of the new German General Staff, is matched against Weygand—as Falkenhayn against Joffre in 1914, Moltke against Napoleon III in 1871. The scene showing the relation of *military* forces along the two banks of the Rhine reopens. What can Göring do against Weygand?

He can, in the moment of war, march out with that new German army which now, day and night, hour by hour, is being equipped; the army of the Nazis, which in all three aspects of military strength—in man-power, mechanical equipment, and base organization at home—will be no weaker than the army of William in 1914.

ceed, is no longer a question of German Hitlerism and has nothing to do with Germany's specific ability to wage war—should it come to this, then the *wholes* of world policy must be rewritten.

¹ Chief of the French General Staff.

He can march out with the whole new *reserve of trained troops* which, from their present strength of 3 million men—over 2,000,000 Brownshirts (including Steelhelmets and the various military associations), 300,000–400,000 Blackshirts,¹ 250,000–300,000 young recruits ('Labour Corps'), 200,000 officer-army of the Reichswehr (including time-expired men) and 150,000 military police—will increase to 4–5 millions—to the same number of trained men which Germany possessed in August 1914. Alone the training-army of young recruits in the 'voluntary labour service camps' is expected, after its establishment is complete, to number 1.2 million men, that is to say, to increase fivefold. The total number of all Nazi soldiers can, in the process of general mobilization, be brought back to the maximum of 7 million—equal to one-quarter of the present total number of all the armed forces of Europe, and twice as large as the maximum force of the British army in the last war.

He can march out with the new German *artillery*, which to-day, beneath the mask of the 'automobile and car industry', is being produced in big series, and which, automatized and motorized, will in one or two years be more formidable than Hindenburg's old artillery: with the colossal new German gun made by the Rheinmetall-Werke, compared with the calibre, range, and shattering effect of which the long-range gun of 1918 is merely a toy; with the new 42-cm. mortars and heavy field-howitzers of the Krupp-Werke; with the trench-mortars made by the vehicle factory at Eisenach and the Pintsch gas-meter factory at Fürstenwalde; with the tanks, which the rolling-stock and motor-car firms of Linke Hofman at Breslau,

¹ On December 7, 1933 the Chief of Staff of the storm-troops, Röhm himself, gave the total number of Brownshirts and Blackshirts as 2½ millions.

Daimler-Benz at Offenbach, and Bleicher at Leipzig are building, and which Hitler is buying in hundreds and without cease from the French armaments-king Schneider-Creuzot¹ and other international armaments interests; with the armoured cars built by the Dresden Coach Works; with the new machine-gun 'S2-206' of the Rhein-metall-Werke, a revolutionizing invention of the engineer Stange, having a range of 2,000 metres, a muzzle-velocity of 740 metres a second, a capacity of 600 shots a minute, and in addition capable of being transported and served by one single man (weight 8.5 kilos); with the whole vast arsenal of mechanical weapons, the creation of which has caused the German production of steel to leap all at once² from 400,000 tons a month to 700,000 tons, the German import of iron from 14,000 tons a month to 44,000 tons, and in the course of four months has doubled the number of men employed by Krupps, the chief original organizer of this mechanical army, from 50,000 to roughly 100,000 men. Already in the autumn of 1933 the new German artillery park, limited by the Treaty of Versailles to only 292 light guns, numbered 2,400 heavy and 4,800 light guns; at the end of the last war Germany had, it is true, 53,000 guns as well as 100,000 machine-guns and 28,000 trench-mortars, but Hitler's new secret artillery, being added to from day to day, is, after fifteen years of new experiments and inventions, technically in an entirely different category. The monstrous organization of German

¹ At the autumn Party Conference of the French Radical-Socialist Party, Senac, the representative of the *Association Républicaine d'anciens combattants*, stated that recently Creuzot has supplied 400 tanks to Germany.

² Comparative dates for production of steel, August 1932 and August 1933; for iron imports, the yearly average for 1932 and 1933. Imports of copper increased by one-half, those of nickel, tungsten, and scrap-iron from 44,000 tons to 269,000 (1932-33).

post-war industry, the best-equipped industry in the world, stands behind this new war-mechanics of the Nazis.

Göring can make this deployment much more rapid and more mobile militarily than the campaign of 1914, by means of the Nazis' new military *transport organization*, the projected vast system of roads—in reality a net-work of strategic arteries, the building of which is expected to cost 3–4 milliards of marks¹; by means of the immense new air-transport apparatus and the new military organization of the German railways, for which the rolling-stock and platforms are being equipped in an unprecedented manner for the lightning transport of troops. Hitler intends to throw the main bulk of the unemployed of Germany—this means millions of men—into this work of transport development; that is the feature of his great 'work-creation programme'. And a rapid mobilization, a start in the race for deployment, will in the next war be a more decisive factor even than in the last.

Göring can cover this deployment as regards *provision of food* for the army and the nation much better than could William II and Ludendorff; that is to say, withstand with entirely different forces the blockade which in 1917–18 brought about the downfall of the old Germany. He can, through the Nazis' new agrarian 'autarchy programme', bring Germany's *self-sufficiency* as regards food supplies, which already between 1926 and 1932 was raised from 70 per cent to 80 per cent, up to nearly 100 per cent—and in this way make Germany independent of any blockade. That is the meaning of Hitler's new 'measures for the farmers'. As regards grain for bread, the most important article of food, where only seven or eight years ago Germany had to import one-third of her requirements

¹ Estimates of the German 'Society for the Study of Road-building' The roads projected are 6–7,000 kilometres in length.

from abroad, to-day she can herself cover 99 per cent; within five years the area available for the cultivation of wheat has increased from 1.73 to 2.32 million hectares. Germany to-day, through home production, can herself cover 97 per cent of her meat requirements, 100 per cent of her potato requirements, 100 per cent of her sugar requirements, 90 per cent of her vegetable requirements, and 90 per cent of her requirements in dairy produce; the Nazis will very quickly raise these percentages still further. While in 1925 Germany still had to pay 4.42 milliard marks abroad for her deficit in food-stuffs (import surplus), to-day she is paying only 1.5 to 2 milliard marks. But Germany still has to import 55 per cent of her fats, 36 per cent of her fruit, 32 per cent of her eggs, and 34 per cent of her leguminous foods—and this is where the cleft of the blockade still yawns. Göring will close it. He sent in October 1933 the little Vice-Chancellor von Papen, the Nazis' somewhat comical commercial traveller (and an ex-officer of the German General Staff and during the war a dynamite terrorist in America as well), to Hungary to General Gömbös. Just before this Gömbös himself was in Berlin. The result of these mysterious missions, about which the Press of the world racked its brains a great deal, was simply a preliminary agreement concerning the transformation of Hungary into a special food-supply colony for Germany. Göring is making sure of a fundamental readjustment of Hungarian agriculture to suit the special war-needs of Germany. Instead of wheat, which the Hungarian magnates and farmers have hitherto produced—and been unable to sell—they are from now on to produce *vegetable-oils*—that is, those fats which Germany, as in the last war, still lacks, and without which the Nazis cannot fight. Gömbös is a Hungarian Nazi, even if of the Italian variety. Be-

sides this he needs a way out of the severe agrarian crisis in Hungary. With Hungary a part of his hinterland, however, Göring can assure the supply of food for his war.

All this Göring can do in any case—perhaps with the sole stipulation that he is given one or two years' grace. The army which he will lead to war will in any case be the formidable and mighty army of a modern first-class state—we do not believe that even Mr. Lloyd George, who at one time knew a great deal about munitions, infantry, and German military efficiency, fails at the bottom of his heart to appreciate this fact. All the soft-hearted pacifists and others who to-day are shedding tears with Hitler over the 'one-sided disarmament' of Germany should cease occupying themselves with these matters and take up horticulture. Göring's army will compare very well with Ludendorff's army, and probably—given still more time—will outdo this army in intensity, in concentrated technical strength. He can and he must, given this condition of time, one day catch up even with France. The chief of every general staff in the world knows this to-day and takes it into account. The Nazis are better militarists than were the courtiers of William's time, and a technical-industrial organization such as Thyssen will place at the disposal of the war—which will be a technical war—has never yet been seen.

Göring can create an army. And yet, even with this army, he must *crash* if he has no other plan in addition. Göring must be beaten, totally beaten and destroyed, if he dares, with all these forces and with nothing else, to march against Weygand. He must live to see a second Jena, and his Marne will be more terrible than General von Kluck's catastrophe in September 1914. There exists no chief of a general staff in the world who, seriously and sincerely, could give a different answer.

Göring must be beaten—not on account of *military forces*, but on account of *operative strategy*.

Joffre beat Kluck on the Marne. Weygand must much more easily allow Göring to dash himself to pieces against the wall of steel which to-day, stretching from South to North, represents the new military front between Germany and France.

The point determining the decision is not that the mobile French military forces, the forces of the dominant and most powerful military state in the world, in all branches, both quantitative and qualitative, bear no proportion whatever to the forces of present-day Germany, to Göring's new forces as well. That can very quickly alter, and one of the immediate tasks before the Brown International and the Rosenberg diplomacy consists precisely in altering quickly the relation of military forces between Paris and Berlin. The determining point is not that the 7 million available soldiers of the Franco-Czecho-Polish coalition, the 4,000 French tanks, the 3,000 French aeroplanes; the hundreds of French 'flying' motor-brigades, have to-day, compared with an army of Göring's, a crushing preponderance. The moment the Brown International, by means of 'Hitlerization' and 'Anschluss' with a slab of Europe, such as Austria and Hungary for example (or even the Ukraine!), creates an entirely new, wider German system of power, then nothing more can maintain the French lead in armaments for long; a block comprising a population of 70 or 80 millions, with, in addition, such a basis of military technique as the Ruhr provides, cannot, opposed to the block of 40 millions (France), remain for ever ineffective—not even if ten more disarmament conferences are summoned. And the moment Rosenberg's other wing, his diplomacy, carries through the *di-*

vide-et-impera operation, cuts off France in the south through Italy and paralyses her in the north through the 'isolationist neutrality' of England, the general relation of military forces between Weygand and Göring can shift very suddenly and very radically—Weygand will go on the defensive. Here time is working for Germany and against France, and with every moment that France allows the opportunity for an immediate 'preventive war' against Hitler to go by, the chances for a future attack on the part of Germany grows. But on one sector of this military front time is working for France, *French* chances are growing: on the sector of the French belt of defences on her eastern frontier, the line of subterranean steel fortresses between Belfort and Luxembourg.

This is where Göring must meet his destiny. Against this greatest military creation in history, this most fantastic technical structure in the world, which for the future is all the more significant the less the world is allowed to talk of it, but which is in fact one of the greatest events in post-war history (only a few know this, although everyone ought to know it)—against this mass of steel, hundreds of miles long and miles wide, every army, no matter what its strength may be, must dash its head to pieces; and Göring, with all the millions of the Nazis and all the guns of Krupp's behind him, would be destroyed and broken up before he could advance one step towards Paris. *No one* can get through this subterranean kingdom, with its unbroken chain of fortifications of steel, earth, and cement, impervious to any bombardment, with its innumerable intercommunicating forts, with its quarters for entire armies, with its special underground railways, magazines, casemates, electricity power-stations, post-offices, food-dumps, with its endless galleries and projecting pill-boxes weighing 36,000 kilos, and with its murder-

ous artillery belt on the outer side, destroying everything before it. Anyone attempting to hold on in front of this wall, or even to besiege it, would within a few days be reduced to nothing—it is the subterranean trench of the last war raised to mammoth size, to a national unit. No Göring would ever attack here. And this wall, running along the whole of France's eastern frontier, will not stop there, as it did only a short time ago. Since Hitler's advent in Germany, it is being continued from France farther to the north, across Belgium to the sea, in order to form, along the entire length of the western German frontier, at Göring's possible jumping-off points, a single, uninterrupted, prohibitive chain. The Belgian Government decided in October, impressed by Hitler's Peace-speech, to close, at a cost of 700 million francs, the entire German-Belgian frontier, as well as the right bank of the Maas, with a girdle of fortifications on the French model, to be incorporated in the French system. The tableland of Herve, opposite Aachen, a possible point for a German sally, is being turned into one vast machine-gun nest. The whole thing is under one command—Weygand's.

That is Weygand's new frontier and that is the last frontier of National Socialism. At this frontier Göring must bleed to death and Hitlerism must receive its mortal blow—after the triumphal beginning, after all the dreaming of the Brown World Revolution. And the passing of the German army after this blow will this time be more rapid than was the end of the Kaiser's front after the battle of the Marne. What then took years—the recoil and retreat of the German troops after the decisive defeat—will this time require only weeks. For even if Göring dare make no decisive attack on the French wall, the French army itself, with this impregnable wall in its rear, will be able again and again to carry out raids, until these

develop into a new, orderly, vast and irresistible *French counter-advance*, which will then lead right on into Germany, into the rear of National Socialism. And then the picture will change once and for all.

Weygand's army, flanked in the north by the Belgian troops, in the south by the Czech, in the east by the Polish, will begin the decisive offensive, which in the course of five to seven weeks will lead to the occupation of the greater part of Germany. This offensive will develop in two operations. The main French blow will take place in the south-west, in the direction of Munich. In the north-east, south, and east the parallel concentric action of the other French army, the Czechs and the Poles, will take place in the direction of Berlin. The southern French army, in order to prevent or stop quickly any possible Italian succour for Göring via the Alps, will deploy on a line between the Main and the Danube (Mainz-Basle), with the Rhine in its rear, and from there open up a murderous attack with tanks, armoured cars, and gas right down into the interior of Bavaria—meeting the Czech troops, who will push in from the opposite, eastern Bavarian frontier (Hof-Passau). Within a few weeks the Franco-Czech armies will unite, and, lying right across Bavaria, cut off defeated Germany from Italy, Austria, and Hungary. While Göring's shattered troops are fleeing northward in disorder, while Mussolini withdraws his army from the Alps, while the industrial district of the Ruhr, Thyssen's citadel, disappears from the surface of the earth beneath the bombs of the French air squadrons, and while in the Rhineland, in Berlin, in Central Germany, the unrest among the Socialist workers intensifies into a mighty revolution against Hitler, Weygand's second operation, that in the north and east, does its work. The ring formed by the French troops in Western Ger-

many, the Czech troops in Saxony, and the Polish troops in East Prussia and Silesia, draws closer and closer round Berlin. In the second month at latest of Hitler's great 'war of liberation' there will be no more Hitler. Weygand dictates in Berlin—or negotiates with the Berlin Commune.

