

**"When I Take Charge of Germany"—
Hitler Shows His Hand**

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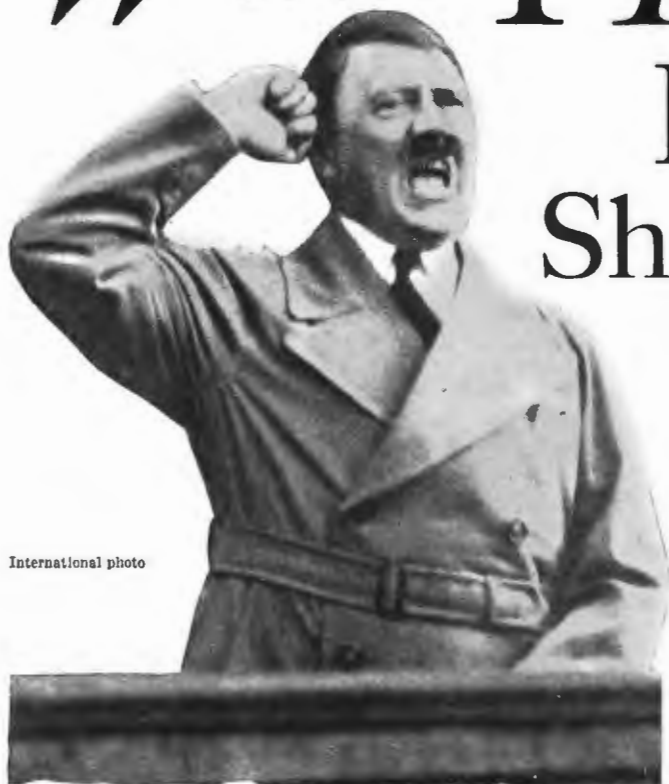
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America's Best Read Weekly



Lucie
The artist

"When I Take Charge HITLER Shows *His Hand*



International photo

Hitler addressing a mass meeting in Berlin on the eve of the presidential election of last March.

(Reading time: 17 minutes 35 seconds.)

"WHEN I take charge of Germany, I shall end tribute abroad and Bolshevism at home."

Adolf Hitler drained his cup as if it contained not tea, but the life blood of Bolshevism.

"Bolshevism," the chief of the Brown Shirts, the Fascists of Germany, continued, gazing at me balefully, "is our greatest menace. Kill Bolshevism in Germany and you restore seventy million people to power. France owes her strength not to her armies but to the forces of Bolshevism and dissension in our midst.

"The Treaty of Versailles and the Treaty of St. Germain are kept alive by Bolshevism in Germany. The Peace Treaty and Bolshevism are two heads of one monster. We must decapitate both."

When Adolf Hitler announced this program, the advent of the Third Empire which he proclaims seemed still at the end of the rainbow. Then came election after election. Each time the power of Hitler grew. While unable to dislodge Hindenburg from the presidency, Hitler today heads the largest party in Germany. Unless Hindenburg assumes dictatorial measures, or some unexpected development completely upsets all present calculations, Hitler's party will organize the Reichstag and dominate the government. Hitler's fight was not against Hindenburg but against Chancellor Bruening. It is doubtful if Bruening's successor can sustain himself without the support of the National Socialists.

Many who voted for Hindenburg were at heart with Hitler, but some deep-rooted sense of loyalty impelled them nevertheless to cast their vote for the old field marshal. Unless overnight a new leader arises, there is no one in Germany, with the exception of Hindenburg, who could defeat Hitler—and Hindenburg is eighty-five! Time and the recalcitrance of the French fight for Hitler, unless some blunder on his own part, or dissension within the ranks of the party, deprives him of his opportunity to play the part of Germany's Mussolini.

The First German Empire came to an end when Napo-

*The Fascist Platform—Its
Threat to Bolshevism, and
What It Means to the Rest
of the World*

By **GEORGE SYLVESTER
VIERECK**

leon forced the Austrian emperor to surrender his imperial crown. The Second Empire came to an end when William II, on the advice of Hindenburg, sought refuge in Holland. The Third Empire is emerging slowly but surely, although it may dispense with scepters and crowns.

I met Hitler not in his headquarters, the Brown House in Munich, but in a private home—the dwelling of a former admiral of the German Navy. We discussed the fate of Germany over the teacups.

"Why," I asked Hitler, "do you call yourself a National Socialist, since your party program is the very antithesis of that commonly accredited to Socialism?"

"Socialism," he retorted, putting down his cup of tea, pugnaciously, "is the science of dealing with the common weal. Communism is not Socialism. Marxism is not Socialism. The Marxians have stolen the term and confused its meaning. I shall take Socialism away from the Socialists.

