

# The Man Who Leads Germany

*Hindenburg Is a Legend in Hitler's State, Where No Differences of Opinions Are Tolerated*

BY STANLEY HIGH

This is the third article in a series based on personal observations by the writer

**B**ERLIN rumor has it that Germany's largest political party is not the National-Socialist, but the National-Sozialisten-Aus-Angst (The National-Socialist-from-Fear). Unlike most Berlin rumors, this one has some basis in fact. A good many Germans have got aboard the Hitler steam-roller simply to escape getting under it. A Brown Shirt may mark a bona-fide Hitler disciple, and usually does. But it may be protective coloring for an unre-generated Communist or Social Democrat.

I spent an hour in the home of one such sheep in wolf's clothing. This man had been a Social Democrat and an ardent Marxist. At heart—so he said—he was still both. But late last winter he had seen the Hitler handwriting on the wall and—having a job which he needed desperately to keep—he jumped while the jumping was good. Now he goes to work in a Storm-Trooper's uniform, salutes everybody, including his secretary, gives the orthodox "Heil Hitler" at the end of every telephone conversation, and spends his week-ends putting rookie Nazis through the intricacies of the goose-step. He is not particularly happy. But, for the time at least, he is secure.

## Starvation Prolonged

That, of course, was a sell-out. But the reason for it is understandable. Security for a German with a family is hard to get and difficult to keep. The rations for the unemployed do not prevent starvation. They merely prolong it. By conviction, this man preferred the Republic. But by necessity, he had to live. Karl Marx, therefore, came down from the living-room wall and Adolf Hitler went up.

In fact, Karl Marx, and all other non-Nazi prophets, if they have not been cleaned from the mind of Germany, have pretty generally been cleared from the walls of its living-rooms. That, I think, is significant. No modern political movement, prior to its triumph, was ever more bitterly opposed than National-Socialism. And none, once that triumph came to pass, ever witnessed its opposition do a quicker or a more comprehensive fade-out. Large numbers of the German people are undoubtedly as much anti-Nazi as ever. But one would search far to find a more docile company of antis.

An English friend of mine, a few weeks ago, held a clandestine meeting with a little

*The full report of Germany's break with the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference will be found on pages 12 and 36.*

company of still-at-large Social Democrats. The question of Allied intervention came up.

"If," asked my friend, "the British Army should march into Germany, occupy the chief cities and hold a free election with secret ballots, how would the German people vote?"

"If the ballots were really secret," said one of the Germans, "a lot of them would vote for the British Army."



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CAPTAIN HERMANN GOERING

*He loves to dazzle*

Not quite all of the opposition is so docile. A few individuals, here and there, have spoken out or—which is just as bad—have acted as tho, one day, they might speak out. These now languish in concentration camps—safe, if not subdued. There is some counter-revolutionary activity inside Germany, and a good deal outside of it—particularly in Prague and in Paris. But to date this has been more of a diversion for the Nazis than a threat to their power. I have seen the detailed instructions issued by the Third International in Moscow for the counter-revolutionary guidance of Germany's presumably still-Communist millions. They are probably very

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good instructions—on paper. But barring the possibility of a complete economic collapse in Germany, no one I have met believes that they will get anywhere in practise.

In short, Adolf Hitler can point to at least one campaign pledge that has been fulfilled. He promised to destroy Germany's post-war political system. He has destroyed it. What remains could hardly even be classified as débris.

## Voice of the People

Authority in the new order is vested, solely, in THE LEADER (always in capital letters). This is what the National-Socialists mean by the "Führer Prinzip," that is, the "Leader Principle." It is this principle which provides the Nazi answer to such Republican doctrines as free speech, free assemblage, a free press, ballot-boxes and the Voice of the People. Henceforth in all important matters, Germany's decisions will be made, not by the German people, themselves, but by "Der Führer."

Thus, in public, at least, there can be no differences of opinion, because there can be no different opinions.

There was a time, before the Nazis came to power, when President Paul von Hindenburg was believed to represent power sufficient to prevent the rise of Hitler. But in National-Socialist Germany, to-day, von Hindenburg has ceased to be anything more than a memory. In certain quarters, perhaps, he is a potent memory, but certainly nothing more. Adolf Hitler has been shrewd enough not to do violence to the Hindenburg legend. But he is too aware of his own ascendancy to allow that legend to hamper him. On State occasions he appears with the aged General. When matters of policy come to a critical stage—as, for instance, in the question of the Protestant churches—he even goes through the motions of consulting with the President. But no one in Germany believes that Hindenburg is given much serious thought in the war councils of the Nazis. Periodically the rumor runs through the streets of Berlin that the aged General is dead. He is not dead. But so far as the present government of Germany or the personal status of Hitler is concerned he has ceased to be important.

One of the first counter-revolutionary  
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## Putting Recovery Up to the Consumer

**S**HIFTING the recovery drive from one sector to another, the Administration now calls on the consumer to do his part in a great buying drive. This "Buy Now" campaign, launched October 9, after several postponements, will, in the opinion of the Minneapolis *Tribune* "tell the story whether the NRA is to be a success or a failure."