This general scheme of a Göring-Weygand battle is *in any case* a military-strategical inevitability; it applies in all circumstances, however great the variations in detail may be. For the decision has already been made beforehand. Once Göring has been flung back from the wall of the French eastern fortifications, then there is no more salvation for the German army. That which is left of these troops will in no case be able to offer further serious resistance to France, a French counter-offensive will be able in practice to develop absolutely on its own lines. The situation will then be the same as in the autumn of 1918, when the German army, after its great offensive had misfired, in practice collapsed and was saved from complete destruction only by the capitulation of November 4. This time things will move faster—the French wall of steel of to-day is somewhat different from the three lines of trenches of Foch and Haig in 1918. And this perspective does not change even if one assumes in this war active *Italian* aid for Göring. Above all, this aid is in the military sense more than problematical. Mussolini may conclude a secret military alliance with Hitler. But he is too much of a practical politician to fulfil it—if the chances are not certain. He will wait until the real relation of forces emerges—and then, with fresh forces, join the stronger (even the democrat Salandra did no different in 1915, and he too had a treaty of alliance with Germany). He will never risk his army—and with it himself, his plans, the whole future of Italian Fascism—

simply for the sake of helping Göring when the latter is heading for catastrophe. In any case, given such a constellation, he will tuck for the first few days or weeks and await events, that is to say, leave Göring in the main to himself. Perhaps he will spring a surprise by concluding a 'treaty of neutrality' with France—and then at once have a new African colony without a struggle. Perhaps, and this is the most probable, he will occupy Austria—not, however, for Göring, but for himself (the Duce, too, has his 'imperial' dreams, but it so chances that a new 'Eastern Roman Empire' of the Blackshirts covers in part the same territory as the 'Germanic Union' of the Brown-shirts). *But Mussolini will not go to war if Göring is in danger.* Nothing is more certain than that the 'Nibelungentreue' of the Fascists of varying colours does not go as far as all that. Even if he marches out from Austria, any attempt to bring the Italian army over the Alps into touch with the Germans and to an encounter with the French army represents a deadly risk for Italian Fascism. Not only on account of the great natural difficulties presented by the Alpine passes, on account of the French aeroplanes in the air and the enormous hindrances in the way of reinforcements and supplies; not only because the French machine-guns, tanks, and heavy artillery are superior, the Italian soldiery inferior, and because there exists the danger of a revolutionary development in the denuded Italian hinterland; but also because the Italian army, before it joins up with the German army on the Lake of Constance and in Salzburg, will immediately be attacked in the flank by the united Yugoslavian and Czech (and perhaps Rumanian) troops, and will have a front in Austria and Hungary to hold. With 3 million rifles, 50,000 machine-guns, 8,500 guns, and 2,500 aeroplanes at the disposal of the Little Entente, this flank

attack is no small matter. A *va-banque* game of this kind will be played by Mussolini only if he believes that the mighty forces of the French army have already weakened; but he will not rush with Göring along the road to ruin.

The perspectives are quite clear, and the only chance then remaining to Göring within the frame of *this* strategy—namely not to attack the eastern French fortifications at all, but to hold out in front of them and carry on a war of exhaustion—is an absolute fiction. For neither will General Weygand allow himself to be provoked operatively by Göring and give up the sure chance of his subterranean fortress, nor will the 3,000 French aeroplanes allow a German army manœuvring or digging itself in a moment's breathing space. Yet this is not the main point. The main point is that Göring *cannot carry on a lengthy war of exhaustion at all*—the German workers will strike him from the rear. That is one of the absolute certainties and most important conditions of this war. Any idea of a lengthy and enduring war of positions such as William II was able to wage is for Hitler-Germany out of the question, owing to the political situation at home: the 13 million revolutionary Socialists thirsting for revenge, the whole oppressed and violated nation, will not tolerate this war for long, and will arise at the first recoil, at the first sign of exhaustion. Only a short, quick, victorious war, a war of shock-attack, is possible for Göring. And this war crumbles against Weygand's wall of steel.

Can Hitler-Germany win a war?—Never a normal, ordinary war. Never a war waged according to the methods of the *strategy existing up till now*. Never a *war of positions*.

Only a new, revolutionizing strategy, only a war waged according to some quite different, unknown, startling plan,

can be successful for Hitler. Göring, and with him the entire new German General Staff, the entire army of the National Socialists, know that. All their hopes and all their pride rest on this other, new, secret plan, which exists already, which changes the entire strategical situation, and with which Hitler really can win the war—the new German Schlieffen Plan of *aero-chemistry*.

VII. The New Schlieffen Plan

In order to win, we must try to be the stronger at the point of encounter. We can expect to achieve this, however, only if *we* determine the operation, not if we await, drawn up in passive formation, what the enemy has decided about us. . . . Without taking risks, it will hardly be possible to beat a stronger foe. . . . It is precisely in misfortune that strength of character and ability to find the means of bringing about a turn in the situation show themselves. (FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT SCHLIEFFEN.)

THE men who form the new German General Staff—Göring, ex-airman, Röhm, ex-captain and chief of the Brownshirts, Himmler, ex-cornet and chief of the Blackshirts, von Papen, ex-military attaché and Vice-Chancellor, Colonel Hindenburg, junior, Generals Blomberg and Fritsch—have far surpassed Ludendorff, the head of the old German General Staff. The plan that they have made, in order, in spite of Weygand, in spite of and against the immense superiority of France and their other opponents, to win the coming war is one of the most audacious and most profound creations in military his-

tory. It is an authentic product of the German genius for the science of war, which, since Clausewitz, has been the heir of Napoleon in Europe. This genius, in the last war, nearly secured victory for Germany in the first few weeks, and then enabled her, in spite of defeat, to hold out for four years against a gigantic world-coalition. And this same spirit has now produced a structure which, if it really succeeds, will throw Europe into a period of unknown horror and make Hitler the lord of the world. The content of this plan reduces itself actually to one single intention: to transform the mechanized *war of positions* of the present time into a novel, surprise *war of movement*, and thus bring victory to Germany. This is nothing less than the idea of the total overturning of the whole present-day strategy of war; militarily this idea is just as daring and revolutionary as the plan of the Rosenberg Brown International is in politics. In the concrete this means a plan for a German *break-through against Weygand*—a break-through in the impregnable steel wall in the west.¹

This wall, which to-day shuts off France irrevocably and hermetically from Germany, is in itself nothing other than the culmination of that *strategy of positions* which to-day is meant plainly and simply by the strategy of war; the highest triumph of that trench which in the last war suddenly put a stop to the customary march-movement of fighting men—advance, attack, break-through, and occupation—and in its place set up a rigid, insoluble

¹ Understanding of the following military-theoretical remarks will, as also in various places later on, not always be easy for a reader unpractised in military matters. But in order to grasp the present policy of Hitler, this part is *absolutely* indispensable. Without these specific military factors it is impossible at all to recognize and understand the deeper backgrounds and motives of the various political actions of the new Germany. And every soldier in the last war—also, it is to be hoped, every soldier in the coming war—knows what is at stake.

deadlock between immense mechanical material forces: an endless mutual self-destruction, always at one spot, without movement against the enemy, without advantage to the purpose of the war. The fire-vomiting trench paralysed, metre by metre, every blow, every advance of the foe; and the stronger the pressure of the opposing army became, the greater became the mechanical barrier of the defence, the mass of mechanical destructive material on the other side. Every fresh division on the one side was paralysed and done to death by a fresh piling up of concrete, mines, and artillery on the other side; every new offensive plan of the one shattered against a new technical plan of the other. Thus, in a terrible *circulus vitiosus*, position killed movement in war. And so there arose the new strategy of positions, mechanical war, which to-day has been brought by France to its climax. France, in raising the isolated trench of the last war to a gigantic national trench running right across the entire country, in compressing the various mechanical positions of defence of the last war into one single, unbroken, absolutely hermetic and prohibitive wall of material from one end of the front to the other, has *secured for herself the key to the modern war of positions*. She cannot be beaten so long as this strategy of positions itself is not broken and done away with.

Only a *new*, higher strategy can achieve this. Only a new, revolutionizing method of waging war, doing away with the prohibitive force of the present masses of military material, leading *through* them and putting an end to the effect of the French 'wall of steel', can deprive France of the key to a military decision. And that is the starting-point of the new German war plan. It has found this new method, this new strategy. It found them in a novel and really magnificent application of one of the

oldest and most fundamental military principles: the principle of *specific preponderance* through the *extreme concentration of forces*.

In contrast to a general (extensive) application and apportionment of forces—restriction of the entire forces to one decisive blow, with decisive weapons, at the decisive spot—and at the decisive moment.

This principle has always been the real cardinal point of the whole of German military science, the great immutable inspiration governing all the great German army leaders. Since Clausewitz and Schlieffen, the two theoretical creators of modern German militarism, it has been the inviolable fixed doctrine of each German general staff, no matter how it is composed and when it functions. The training of every single German officer is directed towards this main point, every one of the future generals and every lieutenant, even, passes through this school; no one reaches a higher position who cannot prove his ability in this specific direction, who has not solved the problem of 'Cannae'. Cannae is that historic battle between the Romans and the Carthaginians fought in Apulia in the year 216 B.C., in which the small, weak army of Hannibal cut the incomparable force of 85,000 proud Roman legionaries to pieces, in that it, by means of an ingenious strategical concentration, caught the enemy from the flank with cavalry and surrounded him. Clausewitz, the first founder of the great Prussian General Staff, elaborated the idea of Cannae to a general theoretical doctrine, 'Of War', to-day the classic military standard work, and Schlieffen, the successor of the elder Moltke and Chief of the German General Staff before the war (1891–1906), compressed this idea into an exact strategical system, which, under the bare name of Cannae, remained a secret until 1914. Since then every German soldier has been

obsessed with this idea. After all it is a question here of a natural, elementary principle of every struggle, especially between unequal forces, a principle on which *all* the successful wars of history have been waged. Napoleon, Cæsar, and Alexander were victorious through the surprise specific concentration of forces, and even the classic standard fable in all military academies, that of the tactics of the little unarmed David against the armoured giant Goliath, has no other meaning. But it was the German art of war which first grasped the whole towering significance of the Cannae method in the new era of modern mass-armies, with their mutually paralysing, gigantic technical forces. This method became the entire content of the *last* German war plan, with which Count Schlieffen intended to win the World War for Germany—and was within a hair's breadth of winning. Schlieffen was preparing to secure in this war the whole destruction of France through a second historic Cannae. He allotted in his plan three-quarters of the entire German army—fifty-three divisions out of a total of seventy-two—to one single part of the front, the right wing, which was to march across Belgium and Northern France on Paris. He denuded almost entirely, for the sake of this concentration at the northern corner, the other, left, wing in Lorraine, and, too, even the front against Russia: here there remained only nine and ten divisions respectively. He made the effectiveness of the right wing still more decisive, by endowing it in addition with special mechanical potency: through equipment with heavy howitzers and machine-guns, in those days the two latest and unsurpassed types of weapon, which the German army was accumulating in secret (the same effect that Hannibal obtained with his special cavalry). In this way Schlieffen constructed, at one single point in the French line of de-

fence, a ram which must have flung this whole line up into the air. For the force behind this blow from the German right wing must have been so powerful that it would not only have overthrown the opposing French force like a hurricane: the other, southerly French army, which was deliberately to be confronted with only very sparse German detachments, would come, as if drawn in by force, into a whirlpool; would rush, without meeting with resistance, a great distance forward, and then, after the German break-through in the north, be mercilessly cut off and pounded to pieces. That was Schlieffen's 'Second Cannae'. It meant the annihilation of France within six weeks of the declaration of war, whereupon the entire victorious might of Germany could throw itself against Russia and deal the finishing blow to Tsarism. This plan miscarried and Germany lost the war, but Schlieffen was not to blame. To blame was the fact that the successor of old Schlieffen (he died in 1913, a year before the war, and his last words were: 'Make my right wing strong!'), the younger Moltke, understood nothing of the Cannae strategy and turned the whole Schlieffen Plan upside-down. Instead of strengthening the ram on the right wing, he placed eight of the nine new divisions that Germany had formed in the last few years before the war on the left wing, and then, when the 1st of August came and the great dream of the German Hannibal should have been at last on its way to fulfilment, his little epigone took two corps from the right wing, already marching in triumph through France, and flung them, in sheer fright, at the lances of the Cossacks, at the Russian front. That was the end of the Schlieffen Plan, and the Second Cannae never took place. The two corps that were wanting, the gap in the concentration of forces, threw everything overboard. The moment the victorious right wing of the Ger-

man army, mowing down everything before it, leaping over Belgium as if it were a small ditch, putting 370 kilometres as the crow flies behind them in twenty days, reached Paris in the sixth week of war and should have dared the last decisive blow, then it collapsed because of its insufficient strength after this grandiose march and was struck in the side by Joffre on the Marne. France won, and could then usher in the new war of positions, but only because the German General Staff had previously swerved for a space of time from the principle of the Cannae strategy, the method of the specific concentration of forces. Six years later, in the summer of 1920, hundreds of miles away from the Marne, it was shown that the Cannae plan was right, and no person other than Weygand, the Generalissimo of France, proved it. In this year an army was marching, coming from the East, under the leadership of an unknown lieutenant, Tuchachevski by name, in the direction of Western Europe—the Red Army of Lenin, which was carrying on war against Poland. Tuchachevski, thirty years old, known by nobody outside Russia and by only a few in Russia, was in the act of carrying through a military achievement of Napoleonic scope: he had beaten the great Polish army with a heap of hungry, ragged, meagrely armed Soviet workers and peasants, in a brilliantly disposed battle on the Berezina, and was now marching at a speed of 15–20 kilometres a day—the speed of cavalry—in a fantastic advance through Poland on Warsaw (all the experts in the world still speak to-day of this advance as of a later reminiscence of Alexander). The fate of the Polish capital seemed to be decided, the Red troopers were touching its suburb of Praga. Weygand came to Warsaw to save capitalist civilization from Lenin. And then he undertook a small variant of that operation which he had once, as a French

officer during the World War, been able to observe in his German opponents. He let the Soviet cavalry in the north chase on almost without resistance and even cross the Polish-German frontier in East Prussia. He denuded the front for a great distance. And then he concentrated the whole of the remains of the Polish army, everything that this country could produce in the way of defence forces, and threw them at one point in Tuchachevski's flank. Capitalist civilization was saved. In a few weeks the Russian troops were again where they stood at the beginning of the offensive, and the Soviet Government had to conclude a bad peace. Weygand had accepted the risk, and had applied the strategy of Cannae up to the hilt.

