

A HISTORY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Volume 2

KONRAD HEIDEN



RESPONDING TO FASCISM

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A History of
NATIONAL SOCIALISM

by
KONRAD HEIDEN

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

THIS translation has been made from Herr Heiden's two books, *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus* (1932) and *Geburt des dritten Reiches* (1934). In making it, the Translator has been careful to avoid altering the sense of Herr Heiden's text. All that has been done is to omit portions, chiefly relating to the earlier history of the Nazi Movement, for the purpose of keeping the English translation within a reasonable compass. A "Final Chapter" has been added, to include events subsequent to the original publication of this work.

A HISTORY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

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CHRONOLOGY

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

	1889
April 20	Adolf Hitler born at Braunau.
	1912
	Hitler takes up residence in Munich.
	1914–18
	European War. Hitler twice wounded and severely gassed. He wins Iron Cross, First Class.
	1918
March 7	Drexler founds his “Committee of Independent Workmen.”
November 9	Outbreak of Revolution in Germany.
	Hitler in hospital at Pasewalk.
	1919
January 5	Drexler founds German Workers Party.
June	Hitler hears Feder lecture and subsequently becomes an “education officer.”
July	Hitler joins German Workers Party as its seventh member.
October	Hitler makes his first speech.
	1920
April 1	Hitler resigns from Reichswehr.
August 7–8	Congress of German National Socialist Parties at Salzburg.

December 19 Purchase of *Völkische Beobachter*.

1921

February 3 Hitler's first mass meeting.

July Hitler in Berlin.

July 29 Hitler elected president of the Party.

August 3 SA founded.

1922

October Triumph of Fascism in Italy.

1923

January 11 Occupation of the Ruhr by French troops.

June-November Fall of the Mark.

Göring becomes SA leader.

November Nazi Party membership numbers 15,000.

November 9 Hitler's Putsch defeated at Munich.

1924

Hitler's trial and imprisonment in Landsberg.

1925

February 27 Hitler reorganizes the Nazi Party.

1926

January Organization of SS.

1926-27

Nazi Party membership increases from 17,000 to 40,000.

1928

Nazi Party sends 12 deputies to Reichstag.

1929

Hitler makes a pact with Dr. Hugenberg to organize protest against the Young Plan.

1930

January	Frick becomes Thuringian Minister of the Interior.
March	Party membership reaches 210,000.
May 21–22	Hitler's debate with Otto Strasser.
May	Brüning becomes Chancellor.
September 14	Reichstag Election. Nazis gain 107 seats and receive 6,400,-000 votes.
October	Metal workers' strike in Berlin.

1931

January	Röhm becomes Chief of Staff of SA.
April	Osaf Stennes' revolt.
August 9	Stahlhelm plebiscite in Prussia.
October 11	Harzburg meeting.

1932

January	Hitler visits Brüning.
March 13	Presidential Election. Hitler receives 11,300,000 votes.
April 6	Severing's revelations.
April 10	Presidential Election: Second Poll: Hitler receives 13,-400,000 votes.
April 14	Suppression of SA and SS.
May 30	Brüning resigns.
	Franz von Papen becomes Chancellor.
July 30	Expulsion of Prussian Ministers.
July 31	Reichstag Election. Nazis win 230 seats.
August 9	Government decree against terrorization.
August 13	Hitler sees Papen and Hindenburg.
September 12	Dissolution of the Reichstag.
November 6	Reichstag Election. Nazis win 197 seats and receive 11,-730,000 votes.
November 17	Papen resigns.
	Hitler offered the Chancellorship. He refuses it.
	Schleicher becomes Chancellor.
December 8	Gregor Strasser's resignation.
December 11	Disarmament Conference recognizes German claim to equality.

1933

January	Hitler meets Papen.
January 28	Hindenburg refuses to dissolve Reichstag.
January 30	Formation of a Government of National Concentration under Hitler.
	Nazi Triumphal March-Past Hitler and Hindenburg.
February 4	Decree "For the Defence of the German Nation."
February 17	Göring order to shoot.
February 22	Hitler appeals to the Party to maintain discipline.
	Göring organizes special constables.
February 24	Police raid Karl Liebknecht House.
February 25	Fire in Palace in Berlin.
February 27	Burning of the Reichstag.
February 28	Decree "In defence of the Nation and State."
	Communist Party declared illegal.
March 5	Reichstag Election. Nazis gain 17,200,000 votes.
	Prussian Diet Election. Nazis win 211 seats.
March 9	Nazi Governor appointed for Bavaria.
March 14	Goebbels becomes Minister for National Enlightenment and Propaganda.
March 16	Resignation of Bavarian Government.
	Schacht becomes President of the Reichsbank.
March 21	Opening of the Reichstag.
March 23	Act of Authorization.
March 31	Law for Co-ordination in the States.
April 1	Boycott of Jews.
April 7	Law to ordinate the States with the Reich. Civil Service Law.
April 11	Göring becomes Prussian Prime Minister.
May 2	Trades Unions suppressed.
May 3	Decree for compulsory labour service.
May 17	Hitler's speech to Reichstag.
June 22	Social Democrat Party suppressed.
June 27	Hugenberg resigns.
June 28	Dissolution of German Nationalist Front.
July 5	Dissolution of Centre Party.
July 8	Göring establishes State Council for Prussia.
	Concordat signed between the Reich Government and the Vatican.
July 14	Law against formation of new Parties.

July 15	Signature of the Pact of Rome.
September 21	Trial of the Reichstag fire case begins.
October 21	Germany leaves the League of Nations.
November 12	Plebiscite, and election of new Reichstag. Nazi list approved by 39,650,000 voters.
December 23	Trial of the Reichstag fire case ends. Van der Lubbe found guilty of high treason. Torgler, Dmitroff, Popoff, and Taneff acquitted.

1934

January 10	Van der Lubbe executed.
January 26	Pact of friendship and non-aggression with Poland.
January 30	State frontiers abolished within Germany.
May 1	Law to regulate National Labour promulgated.
June	Negotiations between Nazi Government and the Curia.
June 14	Germany refuses to pay Government guaranteed loans.
June 17	Papen's speech at Marburg.
June 30	"Purging" of the SA. Murder of Röhm, Heines, Ernst, Schleicher, Klausener, Strasser, etc.
July 13	Hitler's speech to the Reichstag.
July 25	Assassination of Dollfuss.
August 1	Death of Hindenburg. Hitler assumes the Presidency.
August 2	Schacht made Reich Minister of Economics.
August 19	Plebiscite. Hitler endorsed by 38,360,000 voters.