"Socialism is an ancient Aryan, Germanic institution. Our German ancestors held certain lands in common. They cultivated the idea of the common weal. Marxism has no right to disguise itself as Socialism. Socialism, unlike Marxism, does not repudiate private property. Unlike Marxism, it involves no negation of personality, and unlike Marxism, it is patriotic.

"We might have called ourselves the Liberal Party. We chose to call ourselves the National Socialists. We are not internationalists. Our Socialism is national. We demand the fulfillment of the just claims of the productive classes by the State on the basis of race solidarity. To us State and race are one."

Hitler himself is not a purely Germanic type. His dark hair betrays some Alpine ancestor. For years he refused to be photographed. That was part of his strategy—to be known only to his friends so that, in the hour of crisis, he could appear here, there, and everywhere without detection. Today he could no longer pass unrecognized through the obscure hamlet in Germany. His appearance contrasts strangely with the aggressiveness of his opinions. No milder-mannered reformer ever scuttled ship of state or cut political throat.

"What," I continued my cross-examination, "are the fundamental planks of your platform?"

"We believe in a healthy mind in a healthy body. The body politic must be sound if the soul is to be healthy. Moral and physical health are synonymous."

"Mussolini," I interjected, "said the same to me."

Hitler beamed.

"The slums," he added, "are responsible for nine-

of GERMANY"



A recent great rally of Hitler's brown-shirted "Nazi" followers at Bad-Harzburg. At the right is their leader in field uniform. The swastika on his brassard is the National Socialist emblem.

tenths, alcohol for one-tenth, of all human depravity. No healthy man is a Marxian. Healthy men recognize the value of personality. We contend against the forces of disaster and degeneration. Bavaria is comparatively healthy because it is not completely industrialized. However, all Germany, including Bavaria, is condemned to intensive industrialism by the smallness of our territory. If we wish to save Germany we must see to it that our farmers remain faithful to the land. To do so, they must have room to breathe and room to work."

"Where will you find the room to work?"

"We must retain our colonies and we must expand eastward. There was a time when we could have shared world dominion with England. Now we can stretch our cramped limbs only toward the east. The Baltic is necessarily a German lake."

"Is it not," I asked, "possible for Germany to reconquer the world economically without extending her territory?"

Hitler shook his head earnestly.

"ECONOMIC imperialism, like military imperialism, depends upon power. There can be no world trade on a large scale without world power. Our people have not learned to think in terms of world power and world trade. However, Germany cannot extend commercially or territorially until she regains what she has lost and until she finds herself.

"We are in the position of a man whose house has been burned down. He must have a roof over his head before he can indulge in more ambitious plans. We had succeeded in creating an emergency shelter that keeps out the rain. We were not prepared for hailstones. However, misfortunes hailed down upon us. Germany has been living in a veritable blizzard of national, moral, and economic catastrophes.

"Our demoralized party system is a symptom of our disaster. Parliamentary majorities fluctuate with the mood of the moment. Parliamentary government unbars the gate to Bolshevism."

"Unlike some German militarists, you do not favor an alliance with Soviet Russia?"

Hitler evaded a direct reply to this question. He evaded it again recently when Liberty asked him to reply to Trotsky's statement that his assumption of power in Germany would involve a life-and-death struggle between

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["WHEN I TAKE CHARGE OF GERMANY"—
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Europe, led by Germany, and Soviet Russia. It may not suit Hitler to attack Bolshevism in Russia. He may even look upon an alliance with Bolshevism as his last card, if he is in danger of losing the game. If, he intimated on one occasion, capitalism refuses to recognize that the National Socialists are the last bulwark of private property, if capital impedes their struggle, Germany may be compelled to throw herself into the enticing arms of the siren Soviet Russia. But he is determined not to permit Bolshevism to take root in Germany.

He responded warily in the past to the advances of Chancellor Bruening and others who wished to form a united political front. It is unlikely that now, in view of the steady increase in the vote of the National Socialists, Hitler will be in the mood to compromise on any essential principle with other parties.

"The political combinations upon which a united front depend," Hitler remarked to me, "are too unstable. They render almost impossible a clearly defined policy. I see everywhere the zigzag course of compromise and concession. Our constructive forces are checked by the tyranny of numbers. We make the mistake of applying arithmetic and the mechanics of the economic world to the living state. We are threatened by ever increasing numbers and ever diminishing ideals. Mere numbers are unimportant."

"But suppose France retaliates against you by once more invading your soil? She invaded the Ruhr once before. She may invade it again."

"It does not matter," Hitler, thoroughly aroused, retorted, "how many square miles the enemy may occupy if the national spirit is aroused. *Ten million free Germans, ready to perish so that their country may live, are more potent than fifty million whose will power is paralyzed and whose race consciousness is infected by aliens.*

"We want a greater Germany uniting all German tribes. But our salvation can start in the smallest corner. *Even if we had only ten acres of land and were determined to defend them with our lives, the ten acres would become the focus of regeneration.* Our workers have two souls: one is German, the other is Marxian. We must arouse the German soul. We must uproot the canker of Marxism. Marxism and Germanism are antitheses.