This strategy, the extreme concentration of the entire forces for the decisive break-through at the decisive point, was and remains in military history the weapon of the weaker against the stronger, the *only weapon* possible in such a circumstance. It remains the most intrinsic, the most characteristic, the most profound idea in the German art of war. And it is *the* new, topical military doctrine of Hitler and his staff.

Hitler writes in his gospel (*Mein Kampf*): It is a matter of '*striking at the most dangerous foe with the entire concentrated force*'. That is the idea of Cannae at its purest, that is *the new Schlieffen Plan* in classic formulation. Hitler's trusty henchman and military adviser, Professor Banse, whose only fault is that he cannot hold his tongue and is overwhelmed by his feelings, reveals that which has been resolved upon even more clearly: 'Our little Defence Force cannot undertake a war of movement against a heavily armed, numerous, and widely distributed army. . . . For a nation driven to despair there remains nothing but to *plunge into the apparently impos-*

sible, and—whatever the League of Nations may say—every means will be welcome to it for saving its skin. *Every war brings an abundance of surprises, and victory often goes where nobody expected* (*Wehrwissenschaft*; the italics are ours). This man is a babbler, and Hitler was from his point of view quite right when a short time ago he hung a padlock over his mouth and withdrew his books from circulation. But ‘the gods speak through the mouths of babes and sucklings’. The diplomatic babe Banse speaks militarily the pure truth and nothing but the truth. *The new German Schlieffen Plan, founded on the same strategical principle as the old, is a fact—a completed fact.* If Bismarck is the diplomatic, then Schlieffen is the canonized military teacher and master of the Nazis. Exactly as in foreign politics they are leaving the faulty methods of the period of William—those of the Caprivi, Bülow, and Bethmanns—so in military policy they are giving up the mistaken ways of the Moltke juniors and the Falkenhayns and are going back to Schlieffen. They know what they are doing. And *only that* can they do.

Göring takes on the Third Cannae.

The direction is given. Further execution presents merely a technical problem: the problem of *material*.

What kind of Cannae can there be in the year 1934 against an army of Weygand’s mechanized from head to foot? What does the principle of the specific concentration of forces mean in relation to the French wall of steel, and what can it do against it? Is there still any possibility at all of applying a strategy of this kind in present-day conditions?

Yes, there is. Only the technical content, not the principle itself of the break-through strategy, has altered.

Only the material is being changed—modernized. Hannibal concentrated cavalry. Schlieffen concentrated divisions with heavy howitzers and machine-guns. What can Göring concentrate?

Step by step, stage by stage, Germany's necessary and inevitable military course towards the new war is clearing up out of the mist of propaganda made by Göbbels and Company, and of the paroxysms of the League of Nations.

The way is clear. It leads with iron consistency to an absolutely definite point, to an absolutely definite material.

There was in modern war only one, limited, possibility of getting through a line fortified with the most powerful technical weapons: the invention of a still more powerful mechanical weapon against them. Technique can be broken only by a higher technique; a new invention could unexpectedly pierce the old cramped front. This way—the only one still remaining to the army leaders of to-day—was tried in the last war a number of times after the great deadlock of the 'frozen fronts' of 1916-17, and every time it succeeded the army concerned won a great battle and came with a jerk to the verge of victory. For this army could for a period at least beat down with this new weapon, which as yet met with no resistance, the hitherto impregnable weapons and positions of the enemy, and so for a time enable itself to carry on a war of *movement*, a war *on the march*, against the foe, which could easily lead to the goal of the whole war and decide it. It is true that after a short time a counter-weapon against the new weapon was always invented and thus again paralysed its effect, restoring the old conditions. Yet even the short space of time during which the owner of the new weapon was waging a war of movement might have been

sufficient to bring a decision in his favour. All the great offensives of the World War after 1916 were based on this process, this temporary loosening of the war of positions, and were made possible by it alone (if it were not for this factor, then theoretically the war must, on the whole, be practically infinite, and victory must come to that last soldier who still remains behind alone to serve the mechanical weapons). Both sides attempted again and again this way (and only those generals and politicians who completely grasped the significance of this specific factor—as, for instance, in England Winston Churchill, and in France Clemenceau—were the sole really good strategists of this war). On the one occasion the Germans did it, by suddenly flooding the benumbed trenches in the West with gas—and thereby actually had the way open to them. Had there been at that time in the German General Staff a man like Schlieffen, for whom the idea of a breakthrough by means of specific preponderance of forces was the idea of his life and the last thought before his death, the Germans could at that time have won the war inside of a few weeks or months, in spite of the collapse of the first Schlieffen Plan (the one with heavy howitzers and machine-guns!) on the Marne. Opposed by a vast German gas attack, covering the whole front and undertaken on a national scale, the entire allied front would within a certain time have simply sunk to the ground and disappeared. But in the German headquarters of those days were sitting not pupils of Clausewitz and Schlieffen (as to-day Göring, Röhm, and Hammerstein are), but out-of-date, old-fashioned strategists, who were totally bewildered by the new war of positions—and so simply let the best opportunity for ending this war slip by. The German gas attacks on the first occasion were undertaken only locally, as hesitating experiments; when Ludendorff

grasped what really had happened, it was too late and the gas-masks were there. For this he payed with defeat and catastrophe for Germany. For when Churchill and Clemenceau—neither of them soldiers, but, to make up, people with imagination and therefore understanding for the colossal revolution of the war of positions, for the absorption of strategy through technique—turned the tables and for their part undertook a similar experiment, this time fully conscious of what they were doing and on a really large, decisive scale, the end of the war was there: the *tanks* finished off Germany. They finished off, in fact within a few months, an army that for four years long had fought and held its own against the whole world, that endured the Marne, weathered the Somme, Ypres, and Verdun, and had learnt the war of positions really brilliantly. But Mr. Churchill's new fighting cars put an end to the positions and to the war of positions. They went over the trenches as over rat-holes and, with a little petrol, they fought a fresh war of movement and of march, which ended at Versailles. A more intensive technique broke through the apparently invincible old technique, and brought the decision.

Yet this possibility of outbidding technique with technique seems after the war to have found finally its limits *on the surface of the battlefield*. There is no further progression, every technical maximum is paralysed, and between two maximum lines of fortification of to-day there is no more room for overwhelming specific intensity. The highest point, absolute mutual prohibition, absolute numbness, has been reached. The little tanks with which Foch and Churchill once broke through the impregnable German lines have in the meantime become automatic giants, travelling forts of steel weighing 92,000 kg. and with a speed of 10 km. an hour (the latest French 'Type

D'). Yet against the new system of positions of a Weygand even an army of such tanks is helpless (quite apart from the modern anti-tank guns). A subterranean, hermetical mass of steel, concrete, and artillery, stretching for hundreds of miles in length and for miles in breadth—and that is the form of the modern position—can be penetrated by *no* force, however intensive, that may be sent against it on the surface—the limit has simply been reached, absolute prohibition is there.

But—and this is the shattering discovery of the contemporary world, the terrible fate hanging over the future of the world—this absolute prohibition is purely *horizontal*. One can no longer pierce a modern position on the surface. But one can *leap over* it.

In the air there are no positions. The horizontal numbering of the positions is one-dimensional—it does not exist *vertically* at all.

With that the new Schlieffen Plan, *the concentric break-through with the help of the way of the air*, is there.

The specific material for Göring's 'Third Cannae' is aero-chemistry.¹

Aero-chemistry turns with one stroke the whole modern strategy of war upside-down—above all, its most modern and maximum creation, the steel wall of Weygand. In reality aero-chemistry provides the greatest historic chance that Thyssen, Hitler, and Göring have. Perhaps no political power has ever previously had such a chance. Without it Hitler's entire international plan would really be in effect only a soap-bubble—and he would never have risked it. But Hitler *plus aero-chemistry*—that alters everything; that really does switch history on to another

¹The aeroplane equipped with poison-gas.

track. Here is to be found one of the most gigantic objective levers of this movement.

Strategically aero-chemistry makes the new German Schlieffen Plan almost primitive—at any rate into a much simpler task than was the old plan. In practice it reduces this task to a pure question of piling up material. For movement, the march, is now again possible, the elementary strategical freedom of action is restored—above the ground. The principle of the specific concentration of forces for the decisive blow at the decisive place, again receives life and sense, as at the time of Hannibal; the art of war is again a game. The verticalization of the struggle has solved everything. The army of the air is the *new cavalry*—a specific, unhampered weapon for the attack, for the assault. As once Hannibal's or Napoleon's irresistible columns of horsemen, so a concentrated air-power, thrown in a definite direction, with its independence of local ties and road-obstacles, its arrow-speed and its gas-weapons destroying everything before them, is able in the very shortest time to take any direction against the enemy and break through anywhere. It solves, however, at the same time once and for all the problem of breaking through *on land*: for after assault by an air army the stretch of country through the enemy front lying below, bombarded and gassed, is already in the first days of war technically and morally nearly or quite disabled—it is as if it had disappeared from the front. The motorized infantry following on foot beneath the air army—on armoured cars with a speed of 200 km. or more a day—finds over a wide surface only the remains of the resistance, amid destroyed positions, dead towns, and swarms of demoralized enemy soldiers. The march into the enemy country has succeeded, and can, under cover of the same air army, develop with the shortest possible delay into the

occupation of the most important centres and districts.¹ The primary factor remains the annihilating assault of the air army. No anti-aircraft artillery can seriously prevent it—at the most the enemy air army itself, sending a counter-squadron against the attackers or undertaking a devastating raid of its own in the latter's hinterland. Yet then the decision is again, just as in classic strategy, a question of concentration and surprise. If the attacking air army is powerful enough and is put in at the right place, then it deals its decisive blow and destroys its opponent even before he can lift his arm for the counter-blow; or, returning swiftly from its victory, it deprives this counter-blow of all significance. This basic theory of aerial warfare is nothing other than the oldest theory of war on land. A Cannae in the air is, as a strategical exercise and task, the exact counterpart of Hannibal's Cannae with cavalry.

This task now lies quite concrete before the new German General Staff: *to specialize in the creation of such a dominating air army that its international preponderance would be large enough: (1) to secure, concentrated in one certain direction, a decisive, annihilating breach in the French front; (2) on the other hand, to cover the heart of German industry, the district of the Ruhr, distant one half-hour's flying time from the Franco-Belgian military aerodromes, against a counter-assault from the French squadrons.*

That is, right down to the dots on the i's, the old chess problem of the sagacious Count Schlieffen: in the vertical dimension. His famous 'right wing' is now called 'attacking air army'; his left wing is now the defensive air army.

¹In this direction, consideration has already been given even to the idea of landing, by means of specially designed giant aeroplanes, tanks behind the enemy lines.

And exactly as then, everything, the whole meaning and genius of the plan, lies in the strength of the attacking wing. If this wing, the assaulting German air army, quantitative and qualitative, in the number of planes and in the potency of chemical equipment, is made so strong, so absolutely superior and crushing to every possible defence that it obtains the decision in every case, as old Schlieffen planned on the ground with his seventy divisions with machine-guns and howitzers—then there will be no missfire and the French plan of defence against Göring will show itself to be just as helpless as Joffre's famous 'Plan XVII' against Schlieffen. But only then.

The new German General Staff, trained on the great blunder of the Marne, will see to it that there will be no further question of this blunder. It will, with the most iron determination, with the most exact thoroughness, with the most subtle refinement, take care that this time the principle of concentration is inexorably carried through in its whole terrible significance. It will build up an air army, construct an aero-chemical ram, such as the present cannot conceive of. And it will carry out this aero-chemical Schlieffen Plan, in spite even of the whole world, all the more as this plan is relieving it simultaneously of its two most important obstacles: the political obstacle at home and the economic obstacle. War in the air is so swift and so full of surprise that it leaves no time to the revolutionary movement at home for a planned action of revolt. Even before the newly uniformed working class can organize, before the workers in the factories can call a general strike, the decision at the air-front has already been obtained or the enemy squadrons are there, over their own towns. The Communists will revolt then too—that is true enough. But they will have beforehand to storm the aeroplane depots. Since an air fleet of a few

tens of thousands of planes requires a personnel of only a few tens of thousands of men, this army will consist not of uniformed revolutionary proletarians, but of selected officers of the regime, the cream of the ruling class and its party. Even the motorized infantry troops following the air squadrons on armoured cars—which militarily must be not so much numerous as dashing and mobile—will be recruited mainly from the Prætorians and mercenary corps of the Dictatorship; and even they are subject to the constant threat from above, which is more effective than the machine-guns behind the front in the last war.¹ On the other hand, in the economic sphere, the fast-moving war in the air allows the German General Staff to specialize in certain supplies of equipment and material, instead of securing—what for Germany is almost unattainable—an assured supply in all branches of war equipment, industry, and food-stuffs. It is a *va-banque game*, as is the entire policy of the Nazis: the new war is quickly won or quickly lost; it is no long-drawn-out war of reserves. If it is lost, then the country of the 65 million Germans is a chemical field of corpses. But if it is won, then Göring is the new Napoleon, Adolf Hitler the lord of the world, and Fritz Thyssen—the head of the Ruhr—the lord of Hitler and Göring.