A HISTORY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

INTRODUCTION

NATIONAL SOCIALISM as an intellectual movement emanated in the years 1926–28 from the brains of a few—chiefly north—German thinkers. As a political force it sprang from the mass-membership of the great Fatherland Party and the Pan-German Association. In a word—it was born of the annexationist militarism of 1917. In 1919 it became an independent political movement. Out of its raw material the Reichswehr in Munich forged a political weapon. This weapon was given shape in 1921 by Captain Ernst Röhm, and by a man of outstanding intellect but unstable character—Adolf Hitler. The movement derived its title from Hitler's native Austria. It was adopted against the wishes of the present leaders and does not represent their political ideas. Those members of the National Socialist Workers Party who subsequently sought to give a literal interpretation to its title found themselves compelled by force of logic to leave its ranks.

The swift growth of the Party prevented the maintenance of a harmonious balance between its principles and its actions. A Party whose guiding principle has been pure expediency could not have any definite and rigid programme. Its lack of a programme—the well-known Twenty-Five Points are not a definite programme—is in truth more than a successful trick played upon a generation too lazy to think for itself. It is a recognition of the fact that a movement depends for its success upon causes rather than aims, and that mankind values leadership above moral codes. In their interpretation of history as in other matters the Nazis have shown themselves apt pupils of Karl Marx. The Communists indeed sought to take politics out of the sphere of emotions and elevate

them to the dignity of an abstract science. In refusing to do this the Nazis have shown themselves possessed of greater knowledge of the world. Indeed, they have remained faithful to their conception of an ordering of society in which the masses have only to concern themselves with the cares of daily life, whilst the task of government is left to an élite of inspired leaders. Individual opinion is certainly given free play within National Socialism. Organization—the tactics peculiar to National Socialism—is regarded as a secret craft known only to the leaders. Every kind of political theory, from the most reactionary monarchism to pure anarchy, from unrestricted individualism to the most impersonal and rigid Socialism, finds representation within the Nazi Party. The Party has a welcome for each and every form of political theory. Each Nazi is left under the illusion that the Party's only aim is to realize his own pet theory. Hitler makes a single categorical demand of his followers in return for this liberty—unconditional submission to his personal leadership. It has thus become possible for every German—time-server and idealist alike—to see in the Nazi Party *the* Party specially created for his purpose, and in Hitler *the* leader specially summoned to realize his own particular theory. The Nazi Party resembles a vast army of individualists on the march, each of whom believes that the army is moving towards his own objective. What will happen when one day the march comes to an end and the marchers realize that not a single one of them has attained his aim?

A HISTORY OF
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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

ON March 7, 1918, Anton Drexler set up a "Committee of Independent Workmen" in Munich for the purpose of advocating the conclusion of peace on terms that would be compatible with Germany's honour and glory. Out of this small group of forty men gathered round a table in a Munich *Bierhaus* sprang the great National Socialist German Workers Party.

A FORGOTTEN FOUNDER

Anton Drexler was a locksmith by trade. He was a quiet manual labourer rather than a gifted man precluded from achieving fame by a lack of education. Thought and speech alike were difficult for him. Ideas that are hardly won are apt to seize fast hold upon the mind. This narrow-chested and bespectacled man, unfit for military service, believed with fanatical seriousness in the fruits of his reading. He mistook them for fruits of the Tree of Knowledge. His faith in his own knowledge was mercifully accompanied by a complete blindness to the hardness of his self-appointed task. Adolf Hitler inherited from Drexler both his naïve self-confidence and his burning faith. If he made more of his inheritance than its donor would have believed possible, Hitler at least owes more to his humble comrade of former days than he is now prepared to admit. Drexler was subsequently to part company with Hitler, whose rapid success he held to be a misfortune for the Party. It still remains to be seen whether Drexler was not right.

It is remarkable how similar in many respects were the careers of Drexler and Hitler. As a youthful workman, Drexler, like Hitler,

found himself in conflict with the independent trade unions. Afterwards he complained that their terroristic methods drove him out of employment and forced him to earn his living by playing a zither in cafés. His hatred of Marxism took root and grew. Nevertheless his chief interest—as also Hitler’s—was in foreign policy. This “enlightened workman” spared no pains to assess for himself Germany’s responsibility for the World War. As a member of a travelling company of singers, Drexler had sung a chorus in Zürich in 1914 that ran:

“With lances at rest,
With reins held loose,
To the fight, to the fight!
Let us hasten.”

And it was no mere quixotry but a fine sensitiveness to popular feeling that caused Drexler to reproach himself for having sung that chorus with his comrades. He perceived that the fate of Germany depended less upon lances than upon the national character. “The German Socialist spirit will put the world to rights.” The salvation of Germany from international capitalism—“the parasite upon the German body”—was to be found in Socialism. In reality there was little difference between the theory of a German Socialism that should confer benefits upon the world and the practice of an International in which German Social Democracy formed the most powerful party. Drexler quotes Scheidemann’s words with approval: The War is not being fought to benefit solely the great industrialists and large farmers, but also for the sake of the workers in factories and workshops, mines, and fields. Majority Socialism—Left Wing Socialists called its adherents the “Kaiser’s Socialists”—would have been acceptable to many present-day Nazis.

The Peace Resolution passed by the Reichstag in 1917 cost the Pan-Germans many a night’s sleep. Drexler joined the Munich branch of the Fatherland Party and was speedily disillusioned by the blindness to the spirit of the people displayed by the lawyers, scholars, artists, &c., who were his fellow-members. Although Drexler advocated in his speeches the prosecution of the War and denounced the munition workers’ strike, he failed to understand why the Government acquiesced in the rise in food-prices and treated

the smaller producers so harshly. In this can be seen the beginnings of that dislike entertained by city-dwellers for the farming class that to-day inspires, and for years to come will continue to inspire, the Nazi Party notwithstanding its present agrarian sympathies.

Early in 1918 an Association for the Promotion of Peace along Working-class Lines was founded in Bremen that reputedly counted some hundreds of thousands of members. Drexler established a branch of this association in Munich with a membership of forty. This branch was founded on March 7, 1918, and was the above-mentioned "Committee of Independent Workmen." Almost unconsciously Drexler thus arrived at the conception of a militarist Labour Party: a disciplined Party whose aim should not only be national victory in the War, but also unquestioning obedience to the national leaders. Drexler declared in 1918 that the task of peace-making might safely be left to the Supreme Command who were deserving of the entire confidence of the nation. In Drexler's mouth this pronouncement probably did not amount to more than the modesty of an uneducated man who is forced at a public meeting to ask to have the words 'Anti-Semitism' explained to him. The romantic notion of a nation of producers was born of the endeavour to identify labour interests with national interests. The creative German nation was the victim of the bellicose Western Powers. "Citizens and workmen! Unite!" Drexler cried to a meeting that he had summoned with the aid of the Fatherland Party. All classes were to unite in a "National Union of Citizens." His listeners replied with uproar and abuse to his summons. The moment was certainly not propitious for uttering the warning that Germany—a nation of producers—was about to be brought under the sway of Mammon.

