

FORD HALL

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PROFESSOR FRIEDERICH SCHOENEMANN

"Why I believe in the Hitler Government."

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

When I left Harvard in 1920 I did not know that my home coming would be so very interesting. I left as a private citizen, and I come again as a private, German citizen. And I am somewhat reminded tonight of an experience I had in New York the other day when a showman said he would tell a risqué story. And somebody in the audience objected and said - you are not going to tell that story here, are you? And the actor said, "Well, I have told that story to a Boston woman's club - and they liked it - in fact they liked it so much they offered me their home - brick by brick.

Now, there is one thing you need not be afraid of: I won't pull any propaganda stuff. You need not believe any word I tell you. I will just try to give you as fair and as frank a picture of my Germany, as I have seen it, as I lived there. I think too highly of you to try propaganda. But I think the mere shouting of, "Down," or "Boo," does not mean anything at all; for history is not accomplished in one or the other way - and then what will the evening, the night mean to all of us and to history? Five years from now we will know both you and I, where we have gone; and that will prove perhaps more than all the excitement tonight whether we are right - that is some of you - or I, was right. That is the best test, and about this I am sorry to say too, we cannot speak tonight.

I hope we can clarify the issues by being as unemotional as possible and that is why I wish to say from the very beginning, to try to put yourself into the right perspective: That is, do not generalize hastily and don't interpret the struggles and the great experiment of revolution and maybe even the reaction of Germany - do not try to interpret that only from the standpoint of the news item.

You know the definition of news as given by a Mr. Dana, a few decades ago; Mr. Dana, said in a book of his, "That when a dog bites a professor that is to be expected - But that when a professor bites a dog, that is news." And a good deal of what has been printed about the new Germany. I am sorry to say makes me think of that definition of Mr. Dana's.

Now we are in the midst of a great revolution, and how can you expect the Germans to be normal - rather than in an abnormal state of mind when century old traditions and institutions have been uprooted. We are trying today new things - some of them may be nonsense others may be great; only the future as I said can tell. But we try our best - and we try as honestly as it is possible; we try it as

energetically as possible. We try, may be not always wisely - I will say from the very beginning, that I am not here to excuse anything that cannot be excused -my conscience is just as good as yours. And I would not dare to say that the wrong that has been committed is not a wrong. But both you and I, are not always in a position of saying exactly, whether a certain wrong was committed, the same way we were told it was committed - in the papers, in the press. And besides we must also see, that the revolution of Germany is amongst the most unbloody, I think, in history. And as I told you in the beginning, I can give you only a picture as seen through my eyes.

A Voice: Let us have some facts.

A few weeks before I left Germany, an English newspaper man came to me and said, "Why must you Germans be so very different. Now when other people make a revolution they have a few weeks of bloodshed; why didn't you go to the.....and a few other places in Berlin, and murder a few thousands of people and then the world would believe in your revolution. Now you expect us to believe in your revolution - and you have not murdered enough - for me."---

Cries of, "Boo, Boo," from the audience.

I am just telling you what he said. Now there is one thing of course that you will want to know about, right from the beginning, and as long as I have anticipated that - I seen some of them; I made it my special business to go there, unannounced - and I will say I succeeded. And I have seen one, amongst the largest of the concentration camps. And I must say, even from the critical point of view there was nothing that could be called dirty or abnormal or mean-- (Interruption by the audience.)

Of course when you ask some of the prisoners, they would say, "I don't know why I am here;" but if you were to look up the police records you would find that in most of these concentration camps there were at least forty per cent of the people who had prison records and some of the other people interned were concerned with certain complications; but these things would be explained later on. I was present at one of these concentration camps - one of the largest - and a good many of the people were taken out of the camp and were sent to special courts, where the regular court procedure took place, and a good many of them were released after sometime because nothing serious was found against them. But in most of the cases I thought - even though it is certainly not nice to be imprisoned I had sympathy with all of these people; but I still have the feeling which I had then, that it was more human to put people into these camps than murdering them.

(Demonstration and loud cries from the audience.)

Now that may sound funny to you, but I mean every word of it. It is certainly - at first in the beginning of the revolution many things were committed that should not have been committed - I

said before I am not going to excuse anything of that. But on the other hand you must be fair; in times of revolution, of social and economic unrest you cannot expect people to be quiet, normal; but the longer the thing lasted, the more the authorities got control of it, and today, I should not overstep the bounds of decency and truth by saying that the authorities have the situation in their hands fully and properly - **(Interruption by audience.)** So that today a man cannot be sent to a concentration camp and held there for more than a few days - and - so that his case is examined quickly and decided up. **(Interruption.)**

Now we Germans, we have not changed - that is, of course, one thing you cannot understand. But I was here in the states, all through the war; and in my presence, Americans - even university professors, fine gentlemen, said the very meanest and the most poisonous things about my own country and people that could be invented or surmised by a evil imagination. And then all at once it seemed they discovered I was there, and of course they said, "Schonemann, you are all right." Well, of course I feel a little bit like that now. But I have not changed, my people have not changed - and if I could use statistics here tonight I would say with George Bernard Shaw, that you might perhaps find in any single records, files - police records, statistics that there were so and so many percentages of murderers; so and so many percentages of thieves and pickpockets, and so on. And that every nation, to a certain extent lived up to those statistics. And you know, George Bernard Shaw made quite a good point of that in war time, when everybody was saying that the Germans were Huns and that the others were angels; and that the ways of the Huns were the ways of evil and that the weapons of the others were the weapons of mind and democracy.