Only one more, secondary question, the last link in the glittering chain of the new aero-chemical Schlieffen Plan,

¹ And yet the Communists, especially the German Communists, will in the next war be anything rather than passive. They are already working out their own special strategy against the special strategy of the General Staffs. Shortly before the end of the last century Friedrich Engels had already written that the modern methods of the bourgeoisie—the building of broad, beam-like streets in place of the narrow, crooked lanes, so convenient for barricades, of the eighteenth century—would aggravate to an extraordinary extent the technical fighting conditions of the revolutionaries. But that did not prevent the series of revolutions after the last world war!

remains for Göring's General Staff to solve: at which *point*, in which particular *direction*, the new concentrated army of the air should be put in—where the scene of the new Cannae shall be.

Schlieffen meant to go to Paris. Göring has the same goal. Schlieffen aimed his break-through not directly against the French line, but chose a surprise detour through a third country, violating her neutrality. Göring does not bother himself at all about frontiers and treaties, and is seeking at all costs the most advantageous route. Schlieffen, in order to take the French plan of defence 'XVII', with its concentration of troops in the south, by surprise, placed his main blow in the north—via Belgium. Göring has a choice between the two weakest spots in the new line of the Franco-Belgian fortifications and anti-aircraft batteries—at its two ends in the extreme south and the extreme north: *He will violate the neutrality of either Switzerland or Holland.*

The decision, as to which of these routes the new German General Staff will take in the coming war for its main surprise stroke, lies with Mussolini—and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

Göring is ready for *either* raid. He will in the *North* not think twice of staking Holland in the game, even if it involves the total destruction, the death of this country. He can overrun this country and make it into his base for deployment much more easily and more quickly than could William in 1914 with Belgium: the German army can at once put Holland in the north and south in a vice—in the province of Groningen, a junction of important railways and canals, and in the province of South Limburg, the coal centre near Aachen; and, led by the anni-

hilating air squadrons, which sweep away all obstacles and destroy the industries of Northern France within a few hours, the German columns of armoured cars can on the first day force their way over the 'neutral' Belgian-Dutch frontier and thereafter over the 'allied' Franco-Belgian frontier; these routes are fortified against aircraft, as in other ways, still comparatively weakly. The march to the Marne repeats itself, but since this time the main battle will be decided in the air, Paris—if it still exists—will stand open to Göring. This plan can, if it is carried out by surprise—Göring will never wait for the official declaration of war—achieve the goal in the quickest possible way; and Mr. Rosenberg's Dutch Nazis are already making technical and political preparations for it on the spot. But it can be undertaken with certainty only if Göring, openly or in secret, possesses the benevolent neutrality of that power which rules in the North Sea: the British Admiralty. That is why Göring keeps a second illegal way up his sleeve, at the opposite extremity; the way on which he can possibly unite his air fleet and his motor-infantry with another gigantic army against France, and so make the Cannae stroke in this direction even more deathly: the way through *Geneva*, through the pacific heart of the League of Nations.

He aims at Lyons instead of at Paris. He directs the great air army in a few minutes across Switzerland, invades the fertile south-eastern district of France, annihilates with gas-, explosive-, and incendiary-bombs all life in the Rhône valley and the Dauphiné, destroys the vast gun-factory of Creuzot—the same that previously, in 'peace-time', had supplied him with tanks—and spreads panic over the whole of France. And meanwhile the German infantry storms—if indeed there is still any need for

storming—the 60-mile-long Rhine frontier between Germany and Switzerland (Basle-Chur), forces its way with armoured cars and long-range batteries into the valley of the Aar, and moves, its rear protected by aeroplanes, along the Jura Mountains, between the lakes of Neuchâtel and Geneva, into the southern plain of France. This attack, taken as a whole, is so mighty that it not only paralyses the diminutive Swiss army—this will probably not dare even to come into action—but also attracts the military forces of Mussolini, hovering behind the Alps for their moment. Mussolini will never join Göring so long as Göring can wage only a pure war of positions in the old style, that is to say, has the irresistible French wall of steel in front of him. He will never let himself in for a battle for Göring in the valley of the Danube against an offensive French army storming forward from its fortifications in the west. But the moment Göring applies the superior *air-strategy* to France, thereby upsetting the whole relation of forces existing hitherto, changing the whole picture of the struggle and winning the initiative for himself—at this moment Mussolini will not let slip the chance on which his entire policy is focused. However diplomatic relations between himself and France may stand at the time, he will, at this moment, act—for his ultimate purpose, and this means against France with Göring. He will strengthen the German stroke through Switzerland with his own thousands of aeroplanes, with Balbo's old force, and with an infantry invasion of his own, and so make the force of this stroke in practice irresistible. The picture of a combined German-Italian air and infantry offensive westwards from the Alps has precisely a contrary significance to that of the picture of a French offensive to the north and east of the Alps in the

valley of the Danube: in this constellation *France* is the anvil and the other side the hammer. The Third Cannae has succeeded. Lyons falls. Göring flies to Paris.

Can Hitler-Germany win the war? The answer of military strategy is: *Yes*, if she possesses a great, overwhelming army in the air.

That is the meaning of Göring's life, that is the significance of Hitler's whole 'disarmament' diplomacy: the whole of Germany to-day is one vast aircraft factory.

VIII. Göring's Air Force Over Europe

WHAT in practice is a 'dominating super-air-army', capable to-day of deciding a war in Europe? The lay-out is perfectly plain. If Göring has 10,000 aeroplanes—as many as the whole of Europe has to-day, and half as many again as the entire French group (including the Little Entente, Poland, and Belgium)—then he can go into the fight with a good chance. If Göring has twice as many as the whole of Europe and three times as many as France and her allies—20,000 aeroplanes—then only a miracle can prevent Germany's victory in the war. Given 20,000 aeroplanes, 5,000 are enough to cover the district of the Ruhr and the entire German hinterland against any attack by the French air squadrons, another 5,000 to hold all other possible enemies in check, and with the remaining 10,000 machines the annihilation of France is sealed in one concentric attack, an annihilation such as no German military leader ever dreamt of. This summary outline is

absolutely unshakable. To such an extent has the revolutionizing of military strategy simplified the situation.¹

Twenty thousand aeroplanes—that is guaranteed victory. That is triumph over the world, cancellation of 1914–18, Hitlerization of Europe. Can Germany create such a force? That is the last question in the cycle, ‘Where is Hitler Going?’—the final practical test. Is the establishment by Germany of a minimum army of 20,000 aeroplanes an impossible task?

It is a task the Nazis can fulfil within one year.

If anyone can realize it, it is the Hitler-State. Germany to-day is in the hands of the airman-officers. This utterance acquires an entirely different significance when the *secret rôle played by the former military airmen in Hitler's Party* is known. It is not a question of a fortuitous grouping or of one of the incidental influences; it is a question of supremacy. Of the four supreme leaders of National Socialism—Hitler, Göring, Göbbels, and Hess—two are former active airmen. *Göring*, with Röhm, the military head of the Nazis, the chief of the entire new General Staff, the main instigator of all the new war preparations and the would-be Brown Bonaparte of the coming world-slaughter, is not only an airman by profession—he was the last commander of the renowned German fighting squadron ‘Freiherr von Richthofen’, which played an important part in the latter years of the war—he is a maniac for the air weapon. For this very reason he is the most suitable leader of the new German General Staff. The air weapon is for this man a second morphia; but old Schlieffen himself died with ‘Cannae’ as his last

¹ One can to-day, roughly speaking, calculate in the military sense with the thousands of aeroplanes, just as earlier, before the modern war of positions, with infantry divisions: for the elements of movement have in this form reacquired their validity.

word. Only soldiers like these, hypnotized by their central strategical idea, living with it awake and asleep, are to-day, when the principle of 'specific preponderance' is decisive in war, the true, up-to-date—and victorious—military leaders. Göring is one. On this point he cannot possibly be taken seriously enough; in this sphere this un-intellectual, barbarous, tainted man is more important and more dangerous than the 'Leader' and demi-god Hitler and the other paladin, the 'chief brain' Göbbels. In 1934 one air-barbarian is in any case stronger than the whole of 'humanistic civilization' all lumped together. And Göring, as the military head of all National Socialism, will stake all his and its barbarism, all his and its influence in Germany, for this one single great idea of his brain: the air force. Another backing him up in this stands even nearer perhaps to the new throne in Germany: this is *Rudolf Hess*, the official 'Deputy to the Leader' and former member of the German scouting flight '35'. This man, too, a man who to-day has an almost sinister personal influence over Hitler, without whom no decision is made by the German Duce, no access to him is possible, whom special threads link as much to the ruling Black-shirts (S.S.) as to the mysterious 'Gestapo' (the Nazis' secret police)—Hess, too, as an ex-airman, knows what is at stake. And what Hess knows, Hitler does. Göring and Hess together can themselves determine the whole Nazi policy. But that is not all. Among the members of the Nazi fraction in the Reichstag—that is, the selected leaders of the party from all over the country—there are no fewer than *twenty airmen*. Apart from Göring and Hess, Dr. Robert *Ley*, leader of the Nazi trades unions and chairman of the party organizational bureau, another member of Hitler's personal entourage, is a former Ger-

man military airman¹; besides this he is a professional chemist and former employee of 'I.G. Farbenindustrie', the gigantic German chemical trust and organizer of Germany's terrible gas armament in the last and the next wars. Former military airmen are also the Brownshirt commanders Hager, Schragmüller, Heydebreck, von Platen; the Blackshirt commanders Jeckeln, Moder, Heissmeyer; as well as the Governor of Hamburg, Kaufmann, and the Police-President of Waldenburg, Ferdinand von Hiddessen, one of the earliest aviators in Europe (since 1908) and one of those taking part in the very first German bombing attack on Paris on August 30, 1914. Still more important, perhaps, are the facts that one of the most influential members of the mysterious 'Nazi Party War Office' (Wehrpolitisches Amt der N.S.D.A.P.)—the real War Ministry of the Nazis, a pendant to Rosenberg's 'Foreign Office'—Captain Wilhelm *Weiss*, is likewise an experienced military airman², and that Günther *Ziegler*, one of the most intimate advisers to the Chief of Staff of the Brownshirts, Röhm, was leader in the war of the German fighting flight No. 7. The picture is entirely unequivocal. The air officers are providing the foremost contingent of the political, and above all the military, leaders of Hitlerism. The explanation is equally clear. The air officers form to-day, by the very fact of the technical character of their weapon and of the individualistic form of their warfare (in contrast to the impersonal masses of material represented by the troops of positions, such as infantry), by far the most active and most able element in the entire army. The

¹ The man, too, who, shortly before Hitler's assumption of power, was the next direct leader of the Nazis after Hitler himself, above Göring and Göbbels even, Gregor Strasser, was an airman in the war.

² Weiss is to-day also chairman of the German Press Association and one of the directors of the official German Cable-agency Wolff (W.T.B.).

moment the army enters politics—and this it has been doing everywhere since the war, summoned by the governing class and by Fascism—the air officers become quite naturally in politics, too, the most active, pushing—and only too often the most adventurous—element. The same tendency can, as is well known, be observed in its beginnings in other countries apart from Germany. Until recently a parallel could to a certain extent be drawn with the well-known political rôle assumed by naval officers, who likewise, as a result of the special individualistic character of their service, formed a certain élite within the military class (submarine officers, for example). In Germany, then, during the first period of the counter-revolution (roughly until 1924), naval officers played a recognized leading rôle with the parties of the extreme right, in preparing for the putsches, in the White Terror, etc.; thus, for example, the famous Captain Ehrhardt, the organizer of the Kapp Putsch (1920) and the murders of Erzberger and Rathenau, was a well-known naval officer; as were the terrorist Killinger (a torpedo-boat captain), and, still quite recently, the leader of the Conservative German Nationalists and the right hand of Brüning, the Minister Treviranus (a commander). But the naval officers, just like the most distinguished corps of officers of the army on land, the Guards, sprang from the upper classes of the bourgeoisie—the nobility and the richer middle-class families; they were the guards of the *old* front of the counter-revolution, which still limited itself to the mobilization solely of the upper bourgeois classes; when this first counter-revolution in Germany failed for want of a mass-force in the years 1920–23, the terrorist naval officers, snobbish and sodden like their fathers, became wearied of their political adventures and withdrew from their conspirators' caves to the comfortable arm-

chairs of big business: nearly the entire corps of naval officers was absorbed by German Big Industry, especially by heavy industry. For example, Stinnes, the king of the German inflation, was famous for the fact that he filled the higher posts in his gigantic concern almost exclusively with well-known political naval officers; they served for him in the offices with just as much discipline as before in the submarines. In this way the naval officers disappeared from the German political stage. But when the second period of the counter-revolution came, the period in which monopoly capital called the mass of the *petty-bourgeoisie* to its support, an officer caste at once placed itself again in the foreground—that caste which, being recruited from these very masses, had just been promoted in the last war to a new technical vanguard: the airmen. These sons of shopkeepers, druggists, and secondary-school teachers, suddenly whisked away to an entirely new and fantastic existence—not to the dull, mechanized mass-dying down below in the trenches, but to a thrilling life of contest, full of unaccustomed individual adventure, based on free movement and personal initiative, as was once the life of the knights and mercenaries in the old romantic wars—these young people, raised high in the air out of the grey existence of their fathers, could never again go back. Psychologically flung out of the ranks, and disordered physically—a large number of these former military airmen, especially the successful ones, are drug-addicts—they could not find after the war the way back to the narrow life of their class: yet they became the effervescent, active ferment in it—the *revolutionaries of the petty-bourgeoisie*. Peace, which had put an end to their careers without opening to them fresh opportunities, did not suit them; the working class, which through its revolution had closed the way to them, they