Drexler found it impossible to divest himself of his class-feelings. He rejoined the Independent Union of Railwaymen in 1918, and soon revealed himself to be inspired by singular ideas. In publicly denouncing "the systematic strangulation of the manual worker by the railways," the proud craftsman was declaring war upon the classconscious proletariat. This singular proletarian saw in the wages policy of the trade unions "the destruction by the working class of the middle class, the independent worker, and the national culture." The writer of these words dreamt of raising the

working man to be a lower or even upper middle-class citizen, and wished to substitute a crowd of hard-working and self-made men for a united working class.

Who gave its first lessons in politics to this slow-moving intellect? A most unlikely teacher—Walter Rathenau. Here was an enemy from whom the Nazis had much to learn. His polished sentences became a deadly weapon in the hand of the Nazi railway mechanic. “The World Revolution began with the outbreak of the World War. Its unconscious but real and practical object was the substitution of a capitalist middle class for the feudal nobility as rulers in a plutocratic State governed on constitutional lines.” Thus Rathenau in a mood of mingled cynicism and sadness. On Drexler’s lips these words became lambent with hatred. Rathenau spoke once of the three hundred men in whose hands lay the economic and financial destinies of the world. This aphorism appeared for a decade as a Nazi battlecry on placards and newspaper headlines. The most skilful propagandist could not have thought of anything more effective. The same fate overtook Disraeli’s saying that racial problems are the key to world history. It is true that Drexler was not prepared offhand to declare that Trotsky was in capitalist pay. Many years later Goebbels and Rosenberg were to quarrel seriously over this very question. For Drexler it was impossible for *Vorwärts* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* to hold the same opinion in any question if *Vorwärts* truly represented Socialist opinions. Prejudice? The day was not far off in which it was to become more important to be a good hater than a sane thinker.

Drexler was not prevented by his narrow-mindedness from retaining his intellectual independence. Although he accused Marxism of having turned the revolution into a wages issue, and of having thereby rendered it impossible for Germany to compete in the world market, Drexler demanded that employers should display more sympathy with their employees’ demands. In other words—the old trade unionist policy of avoiding economic warfare. But Drexler lent his approval to belligerent trade unionism, and only denounced its “abuse” by political parties. The future of Germany depended upon whether the intellectual and economic leaders possessed sufficient social feeling to regain the trust of the masses that had been led astray. That is the raw material of the Nazi

doctrine expressed in its simplest form. Moreover, Drexler himself was both as a man and a politician the raw material from which Hitler modelled his Party in outline. Under Drexler's leadership the "German Workers Party" would have remained a debating society. Without Drexler neither the debating society nor even the Party itself would have been founded. Hitler would then have been forced to seek elsewhere for his inspiration. For Hitler is a genius in adopting and developing the ideas of others.

The fate of all discoverers overtook Drexler. As soon as he gained control over the Party funds in 1921, Hitler swept him aside. Drexler remained as honorary president of the now more imposing Party until some of his more embittered comrades in the railway shops beat the reactionary with iron rails in the spring of 1923 and drove him from his employment. At the time of the November Putsch in 1923, Drexler was ignored by Hitler and parted company with him. He continued to be a member of the Bavarian Parliament until 1928, when he disappeared from politics.

A DEBATING SOCIETY AND ITS BENEFACTORS

The Revolution in Germany deprived the Association for Promoting Peace on Working-class Lines of its task. On January 5, 1919, Drexler reconstituted this organization under the title of the German Workers Party. A journalist named Karl Harrer was its first chairman. This "Party" of forty members nevertheless felt itself large enough to set up in its midst an inner circle of six members composed of politically-minded working men.

The events of May 1, 1919, gave a certain—if very small—political significance to the new Party. The Munich Soviet Republic collapsed; a Social Democrat and middle-class Coalition Government took its place; power in reality rested in the hands of the military authorities. These officers were filled with pride in the unbroken resistance offered by the German army to its enemies through four years of warfare. They were also inspired by hatred for the "betrayal" of that army, and by a blind anger against Fate for having given its decision in the enemies' favour. The middle-class political parties were too tired and too dispirited for any such emotions. The vast Fatherland Party had resignedly acquiesced in

the Armistice and disappeared from the political scene. The other great political parties saw in the Armistice an end to the War. At this moment the tiny group whose primary object had been the achievement of a “good” peace raised their heads. The soldiers and the “German Workers Party” were alone in refusing to recognize that the War had come to an end. This common feeling brought them together, and out of their union sprang the Nazi movement.

In those days Germany was dotted over with the camps of innumerable volunteer corps. There were Ehrhardt’s Brigade, the Baltic Landwehr, von Heydebreck’s Huntsmen’s Corps and the Pfeffer, Rossbach, Loewenfeld, Lützow, Lichtschlag, Chiemgau, Oberland, and Epp Corps. The largest of these armed companies—the Bavarian *Einwohnerwehr*—was not established until later, and out of it arose the organization known as Escherich (Orgesch), which was spread over the entire extent of Germany. It was these armed companies that in the following years supplied the first members of the Nazi Party.

In 1919 the “German Workers Party” gained a new member from among Epp’s followers—Captain Ernst Röhm. His membership of the Party was destined to be of decisive importance for its future. A brave soldier, but no more than a soldier, battle-scarred and patched-up, the living personification of war itself, Röhm was inspired after the Revolution with but a single sentiment: “I declare expressly that I am no longer a member of this nation. I can only remember that at one time I served in the German Army.” Although Röhm put the words into the mouth of one of his comrades, they express his own feelings with great exactitude. This rough son of a Bavarian official was inspired with feelings of hatred for a great number of the German officers. His stories of their conduct during the War would justify a dozen mutinies. He himself is a brilliant leader of men. His talent for organization revealed itself in the years 1920–23 in the creation of an illegal military organization in Bavaria. He is a passionate politician who as passionately fails to understand politics. “I look upon the world from the soldier’s standpoint. I know I am one-sided.” Röhm was about the sixtieth member of the German Workers Party. He gradually brought into its ranks many of his friends—officers and privates alike—in the Reichswehr. In those days this was a perfectly natural proceeding. The backbone

of the Nazi movement was composed up till 1923 of members of the Reichswehr and the police.