Now there is another thing that I want to mention and that you are asking me for - you are asking me for facts, and that is the thing that has been puffed up into the only question that regards the New Germany - and that is the Jewish question.

Now even to that question there are two sides. We hope all of us in Germany, we hope that in a few years from now even the Jewish question will be an episode of the national revolution: An episode only and that we will have come to a modus vivendi between the two races. But in order to understand the situation you will also have to know that a good deal of the Jewish question, can be explained by certain statistics.

Now the Jews in Germany number about six hundred thousand; but as early as 1925, we had about seventy-five thousand Jews of foreign birth, in Prussia alone. Now this brought the question of the Eastern Jew into the whole German Jewish question. Every fifth Jew in Germany, let us say the day before yesterday was foreign born - and some of the most recent importations were certainly amongst the most, I might say the saddest cases - they were mixed up with several cases of corruption, and we have never had-----

(Cries, of Liar, liar.)

Well, if you think that the cases of corruption we have been through for the last fifteen years are not bad, you are sadly mistaken - not all of them I am happy to say, not all of them: (Interruption.)

Mr. Coleman: No interruptions from the floor or gallery, Please.

A good many of the people like,....and....and a few others were Jews, and these were the worse corruption cases. Now of course, bad people, abnormal - as I say when the revolution started - it is not easy to distinguish between a good and a bad Jew especially--- (Interruption.) Well, you see, I started with this thing because you asked for it - you asked for facts. I cannot explain this fact, only the way that we Germans look upon it - that is a great majority today: And I can interpret those facts only the way a moderate will interpret them. I said at the beginning I do not excuse - that is - anything that has been done in a way, let us say, in a criminal or inexcusable way. I cannot be fairer than that, I think. But you must listen to my facts if you are really to understand and interpret them. But this Eastern Jew question would not have explained the antagonism - it was the revolution, the revolution of 1918; there is no question - and that was mainly prepared and started by Jews, like, Carl Leibnecht---

A Voice: Carl Leibnecht, was not a Jew

Mr. Coleman: Wait until the question period. (**Continued interruptions.**)

Carl Leibnecht, was a Luxembourg Jew...the revolution in Moscow was made...Eisner and most of his friends were Jews---(Interruptions, continued.) Well you see, there is only one choice, either we discuss this thing in a fair way, or we don't discuss it - I am ready not to discuss it--

A Voice: Tell the truth

Mr. Coleman: How is he going to tell the truth if you will not let him—

I say again, generalizing, that many of the leaders of the revolution of 1918, were Jews, and in this way discredited the name of the Jew before the German people. Now also many of the instigators of that revolution were Jews, many I say: and besides in Berlin alone we had come to a certain monopoly in certain professions - eighty per cent of our stage directors and managers, were Jews; and more than fifty per cent of the lawyers in Berlin --- (**loud and continued applause**) In certain Berlin hospitals it was impossible for a Christian - a gentile to get a position---(**Interruption.**) I sometimes wonder why it is you are so excited; these things have been printed in many, many papers all over the world, America included---

Voice: 'What's wrong with it---

Well the one thing that is wrong about it is that the German people did not wish that monopoly - and that is why they fight it. And that is really what started the Jewish question, and the regulation of certain - in certain professions . Now of course that means a hardship to many. Of course, in many cases I think the wrong ones have been expelled - and in many cases, excellent national minded Jews have been fired that should not have been. But after that - after the first revolutionary excitement was over; and the first terrible thing of every revolution as it takes place in this world - we have tried to come to reason and to a certain moderation.

Now as early as May, we have made a federal law regulating civil service, and this law says: If you were a civil service man before the first of August 1914, whether Jew or Gentile, you are safe

(Laughter and interruptions.)

Well, that is a fact: Besides people with honorable war records were safe whether Jew or Gentile, and their children or parents.

Now we have really come to a modus vivendi; in the University of Berlin there are dozens of Jewish professors, especially in my department of philosophy - I have to hurry home in December in order to examine a Jewish girl, one of my best students - we get along all right----

(Laughter and interruptions)

Wait a minute - wait a minute; in the city of Berlin, all of the Jewish stores are doing business, department stores, almost as before. Well, here at Vorkeyn's, before I left, I bought several things I needed for my trip to America I also went to Teitz's, another large department store, Jewish department store in Berlin, before I came aboard my ship on my way to America.