hated; the higher bourgeoisie, now ruling once again in 'Republican' form, giving preference to colleagues with blue-blood or a naval badge, remained apart from them; the whole Republic was a rotten business. Only their fathers were still there—and they were underneath. So these people became National Socialists, German Fascists, in order to raise up themselves and their class. So types like Göring and Hess came into being. These people, with their unusual energy, their trained ruthlessness, and their real abilities—abilities for fighting and hating—brought Hitler's movement slowly, and then in more and more rapid jerks, forward. So long as the putschist naval captains and the reactionary aristocratic generals and colonels were acting on the stage, the movement of the lower middle-class air officers was overshadowed. But when the curtain fell on the first stage of the German counter-revolution and Thyssen ordered the revolt of the petty-bourgeoisie, it became clear what this group had in the meantime done: it had built up the Hitler Party like an air corps. These thirty-year-olds, who in the war had daily lived through the most foolhardy adventures and had learned as a trade a new kind of individual man-hunt, now knew in politics too, as in the aeroplanes, no restraints and no obstacles. They imparted to national politics the character and tempo of an air attack. Thus there arose the phenomenon of National Socialist psychology. Thus there developed that specific brutal—do-or-die, unscrupulous—criminal characteristic in the nature of Hitlerism, a characteristic which has become typical of this whole movement and to which it largely owes its victory. This was the method of the Reichstag Fire. This was the method of mass-terrorism against defenceless workers and Jews—like a bombing attack from the air on the civil population. This was the method of the 'Totali-

tarian State', and later, in foreign policy, that of the withdrawal from the League of Nations, of the open disarmament sabotage, of the gauntlet thrown down to the whole world. The German air officers became the ideal sergeant-majors for Thyssen-Fascism—as the naval officers were for Stinnes-Putschism.¹ They are the heroes of the petty-bourgeoisie. They are Hitler's whippers-in. *They and National Socialism are one.* That is the *subjective* background, the *social* secret, of the new German war plan in the air, of Göring's gigantic new military designs. For with the same violent activity, the same adventurous ruthlessness, the same mad lust for destruction, they are now flinging themselves, Germany once in their hands, into the field of world politics, in order to fulfil their fundamental aim: the creation of a new, gigantic German army in the air.

They will create this army, if no one previously holds their hand. They are in command of National Socialism, and they will concentrate all the energies of their country for this purpose. They will build Göring's 20,000 aeroplanes, whatever it may cost. They will for this harness the entire German nation. For they do not look on this new national task as a laborious, systematic process, but as a single, urgent effort, a task of the moment, in face of which everything in the present, everything inside the country, is to be put on one side. And they are powerful and determined enough to take and to begin this huge task in all its magnitude: this means putting at least *one and a quarter billion dollars* on the table—twice as much as the whole world has spent yearly hitherto on armament in the air.

A modern scout machine costs to-day about \$75,000—

¹ With whom, as also with the infantry officers, the air officers have meanwhile come to an understanding and allied themselves.

\$80,000; a bombing machine often even much more. Even an anti-aircraft gun costs to-day up to \$50,000.¹ This makes, for an army of 20,000 planes, without the costly chemical equipment, a sum of between a billion and a billion and a quarter dollars. The German people are poverty-stricken and unemployed. The whole German budget amounts to-day on the expenditure side to about 2 billion dollars. The entire army of the unemployed gets about 625 million dollars. But what do the unemployed matter—empty ballast for Göring! What does the whole nation matter—if it is not itself a means of waging a war in the air! There is one goal only, one idea only: an overwhelming force against Lyons. The fleet of 20,000 air machines will be built—the nation is hardly breathing. That is National Socialism. That is Göring.

The country is being placed under a special state of emergency. A new regime stretching over everything—covering politics, army, civil administration, schools, Press, literature, law, secret police—holds sway: the regime for the creation of the air army. The nation bends the knee. As during a siege or an epidemic, the whole of private and public life, beginning with the individual family and ending with the highest Government circles, is being subordinated to one single principle. Göring gives the word publicly: Germany becomes overnight a nation on wings. And the wheels of the 'Totalitarian State' begin to rotate.

The staff is there. The supreme command of the secret armament in the air is identical with Hitler's most immediate personal entourage. But now an open process, of a mass character, is beginning; a process that will one day

¹ According to the statements of the Minister Benesch in the Budget Committee of the Czechoslovakian Parliament.

be regarded as one of the most decisive military events in the last period before the second European war: the *aviatization of the Brownshirts*. The Hitlerite is being put in a flying machine.

The army of the air is from the very beginning coming into being not as a regular State organization, but as a specific force of National Socialism—its special, monopolist weapon against its foes; in ultimate significance—as the organ and executive of the Brown International for the conquest of Europe. This army is like Thyssen and Rosenberg—not national, but continental in tendency and vocation. It is a sinister plan. And it is the most sinister army in the world. At its head stands not a Government office, but an unknown authority: the secret headquarters of the '*National Socialist Air Storm-troopers*' (*Luftstürme der S.A.*), which is connected directly with Göring and the commanders of the Brownshirts and Blackshirts, Röhm and Himmler. That is the nucleus. Who are these men? Their names are not yet among those of the famous. One of the chiefs of this organization is that same Günther Ziegler who during the war led one of the most dangerous German fighting flights (to-day a Blackshirt). Another collaborator is Lieutenant Rossbach, one of the most talked-of German terrorists after the war. Leading officials of '*Lufthansa*', the German 'civil aviation' trust, leading chemists and representatives of '*I.G. Farbenindustrie*', the largest chemical concern in the world, have their place at the head. These are Germany's real new Scharnhorsts. This authority—having nothing to do with the official leadership of the German army and known officially by no War Office in the world—is becoming the most active spot within the whole army of millions made up by Hitler's uniformed Brownshirts and Blackshirts. It permeates this army through a system of

special commissars, secret staffs, and auxiliary organizations. And it is beginning rapidly to transform it into an entirely new type of military force.

The aim is the serial production of aero-Nazis—the army of the future. The old German Reichswehr plays beside this merely a secondary, auxiliary rôle—it is now only a corps of instructors for the real force. A frenzy grips the youth of Germany. In all parts of the country special ‘National Socialist air squadrons’ are one after the other being formed under the command of old military airmen. In each brigade of Brownshirts air sections are coming into existence and aeroplane parks are being procured. Every one of the 300,000 Blackshirts is as far as possible to be trained as a pilot; this special privileged and mobile bodyguard of Hitlerism is to become at the first necessity an air force. Students and schoolchildren receive mass instruction in aviation and chemical warfare; in the secondary schools aeronautics takes the place of French. In Berlin a central academy for airmen, the ‘Hermann Göring School’, is being founded, and right through the Reich the ‘instructional gas battalions’, consisting each of 2,500 men, are forming. Thus, at frantic speed, are springing up the new corps of air soldiers, air technicians, and air chemists, which already to-day assuredly have no equals in the world.

The civil branch of the new air command, which is creating the home basis for this mobilization, subordinates to itself, under the name of ‘Reich Air-Defence League’ (Reichsluftschutzbund), through what is in practice enforced recruitment and registration, the populations of whole towns and districts: they have to arrange for finance, equipment, and defensive preparations for the new army (defence against gas, observation of the air, etc.). In one single Berlin district with 10,000 blocks of

dwellings, 20,000 'civil air-defence house look-outs', drawn from the ranks of the population, are being trained. Authorities, clubs, and societies, local administrations, railways, private undertakings, schools, have to place all their resources and all their personnel at the disposal of the secret air command which, after an interruption of fifteen years, has taken up the heritage of Hindenburg and Ludendorff. The whole thing, from top to bottom, is under the strictest political control of the local leaders of the National Socialists. For it is not the army of Germany; it is the army of the international Nazi Party.

But that is only the one half of the realization of the new Schlieffen Plan. This army of winged Hitlerites derives its real potency, its actual world significance, through something else, that makes the fate hanging over General Weygand almost predestined: the new vast *German aeroplane industry*, which has arisen in a few months in the middle of Europe and can turn out 2,000 machines every four weeks.¹ France's total military aeroplane park numbers to-day 3,000 machines, of which 1,700 compose the so-called 'First Immediate Line'; England and Italy each possess 1,500 machines. That is the new fixed basis for the military relation of forces in Europe. Germany had already possessed in the last weeks of the war, according to Ludendorff, 13,000 aeroplanes, which were then handed over to the Entente; these were the old, small, and weak machines. But for the new German industry this figure and this quality represent now a mere bagatelle.

The mechanical air force is coming into being simul-

¹ According to the estimate of M. Mandel, a deputy to the French Parliament and a former principal private secretary to Clemenceau, who is well in with French military circles, the figure amounts even to 2,500 planes monthly.

taneously in three series. The first is being produced first of all by transforming the German automobile industry into an aeroplane industry: the branch which previously, on account of superior competition from America, had almost disappeared, becomes overnight, after a slight alteration to the machinery, the most successful and most progressive branch of industry in Germany. Daimler, Benz, BMW, NAG, and other famous German car trademarks have to-day another significance. The mighty German electrical engineering industry, too, is turning to the air and producing aeroplane engines; the firm of Siemens is working three shifts in this department. Old aeroplane factories, like Junkers, Dornier, Bayerische Flugzeugwerke, Gothaer Zeppelinwerft, which had closed down or were in liquidation, are growing to gigantic proportions; new serial factories are arising in East Prussia, in Johannisthal near Berlin, in Hamburg, in Bremen, in the Rhineland, in Friedrichshafen. It is a private industry—soon perhaps one of the largest in the country, next to the heavy and chemical industries. But the sole, monopolist proprietor and manager of this industry is—the Nazi Party. It is the sole shareholder in this new trust and it is the board of directors. The chairman of the newly organized Bayerische Flugzeugwerke in Augsburg is Herr Direktor Theo Croneiss—in the other half of his existence commander of the Brownshirts and ‘Special Commissar of the Supreme S.A.-Leader for Air-questions in Bavaria’. Who is the ‘Supreme S.A.-Leader’? Hitler. From Leipzig an order is given for five aeroplanes. Who is the customer? The Leipzig District Group of the National Socialist Party. All the other districts groups of the Party are doing the same thing—this means thousands and thousands of machines. In these factories only National Socialist workers, only National Socialist engi-

neers, and only National Socialist directors are working. They are the private property of Hitlerism, as is the army of the human aero-Nazis. The new kings of the air allow no one else a look-in.

The second army of aeroplanes is being built for Hitler abroad: in Italy, Sweden, Holland, England, all the 'neutral' neighbouring countries, which look upon business as business, and the aeroplane business with Germany even as one of the best. German Diesel aeroplane engines are being exported in thousands to Italy, in order one day to return from there to Germany in the form of finished squadrons of scouting planes. Certain firms situated in a north-westerly direction from Germany are supplying all parts required for bombing and scouting planes. Here no Disarmament Conference interferes and no Disarmament Control gives a cough. This army of machines is abroad, but is an integral part of aero-Hitlerism. Göring's third aeroplane army is already mobile. It numbers 1,200-1,500 machines and can within a few hours rise in full fighting order in any desired direction. It is the harmless army of German 'commercial aviation', the aeroplane park of the extremely civilian 'Lufthansa A.G.', which with its yearly total of 6 million flown miles, 100,000 passengers, and 1 million kg. of baggage and mail holds absolute supremacy in European air traffic; the number of miles covered yearly by French commercial aviation amounts to 5½ million, those of England, Italy, and Holland together 6½ million. But the proud civilian figures for miles, passengers, and baggage can within four to eight hours become similar *military* figures. That is the time required for exchanging the central body of a commercial aeroplane, that is, the passenger or baggage space, for the fighting body fitted with machine-guns, automatic guns, and bomb-throwing apparatus. In this

space of time the 1,500 Lufthansa machines become transformed into 1,500 scouting and bombing planes of the attacking aero-Nazi army.¹ And these machines are already there. They belong to Lufthansa—that is to Göring, whose Under-Secretary of State is at the same time a director of Lufthansa.² They are flown by old German war-pilots—that is, by the cream of the Brown and the Blackshirts. Not even Mr. Henderson can take any kind of exception to the existence of German commercial aviation—unquestionably it is a civilizing undertaking.

And the secret air command of Germany is taking the decisive step for making this civilizing undertaking capable of destroying civilization. The German commercial air fleet, already to-day outside all control and limitation and forming therefore the mobile advance-guard, the 'first line' of the future army of 20,000 machines, is suddenly specializing in the very large, fast, and intensive machine—the modern three-engined super-aeroplane. Göring, the Air Minister, openly declared in October 1933 to the foreign Press that he intended to reorganize civil aviation on the basis of this type. The interests of the express mail-service demand this development, and the German railways are even withdrawing a part of their long-distance train service (for instance, the night service between Berlin and East Prussia), in order to transfer the

¹A whole series of these civil aeroplanes, sold abroad, have already proved their military significance very clearly in practice, above all as day bombers: thus the Dornier flying-boat as a weapon in the South American Revolutions (Chile), Dornier 'Wal' in the war against the Riffs in Morocco, and the Junkers machines in the fighting in China. In conjunction, too, with the new German record machine-gun 'S2-206' these 'commercial aeroplanes' have increased in significance.

²The Lufthansa is to-day a pure Nazi trust. Besides the five direct representatives of the Göring Air Ministry, there are sitting to-day on the board of directors the Bavarian Nazi Minister Esser and the Nazi Governor of Hesse, Sprenger.

carriage of goods to the new Lufthansa machines. Junkers and Dornier, the two new German air-Krupps, are concentrating quite obviously on certain special record designs, about which Europe still knows but little. It will know one day. For here it is a question of the *kernel* of Göring's new aero-chemical Schlieffen Plan, of the innermost point of Berlin's new strategical conception: the plan, to make not a simple air attack, but an *attack with new gigantic air-cruisers*.