The German Workers Party already possessed two influential supporters in the writer, Dietrich Eckart, and the civil engineer, Gottfried Feder. Eckart was a Suabian who appreciated good living and had written a couple of plays on historical subjects whilst serving on the staff of Scherl's *Lokalanzeiger*. He had also translated *Peer Gynt* into German. It was this that drew his attention to Nordic folklore. The Revolution awoke his political instincts. His satiric talent found ample scope in castigating in his paper, *Auf gut Deutsch*, the weaknesses of the Revolution and more especially of the Bavarian Communist Republic. At first Eckart was no more than a well-wisher of the German Workers Party. His real interests were in the "Union of German Citizens" which he tried to establish in May 1919, with a proclamation that ran: "Is the factory-hand not a citizen? Is every propertied person a good-for-nothing, a capitalist? Down with envy! Down with pomp and false appearances! Our aim is to regain simplicity and to be once more German. Our demand is true Socialism. Power should only be given to him who has German blood alone in his veins!" This is the oratory of a Bohemian who would like to be a householder earning a comfortable living with his pen and looked up to by his doorkeeper as an honest employer. Some time had still to pass before Eckart discovered that his "Union of Citizens" already existed in the German Workers Party.

Feder indoctrinated the German Workers Party with scientific notions. He was a constructional engineer who had worked abroad and also as an independent contractor. At the age of thirty-five in 1918 Feder suddenly thought of a plan for the abolition of interest. He spent a whole night in drafting a memorandum which he subsequently handed to the Bavarian Government only to receive the customary polite acknowledgement. He thus became a disappointed doctrinaire fighting for the public recognition of his favourite theories. Gottfried Feder gave the Nazi Party an ideology. Its essential points were paramount State ownership of land and the prohibition of private sales of land, the substitution of German for Roman law, nationalization of the banks and the abolition of interest by an amortization service. It was he, too, who inspired

the Party with its doctrine of the distinction between productive and non-productive capital and of the necessity for destroying the "slavery of profits." On the subject of the Jews, Feder displayed comparative tolerance. He proposed to exclude them from all legal and educational posts and to declare them unfitted to be leaders of the German nation. Nevertheless they were to be permitted to send representatives to the Reichstag in proportion to their numbers. As for all other projects for the future, "these need not be mentioned here since they are to be found in the demands put forward by other Left Parties." Thus Feder in the *Völkischer Beobachter* (then the *Münchener Beobachter*) of May 31, 1919. (In those days the Nazi Party was still a Party of the Left.) Moreover, Feder gave Hitler many of his ideas. History knows such Archimedean natures who can only accomplish great achievements after another has given them an idea or what passes for an idea.

It was nevertheless Captain Röhm who exercised the greatest influence over the destiny of the new German Workers Party. He built up within it a political organization to give support to the counter-revolutionary policy of the Reichswehr and Free Corps. The German Workers Party became, as it were, the carriage bearing the big gun that was to be fired off by the officer-politicians in Munich. Röhm was also indefatigable in organizing the numerous defence corps, volunteer corps, and other associations seeking a centre in Munich for their fight against the "Marxist" Republic and its Government in Berlin. It was nevertheless the Reichswehr which sent Corporal Adolf Hitler as a political liaison officer into the German Workers Party.

SOLDIERS IN SEARCH OF A PARTY

Hitler had spent the winter months of 1918–19 with a reserve battalion of his regiment at Traunstein, in Upper Bavaria. At the time when the Soviet Republic was set up, he was again serving with his regiment in Munich. People who knew him at this time have stated that he professed himself a Majority Socialist, and that he even declared his intention of joining that Party. If this is true, then it was certainly as a matter of tactics and not of principle. The Majority Socialist Party was at that time regarded by many

as a Party of the Right because it had lost its pre-War programme and not yet found a new one. After the capture of Munich by the Reichswehr and the Volunteer Corps, Hitler was attached to the Second Infantry Regiment for duty that would certainly not have been to every one's taste. He joined the staff of the commission that had been established to investigate the events of the Bolshevik revolution in Munich and drew up indictments against persons suspected of complicity in the revolution.

In attending a course of lectures on politics delivered to soldiers of the Reichswehr, Hitler took a step of decisive importance for his future career. In June 1919 he was filled with enthusiasm by hearing Gottfried Feder lecture for the first time. The soldiers of the Counter-Revolution were desirous of being more than soldiers. They wanted to found a Party and become politicians. Hitler became their spokesman by championing Feder's theories. His distinction between productive and unproductive capital was, moreover, heartily supported by Hitler's commanding officer, Major Giehl.

An anti-Semitic debate at which Hitler spoke caused his commander to regard him as suitable to be an "education officer" in a Munich regiment. It was an education officer's duty to give political lectures; the troops were to be taught to "think and feel nationally and patriotically" again. Hitler took the opportunity of practising oratory, and especially of training his voice, which had suffered from his being gassed. Among his audience were many who later became members of the Nazi Party.

Moreover, his new friend Feder was favourably inclined to the "German Workers Party" of Drexler and Harrer. Thus the opportunity was given for linking up the officer-politicians with a Party. In addition, Hitler was officially commissioned to investigate this Party. The Reichswehr, which was then developing out of the Volunteer Corps, was permeated with the spirit of politics. It sought a Party whose policy should be identical with its own—or rather, one which it might use as an instrument of its own policy. It is Hitler's achievement to have found this Party for the Reichswehr officers in Munich, and to have made it ready for their use with the assistance of his friends.

At his first visit to a meeting in the private bar of a public-house,

he allowed his emotions to run away with him and completely flattened out a separatist debater. As a result, Drexler asked him to join his Party. He accepted the offer and became No. 7 in the inner political "cell" of the Party but not in the Party itself, which was already somewhat larger. That was in July 1919. For another nine months until April 1, 1920, Hitler remained with his regiment. While the Reichswehr was still providing for his material existence, he was already a well-known speaker, an agitator, a moborator.

The members of this political "cell" in the German Workers Party were of the type to whom it is more important that seven members should agree upon every single point than that many thousands should agree upon a few essentials. As a result of their pedantry, Hitler was driven to seek to attain dictatorial control over the "cell." At first he sought to make himself master of some one of its activities. He had himself made responsible for its propaganda and allowed no one to interfere with him in this work. Was a mass-meeting to be called, on what subject were the speeches to be made, where was it to be held—that was his affair entirely. On the other hand, he did not concern himself with the important question whether the stamp of the Party should be round or square.

This division of power was not immediately successful. The year 1919 passed amid the most absurd and violent dissensions within the membership. In particular, the "national chairman" Harrer did not wish to bring forward No. 7 as speaker. He thought fairly highly of him, but simply did not consider that Hitler was an orator; and even his first successes did not change Harrer's opinion. When in October 1919 Hitler spoke for the first time in the comparative publicity of an audience of something over a hundred people, Harrer at the conclusion stepped on to the platform and uttered a warning against noisy anti-Semitism. For at this period the youthful Party still felt itself to be a Party of the Left.