Now we realize today, we have got to get along with our Jewish people and we will come to a much better understanding; but one thing will certainly not happen: a livable and possible state of affairs will not come about if a one sided, unfair and hostile and even half crazy opposition always comes from foreign countries in this way----(Interruption.) Well, is it not psychology? It is the only true psychology: If you Americans were told by the Mexicans, or the British or the French or the Germans, that this and that were wrong - now certain inequalities can be understood by the moderates - and could be understood by the moderates in your country - the Government would even heed certain of the warnings; but as soon as you indulge in the boycott - propaganda, that is boundless, and unjust what can you expect - can you expect that moderate measures will be taken in such a case?

So I think if Germany were left alone - all warnings and all the other protests will be taken care of;

there is no question about that. But if Germany were left alone, Germany will work out a living condition that is fair to both sides, that is my fair and frank opinion - believe it or not. That is all I can say.

Now you hear so much about Hitlerism and about Hitler. According to your papers and your public opinion, or part of it at least, he must be a paranoiac at least; or a madman - a mad dog, some of them call him.

(Loud applause)

See, if we could settle the difficulties of all the nations in this simple manner, it would be beautiful; then we could just excite ourselves so that we shouted down, or even reprimanded certain violent things in all the others. But I think we are all just a little lower than the angels, and we must try to hide always what all of us do. I think this very minute, all over the world a good deal of violence is done and a good deal of wrong is done - and all of the different nations sin in unison. Now I want to say that Hitler is neither of them; neither a paranoiac nor a madman, but to us he is a political leader.

He has got as you know a popular mandate of forty millions or more of votes, the other day----

(Interruption)

Well you see I knew you would laugh; but that does not change the fact, by the way—

(Loud laughter)

Well you see, if you knew really ten per cent as much of Germany as I know, you would realize that we have quite strict laws for our elections. We have still and I think we are going to have that as long as we are Germans, a secret ballot.

(Loud laughter)

And some stories that have been circulated here about how the votes were counted, they are to us Germans simply ridiculous.

Now why do we call Hitler our leader? Because the common people - you see his movement is an appeal from below, not from above; he did not get hold of the professors, the intellectuals - the professors did not understand what he was after - but the common people understood him. We know today one thing - that Hitler is clean as a politician---

(Interruption.) He has not taken - Hitler to us is clean and not self seeking; that is why he has the

trust of the German people. And if you would know him personally a good deal of your opposition would go just like this, **(Indicating.)**

(Loud interruption)

Now to us national socialism is not a mere accident but a great movement, whose triumph was inevitable. The votes of course control the statesmen and the politicians and so to a certain extent Hitler will have come to power through the mistakes of others.

And here again one can say perhaps a word about the others, outside of Germany. If they had behaved not quite so stupidly, especially concerning the Versailles document; if they had not turned down every decent proposal by the German people and they had not gone on in their stupidity; and if they would have understood, that you cannot make a great people second rate, or make them accept an inferiority complex. If they had but understood that a defeat is something serious, but that defamation is worse inevitably worse. And that a proud nation cannot stand - that it may be forced to stand it for sometime - but cannot stand it for all time. And that is why Hitler and national socialism brought about a new nationalism.

He understood this tendency amongst the German people in all classes by the way, from the bottom to the top, and because he understood this national unrest, that is why he was able to unite the German's nationally.

And here a word must be said about the Youth movement. Now four years ago when I toured the states I was asked about that movement. The people of America seemed to expect almost everything from that Youth movement in Germany, the millennium included. But the Youth movement has done one great thing, it has brought the German people close together.

Now when right before the World War these youngsters from Berlin hiked out and forgot about certain conditions of intellectualism and class feeling, and went to the common people and went to the peasants sometimes they were ridiculed for imitating the folk dances - they sung the folk songs and they certainly came nearer to the hearts of the common people. Now these members of the Youth movement - they started with a dozen which afterwards grew to three millions, just before the World War broke out it took the shape of soldiers of the fighters in the front. And these two elements together explained easily why Hitler was able to get the support of the younger generation, in trying to unite the German's as a nation. And when he shouted; and this was his slogan that went through Germany, again and again: Deutschland über alles

It found echo in millions and millions of the Germans. In this way Hitler has been able to give a new nationalism - a new face to the Germans. A new nationalism; it does not mean militarism - but a belief in honor, as he writes in his book - one that is not an empty term; one that it is impossible to

live in this world without. And I think nobody can deny that. Hitler has given back to the German's that certain sense of honor as a nation, and he has given back to them a new political unity - but he has not only talked about it; he worked for that unity, for that national and political unification, by creating a new political organization of the empire - as we say, of the Reich - it is a faulty translation.