"In my scheme of the German State, there will be no room for the alien, no use for the wastrel, for the usurer or speculator, or anyone incapable of productive work."

The cords on Hitler's forehead stood out threateningly. His voice filled the room. There was a noise at the door. His followers, who always remain within call, like a bodyguard, reminded the leader of his duty to address a meeting.

Hitler gulped down his tea and rose.

THERE were several times since the notorious Beer Putsch in the Bürgerbrau (1923) when Germany feared violence on the part of her Fascists. Today Hitler is committed by his own words to gain his end by constitutional means. While here and there stray bullets fly between Fascists and Communists, Hitler has won his way to power with ballots, not with bullets. When, after the presidential election, the Prussian police, under socialistic and democratic domination, raided three hundred local headquarters of the National Socialists, they found no evidence of any scheme on Hitler's part to march on Berlin as Mussolini marched on Rome.

When some of his adherents were on trial in Leipzig some years ago Hitler, under oath, disavowed any intention of seeking to change the government by a revolution. But he promised to alter the constitution in conformity with his program by legal methods. Knowing his words would reverberate far beyond the walls of the court room, Hitler vowed that he would make the heads of the "November criminals," the men who, in the opinion of Hitler and his friends, stabbed Germany in the back, "roll" in the gutter.

Hitlerism rests largely upon Hitler's autobiography, *My Battle*, from which his creed is distilled. Trumping Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points by eleven, the Ger-

man Mussolini proclaims Twenty-Five Points as the platform upon which he proposes to rear the New Germany.

Hitler's Twenty-five Points demand equal rights for Germany in the council of nations, the abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain, and the union of all German states, upon the basis of self-determination, in a Larger Germany. The German Fascist asks land, soil, colonies, to feed the German people and to absorb their surplus population. The expansion in Europe which he contemplates is toward the east.

There are few Germans who disagree, in their hearts, with the points cited. Controversy enters when Hitler defines the rights and duties of citizenship. He confines it to men of German blood without reference to religion. Gottfried Feder, in a small pamphlet which Hitler called the "Catechism of the National Socialists," adds that only Germans who confess their faith in a common German culture and a common German fate may exercise civic rights. Anyone who is not a citizen is a "guest" of the German people, subject to special legislation. The right to make laws and to conduct public affairs in the nation or in the municipality is confined to citizens. Hitler is determined to end the "corruption of parliamentarism" and "the distribution of offices according to partisan considerations, without reference to moral or intellectual qualifications."

THE State, he declares, owes a living to all its citizens.

If Germany cannot support all her citizens, all noncitizens will be requested to leave the country. All non-Germans who have entered Germany since August 2, 1914, will be deported. This clause is aimed especially at a large number of immigrants from Russia, Roumania, Poland and other states to the east of Germany.

All citizens have the same rights and the same duties. The first duty of the citizen is *work*, physical or mental. The activity of the individual must not conflict with the interests of the community. "The common weal," says Hitler's apostle, Feder, "is the highest law." While recognizing private property, Hitler's Twenty-five Points limit the accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals. Every man must earn his right to live. Income without labor is contrary to the common welfare. Money must serve, it may not rule, the State. To accomplish this, Hitlerism, going further than Soviet Russia, abolishes the return from capital interest.

Hitler expects to end war profiteering with a stroke of his pen. War profiteers are "public enemies." All war profits are subject to confiscation.

Hitler's State takes over the trusts. Big Business may continue, but both the State and the workers participate in its profits. The National Socialists propose to break up large department stores and chain stores and to divide their business among small retail merchants. Speculation in real estate is "unlawful." Real estate that is acquired "illegitimately" or "exploited in a manner at variance with the interests of the State" is subject to expropriation without compensation. Usurers and unscrupulous promoters (*Schieber*) are branded as "common criminals." The death penalty is invoked for their offense, irrespective of race or creed.

"Germany for the Germans" is Hitler's watchword, even in the realm of law. Hitler proposes to discard the dusty heritage of the materialistic Roman law and to substitute a body of laws autochthonous to the Germans.

Hitler's educational program, like Mussolini's, is based upon the desire to stimulate nationalism. It throws open the institution of high education to all Germans and provides for the education of gifted children of poor parents at the expense of the State.

Sport, hygiene, maternity, the protection of mothers and children, and the abolition of child labor, are forces in Hitler's Utopia. Old-age pensions, etc., are vouchsafed to every German. Similarly the State assumes guardianship over all citizens incapacitated for work. This plan is entirely in accordance with the compulsory insurance laws which attempt to safeguard the future of every worker in Germany today. A people's army takes the place of the system of mercenaries forced upon Ger-



many by the Allies. Hitler's own volunteer army, the Brown Shirts, though disbanded by Bruening, still exists. This army is the nightmare of France.