The subject of Hitler's first public speech was "Brest-Litovsk and Versailles." It was a subject beloved of the Reichswehr, just as the treaty of Brest-Litovsk had been a peace according to Reichswehr ideas. It was Hitler's desire, if not his duty, to destroy the idea that the Peace of Versailles was a just punishment for the hard conditions of the dictated peace of Brest-Litovsk. Thus the first proclamations of the Party were connected with foreign

policy. Personally, Hitler was trying to work out some plan for breaking the “slavery of profits” and for dealing with Judaism. The Party as such, however, was intended to become an instrument for foreign policy.

This had also been the idea of Drexler, who was prepared to leave everything in the hands of the Supreme Military Command. The Great General Staff no longer existed, but the character of the new Party as an instrument of policy remained unchanged. The Labour movement was not intended to benefit the workers but “the nation.” This “nation,” however, consisted of the Reichswehr officers, of men like Epp and Röhm, who now saw their pupil Hitler working as a sapper in the political terrain.

THE TWENTY-FIVE POINTS

Hitler provided the youthful Party with something that no other Party at that date possessed in anything like so developed a form, namely, systematic propaganda. He himself defines it as “to influence large masses of people, to concentrate on a few essential points, never to allow these to be lost sight of, to enunciate principles in the form of a categorical statement, to exercise the greatest possible patience in disseminating ideas, and to be infinitely patient in awaiting results.”

It was very well expressed, but did not immediately convince the other members. There was much discussion, which culminated in January 1920 in the retirement of Harrer.

Meanwhile a new supporter had approached the Party—a Doctor Johannes Dingfelder. He contributed to popular journals under the pseudonym of “Germanus Agricola”; his contributions can most accurately be described as popular mystical economics. Feder’s agitation against the slavery of profits turned in his hands to a fight against the “pride of wealth.” He visualized the approaching downfall of humanity owing to a cessation of production in every sphere—so strongly did the lack of food in Germany, due to the after-effects of the English blockade, influence men’s minds. He foresaw “nature beginning to strike, her goods involuntarily growing less, and the remainder devoured by vermin.” Dingfelder, not Hitler, was the chief speaker at the meeting about which so

many legends have gathered and which took place on February 24, 1920, in the Hofbräuhaus at Munich, with the object of deciding on a programme.

Hitler's description of this meeting in his book is very one-sided. The most important event was Dingfelder's speech, which was listened to in silence. Hitler, in conjunction with Feder and Drexler, had worked out the well-known twenty-five point programme and read it to the meeting to the accompaniment of great disorder on the part of the opposition. The twenty-five points were thereby made public, but nobody took any further notice of them. The *Völkischer Beobachter* said not a word about them. And the meeting itself culminated in a resolution protesting against the allotment of flour to the Jewish community for baking mazzes.

Little attention has been paid to the fact that there is no programme of the German National Socialist Workers Party but only one of the German Workers Party. This was still the name of the Party at the time of its first public appearance. Hitler himself would have preferred to call it the "Social Revolutionary Party."

The twenty-five points of the Nazi Party are not to be taken as a definite programme, nor did they have the success as a means of propaganda that Feder and Drexler expected. At the same time they contain so much of the spirit of the Party that they cannot be passed over. They are as follows:

"The programme of the German Workers Party is an epochal programme. The leaders refuse to set up new aims after those mentioned in the programme have been achieved merely in order to make possible the further existence of the Party by artificially induced discontent among the masses.

"1. We demand the union of all Germans in a Pan German state (*gross Deutschland*) in accordance with the right of all peoples to self-determination.

"2. We demand that the German people shall have equal rights with those of other nations; and that the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain shall be abrogated.

"3. We demand space (colonies) for the maintenance of our people and the settlement of our surplus population.

"4. Only those who are our countrymen shall be citizens of our State. Only those who are of German blood can be considered as

our countrymen regardless of creed. Hence no Jew can be regarded as a fellow-countryman.

“5. Those who are not citizens of the State must live in Germany as foreigners and must be subject to the law of aliens.

“6. The right to choose the government and determine the laws of the State shall be the privilege only of the citizens. We therefore demand that no public office, of whatever nature, whether central, local or municipal, shall be held by any but a citizen of the State.

“We actively combat the demoralizing parliamentary administration whereby posts go by Party favour without regard to character and capability.

“7. We demand that the State shall undertake to ensure that every citizen has a fair chance of living decently and of earning his livelihood. If it proves impossible to provide food for the whole population, then aliens (non-citizens) must be expelled from the State.

“8. Any further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who have come into Germany since August 2, 1914, shall be forced to leave the realm immediately.

“9. The rights and duties of all citizens shall be the same.

“10. The first duty of every citizen shall be to work mentally or physically. No individual shall carry on any work that is deleterious to the community, but shall contribute to the benefit of all.

“Hence we demand:

“11. That all unearned incomes shall be abolished,

BREAKING THE BONDAGE OF INTEREST

“12. In consideration of the tremendous sacrifices of property and life which every war imposes upon the people, all personal gains resulting from war must be regarded as treason to the nation. We therefore demand that the returns from all war-profiteering shall be forfeited down to the last farthing.

“13. We demand that the State shall take over all trusts.

“14. We demand that the State shall share in the profits of large industries.

“15. We demand that provision for the aged shall be made on a very greatly increased scale.

“16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a sound middle class; that the large stores shall be immediately communalized and rented cheaply to small tradespeople; that for all public supplies, whether national or local, preference shall be given to small traders.

“17. We demand an agrarian reform suitable to our national requirements; the enactment of a law to expropriate without compensation the owners of any land that may be needed for national purposes; the abolition of ground rents; and the prohibition of all speculation in land.

“18. We demand that relentless measures shall be taken against any who work to the detriment of the public weal. Traitors, usurers, profiteers, &c., are to be punished with death, regardless of race or creed.

“19. We demand that the Roman law which serves a materialist ordering of the world shall be replaced by German Common Law.

“20. In order to make it possible for every capable and industrious German to obtain higher education and thus the chance of rising to important posts, the State shall organize thoroughly the whole cultural system of the nation. The curricula of all educational establishments shall be arranged according to the requirements of practical life. The conception of the State Idea (the science of citizenship) shall be taught in the schools from the very beginning. We demand that specially talented children of poor parents, no matter what their station or occupation, shall be educated at the cost of the State.