It has nothing to do with empire policy or imperialism; but it is the translation of, Reich - that is the federal union of all the German states. He succeeded, and his Government with him, in bringing about the,.... which means the co-ordination of the different states to the Reich; the empire, the federation through a certain federal law. And that is responsible for the institution of the governors; federal governors in the different parts of Germany:

Now a year and a half ago we had a strange thing happen to us, especially in Prussia. We: had two governors, one de facto and the other de jure. That is when the von Papen regime came in, it took hold of the Government in Prussia; but the old Government did not go out; it went to the Court, and out state Court was not wise enough to distinguish between political and other reasons, but decided half upon political and half upon juristic opinions. The outcome was wonderful, we had really two Governments - one practical and one theoretical. So that when the incident of the celebration of a certain great poet's birthday came up in Germany there were two beautiful documents, one presented by the de facto Government - and the other none the less beautiful but without the official seal, this was the de jure Government - without the official seal of state. Quite a ludicrous situation and one of which every Prussian is thoroughly ashamed of to this day.

Now that has been done away with; we are as to organization and administration in the German Reich, united. The old Mason and Dixon line has disappeared -- we call that the millennium. But the organization has been taking hold of the people - most of the people Our Government knows that patriotism is not enough - that may be a fair weather sentiment but it does not hold in times of stress and unrest.

Patriotism is good for a monarchy may be during prosperity. But Hitler understood that in order to give national pride to the masses of the German people, you must add social justice - and that again is why the people of Germany believe in him.

National socialism believes in private property, but it does not believe in uncontrolled private profit. That is we are after a social state, social in the deepest state of the word.

There is no confiscation preached in Germany - or exercised; but it is a national socialism.

Now I will take you back a few years before the war. You will remember that in the 1880's, Prussia startled the world by founding a kind of a state socialism. At first we Germans were denounced as paternalistic; but we started social legislation, and when the World War broke out there was an

American by the name of Frank O. Howe, who wrote a book called, *Socialist Germany*, in which he said: "That in all matters of social legislation, the Germans were ahead of all the other nations by at least a generation."

Now this was true at the time and it is true even today. Now Germany really started with the social mindedness, that has been imitated as late as 1911. For instance, David Lloyd George, almost virtually took over the whole system of the Prussian state socialism - social legislation - and even imitated a few of the things we had in our system, for instance the unemployment insurance feature--the dole.

Now this very fact of social mindedness, in a modern state and an efficient state shows enough the sentiment, in the sense of application in this state. Now national socialism builds on that.

Hitler fought against two things, in order to bring about this national socialism; he fought against Marxism and Communism. Marxism, has to us two meanings; the one, is a certain theory of life and history; everything is led back to economics and the entity of all social endeavor is the class - class war-fare is just as natural as class interest. Now we get a good deal of that class warfare in Germany. Only he who has lived through it will be able to understand that.

About a year ago, an American journalist came to my office; this man said that he was quite disturbed over the German situation. Here in Berlin you could murder a man, and say it was done for political purposes. The murderer would be sent to prison may be for a year or so, but if he had some good connections he might be let off in less than a year and he could then exercise his political belief further. Now, there was something wrong about our law and about the enforcement of our law.

So many of our Social democrats were very satisfied with the jobs they had; and instead of being real true leaders for the people they were what we call today, "Bunsen." I think that is almost as beautiful as what you call here, "Bosses" - perhaps even worse - for you see a boss can be chased out of a job if he is not fit for it. But a Bunzen, if he ever becomes a state official, that is, gets a position that is for life of course you cannot get him out easily, and that is why so many of our politicians enjoyed their wonderful berths - they wanted to stay in these positions for the rest of their lives.

There is a story of an accident that happened to the automobile of three Ministers of State; it happened on a Sunday morning and the chauffeur drove up to this certain garage and asked the attendant if he would look at the car in the hope that it could be repaired. And the attendant at the garage replied, that it was a Sunday morning, that he had worked enough during the week and that, therefore, he could not repair the automobile. "But," said the chauffeur in an excited tone of voice, "this is something serious; it is extraordinary, there are three Ministers of State in this automobile - did you know that?" Whereupon the attendant at the garage said, "'What, three Ministers of State -

well at least one amongst them will be a plumber."

Now this incident shows of course the mark of Berlin humour. But it has also a serious undertone there is a good deal of bitter truth in it.

We had in Germany a certain Catholic Party the Centrist Party; about one-third of our Catholics belong to it - not all of the Catholics by any means. And to a certain extent it was not fair to call it a Catholic Party because there were other Christian denominations in this party. But the Centrist Party had two wings, one a left end one a right and it could flutter its wings just the way it wanted. Now the Socialists and the Centrists together, they did a wonderful things.

It was about one hundred years ago that a Dr. _____, a fine Catholic publicist wanted to criticize a certain politician, and he said, "The trouble about these religious party people is that when they itch religiously, they scratch themselves politically. I mean by that if you attack such a religious party politically, that party will say I have nothing to do with politics, but I am religious. If you attack that party religiously, from the religious point of view it can say just the other way around. And that is one of the reasons why the Centrist Party has been rather a bane to the national unification of Germany. I want to say again, that only a minority of the Catholic people in Germany belong to the Centrist Party. We have a feeling in Germany, both Catholics and Protestants that the end of the Centrist Party has helped to bring about a better understanding between the two religions - you cannot make political capital any more out of religious things. The interests of the Catholics have not been touched and it is only within a few months that we have concluded a concordat between Germany and Rome. But there is one very significant paragraph in the agreement which I hope both Rome and the German Government will live up to the obligations contained within that paragraph, which is, "That the priests from now on must not get mixed up with politics, and especially not with party politics." Now I think that has taken a certain religious poison out of party politics - and we are glad of it. Of course we have had concordats before - between Bavaria and Rome, and Prussia and Rome. But we have never had a concordat between Bavaria and the Empire, on the one side, and Rome on the other side. So we say that here a great thing has been accomplished.