This is again the Schlieffen idea, applied to the air. These people remain true to themselves right down to the last consequence, and the 'buffalo-strategy', as Foch once called the German art of war, is in reality only an iron logical method, which was never to be taken so seriously and so tragically as to-day. Schlieffen, in order to achieve his break-through, demanded always the specific, that is concentrated, preponderance over the enemy. But he struck not only with concentrated quantity; he struck also with concentrated *intensity*. He not only accumulated divisions at one spot; he also equipped them with special weapons of new type, as in 1914 with machine-guns and heavy howitzers. Germany's new air command follows the same method exactly. It not only makes its advance-guard, which at all costs is to break through the enemy lines of defence, superior in the *number* of planes; it makes this blow twice and three times as irresistible, in that it composes the shock-troops of new-type technical air giants—which in the air know no enemies. That is the effect obtained in ancient times by Hannibal's horsemen, the lines of Roman legionaries and the Persian battle-cars. Now Göring is cubing it in the air.

The National Socialist air army possesses to-day already three or four definite types of air-cruiser or air-dreadnought, which have already proved their military

efficiency. These are machines equipped with four or six engines, having an average flying radius of 1,000 kilometres (or two trips there and back of 500 km.), a speed of about 250 km. an hour, a bomb-carrying capacity of up to 5,000 kg., and with a whole battery of artillery on board. One of them is that new German machine 'D 2000', a few of which can to-day, in one single raid, drop as many bombs or as much gas on London as all the German aeroplanes did together during the war. Another, later type is the air-cruiser 'G 38 Feldmarschall von Hindenburg', carrying, besides its terrible load of bombs, gun-turrets for two 20-mm. automatic-firing guns and a conning-tower armed with machine-guns; G 38 can carry on an artillery fight in the air in all directions, including attacking planes coming from the rear. Types 'DoX', 'D 700', 'Ju 52', and the 'lightning plane' HE 70 (300 k. an hour) belong to a similar class. They are all being built serially in Germany now; this means—*squadrons* of them. They all have just that flying radius sufficient to allow them to reach every European capital west of Berlin in one uninterrupted flight and then return home (G 38 was thoroughly tested on the night trip Berlin-London). They all fly at such a height—about 5,000 metres—that defence against them from the ground is excessively difficult—and they are so heavily equipped with artillery that a fight against them in the air with ordinary planes is absolutely hopeless. And they are all flown by pilots who, as the peaceful 'commercial pilots' of Lufthansa, have for years specialized like nobody else in the world on the foreign trips concerned. These people know their routes and will not forget them. They collect experience on every journey they make; day after day, night after night, they imprint upon their minds the local circumstances, the wind conditions, the

strategical and tactical possibilities. These are the best air soldiers and air commanders in Europe—just as the Lufthansa net of air routes is the widest and most closely woven. And it is these machines, with these pilots, that the German railways mean now—at any rate in part—to substitute, in the interests of the express mail-service, for their train service! Their number grows every month. If to-day, in some other European countries, a few similar types are being built experimentally—as, for example, the ‘Late 520’ hydroplane with four engines each of 1,000 h.p. in France, or the new Russian six-engined all-metal plane capable of carrying 120 passengers—it is there still a matter of experiment. In Berlin, in Friedrichshafen, in Dessau, it is a matter of a completed system and almost completed army.

This system is going yet another step farther, in order to make sure of its ‘Cannae’. The new air-cruisers will not only be giants in size, speed, and armament; they will hold the record also in another direction: in the effectiveness of the death-dealing agents that they will scatter beneath them; in their *gas*, their *incendiary bombs*, and their *bacillus grenades*. The ammunition is worthy of the weapon. The poison-gas of the Nazis will surpass that of William II even more than their machine-gun ‘S 2-206’ surpasses the old German machine-gun, the new colossal gun of the Rheinmetallwerke the old ‘Big Bertha’ of Krupps, and their new reserve army of 2½ million Brownshirts the old peace-time army of Ludendorff. Hitler’s new gas formulæ are not known. But it is known that these formulæ have finally reached the point of absolute, irreparable, and irresistible death. Göring’s raiding dreadnoughts will be formidable also as poison apparatus and bacillus laboratories. Five thousand kilos—the load of bombs carried by one G 38—of that new gas, penetrat-

ing every gas mask, which is being manufactured to-day in Oppau and tested by the Nazis in Kunnersdorf, or of these plague-bacilli, cholera-vibrions, pneumococci, and influenza germs, which are being cultivated and amassed by special Brown staffs—such a freight opens the way to any Cannae. Whether the German air command will also realize before the time comes its plan for designing special aerial torpedoes which, steered by wireless, will be projected from a distance of 100 kilometres against enemy towns, industrial plants, and traffic centres, cannot be foreseen. But the chemical ammunition in the country of 'I.G. Farbenindustrie' is ready. This trust, employing normally about 100,000 people and having a capital of more than a milliard marks, which invented artificial fertilizer out of nitrogen and artificial benzine out of charcoal, and in recent years has flooded the world with artificial silk out of cellulose, was once a rival of the Thyssen Steel Trust and therefore 'Liberal' in politics. Its leaders, Duisberg and Weinberg, were among the real pillars of the Weimar Republic, its funds were invested in the two chief democratic newspapers, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Vossischer Zeitung* (Ullstein-Verlag), and its directors, Lammers and Professor Warmbold, were among the most powerful advisers and ministers of Stresemann and Brüning. But ever since the 'I.G. Farbenindustrie' has shared the German coal-mines with Thyssen—which it needed as a source of raw materials for its synthetic processes—and has bound up its fate with the Ruhr, it has also become a partner in the *policy* of the Ruhr. Its managing director, Bosch, writes an article in praise of Hitler and his 'national revolution'; its financial manager, Hermann Schmitz, is, with Thyssen, appointed a member of the new 'Supreme Economic Council' and appears with him in the last Reichstag elections on the unified list of

the Nazis; and its organ, the once so renowned *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the German *Manchester Guardian*, forgets all at once the ideals of eternal Liberalism and humanity and sings hymns of triumph to the 'Totalitarian State' and the 'beauty of the New Germany'.¹ To-day the National Socialist I.G. Farbenindustrie—without having to lose even one iota of its former power—is a colossal inflated war-chemical retort, such as has never before existed. Since its aniline dyes, its nitrogen, its artificial silks, its carbon oils, are meeting on the world market more and more competition from the other international chemical trusts—Imperial Chemicals, Du Pont, Kuhlmann—Göring's aero-chemical plan is for it, perhaps, just such a salvation from financial and capitalist ruin as the Nazi revolution was for the Thyssen Steel Trust. The men in this trust, like Schmitz, are playing to-day a very special part in the inner councils of Hitler and a still greater one in the secret conventicles of Göring. Here is one more 'subjective' driving force for this war plan. If the former German air officers in brown and black shirts want a war in the air for Germany because they want to have their jobs and their glory again, because they want in this way to elevate their class, because they have learned nothing else, and because they have become physical maniacs for their profession, so the I.G. Farbenindustrie wants the same, because its silent machines and apparatus demand it, because its invested capital exacts amortization and interest, because it can in no other way maintain its 'reproduction on a progressively increasing scale' and because it can only thus find new means of fighting foreign competitors and furthering its climb to power in Germany. So the two forces meet—the

¹ According to the *New York Times* of June 1, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* has now been officially taken over by the I. G. Farbenindustrie.

army of drunken, half-mad sons of the petty-bourgeoisie, and the might of dead, cold, accumulated capital. That is only one more social equation in National Socialism, like the earlier equation Hitler-Thyssen. But the result of this equation, of this blood-fusion between Fascist vanguard and monopoly capital, is prodigious here too. The result is that the milliard-mark trust of the chemical industry becomes a milliard-mark trust of chemical death. The I.G. Farbenindustrie—which during 1933 all at once invested 142 million marks in the expansion of its works—this in the middle of the crisis—and which, incidentally, controls also all the German dynamite and powder factories (the former German Nobel ring)—is now in a position to manufacture no fewer than one thousand different kinds of poison-gas. But one single one of the superlative kinds is alone enough to spread with the breath of Göring's winged monsters pestilence over Europe.¹

Nazi dreadnoughts over the Alps! Over Lyons! Over Paris! That will one day—and earlier than one may think—be the cry of the crowds in the street, the headlines of the special editions, the shriek of the dying women and children. We are deliberately not speaking of London. We have no intention of disquieting a peaceful country. We do not wish to join in the special propaganda carried on by certain Press concerns, certain ladies, and certain economic interests. We want to keep to unvarnished, ice-cold analysis. But for that very reason we must speak further, in order to complete the analysis. The flying distance between the German frontier and Paris is two hours. How great is the flying distance be-

¹Leuna and Oppau, Germany's aero-chemical metropolises, are the centres of this new mass-production. Special gases are also being manufactured by the Hamburg firm Stolzenberg, and even innocent food-stuff factories, such, for example, as the pudding-powder firm Oetker and the liqueur factory Kahlbaum, are changing their *métier*.

tween Paris and the Channel? London can be reached from any base within a radius of 300 miles. The range of action of a 'G 38' amounts to 300-320 miles out and 300-320 miles back, that is, together, 600-640 miles. At the moment *air bases* are already being established throughout Germany—points from which the future army will start. An immense flying centre is arising in the vicinity of Berlin, near Kottbus, with a standing garrison of 2,500 Brownshirts; air bases are beginning to cover the whole of South-western Germany (as, for instance, the grounds at Kehl in Baden, at Gotha in Thuringia, the enlarged aerodrome at Munich), and a large modern airport for flying-boats is being established on the north-west border of Germany at Lake Müritz in Mecklenburg. Those are the new, fixed points of deployment which are throwing to the winds the old strategical map of Europe and the old strategical distances. Once Göring's air-cruisers have forced their way to Lyons, once Paris is destroyed, then there is no power left to stop them, no one who can prevent the gigantic victorious power in the air from extending its victory over France to a still greater victory and settling all at once all the old accounts. Göring in Berlin is a man who fears England and tries to make friends with her. But Göring in Paris needs to fear no one, not even the British Admiralty, which for three centuries has ruled like a dictator the military situation round about Europe and which now, with all the ships at its disposal, will lie around its own little island, unable to move. Göring dictates to London. And then—if Europe is still alive—then Hitler is over Europe.

EPILOGUE

Epilogue: The Power Against Hitler

HITLER over Europe! Like a dynamic body torn loose Nazi-Germany is rushing in the midst of European anarchy along her allotted path. She will stop for nothing. She knows no limits. Some gigantic engine within her is driving her uninterruptedly forward, ever farther, ever faster, ever more aggressive. The entire nation has itself been turned into a smouldering block of energy, smouldering with the tension to which it is being compressed. That is National Socialism—the last stage of German imperialism. That is its course, from which it cannot escape. But while it follows this course, while it is more and more charging Germany with dynamite and overheating her, a new tendency is arising within its own base: the danger of internal conflagration. The pressure is so terrific that, perhaps even before it can find release externally, it is bringing about an internal explosion; the weight of Hitlerism is so great that the base cannot support it. The old law of mechanics comes into play, and the pressure must, more and more, produce a counter-energy: Hitlerism anti-Hitlerism, the Nazi State the *new revolutionary opposition*. Has this already taken place? Is there in Hitlerland already a power against Hitler?

There is, even if only in embryo.¹ Perhaps there is in

¹The problem of the 'power against Hitler'—as much that of the present real anti-Nazi forces and their tactics and strategy as that of the character of the coming Germany after Hitler—is so huge that it requires a volume for itself. At the end of this book, which deals with the dynamic and laws of motion governing Hitler, it is possible only to touch on this problem—based mainly on the author's earlier articles on this theme in the *New Statesman and Nation* (of London)—

history no other example of a secret revolutionary movement with a completely equipped organization and an effective influence extending over the whole country, being able to develop in so short a time. Practically every one of the larger factories contains a secret revolutionary group; in almost every district in the larger towns illegal organizations and printing-presses are at work; almost every day in Berlin, Hamburg, Essen, Leipzig, and other industrial cities, anti-Fascist hand-bills, leaflets, and posters appear in the streets, local strikes break out in all directions; and the feelers of this organization are manifestly stretching right into the cohorts of the Nazi Storm Troops. This entire movement has come into existence within three or four months of Hitler's *coup d'état*. And it will be stronger than any of its forerunners. It has little of the romance of the old revolutionary movements, of the Russian anti-Tsarists, of the Spanish Republicans, of the Italian insurgents. It has nothing of the nationalist pathos or of the religious poeticism of the youngest of the world's revolutionary movements—of the Irish Free Staters, of the Indian Swarajists, of the Macedonian terrorists. Its characteristic is that of a sober-minded, scientific organization of struggle and conspiracy and a military mass formation, which lays hold, not of small individual groups, but of an entire social class. This organization, which socially and politically is not based only upon the 13 million former Socialist and Communist electors in Germany, is to-day dogging Hitler's every foot-step. In future it may become more dangerous for him than all the old parliamentary opposition parties which he has hurled with such ease into the abyss.

Its core lies in the so-called *revolutionary groups of five*,

in the hope of being able another time to return to it thoroughly and in detail.

a novel form of anti-Fascist organization, which, under Communist leadership, has taken the place of the former party unions and associations. These groups of five cover practically the whole of German industry; almost all the factories and the majority of the more important offices are honeycombed with them. Each group comprises approximately five persons who, as far as possible, are employed in the same section, industrial and office workers, who formerly belonged to bodies of varied political complexions—to the Social Democratic trade unions, to the Reichsbanner, to the Christian societies, to the Communist R.G.O. (Red Trade Union Opposition)—or even were quite unorganized and politically indifferent. Together these persons form a small, compact, secret brotherhood, who in their hatred of the Hitler dictatorship and in defence against Nazi terror have become completely amalgamated, have buried all previous differences, and pursue only one policy—anti-Fascism. Because each group of this kind is limited to just a few persons, it is almost invisible from outside and almost unseizable; how can one follow up and control conversations and meetings of four or five persons during a rest interval inside a factory, in a private house during a radio performance, or on an excursion into the woods on a Sunday? In the larger workshops there are dozens of such groups of five, which work independently of each other as far as possible, and often are not mutually acquainted. Should a group be discovered and arrested (or ejected from the shop) the others carry on. But they are co-ordinated from above; the leadership and central direction of all the groups of five in a town or in a local industrial establishment are in the hands of a higher authority, of a narrower and more exclusive conspiratorial organization, the ‘sub-district committee’, consisting of a few experienced revolution-

aries. The contact between this local centre and the workshops is generally maintained by one individual, the revolutionary 'workshop inspector', who holds the threads of all the groups of five in one single workshop. This works inspector has the most responsible and the most dangerous post in the entire anti-Fascist organization, for he knows both the staff in the workshops and the secret addresses of the local centres.