“21. It is the duty of the State to help raise the standard of the nation's health by providing maternity welfare centres, by prohibiting juvenile labour, by increasing physical fitness through the introduction of compulsory games and gymnastics, and by the greatest possible encouragement of all associations concerned with the physical education of the young.

“22. We demand the abolition of the professional army and the formation of a national army.

“23. We demand that legal action be taken against those who propagate what they know to be political lies and disseminate them

by means of the Press. In order to make possible the creation of a German Press, we demand that:

“(a) All editors and their assistants on newspapers published in the German language shall be German citizens.

“(b) Non-German newspapers shall require the express assent of the State to publication. They must not be published in the German language.

“(c) Non-Germans shall be forbidden by law to have any financial interest in or in any way to influence German newspapers. The punishment for transgression of this law to be the immediate suppression of the newspaper in question and the deportation of the offending aliens.

“Journals transgressing against the common weal shall be suppressed. We demand that legal action be taken against any tendency in art or literature having a disruptive effect upon the life of the people, and that any organizations which offend against the foregoing requirements shall be dissolved.

“24. We demand freedom for all religious creeds in the State, in so far as they do not endanger its existence or offend against the moral or ethical sense of the Germanic race.

“The Party as such represents the standpoint of positive Christianity without binding itself to any one particular confession. It opposes the Jewish materialist spirit within and without, and is convinced that a lasting recovery of the nation can only be achieved from within on the principle,

THE GOOD OF THE STATE BEFORE THE GOOD OF THE INDIVIDUAL

“25. In order that all this may be carried out, we demand the creation of a strong central authority in the State; the unconditional control by the political central parliament of the whole State and all its organizations. The formation of professional committees, and committees representative of the several estates of the realm, to ensure the laws promulgated by the central authorities being carried out in the individual States in the union.

“The leaders of the Party undertake to promote the execution of the foregoing points at all costs, if necessary at the sacrifice of their own lives.

“MUNICH, *February 24, 1920.*”

The key to this programme (which is obviously drafted in awkward phraseology) lies in the date. The compiler called it an epochal programme. And, in fact, it is a programme in which time not only plays a part, but which is of a time and for a time that is long past. Struggles for power within the Party itself forced Hitler in 1926 to declare the programme to be unalterable, although he himself was doubtful about many of its statements, and has expressed these doubts openly in his book. For in 1926 a new National Socialist movement was inaugurated, which has little connexion with the old lower middleclass programme.

This had been a Pan-German programme transmuted into a lower middle-class programme, and blended with ideas culled from the revolution and counter-revolution of 1918–19. It came into being before National Socialism began its civil war against the physical majority of the “far too many-headed” as an internal imperialist minority; and especially before it pledged itself to win over and change the minds of the majority. The programme states definite pretensions but only makes demands of the State. Instead of the proud “We shall,” the points begin with the demagogic “We demand.”

The future leader of the Party gave the Pan-German demand first place in his programme. The predominant part played by foreign policy in the councils of the Party is proved by this and the second Point. The third Point has long ago been rejected in its literal sense; the Party renounces the idea of overseas colonies and demands instead expansion towards the East.

The anti-Semitic Points 4 to 8 and 23 and 24 witness to Hitler's victory over Harrer, although temporarily only a victory of compromise. It is an artificial and theoretical anti-Semitism put forward as a racial ideal, and is very far removed from any advocacy of actual physical ill-treatment of Jews. The points, however, and this has seldom been observed, are not exclusive. In case of need they admit of being widened, and in his speeches during the next few years Hitler greatly augmented and expanded certain parts. Much later, in 1928, he returned to the milder interpretation: that Jews might be allowed to remain in Germany as long as they

behaved themselves; but, of course, still without being admitted as citizens.

Point 9, with its "equal rights and duties," is obviously a concession to modern views. The State which the Nazi Party began to build up within the State in 1930 is founded simply upon inequality of duties as of performance, as also is the future State which the leaders began to foreshadow in their speeches.

Points 10 to 14 and Point 17 are the Socialistic portions of the programme. Later they were in part publicly ignored and privately renounced. In 1928 Point 17 was simply dropped. On the other hand, Point 11, the most equivocal and disputed, which has been rejected by large sections of the Party, the famous "breaking of the bondage of interest," achieved a significance which was undreamt of by the compilers of the programme and not recognized until much later. In conjunction with the rejected Point 17, it has since 1929 won for the Party the hearts of the debt-burdened landowners.

Point 15 is the "social" part, Point 16 possibly the real kernel of the programme, namely, the section dealing with the middle classes. Without inquiring whether anything was to be said for the owners of and assistants in large shops, the National Socialist German Workers Party decided in favour of the small shopkeepers.

As a tactical manœuvre, Point 24 is excellent. It emphasizes the non-sectarian character of the Party and combines it with its economic morality. Point 23 might be called a cultural scheme, which with a sharp eye to the main chance is concerned with the *means* of culture, but on the other hand leaves the cultural *substance* to develop along its own lines. Here Hitler, the propagandist, assured to the National Socialist State all the instruments for cultural propaganda, and left himself with a free hand as regards their employment. The programme at this point even indulges in a joke, for—as will be shown later—section (b) means that the *Berliner Tageblatt*, for example, may indeed be published, but only in Hebrew.

Point 25—the strong central authority—is Hitler's spiritual child. It is true that in the next few years he modified to some extent his desire for centralization. It is on this very point that he has exemplified the power of his art of ambiguous expression; and indeed he has shown altogether how he can gild the iron letters of

his principles with rhetorical decoration so that they glitter vaguely and delusively. One thing, however, was clear to him—he might during the struggles in the next few years turn Bavarian national feeling to full account, but at the same time organized Bavarian federalist opinion was to be his fiercest competitor. Point 25 says: Observe, this is no Bavarian, no anti-Prussian programme. The State rests upon power, not upon treaties; the country is not a confederacy but an articulated unity; Germans do not live together but are ruled. The Reich was to move forward openly on the steel rails of national unity and not to be hindered in its progress by an opposition concealed beneath the sheepskin coat of a Bavarian cattle-herd.

All other demands made in the programme have been more or less dissipated by the growth of the Party. The Party itself remained, and it was within the Party that the Nazis made their first essays in the art of government.

TWO MEN ATTACK A CITY

So on the eve of the year 1920 Hitler faced the future almost alone with his uncertain programme. The Party contained few besides himself. Dietrich Eckart's brain held a bourgeois miscellany of ideas under the swastika. Feder was probably pleased to see that the programme embodied so many of his ideas, but the militant association that he founded in May 1920 to break the slavery of interest was more important in his eyes, and had little in common with Hitler and his rough warriors. Feder's association "regarded the poisoning of public life by the spitefulness of indefinite, one-sided, and lying leadership as due solely to the delusions of money, to blind greed for money, and the unlimited power of money." This was actually the programme of the quill-driving Nazi economic theorist at one time. A poor ally for a Hitler who preached "fanaticism, indeed intolerance" as an indispensable preliminary to victory. Whose cry was: "The hatred of the enemies of our people and of our views is something that you should strive for rather than avoid!"