I have been asked if it is really true that with the passing of the Centrist Party, class war has been taken out of the German body politic. Well I think to a certain extent it has. But all these things cannot be done in a jiffy; you have to have some patience. The other day I heard a Young Turk speaking on ten years of New Turkey - well it is true that we have not had one year of the new Government in Germany and yet you look to it for remarkable changes - it is too soon to expect results - you will have to be fair end patient.

Now we say quite frankly today, that we have a one party state. Whether that is right or wrong or wise or not, only the future can tell. But since we decided for the one party state we have been becoming meaner and more dishonest than ever before. Well you see, you do not know what you are

- what you will come to in this country - you do not know yet.

Now it has been said that the labor unions have no representation in Germany. That is not true. We had a certain supremacy of the socialistic and rather radical socialist labor unions in Germany; and that did not help us very much since so many of the leaders of those unions were not true leaders; were just Bunzen, as said before; but they have very wisely now united in a national labor front; where labor and the state and capital are together.

Perhaps you will remember the epidemic of conferences and the arranging of compromise measures - sometimes between capital and labor; and at all these conferences you will probably recall that there was a very distinguished representative of the people, Doctor Charles W. Eliot of Harvard College; but in these conferences the other two parties usually compromised at the expense of the representative of the people - mostly on the backs of the people. Now in Germany today that can no longer be done - if you regulate capitalism you must also regulate labor union supremacy; the interests of the people as presented by the state and through the state can be taken care of, to my mind and to the mind of the majority of Germans much better in the conditions of today. Whether that will work out all the different problems is a matter for further discussion.

But it is not true as has so often been said, not only in America but elsewhere that labor is unorganized and that labor is not heard. The nationalistic side of socialism is one thing but the socialistic side is just as veritable a thing.

And I have had the feeling here tonight that you do not quite realize what it is that you are booing and criticizing here. I think our socialism in Germany is a real socialism, based on the experience of the Prussian state; but think that your NRA business is state socialism in the Prussian - German, sense of the word.

There are many times when the old methods of doing things must be discarded. For instance in times of money inflation and of threatened money inflation, the old methods of cow bargaining must give way to quick action through the government: And that is exactly the German position today. We in Germany have come to a new conception of state; that of course is not definitely settled.

We are as yet in the middle of a revolution as I said before.

Now what about the flag raising and all the celebrations of which you have heard so much about? Well, I think here is a great sense to that. Now the German people have been characterized as a dull, phlegmatic people, with night caps on their heads; quiet, industrious, opinionated, good people but slow; that they could always be fooled easily by some other smarter fellow, because they were not politically minded and because they did not think of organizing politically; they were so individualistic that even the American brand of "Rugged individualism," was as nothing compared

with the individualism of the German people. For even when three Americans come together there is but one mind; whereas when three Germans have a meeting there is at least four or five different opinions. All this is to a certain extent has been done away with. For, when you force parts of a people to join and become into the whole in a parade or celebration; to march in one great enthusiastic parade you weld them together into a solid mass thinking all for the same objective - you can follow; you have to keep step, you have to think of the other fellow; you have to keep step with the big drum. You begin to learn something of what the other fellow wants in his life and you have to cooperate. These parades also give to the people to the masses a feeling of their oneness, of their bigness; and these celebrations have to a great extent accomplished what I suggested before, that new oneness of the people.

About a year ago it was impossible to get the different big suburbs of Berlin to take part in one celebration. This year on the first of May, we had a national celebration in which a million and a half people came together - and they were not driven together. But even the intellectuals were glad after they had seen the light, to cooperate. And in my suburb alone about nine hundred people of the different classes of the population voluntarily marched together in a big parade. How was it a year ago in May of 1932? They had an international celebration - they had only the red flag of eternal revolution in the streets; you had assaults and even bloodshed and a good many other incidents that should not have happened. There was certainly no unity of the people; there was class against class. But on this first of May, 1933, we have at least tried honestly to bring the classes together. And it has succeeded marvelously; and that is my honest opinion - (Laughter) Because there was a certain new idealism in the ranks of the common people; because there was a feeling that we have got to stand together.