Without attributing, as a rule, quite so much of a decisive character to the drive, the press agree on its importance as an essential move in the recovery campaign. The first phase of the program was the effort to increase purchasing power through

ers on the pay-rolls, and also to save money for themselves. General Johnson points out that "better times always mean higher prices; prices are going up." Therefore, "buying now is an investment."

Merchants, manufacturers and advertisers have been reminded by the General that the time is ripe for a great selling campaign, that in August factory employment and industrial production went up, as did pay-rolls, freight-car loadings, automobile sales and steel production, while business failures decreased. In view of these developments producers and distributors are urged to stretch every nerve to build up sales. Two courses of action are recommended: "first, give the public attractive, up-to-date merchandise, fairly priced; and second, aggressively promote your products to the public."

This second recommendation, of course, means advertising, for "the American public looks to advertising for news of good merchandise and good values."

And in response manufacturers have been sending messages to General Johnson pledging fair prices and bigger advertising campaigns. Merchants everywhere soon began to feel the effect of the drive. Writing in the New York *Herald Tribune*, Harvey E. Runner estimates that the twelve-week campaign of the NRA may boost the country's retail business by perhaps \$500,000,000.

severe economy. They can make some contribution to public welfare by supplying their needs now. It would be prudent to do so, because there are many indications that prices of commodities will increase later on."

### Critics of the Campaign

Frankly skeptical, however, is the New York *Journal of Commerce*, which diagnoses this campaign as a "confession of weakness." It argues that it would be better for the Administration to try to settle problems of law interpretation, code revision and enforcement now confronting the NRA, "instead of diffusing their energies on popular psychology campaigns of the kind that were tried to stop the depression in its early stages, back in the late months of 1929 and 1930, with a notable lack of success."

The Communist *Daily Worker* dismisses the campaign as "a dismal failure"—

"In the face of a steadily declining real wage, caused by NRA rising prices and a cheapened currency, the workers listen to the imploring cries of Roosevelt to 'buy now,' and they answer—'With what?'"

Fears that prices will not be kept down to a level to meet the finances of the average consumer are answered by the creation of the Consumers' County Councils and a new NRA bureau to act in the interest of the buying public. The councils, explains Mrs. Mary Harriman Rumsey, Chairman of the NRA Consumers Advisory Board, will be courts of complaint for any housewives who feel that shopkeepers are profiteering.



PASSING

—Pease in the Newark News

raising wages and putting men back to work by shortening hours. As a consequence some 2,800,000 men have been added to pay-rolls throughout the country. Now this new purchasing power is being put to work, and employers who are spending more in wages are to be repaid by an increased volume of sales. At least such is the purpose of the drive.

Every city in the country has been asked by the government to conduct its own "Buy Now" drive. Every vehicle of publicity is being used to convince the American people that it is to their interest, as well as a matter of patriotic duty, to make all possible purchases at this time.

### General Johnson's Advice

General Johnson has told the consumer how employers have been cooperating with the Government and adding millions of dollars to their pay-rolls—"these pay-rolls can not be maintained and hundreds of thousands of other workers given jobs unless every consumer in the land does his or her part now." Housewives, who are said to spend 85 per cent. of the family income, are asked to buy now to keep the wage earn-

In practically every newspaper in the United States editorials have appeared urging readers to buy, and buy now. The movement of the recovery drama, says the Atlanta *Journal*, "has reached that precise point when all of us, every man and woman, must catch a cue and perform a part." "Buyers can buy back prosperity," is the phrase of the Mobile *Register*, which remembers how during the war we were urged to "give till it hurts," and now, "it may not be necessary for us to buy until it hurts; but if it is necessary in order to put this country back on its feet in an economic sense, most patriotic men and women, we think, will be willing to do just that."

Of course, remarks the Baltimore *Sun*—

"It would be folly to urge those who are living on scanty means to plunge into debt, and it would be unwise to persuade the thoughtless to indulge extravagances that they can not afford. But an appeal can be made to that large number who have not lost their jobs during the depression, who have not been seriously crippled financially and who have, through timidity or because of their belief in thrift, followed a policy of

### Florida Goes Wet

Florida has become the thirty-third State in unbroken succession to vote for repeal. By casting 80 per cent. of her ballots in favor of ratification, she has the distinction so far of registering the most emphatic verdict on the issue south of Maryland.

Editorial observers find an explanation for this in the large influx of outlanders into the State in the last decade, also in the extra difficulties with prohibition enforcement she has encountered, due to her long coast-line and her proximity to the Bahamas and Cuba.

This irritation has evidently been growing since THE LITERARY DIGEST poll of eighteen months ago, which showed a repeal sentiment in Florida of 74.64 per cent., weaker by 5.35 per cent. than that displayed in her recent election.

No more repeal elections are scheduled until November 7, when six States will vote—namely, Kentucky, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Utah. The affirmative verdicts of only three of these is required to make repeal a certainty. Meanwhile it is being freely predicted that every one will vote aye.