One comrade, however, Hitler did acquire early in 1920 who was more than a cipher. This was the journalist Hermann Esser,

then a very young man. Hitler had got to know him as a press reporter at the divisional headquarters of the Reichswehr. He was no honest plodder, no quiet worker, but an agitator, and one who understood the art of mass-excitation almost better than Hitler himself. Hitler spoke on the "Jewish question" picturesquely and often with a certain popular jocoseness; but Esser would discover that a Jewish shoemaker had illegally obtained a seven-roomed house in Munich. By describing the wretched man's luxurious mode of living, he roused his ill-clad audience, many of whom were still living on their food-cards, to fury. He was the archetype of the "spit-fire" orator. The inhibitions which Hitler still had were lacking in the downy-chinned youth who in November 1918 had founded a revolutionary soviet at his school in Kempten, had demanded that sundry bourgeois should be hanged by the Soldiers' Council, and in 1919 had worked as a volunteer on a Socialist newspaper. Not until he came in touch with the Reichswehr did he find his true political path. He is certainly not an ideal type; even Hitler has never allowed his oldest fellow-campaigner to come right to the fore. In the early days, however, he was irreplaceable, because unique.

These two unknown men, Hitler and Esser, did not at first succeed in taking the city of Munich by storm, nor did they achieve anything remarkable at their first meetings. Hitler's statements in his speeches and writings that the bourgeoisie at that time had held no great political meetings are false. On the contrary, the People's Offensive and Defensive Association (*Völkischer Schutzund Trutzbund*) held enormous meetings at frequent intervals, during which the audience raged with excitement when such men as the anti-Semitic agitator Kerlen or the leader of the German minorities' movement, Dr. Rohmeder, spoke. At one time there were one hundred thousand members of the Offensive and Defensive Association in the country. At that time any one who spoke in Munich against the Jews was certain of applause from the outset, and as far as the public was concerned the National Socialist German Workers Party was at first no more than one of the many anti-Semitic societies. Nor was such an undertaking as dangerous to life and limb as Hitler would have us believe. Since the overthrow of the Soviet republic, the "red rabble," which by

the way had previously listened quietly to antagonistic opinions at its own meetings, had been almost entirely suppressed. There were, of course, at times disturbances and contradiction, when the Socialist leaders were designated as a treasonous mob who had been bribed by the Jews. But it never went beyond the normal, and was very far from being a systematic terrorization of meetings.

THE RIVALS

Actually the worst enemy of the bourgeois agitation at that time was the National Socialist German Workers Party itself. As yet it did not break up bourgeois meetings, but it remorselessly bore down its weaker rivals. Dr. Gerlich, the bourgeois editor of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, now a determined antagonist of the Nazi Party, at that time invented the phrase that describes Marxism in its present polemical sense as the sum-total of Socialists combined under the International, whether Majority Social Democrats, Independents, or Communists. Gradually the Nazis adopted this splendid catchword, but then they directed it against almost every one else. Even its inventor was suspected of being an abettor of Marxism and the friend of Jews.

Rivalry which serves to keep up the first enthusiasm was soon to be found in plenty. There was, for instance, the German Socialist Party, which was larger and which celebrated a real Party Day at Hanover in April. Its programme contained many of Feder's principles, advocated sterner agrarian reform than the Nazis, and embodied some of the ideas of "Germanus Agricola." Its strongest agitator was Streicher, an elementary school teacher of Nuremberg. It even went so far as to put forward a candidate for the Reichstag elections in 1920—which the Nazis omitted to do only for lack of funds—but did not get him elected.

More successful was a rival in North Germany—the German Social Party of Richard Kunze, who was nicknamed "Cudgel-Kunze," and has now become an unobtrusive member of the Hitler Party. Kunze had the courage to advocate one demand of Feder's which Hitler never dared to uphold—namely, State bankruptcy. Originally Feder wished to have all War Loan Certificates declared legal tender, apparently without troubling about what had then

not yet occurred—inflation. He had now taken up the idea of the State's repudiating its debts as a deadly blow at loan capital—a programme that the inflation carried out very successfully later. At all events, Kunze soon got the reputation of being a dangerous agitator who seemed to have started a promising Party.

These were the competitors for the favour of the socially roused people. Anti-Semitism, however, apparently was solely in the hands of the purely democratic associations.

So it was to be war. In the first place, a new and more attractive name was opposed to the German Social Party and the German Socialist Party. Through the intermediary of Dr. Alexander Schillings the Party had come in contact with the National Socialists of the former Danubian monarchy. These were engaged at the time in disputing as to whether they should call themselves the National Socialist Workers Party; the word "Worker" was a cause of some offence among the Viennese. In Munich, again, the word "Socialist" was under dispute, but was eventually adopted, against the wish of Hitler. From April 1920 Anton Drexler's Party, which had hitherto been known as the German Workers Party, was called National Socialist German Workers Party.

Very soon the first clashes occurred with the bourgeois. Oskar Körner, one of the founders of the Party, rose as an avowed enemy at a meeting of the German People's Offensive and Defensive Association, and accused them sarcastically of having no idea of the real feeling of the people, of not having the people behind them. There was a period of considerable tension, and this eventually led to a change of editors and finally a change of ownership of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Köhler, a sub-editor, who is now in the Press Department of the Brown House, used frequently to remark loftily that the democratic idea should never be held out before any single Party. Hitler therefore openly reproached him for want of courage, and Körner wrote furiously in the paper that he declined to permit any one to stamp him as a socialistic proletarian because he did not chance to look as if he had come out of a band-box.

Körner was one of the lesser and unknown members of the Party, but its whole spirit spoke through him—the hatred alike of the propertied middle class and of the proletariat.

The quarrel was of necessity made up again. The National

Socialist German Workers Party was not yet strong enough to take up the fight against its opponents directly. More especially since Hitler had resigned from the Reichswehr on April 1, 1920. It was now necessary for him to try to earn at least a part of his living expenses; the rest was found for him by friends such as Dietrich Eckart. For a time Hitler became an itinerant speaker for the German People's Offensive and Defensive Association, and expounded his theme, "Brest-Litovsk and Versailles." He refused to take fees for Nazi meetings, but for others he accepted them.