Perhaps you do not realize in what a terrible economic fix we are. We have been bled white by the Peace Treaty -- the so-called, Peace Treaty of Versailles. Financially we are in a very bad state: Economically also we have been bled white. Then we are a nation of exporters as you probably know; and then, first came the shrinkage of the pound; afterwards the dollar went through the same fluctuations, and then we experienced the difficulty of a certain boycott: (Loud applause) And all of those difficulties have helped to bring about a bad state of affairs in Germany so that this winter is sure to be a severe test of our new national socialism. If we get through this winter in Germany all right, national socialism will stay - and it will stay for a long period. Mind my words. Because -- I think this new idealism is an idealism of sacrifice; and in this respect we are not so very different from you today. Here also there is that which appeals to the man who has, to give in order that he who has not be helped. There is also a program for procuring employment for those out of work; and our Government is working hard to secure employment for all those in need of positions.

But our economic system is really as rotten as it possibly could be; and yet this new idealism, this idealism of sacrifice - (Laughter) - whether you believe it or not is not essential here - but I know it, and we Germans; this new idealism of sacrifice is necessary to make us solve these huge, these

almost unsolvable problems -- is necessary, really to help us to stand together, to work together in the common interest.

And it is more than just a sentiment; there is organized effort. You have heard a great deal about propaganda. The German for, Propaganda. does not mean the same as the English word; we have no word for "Proselyte," in German. The German word means all that is contained in the English word, "Publicity."

Now we have never known in Germany as a people what East Prussia meant; we have never known for the last five or six years what the needs of the peasants were - we have learned step by step; different German tribes have been brought together; East, West, South and North. The townspeople and the peasants have come together, they have joined in all those big parades together; have come together in a popular movement to meet on natural ground ; and finding that the yokel from a small country town is on just the same footing with the white collared tradesman.

This summer when there was a fear and unrest in Germany, many of the summer vacationists cancelled, their trips of Germany; this created a situation. Nevertheless the Government did a thing which no Government ever before has done, and that was to invite all the youngsters, high school boys and girls, college graduates and all and give them round trip tickets to Bayreuth -

(A Voice, "were there any Jews among them?")

I should not wonder but what there were a few Jews among them; I have Jews in my classroom; and wherever I go in Berlin there are Jews. Now this action on the part of the Government in sending gratis all these people to the music festival certainly gave to a large part of the population a great experience, one that they will never forget.

Now there has been another thing that has shown the new spirit in Germany. Our theatres have in many places been forced to close because of lack of patrons. Recently there has been an effort put forth whereby the different suburbs would subscribe for a number of tickets; in different parts of the city of Berlin, they would subscribe to so many tickets from the different theaters - in this way we are going to be able to support a few of the leading theatres; and in this movement the common people have come to a realization of the fact that they are as much a part of the movement as the rich and well-to-do; that they are really a part of the new German policy and have an equal share in all that is for the best of the whole people. And it works fine.

There is certainly a tendency towards a great deal of cultural unity. And religion is on the forward march. You hear a good deal about a certain group of radicals; but again I say in times of revolution, you cannot expect all people as moderate - as let us say, you are tonight. But, our churches are really attended today. And I want to say here that the religious privileges and right, of no Jew have ever

been hurt in Germany - we have never been intolerant - **(Laughter)**. We have of course radicals - yes, and I am to an extent. We have radicals, and you have read in the papers recently that a certain Dr. Krause, said some very stupid things. Well, men like Dr. Krause, will say a lot of more stupid things ; but there is always a certain amount of moderation coming to the foreground which will in time bring about a better understanding. These questions dealing with church organization and with the different creeds will in time be amicably settled and a good many of the high hatted, radical German Christians will learn their lesson and accept the spirit of moderation. But I think the majority of us have not lost our heads - we are still as good, or as bad as we always were.

In economics little has been done to lessen the tax burdens on account of the many demands on the public exchequer. We have as I said before been really bled white; and the taxes in many cases were so unjust, that many other nations would not have borne them. But we are a very patient nation; and is that so especially of the middle class, which was in despair because the old regime would take no steps to relieve these heavy tax burdens; buy the new regime has tried to do it. We discovered a few months ago the condition that some of the people had come to - there were about six thousand house maids in Berlin out of work. The new Government decided to cut down the social premiums; for instance under the old arrangement I had to pay seventeen marks a month for my maid; and that has under the new policy been cut to three marks; **(Laughter)** of course I can only give you these items just as it was, of course if you do not understand the significance I cannot help it. Besides, for the income tax a maid, is treated in the same way as a child; for every child or every maid an allowance is made on your income tax. Now these two things have brought employment for at least three or four weeks to more than sixty per cent of those unemployed house maids. Of course this is a little thing but if the little things were not done they would soon mount to unconquerable proportions.

The Government is trying to solve these difficulties; they are slow to be sure, but there is the spirit, they are trying to solve them.