The whole attention of the Hitler police, and of the factory management which the Nazis appoint, is mainly directed to the discovery of these people. But that only happens in the rarest cases, and the anti-Fascist fighting spirit is so strong in the German factories that reinforcements and substitutes are always to be found—frequently from the ranks of those who used not to be in the least interested in political affairs. The whole of this secret machinery, startling as it may seem to readers accustomed to the system of the 'parliamentary democracy', has nothing whatever to do with the naïve conspiracy systems of the old revolutionaries of the nineteenth century, nothing to do with carbonarian romance. It is, in fact, not only the sole possible practical form in which the political thought and will of millions of men who have been rendered absolutely silent in Hitler's 'Totalitarian State' can realize themselves—and one cannot make millions of men suddenly dumb, blind, and lame by decree—but this secret organization of the groups of five is fulfilling at the same time a really practical purpose: it is revolutionizing whole workshops, whole groups of industrial and office workers, undermining at the same time the new economic organization of the Hitler State, which, like Mussolini's prototype, must be founded on the Fascist corporations of the workers, of the so-called 'National Socialist Workshop Organization' (N.S.B.O.). The Nazis, who have suspended all

trade unions and independent labour bodies, are endeavouring, by means of coercion and propaganda, to force all the workers into their N.S.B.O. organization where, under the command of Nazi leaders, they will become the second line of the 'Totalitarian State', of which the Storm Troops and the S.S. form the first line. And the revolutionary groups of five are in fact nothing else than the opposite poles of these State organizations of the Nazis in the factories.

Groups of five versus N.S.B.O.—This to-day is the real and the most underground political fighting front inside Germany, since the suppression of democracy led to the disappearance of the Parliamentary fighting front. Groups of five against the N.S.B.O.—that is one of the most serious dangers which to-day threatens the entire Hitler experiment of a new 'Corporate State'. For the real work of the groups of five consists, not merely in bringing together and holding together the elements which were already anti-Fascist, but also in leading an offensive for the moral capture of the remaining workers, even those who have accepted the National Socialist regime.

The groups of five flood the factories with anti-Fascist propaganda material which they receive from the local anti-Fascist centres. Even the Nazi newspapers in Germany must often mention this 'pest' and demand 'Draconian counter-measures'. Revolutionary factory newspapers (little handwritten or typewritten sheets, which are published for a single workshop), handbills, leaflets, small paper strips with a few fighting slogans or bits of news are stuck up daily in the factories, pasted on the walls, on the machinery, in the lavatories, on the doors of the worker's home before he leaves in the morning. The whole fronts of houses in the working-class areas are covered with revolutionary slogans in paint which is difficult

to wash off. The Nazis have caught dozens of people, especially youths, at this job, and have sent them to concentration camps or penitentiaries (the average punishment for such acts or for distributing revolutionary literature in connexion with this has been raised during the past few weeks from six months' to eighteen months' imprisonment); but the walls of the houses and the fences still continue their protest against Hitlerism. In this way it has been possible to revive courage and give a fresh assurance to the masses of the workers who in the first days of the revolution and the terror seemed to be paralysed by fright. But still more important is the other effect of the groups of five. The whole official trade-union leadership in the factories, the settlement of wage rates, relationship with the employers, and so on, are to-day in the hands of the National Socialist Workshop Organization (N.S.B.O.). In most cases the entire staff is simply forced to come into the N.S.B.O. by the summoning of a detachment of armed Storm Troops or by the threat of instant dismissal. But at the same time there enters the revolutionary group of five, which often immediately becomes the most active element inside the N.S.B.O. They begin 'in the name of National Socialism' by urging the N.S.B.O. to put forward a demand for an increase of wages—for before his victory Hitler promised higher wages for all workers. They force the N.S.B.O. always, in the name and under the protection of the former Nazi programme, to demand the fulfilment of the old demagogic promises, shorter working-hours, improved working conditions, and the removal of unpopular directors or officials. The result is that in 1933 the first strikes since Hitler's victory actually occurred in Germany (though strikes are strictly forbidden in the Hitler State), that in numerous cases the management in Nazi factories has been com-

pelled officially to 'postpone' the intended wage-reductions for months, that the Nazi 'Reichs Association of Industrial Employers' addressed a protest to the Chancellor against the attitude of the N.S.B.O., and that Hitler has come into conflict with a larger number of his own local N.S.B.O. organizations, and indeed has been obliged to dissolve some of them for being 'tainted with Marxism'.

Thus the revolutionary groups of five who are concealed inside the Fascist N.S.B.O. achieve a twofold result: they disorganize the National Socialist economic and party apparatus, and they dispel the illusion spread among the masses of the workers by Nazi demagoguery.

On November 7, 1933, the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the police discovered, in a place called R—— in Germany, that a red flag was waving from the chimney of the local margarine factory. The Blackshirts were mobilized. They arrived on the scene, arrested the entire male population of the neighbouring workers' settlement, and beat them until they lay bleeding and unconscious on the ground. The women, who were made to look on, bathed the wounds; then the men were loaded on to lorries and taken away. The next day the same company of Blackshirts again arrived in the settlement. Only women and children were there. But again there was a red flag waving from the chimney. The leader of the company ordered a boy to climb up and fetch down the flag. The company held their carbines at the ready; the women and children had to fall in and sing Nazi hymns. The boy came down, bringing the flag. It was not red, it was rust-coloured. It was not a flag at all. It was one of the towels with which the women the day before had washed their men's wounds.

The groups of five form the most important part of the new revolutionary movement—its secret mass-basis. They

are the centres of the coming Revolution. For only from here, only from the factories and offices will it be possible to start an insurrection against the Nazis. The third fulcrum, as yet invisible, will be the barracks. But the new revolutionary movement does not restrict itself to work and organization within its immediate centre, the proletariat. It is beginning at the same time to develop a general political propaganda, which is directed, as the propaganda of the old political parties used to be, towards the general public. There is to-day an extensive *revolutionary Press* and a broad *revolutionary agitation* in Germany. That is another sphere of the conspirative organization, associated with the factory-groups. If these latter represent the soldiers of the revolutionary movement, the mass reserves in the factories, one farther step up the ladder we find the organization of the revolutionary officers, the staffs of the revolutionary movement in Germany. This is a much closer and more specialized organization, which is in the main identical with the old inner apparatus of the Communists—the only organization which has really survived the establishment of the Third Reich of Brownshirts. We will refer later to the special rôle of the Communists. But the scope of the new revolutionary press in Germany, which is already distributing every day hundreds of thousands of papers, and which already represents a real power, has to-day grown far beyond the framework of that party. Around this are gathering to-day and taking part in its distribution thousands of former Social Democrats and Reichsbanner men, non-party people, Jews, and even former Liberals and Catholics—all that is still actively anti-Fascist and hates Hitler and his terror State. It is a political and journalistic revolution.

The German revolutionary of to-day is first of all a

technical artist, a conspiratorial genius, and frequently a magician. His editorial office is any little room, which often has to be changed daily and frequently more than once in a day. He enters it and leaves it at the peril of his life, or else he lives, eats, and sleeps, confined in it. His printing press is only seldom a proper machine workshop, it is generally a duplicator, a typewriter, very often just a simple shilling ink blotter, on which a strip of linoleum with words carved on it are stuck. A blotter of this kind produces in a night hundreds of small handbills! At the beginning of July the Hitler police discovered in the neighbourhood of Neumünster in Schleswig-Holstein a revolutionary printing press, in a cavity 2½ metres deep. Some 300,000 copies of the weekly edition of the Communist *Rote Fahne* are issued. This centrally printed edition is then reproduced throughout Germany by small local groups of from five to thirty men with duplicators, typewriters, and by hand; often photographic copies of whole newspaper-issues are made in miniature, very easy to conceal and read with the help of magnifying glasses. The small fly-leaves and handbills with a few, generally five to ten, lines of anti-Fascist slogans and revelations are innumerable. All this is reminiscent of the secret revolutionary Press of the Germany of 1848. But to-day the language used is short, sharp, and practical. Long-drawn idealist meditations are not to be found. Who are the authors? An illegal paper of the Communist revolutionaries, *Freiheit*, supplies the answer: 'Editor—Karl Marx.'

More difficult than the printing are the distribution and circulation of this Press inside German towns which are swarming with armed and suspicious Storm Troops. For these purposes a special art and science has been developed to meet the new conditions. The streets, the underground railways, the restaurants, the parks, the unemployment

exchanges are often full of this literature; it is in the hands of the passers-by, it gets into private houses. The Nazis themselves admit this in their daily police appeals against the burrowing of the 'red sub-humans'.

But how is this managed without the entire organization being discovered in a couple of days? Here, too, the revolutionaries work according to the same principle as the groups of five in the workshops: the organization is so divided that one man does not know another. The different distributors and sellers of the newspapers and leaflets have their particular collecting stations, but they do not know who brings the newspapers there; if such a distributor be caught, the police can hardly find out anything from him. Still less can the police run after all the children who distribute empty match-boxes and cigarette cards in the streets, inside which anti-Fascist messages are concealed. Nor can anyone know that anti-Fascist literature is being sent in the official postal envelopes of various authorities; not long ago in Berlin the police discovered that the Post Office had for weeks been transmitting, at the expense of the State, revolutionary matter in envelopes which bore the imprint of the head office of the city electricity works, and which had been requisitioned by the anti-Fascists. One day the police discovered a large 'astrological' business in Heinestrasse in Berlin, where 15,000 'horoscopes' were all ready for despatch—all revolutionary appeals. There are hundreds of methods of this sort, and the German revolutionaries invent new ones every day. A good deal of this literature is masked outside in the most careful manner. For a long time a sixteen-page film advertisement, *On the Sign of the Cross*—a Cecil de Mille film—was widely circulated in Germany. The film really does exist, and the first few pages of the leaflet chatted amiably about Nero and ancient Rome, but

then suddenly jumped to the burning of the Reichstag, and revealed Hitler, Göring, and Göbbels as the real incendiaries. A second pamphlet against Hitler is called *Art and Science in the New Germany*, and in Bavaria a revolutionary leaflet has spread over the entire page the large title: 'Newest Sensation! The latest cheap wireless set! Four Years' guarantee. You must have our radio.' But the small text in between is propaganda against the Nazi Government. The so-called revolutionary 'chain-letters' have become a real 'plague'. Somebody gets a political anti-Fascist letter with the demand to copy this letter several times and to send it with the same instructions to his friends. Entire quarters of Berlin are writing these 'letters'.

They cannot kill the Press of the people—this is proved once again in Nazi Germany. These leaflets are often technically very imperfect, even almost unreadable. But who worries about that at present in Germany? The same could be said of the leaflets of the French Revolution, of those issued by the fighters of 1848, and by the Russian revolutionaries: later on these became history. In a country where one is only allowed to read, write, and think as a National Socialist, illegal leaflets are snatched out of one's hand. This Press is a growing power.

The groups of five and the illegal Press are the two chief weapons by which the revolutionary movement in Germany is forcing its way from underground to the surface of the Totalitarian State and is undermining two of its pillars—the economic apparatus and the monopoly of public opinion. And perhaps the third and most important pillar of Hitler's dictatorship will also soon be undermined—its military apparatus. In many places in Germany inside the S.A. revolutionary organizations, 'groups of revolutionary S.A. men', as they are called, have come

into existence. Some of these even publish their own papers and distribute them in the barracks. (As far back as June 10, 1933, in Düsseldorf, an S.A. man of Standard 39 was shot for distributing such leaflets.) These groups begin to exploit the growing dissatisfaction of the S.A. men about their economic position, the luxurious life of their leaders, the non-fulfilment of earlier Socialist promises, the refusal to allow them to join the ordinary police, etc. It seems as if the growth of these secret S.A. organizations had had something to do with the great S.A. revolt which broke out in Germany during the summer of 1933—the rebellion of the Frankfurt S.A., the dissolution of the famous Horst Wessel detachment in Berlin, and of some formations in Dresden, and the great street demonstrations of S.A. men in Bochum and Kassel, where they sang the *Internationale*. This movement, which is just at the beginning, should not be exaggerated. But it is quite evident that in the long run the S.A.—this mass of 2 million mercenary soldiers, partly recruited from the proletariat, cannot possibly be satisfied by Hitler and might become a new revolutionary explosive force. Hitler and Göring are already trying to protect themselves against it, by transferring police functions from the S.A. to the S.S. (Guard detachments), which are the much smaller and more devoted bodyguard of the Government. But this merely aggravates the uneasiness in the S.A. Again, in the labour service camps, the new great massing points where, under the cloak of ‘manual education’, military drill is really being forced upon hundreds of thousands of youths—here, too, revolutionary groups are at work.

Göring is trying to strangle the revolutionary movement through the grandiose spy and terror organization of his ‘Gestapo’ (secret police), that latest creation of the Nazis,

which is to combine the old methods of the Russian Ochrana with the new experiences of the secret agency of Mussolini, and to form an unprecedented synthesis of police science. This organization, unlimited money and men at its disposal, has only one task—to catch revolutionaries. Its centre is the same secret circle of Nazi-terrorists who organized the Reichstag fire. This organization works day and night, its agents are spread throughout the country, and it works by torture of prisoners and suspects. But how far can the secret State police, with all its spies, instruments of torture, and motor-cycles succeed against the heroism, the courage, and indomitable inventive genius of these people? What can the secret State police do against the new system of demonstration of the revolutionaries, the 'lightning demonstrations', where several hundred people suddenly appear on a certain place, at a certain signal, from side streets, shout anti-Hitler slogans, distribute leaflets, and then, in a few minutes, disappear again among the passers-by? What can the secret State police do against the new meeting system of the revolutionaries, where small groups of harmless hikers meet in a wood, linked up by couriers and protected by sentries—couples, evidently very much in love! And what indeed can any secret police do against a revolutionary movement springing from the people?