With the boldness with which Don Quixote attacked windmills, Hitler assails the dragon of propaganda. He proposes drastic legislation against "the deliberate political lie and its propagation by the press." Every editor and contributor of a newspaper published in the German language must be a citizen. Non-German newspapers may not be published without a license. They are forbidden to use the German language.

Non-Germans are debarred from any financial interest, however concealed, in any German publication. Violation of this provision means suppression and expulsion.

Hitler's Twenty-five Points guarantee the freedom of all faiths and confessions which do not endanger the existence of the State "or violate the moral and ethical standard of the Germanic race." The party is pledged to "positive Christianity" without binding itself to any denomination.

The task which Hitler sets himself is enormous, the practical difficulties almost unsurmountable. To accomplish his aim, he insists upon a strong central power and complete subordination of all separate political entities to the sovereignty of the federal government. Within this frame, he grants the largest possible latitude to the individual states. "Guilds," based on vocational qualifications, take the place of the present political parliamentary system.

All leaders must battle for the program "even at the risk of life itself." Once their program is fulfilled they promise to dissolve their party. They look upon it not as a partisan organization, but as a great national movement for the renaissance of the German soul.

Hitler's Twenty-five Points have been "elaborated" since they were first issued. As more intellectuals, especially members of the old conservative parties, began to join the National Socialists, the ablest heads began to "interpret" the Hitler gospel. This progressive modification by interpretation enables men like Schacht, former president of the Reichsbank, to join hands with Hitler. Hugenberg, leader of the old nationalists and an ally of Big Business, supported Hitler at times no doubt with suppressed rage. Whenever the Nationalists fail to march with Hitler, the younger element of the party join the Brown Guard with flying colors.

It is obvious that some of the feathers of the National Socialists are stolen from the plumage of Mussolini and Stalin. The relations between Hitler and Mussolini are cordial. Mussolini is in many ways Hitler's ideal. Mussolini looks upon Hitler as the German apostle of Fascism. Soviet Russia respects (if it detests) Mussolini. If Hitler heads the German government the Soviets will not be adverse to making their peace with him. What Hitler himself will do depends on the capitalists of the world and—France. Hitler is a human explosive. A self-made man, who has thought much and read much, he is not afraid to meet the challenge of debate. He holds his own in controversy with remarkable skill. Of his past, little

is known. He admits that art claimed him before he became a tribune of the people. His friends say that he was a portrait painter. His enemies insinuate that he practiced the art of painting only by whitewashing walls. I do not know if he can wield a brush. There is no doubt that he can wield his tongue.

Some of his countrymen look upon him as the savior of the country. Others regard him as a violent agitator thriving on prejudice and hatred. The preposterous failure of the Beer Garden Putsch of 1923 in Munich greatly diminished the stature of Hitler as well as of his ally, General Ludendorff. The master strategist of the German army has not been able to retrieve his former prestige. But the shadow of Hitler looms over Central Europe. Idolized by his followers, excoriated by his foes, Hitler is

welcomed by Big Business as the only man in Germany who can combat Bolshevism. To some, however, the encouragement given to Hitler by conservative circles seems like an attempt to drive out the devil with Beelzebub.



International photo

Police seizing the National Socialist headquarters in Berlin after the issuance of President von Hindenburg's emergency decree against the Nazis.

himself as a Teuton. Detesting the Hapsburgs, the fiery Moravian served as a volunteer in the German Army.

Mussolini was only a corporal in the World War. Hitler, likewise, never rose much beyond the ranks. But the erstwhile subaltern is now the idol of German generals!

In spite of his faithful service during the World War, Hitler was denied German citizenship on the ground that he was a "deserter" from the Austrian Army. Hitler expected that citizenship would be thrust upon him by a special act of Parliament. But the exigencies of the election compelled him to accept citizenship through a legal subterfuge. The small State of Brunswick, which is in the hands of the National Socialists, made him automatically a citizen by appointing him to a post on its legation in Berlin.

Among the multitudes of Hitler's followers there are many who are more fanatic than their leader. But there is also a strong conservative wing. According to Feder, his apostolic interpreter, Hitler is not yet certain whether or not Germany will remain a republic or whether he will restore the monarchy. In spite of this uncertainty, at least two of the Kaiser's sons are members of the National Socialists. One was elected to the Reichstag in April, 1932, the first Hohenzollern to serve under the constitution of the German Republic. The left wing of the National Socialists leans toward Republicanism. The right wing favors the monarchy. No one expects Hitler to surrender control.

He has learned from Mussolini that political dictatorship and monarchy are not irreconcilable. If Hitler decides for monarchy, he envisages a monarch elected by the people. No one can tell if that monarch will be Adolf I or William II.

THE END