Now the Germans have been accused of a spirit of certain self sufficiency. And I want to say that that has been forced upon us. We believe as a nation in a certain international give and take in economics. But nothing has been done to help us. The British and the Americans have told us that on account of the shrinkage of the currency of course we would be in trouble. Now only the other day we were told that America had recognized Russia, and what a wonderful thing that would be for America; and that the Germans would be the losers for that. And that is about - **(Loud applause)**

Now in summing up I would like to say that we have tried an experiment; we are in the midst of it - we do not know how it will come out. But we Germans feel that a good rally things have been accomplished - whether foreigners say so or not is a matter of secondary importance to us. We hope that some day they will understand our difficulties. But remember this please as significant; oh, you show certain of the elements of internationalism is in your hearts - the laws of Germany after a time

will also be your laws - but if you think bad - for instance if you have the boycott against Germany you are hurting not only the Germans - the German capitalists, but also the German Jew - the merchants; of course you do.

Now as I said before we are trying to cooperate in a spirit of national pride and social justice - **(Laughter)** We want to have a combination of the social state and private property - we do not believe in confiscation; we think that we do not.

I said we were in the midst of a great revolution - in the midst of a great experiment: We do not harm anybody. I went to say again as I said before, I think I cannot be more decent - I sometimes think I am more amiable than you are. I say again that where a wrong has been done, that it has to be righted or the wrong falls back on the wrongdoer. But that applies to you as well, my dear friends - that belongs to all of us.

Now I say again, Germany does not harm anybody. And if Germany were left alone she would certainly solve her own problems, in her own somewhat pedagogical but somewhat thorough and social way.

Questions and Answers.

Question: Who financed Hitler's popular movement, and for what purpose?

Answer: Hitler is the only politician on this earth able to charge for the privilege of getting into his organization. Now after a while, when he has a few hundred of thousands of members in his organization or party movement, he charged them in addition from three to five marks a month. Now that makes a good deal of money today. There are more than a million and a half in the party movement today and that means a considerable income to the party treasury every month. You do not need any capitalist in such a case, to finance such a popular movement for many mites make a huge sum.

Question: If the Hitlerites are so innocent why do they want the head of Einstein as a trophy or a souvenir?

Answer: I do not think you will find one German in the entire population of sixty-five millions who would like to have his head - as a souvenir. But I can tell you a few things about Einstein; you see he got a so called Einstein tower, it was given to him as a present from Prussia - and the German, Prussian tax-payers paid for it; he was made a present of the tower from the municipality of Berlin, as he was given his big house - that only has been taken away. So much was made of that only the

other day by the German representative of Einstein - but these were only presents that were then away again.

Question: Do you not believe that of all the German Jewish professors who have been expelled from Germany, there are not among them some great men?

Answer: Certainly some extraordinary men; no question of that -- (Interruption) Well not, just wait - what is great? Do you know whether Einstein will be called great twenty-five years from now?

Question: I would like to ask the speaker; how is the program for social justice in Germany, which you have told us about, consistent with the way in which we have treated the Jews; which Mrs. Barron was about to tell us about, but of which we already know?

Answer; I think I have answered the Jewish question as decently as I could; but I want to say again that if a certain thing has not been consistent with that policy of social justice, the future will show it. That is all I can say.

Question: How can cultured, educated Germans like yourself, Professor, follow as a leader uneducated men with records, which have been recited to us by the questioner?

Answer: well, first of all most of the names given are the names of men who can dictate to me or to any other educated German --yes I say, everyone in Germany - (Interruption) ; Oh, I am not afraid of anything. Every word I said tonight can be reported to Germany. And another thing, is that neither you nor I, know the details of private lives - -I do not want to go into that here.

Question; Do you think that it is just that a German like yourself, should be given the right of free speech in America when in Germany, one from America, say, who wanted to stand for a republican form of government, etcetera might be put in a concentration camp?

Answer: Don't you want to be better than that?

Question: What is the popular German concept of Aryanism - how valid do you think it is anthropologically, sociologically or any other 'ogically speaking?

Answer: About Aryanism, we are about as undivided of opinion as you are about NRA We German

professors we are still investigating these things, and I want, to tell you that if we arrive at any definite conclusion through our research we will say so.

Question: I would like to know if the speaker deliberately omitted to speak about the Reichstag fire?

Answer: I omitted it because the investigation is not closed yet. If I knew what the German Court will finally decide I could tell you tonight. As I said before if you knew only ten percent as much of Germany as I know, you would be aware that we have a decent body of jurists and judges - and I think that nobody denies that. And I ask why in any other country they should allow such disgraceful conduct to be shown the court procedure of a great nation as has recently been witnessed through the mock trial held in London as a travesty on the Reichstag fire?

Question: You said that the Jews in Germany were corruption; was that because they were so highly educated and displaced the Germans in large numbers in the professions - or was it because the Germans were too lazy to become educated?

Answer: I think I need not speak of German education in this country even--I think that is settled even in this country. But on the other hand I want to say this one thing; I have not said that the Jews were corruption; but I said that roughly, so many Jews were identified with corruption cases--and I stick to that.

Question: There are various countries in Europe which the speaker told us adopted the policies of the Germany of 1911. What single country in the world has adopted the present policy of Germany?

Answer: We do not wish any other country to adopt our policy. We believe all of us Germans, that national socialism is not for export; so we do not care what other people think about our matters.