But who are the *leaders* of this movement? What is the political character of the underground Germany now coming into existence? It is clear that this question can very easily acquire an historic importance.

It is a fact that the impulse for this revolutionary organization which already functions on a really wide scale in Germany to-day comes from the *Communists*. The fac-

tory groups and almost the entire illegal Press are the work of the Communists. It was a mistake to believe that Hitler succeeded in destroying this party after the Reichstag Fire. As a matter of fact, he is beginning gradually to strengthen it again—at the expense of all the other oppositional groups and parties, which he has officially proscribed. This is one of the most interesting and outstanding results of the first year of the Nazi Dictatorship on its hidden front. The apparatus of the Communists, trained and prepared for illegality for years, has remained approximately 80 per cent intact despite the terror and the unheard-of number of arrests. Although the majority of the 50,000 interned in concentration camps and the additional 50,000 rotting in the prisons are Communists, yet the Communist Party again numbered 118,000 active members during the second part of 1933—that is to say, 118,000 people ready to carry on in face of Göring's Death Decrees. This number counts for more than similar Socialist or Communist memberships of Parliamentary days. Even in such a rural and politically conservative district as Mecklenburg in North Germany—an area without large-scale industry, comprising small towns and villages—70 per cent of the former Communist branches are working again. As a matter of fact, the Nazi Terror could sweep away only a certain portion of the Communist apparatus—the lower Local Committees which were most familiar to the Nazis. As against this the middle organizations—the District Committees—were in the main conserved, and the leading body, the Central Committee, works on intact. Only a diminutive fraction of this very extensive body was arrested (as, for example, Alfred Noll, who was surprised in a secret printing press in Erfurt and shot on the spot by the S.A., and John Scher,

who in February 1934 was shot near Berlin 'while attempting to escape').

In the meantime, especially between May and August, the disorganized lower strata of the Communist organization have also been replaced and reorganized, the cells in the factories and residential areas everywhere electing new leaderships from fresh forces. The daily arrests carried through by the Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei—Secret Police) indeed make ever fresh breaches in this organization, but the pull of the new young forces is so strong and vigorous that, it is being constantly reported, the leaders must exert special energy in order to keep the members back from too dangerous activities. This also is a direct result of the 'Totalitarian State'. The incredible courage and self-sacrifice of these people who shrink from nothing, as well as their skill, which so often triumphs over the crude brutality of the Nazis, is recognized by all in Germany, the Nazis not excepted. And in the atmosphere of the Totalitarian State just this element is winning a force of appeal, which the Communists in Germany have perhaps never had before.

It is no accident that the police in Bavaria suddenly discover a secret Catholic organization which calls itself 'Catholic Communist Culture Association'; no accident that the editorial offices of illegal Communist sheets are found in Catholic monasteries and membership-books of organizations friendly to the Communists discovered with Catholic priests. On the Rhine and in Bavaria whole groups of energetic, especially young, Catholics have taken to working together with the Communists, in whom they see their only active and capable allies. And on the other side the Communist Party organ in Saarbrücken openly calls on the Communists and the Christian workers to protest against the mass-arrest of Catholic priests by

the Nazis—those priests who in many cases are behaving no less heroically than the workers. No one would have dared to connect these two before, neither a Communist nor a Catholic. To-day both dare to do it. A similar development is beginning among the Jewish youth, among certain elements in the Protestant youth associations. It is no accident that the edition of the *Rote Fahne* reaches 70,000 copies before and 300,000 after Hitler. Hitler is forcing ever new elements among the workers, intelligentsia, and lower middle class who were never Communists but who have seen the whole impotence and unreliability of their own leaders, to recognize those as their leaders who alone are still capable and willing to fight. The Communists are meeting this development in an all-embracing offer of an *Anti-Fascist United Front*. In this lies the explanation for the first successes of their new revolutionary organization and beyond that—for the whole future part which they, to-day in actual fact the second strongest part in Germany, are called to play under Hitler and against him.

The Central Committee of this party has already, at a secret session held on October 10, 1933, put forward a provisional national counter-programme against Hitler. There are ten points (summarized):

1. Transfer of all factories, banks, railways, large stores to national ownership.
2. Distribution of land owned by the Junkers, the Hohenzollerns, the princes, and the religious orders among the peasants and agricultural workers.
3. Cancellation of the entire indebtedness of the workers, peasants, and middle class to the banks, big capitalists, and landowners; removal of all taxes imposed by Hitler and foregoing Governments.
4. Transfer of political power to the toiling nation

through the proletarian democracy of the new Soviets (workers' councils).

5. Transfer of all houses, dwellings, and villas owned by the rich idlers to the unemployed and the slum-dwellers.

6. Distribution among the unemployed and needy of hoarded stocks of food-stuffs lying idle.

7. Complete freedom of the Press and right to organize and hold meetings for all workers.

8. Alliance with the Soviet Union, arming of the workers and formation of a Revolutionary Red Army as a means of preventing all attempts at restoration.

9. Inauguration of a large-scale economic and foreign-trade plan—the new Socialist Planned Economy. Doing away with unemployment and introducing, above all, through co-operation with the Soviet Union, a period of rapid economic progress.

10. Liquidation of the Treaty of Versailles; liberation of Germany from all enforced burdens.

The *subjective* forces of the Revolution, the revolutionaries themselves, are in essence already there, and no Göring secret police, no amount of arresting, torturing, and murdering can get rid of this fact. As yet no secret police in history has killed a revolutionary movement become objectively necessary; the growth of the secret police is only a symptom of the available quantity of revolutionary dynamite. And this quantity must grow irresistibly in Germany, not only out of the reservoir of the enslaved working class, but also out of the reservoirs of *new additional oppositional forces*: the Catholics, whose leader, Cardinal Faulhaber, has to restrain the growing revolutionization of his adherents by means of anti-Nazi sermons; the Jews, whose youth, turned into pariahs, have been thrust with one stroke along the rebellious path of

Jewish youth in Tsarist Russia; the women, whose degradation to house-drudges comes a century too late to be carried through without resistance; the urban and rural lower middle class, which has to seek a new way to salvation from ruin; a section even of the former Monarchists, who expected a moderate conservatism and legitimism, and now are being crushed by the Brownshirt hordes just as brutally as all other non-Nazis. The country is, in fact, divided already into two camps only: the visible and audible camp of the Nazis, including their still confused, wavering, or timorous hangers-on, and the invisible and mute camp of the anti-Nazis, whose old party distinctions have become blurred. The only question is, who will take up the leadership in this camp and make the others follow his initiative? Cardinal Faulhaber would like to, just like certain lamentable remnants of the old Hugenberg Monarchist clan.

But leadership in the anti-Hitler Revolution will be given only to that force whose line is the most distinct, the most uncompromising, and the most rational, whose combat is the most frank, the most vigorous, and the most implacable, and whose social reservoir is the most comprehensive. Against Hitlerism only a movement that is just as serried, energetic, and pitiless can succeed. There are thousands of unknown Dimitrovs in Germany.

In July 1933 the Nazis in Altona (Hamburg) sentenced four revolutionary workers to death. As the public prosecutor asked for sentence, the chief defendant, Lütgens, replied that he could only thank him for this highest honour that could fall to the lot of a revolutionary. Before he was led to execution Lütgens wrote a last letter to his children. Here is this letter—a few lines on a small sheet of grey prison paper:

Dear children: When you get this letter your dad will be no more, then he'll be done for, as per sentence. So we are not to see each other again. But when you're bigger and have studied world-history, then you'll realize what your dad was, why he fought and died; you'll realize, too, why your dad could only act like this and in no other way. Now good luck and grow into fighters. Your dad greets you.

When this man was led to the place of execution he himself laid his head on the block and cried: 'I die for the Proletarian Revolution. Red Front!' Seventy-five political prisoners, specially ordered by the Nazis to the scene of execution for 'educational purposes', looked on. Lütgen's comrade, Wolff, who was to die after him, was asked whether he had a last wish. Yes, he said: he would like to have one more real stretch. The people present did not understand him. But he stretched himself for the last time: he raised his arm and struck the Brownshirt hangman next to him in the face. Then he went to the execution-block.

Whither Germany? The answer is becoming more and more clear. There are only two perspectives: *war or civil war*, external or internal explosion of Hitlerism. *There is no third*. The purpose of this work was not a quarrel with Hitlerism, not an argument with it, and not a sermon against it. The purpose was an analysis of it, as a mechanical force working and moving according to certain laws. The result is concise: war or civil war. Ruin, then, for Germany in any case?

~~That~~ we do not believe. We do not believe that this great and important country, great and important in its people and in its significance for the development of the world, is moving towards its end. We do not believe that

even Hitler is in a position to accomplish that, although, like one predestined, he is racing thither at top speed. He himself is only a tool. Germany and her fate are only the expression of the greater crisis that at the present moment is shaking the whole world through and through—the most *concentrated* expression of it that exists. Titanic forces and contradictions, matured throughout the whole world, have in Germany assumed the most vigorous, most intensified, and most aggressive form: hence this terrible and violent destiny, this convulsive struggle, lighting up the entire world. They are the forces of the most critical moment in human history, of the period of transformation; they are the contradictions of the last stage of imperialism, the impact between the productive forces and the market, between the ruling class and the oppressed class, between the Capitalist and the Socialist forms of society. That is why the fire in Central Europe is burning so brightly: Germany stands in the centre of this collision and decides it. In her fate, her convulsions, the solution is taking place of that alternative which as far back as three-quarters of a century ago the brain of a Karl Marx projected on to the world-scene in the ‘Communist Manifesto’: Socialism or decline into barbarism. Hitler is only the representative and the executive of this barbarism, of the last social system that dying Capitalism is calling to its aid; but this barbarism is scientifically organized. If Hitler wins, then this scientific barbarization spreads out from Germany over the world. For Germany is only a form. If this form is ruled and controlled by Hitler, then Germany is a sinister, anarchistic, and death-dealing body which, in the process of its motion, throws the whole world off its hinges, dragging it with it down to the abyss. If this form is sustained by Socialism and its civilizing force, then Germany is the mightiest element

of progress, of culture, and of the new order, one of the coming intellectual and technical leaders and pioneers of the world; one of the greatest reorganizers of civilization. And the question is only—which of the two perspectives *first* takes shape: war or civil war? In any case, the first will finally turn into the second. In any case, the German workers and their allies will in the end snatch the initiative from Hitler; for at this moment they will be the stronger. But before this happens Hitler can shatter half the world. *Therein* lies the acute significance of the whole problem.

For time is hurrying fast, and Hitler with it. It is a question of the present, not of the distant future; the decision can come at any moment. The tempo of Hitlerism is more rapid than that of any policy yet. It is no longer at the beginning, as in February 1933. It is already *far* ahead along its path in the realization of its great world-plan. It has maintained its rule in Germany for the first year. That is the first objective. It has extended the Brown International right over the world, and has founded the aero-chemical world-power of Germany. That is the second objective. It has concluded an alliance with Japan. That is the third objective. It is beginning to draw England and Poland—perhaps France as well—to its side or at least to ‘neutralize’ them. That is the last stopping-place before the finale: the attack on the Soviet Union, the heart of the Socialist sector of the world—the start of the Holy War of Hitlerism for the conquest and barbarization of the world.

And it can happen even to-morrow. The mines are laid; the signal to fire need not come from Berlin. In 1914 it came from Serajevo. To-day a shot in Eastern Asia, a step on the part of Japan in the neighbourhood of Vladivostok, would suffice to bring everything into movement in a moment and to release the whole straining Hitler

dynamic at one stroke: just as unexpectedly as happened in Germany itself on February 27, 1933 with the Reichstag Fire. The technique of incendiarism remains the same; Hitler in Central Europe is again ready each second to let fly. But the new Göring fire will be a *world war*.

War or civil war in Germany—in any case, Hitler will come up against a mighty power, which will try to paralyse his leap into world catastrophe. But to meet the new relation of forces this power must be enhanced and made greater. The development of such a defensive power is the most important problem of the present time. All the other great world problems—the problems of the crisis, the problem of peace, the problem of social and cultural progress—are subject to this one, and cannot without it and *before* it be solved at all. How can such a power be developed, and what will be its character? That is a new question, more important than that to which this book is dedicated: the question of the anti-fascist counter-dynamic. But one thing is clear. This power will and can have only the form of an *anti-fascist world-alliance*. It will cover *all* genuinely anti-fascist forces—those that already are anti-fascist and those that must be made so: the proletariat, the lower middle class, the small and intermediate farmers, the progressive intellectuals, the Jews and Catholics who are prepared to struggle, the former front-line soldiers, the active pacifists, the emancipated women, the youth threatened with annihilation, the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples; all individual persons and groups, finally, that have recognized the import of Fascism and are willing to fight. They will have their battalions in every country—just like Fascism. They will be under the leadership of that column having the strongest fighting organization, the longest experience, the most energetic will to fight, and the clearest po-

litical vision: the working class. But their policy will be the policy of the united front with all those who are oppressed, all those who are threatened, for the overthrow of Fascism. Thus they will concentrate their operations against the frenzied march of Hitlerism.

Ruin of Germany? No. Pressure produces counter-pressure; gigantic forces, gigantic counter-forces. Germany will live, in a new and higher form. And the moment the last hour of National Socialism is sounded, the moment this movement, born in blood and iron, goes down to its death in blood and iron, then the panic-stricken cry of the old forces, 'Hitler Germany is dead!' will fade into the triumphant shout of the advancing young battalions: Long live the new, revolutionary Germany!

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