Even at that time his hastily compiled programme caused trouble. Thus at a meeting at Munich in August 1920 he declared that it was a matter of course for the Nazis that industrial capital, being productive, would be left untouched, and that his enmity was only directed against the Jewish international loan capital. This meant that Point 13 was sacrificed. On the other hand, Point 15 was expanded vastly: "Every worker must be guaranteed a minimum living wage by the State"—a vision of the State as a charitable institution, which far exceeds anything that has been achieved along these lines in the past years.

Meanwhile politics had gone ahead of the little Party. It was not yet able to speak authoritatively. The Kapp-Putsch failed in Berlin; at Munich, on the other hand, the Socialist-bourgeois government under Hoffmann was overthrown by the Reichswehr and the short term volunteers and replaced by the Kahr government. Röhm, too, had his part in this affair, but not Hitler. He had at that time been introduced into the circle of officers surrounding Röhm as a visitor and a valuable political liaison-officer. Apart from this, Hitler devoted his energies to holding meetings and furnishing the "business premises" of the Party—a shabby room in an inn in the old part of Munich—with a few shelves and cupboards.

The change of government had important effects upon the fate of the Party. It became the official favourite, was praised by the new Prime Minister in the local parliament, and was supported by the police. Kahr himself was more in the nature of an umbrella which is useful by its very existence; but Pöhner, the chief of the police, and his assistant, Dr. Frick, the leader of the political department, were most active.

Pöhner was a hard-headed official and a gifted man, whose

Bavarian royalism was unrelieved by the usual good humour of his province and was much more akin to Prussianism. Every conception—even inimical—of the tendencies of the day was lacking in him. He did not reject them, he simply did not understand them in the very least. The devil who undoubtedly possessed Pöhner was a cold devil.

After the revolution, as he later declared nonchalantly in the law courts, he carried on treasonable practices as though they were a sacred duty for five solid years.

Dr. Frick had most of the qualities necessary for a good substitute for his interesting Chief, apart from his somewhat gloomy and dissatisfied outlook. He was also to be useful to Hitler in this capacity later on. It is true that he had no feeling for fine distinctions; he proved this later when he suggested that Hitler should be appointed to the police at Hildburghausen. Both men showed the Nazis every consideration that the police could show. To the remark of an initiate: "It is a fact that there are political murder organizations, sir!" Pöhner once replied: "Oh, really? But there aren't enough of them!" The small Workers Party was, it is true, at the beginning rather carried away in the general enthusiasm for everything "national." Until the beginning of 1923 other groups were more important politically. But since the Nazis always showed the greatest effrontery, they were obviously obliged to make greater demands upon the goodwill of the police than their rivals.

Disturbances, fisticuffs in halls and in the streets, earned for the Party a greater popularity than that enjoyed by the German Socialist and People's Parties. It achieved a very dubious reputation, but that was better than having no reputation at all, like its rivals. Chance favoured it further. A Munich rabbi tried to refute an anti-Semitic speech at a Nazi meeting. Of course, there was a great commotion in the hall. The result was that in future every Nazi announcement bore the warning: "No admittance for Jews." That was even more effective than the most biting abuse of the Republic, which every lounge at street corners indulged in in Munich at that time. It proved that the Nazis were in grim earnest about their anti-Semitism; it proved that their hatred was sincere,

and this sincerity attracted the masses, who had for two years been dulled by political catchwords.

Nazi propaganda, a system of brutal words and savage deeds, took shape and form. But before its further development could be forecasted, the movement underwent a spiritual rebirth—its union with Austrian National Socialism at the Party meeting in Salzburg.

AUSTRIA AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

In Austria National Socialism already existed both as a name and an idea in pre-War days. Two bookbinders, Ludwig Vogel and Ferdinand Buschofsky, founded a German National Labour Union among the German Bohemians, in opposition both to the Czech *entrepreneurs* and the German Social Democrats. Thus the first feeble resistance on the part of the workers against “the enemies of the people and against Marxists” emerged as a result of the struggle of the nationalities within the Danubian monarchy. The Union soon came in contact with George von Sehönerer’s anti-Semitic Pan-German Party and fell with it when the Pan-German Party collapsed as a result of the quarrel between its leaders Schönerer and Wolf. In 1904 another small “German Labour Party” arose in Moravia, which by 1911 was sending several representatives to the Moravian Diet as well as to the Reichsrat in Vienna, among them the present-day leaders Jung and Knirsch. The party congress at Iglau in 1913 was already discussing agrarian reform and the struggle against interest and ground rents. Thus Feder’s doctrine was not original even in his own movement. On May 5, 1918, at its Vienna meeting, the Party adopted the name “German National Socialist Party of Austria” which had been put forward as early as 1913.

Nevertheless, in spite of name and programme, there was no uniformity as regards the most important principles. The Bohemian Germans under the spiritual leadership of Rudolf Jung wished the Party to be a Labour—indeed a class—Party. The Viennese, a practically negligible group under Dr. Walter Riehl, were violently opposed to this. A Party meeting was expected to resolve the dissonance, and was to take place on August 7 and 8, 1920, in

Salzburg. The Munich Nazis, led by Drexler and Hitler, were to take part in it. The "German Socialists," whose headquarters were in Düsseldorf, also appeared, but even numerically they could not compete with the strong delegation from Munich.

After hearing a report from Jung certain basic principles were adopted, amongst them that the worker might only maintain his rights within the limits of his nationality. It was expressly required that there should be "no revolution or class-warfare, but definite creative reforms," which in certain circumstances might lead to nationalization of industries. And the programme continued categorically: "Private property is not in itself harmful so long as it is the result of honest personal endeavour, and is so used as not to be deleterious to the general good"—a statement that only serves to reveal its perpetrator's incapacity for thought. However, statements such as this, that something harmless is not harmful, will always find champions at a time when it is more important to be a good hater than a clear thinker.

A year later Jung forced through the change that made the Party into a class Party at the meeting of the inter-State representatives at Linz. Refusal to admit class-warfare was definitely crossed off the programme, and the following remarkable clause was put in: "The German National Socialist Workers Party is the class Party of productive Labour." Jung argued on virtually Marxist lines. There were only two groups in economic life—he affirmed—and these were in opposition to one another. The one did productive work and the others were in receipt of unearned income. Thus the Nazis were a class Party, only the idea of the worker class was not confined within narrow limits, but embraced all who lived on the results of their mental or physical labour, that is to say, all those who are economically weak. Further, he asserted, that in this sense the Party also advocated class-warfare, not in the way of economic revolution but of reform.

These are statements that might have appeared in the Heidelberg Programme of the German Social Democrats. They were not likely to be agreed to either by the little Viennese group or by the Munich movement that was already assuming important proportions. Here it was not admitted that there were two groups in the nation which were in natural opposition to one another. In fact, just