Question: Before the Hitler regime, professor Schoenemann, had to pay seventeen marks for a maid he has told us; now that the Hitler regime is in power he has to pay only three marks; will you tell us professor, if that is the reason why you believe in the Hitler government?

Answer: well, I think that was a slip on your part, for I said - in the way of social premiums, etcetera--perhaps I did not make it clear. Of course you have to pay between thirty five; and fifty marks for a decent maid, in Berlin; but the, three, part I want to explain: The seventeen marks consisted of a premium for sickness insurance; validity insurance; unemployment insurance and things of that kind. And instead of these charges to pay now, you have only three marks to pay--that is, you, as the

boss of the house I may say; you only pay much less for the social things than ever before--for these premiums.

Question: The speaker said, if we knew Hitler--really knew him we would have no opposition to him. Do we not, an intellectual nation know Hitler through his story, "My Battle", and what he thinks of the entire Jewish world?

Answer: I think you cannot do him justice only by reading this book--but not in the English edition--I am not responsible for that-even that would not be sufficient. The book was published in 1925; it is a very subjective story. It is the life story of him, but it was written when he was in prison and in a way had to justify before the world what he was after. So as a book--it is certainly a one sided book and it is not a primer of politics. But certainly you cannot judge a man by one book. There was an interview published only a few days ago, that Hitler gave to one of the leading French journalists; and this French journalist said, "If his book is filled with diatribe against France it should be remembered it was written when Hitler was suffering martyrdom in prison and since then the man has evolved greatly."

Question: Is it not true that Hitler's dogma of Aryanism, provided the growing youth of Germany with racial jealousies and animosities and made possible Hitler's political success?

Answer: I cannot see any great relation between the two - I mean what you mean - that he puffed himself up first as an Aryan, and then he came into power--

Question: I meant instead of presenting himself as an individual, inspired, unselfish - for the benefit of humanity - instead he probably used a dogma making use, psychologically of the mass reaction; namely, jealousies, animosities--thereby using it as a stepping stone for his own success?

Answer: No, I do not think so. I think to a certain extent he made use of the certain antagonisms against the Jews. That is true to an extent. But I do not think his ultimate success had anything to do with the dogma of Aryanism.

Question: If you are not sure how the present political philosophy of Germany will work out - why should there be propagandizing in this country?

Answer: That have I to do with propaganda--well* I was invited to come here to present my case and I came.

Question: If Germany is seeking to work out her own problems within herself, why is she seeking to put Nazism into Austria and thus to gain greater power for herself?

Answer: She is not putting Nazism into Austria - she is already there. And Dolfuss don't want to have general elections. Outside of Vienna they are ninety to one hundred percent Nazi. That's the fact--my fact.

Question: What was the reason for professor Lessing's murder.

Answer: I do not know.

Question: Is the Austrian Hitler, the one to judge between good Jews and bad Jews among the six hundred thousand in Germany--is he to judge that all of the six hundred thousand are bad?

Answer: Certainly not; he does not do it.

A voice: I have just come from Palestine where I met hundreds and thousands of refugees from Germany; and what Mrs. Brin could not tell you I could and take hours and tell it to you clearly and not as moderately as you did here tonight, because I know-

Question: How can you reconcile Hitler's protestations of peace with the declaration in his book in favor of the philosophy of force?

Answer: Now there is one thing I would be very happy to have, and this the necessary information to answer in full all of the intelligent questions of one thousand people. Now there is one thing I like best, it is in an American poem, and that line runs, "Be merciful to me a fool". In answer to your question I can only say what I said before that Hitler's book is not a primer of practical politics or policies - a man who is in power will have to act differently from a man who is not in power: And when he wrote that book he did not even think of getting the power one day.

Question: As an American journalist who has been in Germany, I would like to ask the professor a question. He has attempted to approve of Hitler's government by saying that employment is being bettered in Germany. I would like to ask him, if the unemployment situation is being bettered in

Germany by the discharging of non-Nazi members of factories and in replacing them with Nazi's; and putting the discharged men on pensions and relief roles?

Answer: I have heard this before; but you certainly cannot solve the unemployment problem in this way. I do not think the national government--which, by the way does not consist only of Hitler and his people; but there are a few independents--Dr. Schmidt, present federal administrator of labor is independent--of course unemployment cannot be solved in that way. But I think it would be crazy on the part of the Germans if they did that. I cannot believe that we are half as stupid as this measure would imply.

Question: Supposing the speaker were a Jew, would he speak in the way he did tonight?

Answer: Why, certainly not - but if I were a nationally minded Jew, I would certainly speak--not the way you would have expected me to have spoken tonight. I know of many cases, and I am proud of these very Jews, friends of mine; who have still today--still believe in the Germany of today. Oh, they are numberless. I am happy to say there are numberless cases of nationally minded Jews. They are organizing today to fight for him: And if they show their character and all that is fine in their race I am sure they will win. And this is the belief I have with them.

* * *

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