

IMPRESSIONS OF NAZI GERMANY

E. W. H. CRUICKSHANK.

A SUPERFICIAL view of the peoples of Europe, or of the whole world for that matter, would tend to the conclusion that fundamental qualities of nations or peoples continue from age to age. We may by ingenious study show that the Gauls of Caesar are the French of to-day, or that the Fascist Italian is the legitimate descendant of those who founded the great Roman Empire. But the fact remains that nations, peoples and communities are in perpetual change, played upon and moulded by a multitude of natural and human processes which constitute the world of their internal and external environment. When one has watched with growing wonder the marvellous dexterity with which the skilled hands of a potter raise the shapeless clay into a perfection of form and beauty, when one has seen the almost finished and, to the uninitiated, almost perfect object suddenly, without warning, crushed beyond recognition to a formless mass, one is scarcely prepared to force the analogy into the realm of the development of nations. But the analogy holds, for even in our day we have witnessed human processes produce just such drastic changes.

It is not necessary for our purpose to scan the history of change in India, Greece or Rome, for Europe in the memory of most of us has revealed the slow developments as also the sudden and appalling cataclysms which humanity can suffer at the hand of Destiny. Nations, just as individuals, are the product of national and social or human forces. Natural processes, in so far as we see them in the animal kingdom, generally demand many generations for each stage of their evolution. Social or human processes, while they do require many generations for their evolution, may also and do produce startling changes in one generation. It is a generalization that the slower the processes, the more valuable to the race is the ultimate result. It is also true that in many human catastrophes the ultimate activity has been a comparatively quick plunging into chaos. In surveying the political development of the peoples of Europe, one must admit that while Destiny, in the form of human passion, has in one or two generations altered their relations one to another, in so far as political power is concerned

their fundamental characteristics have not essentially changed. Europe to-day is "a seething cauldron of nationalisms".

To-day we face a world crisis which is the outcome of human activity eagerly demanding self-expression. In Europe the situation in its most acute form may be dated from the time when Germany under Bismark attained to the status of an Empire. Recent unsuccessful Disarmament and Economic Conferences have shown all too clearly that suspicion, fear and self-seeking dominate the nations. That this should be so, despite the determined efforts of noble and internationally-minded minorities in Europe and America, is a matter of grave concern to those who are interested in the cause of world peace. Anyone who has a clear conception of the events which led up to the Great War must have realized the spirit which dominated those minds which created the German Empire. That spirit of arrogance, of self-seeking and of narrow-minded nationalism is abroad to-day in a guise even less respectable and less to be admired than a generation ago. In 1914 the German people emphasized the fact that they were surrounded on all sides by those who desired to limit their political aspirations. To-day they are in a worse plight; their country divided by a hated Polish Corridor, their frontiers surrounded by the steel and concrete fortifications of their traditional foes, and above all, with a world opinion largely against them. The reason for the present German attitude is not far to seek. It is summed up in one word, *Versailles*, and all that that implies of the tragedy and dire distress which both preceded and followed the signing of the Treaty.

In January, 1919, I was sent in charge of a Prisoners of War Repatriation Commission to seek for lost prisoners and to report on the condition of camps of Allied prisoners still in Germany. Visiting in these cold winter days hospitals, camps and cemeteries, in large cities and in small villages, meeting all types of the civilian, military and revolutionary population, I was impressed by the evidences of dire want, and the gallant spirit with which a stricken people faced the awful conditions into which a war, largely of their own choosing, had brought them. In 1924 I again visited Germany, staying at Hamburg and Heidelberg, and going as far as Vienna. At that time Germany had decided to stabilize the mark; again the hardships and suffering incidental to the period were in many cases unspeakable, and seemed but to reflect with even greater credit the magnificent strength of character of the German people. Thousands of the rich families of Germany were penniless, tens of thousands of the professional classes were battling with poverty, and the condition of the great mass of the working classes of Ger-

many which had so long faced semi-starvation was indeed pitiable. From that extreme condition in 1924 the German people slowly but steadily continued to try to extricate themselves. By 1930 economic conditions were not improving, although in the political sphere Germany had certainly succeeded in winning an increasing sympathy from Great Britain and the United States. The Nazi movement, that is the National Socialist movement, had already been ten years in force. As disaster followed disaster in the economic affairs of the country, so did the mentality of the great bulk of the German people lend itself to a belief in the criticism and scorn which was being hurled at bankers, politicians, Communists, Jews and the French by the leaders of the growing National Socialist party. In 1932 I was in Frankfort when in the July elections the Nazis almost headed the poll. Early in 1933 they had swept all before them, and in July of this year, when I was again in Germany, I had my first experience of the use and abuse of political power.

The greatest factor in this new movement is its appeal to the youth of Germany. It is a great call, to those who have their lives to live, to cast aside the fetters with which a false Peace Treaty would bind them, to rise above the depressing mentality engendered by war and post-war distress. Unfortunately there are elements in the leadership of the movement whose very dangerous significance is apparent to many within the Fatherland. A narrow, egoistical nationalism has been engendered in the followers of Hitler, by those who have nothing of the nobility of character which realizes that nationalism is not enough. Coupled with a particular form of arrogance and pride, directed chiefly against France and the countries of the Little Entente, is a distinctly obnoxious manifestation of the old military spirit. Bad as these things may be, they have been overshadowed by the utter disregard of the rights of minorities which has been so prominent a feature in the programme of the Nazis. Nothing has been more effective in destroying international faith in the German Government, nothing has so decidedly alienated sympathy from the German people. The seizing of Jewish property, of trade-union funds, the dismissal of political opponents from positions of authority and trust, the abolition of freedom of speech and the suppression of the legitimate functions of the press have all been acts of a stupid, unreasoning and extremely short-sighted dictatorship. More difficult for us to understand, however, is the harsh and often brutal treatment meted out to Jews and Socialists, not only by the working classes, but by supposedly educated people. The utter lack of any sportsmanlike attitude by the man in the street in the face

of active infringement of the personal liberty of German citizens, and a similar attitude in many of the students of German universities, of whom one might have expected some evidence of culture and good manners, leave one with an intense feeling of contempt. That the German people do suffer from a sense of unfairness at the effects of the Versailles Treaty upon their country, that they have a profound and even a just grievance concerning their lot in life, we may believe; but that such should excuse cowardly bullying and gross manners, no one will admit.

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When Germany violated certain clauses of the Versailles Treaty by its disregard of the rights of minorities, the eyes of the world were turned in great and unparalleled sympathy towards the Jews. It was not because the Jews only were the butt of Nazi hatred; for Communists, Socialists of the Left and all definitely non-Nazi communities and organizations were most strenuously attacked: but because of the energy with which the press of Great Britain and the United States took up their cause and denounced the unwarranted attacks on German Jewry. That Communists were similarly treated evoked no such overwhelming sorrow, for Communists have not yet the power of universal wealth in their possession whereby all mankind could be informed of the indignities to which their German brethren had been subjected. While thousands of Jews have left Germany, we fail to realize sometimes that tens of thousands of the extreme Socialistic working-classes have not the means to leave the country. The attention of the world has been focussed on the ills of one section of the community, to the neglect of the sufferings of a much larger section. As far as the world goes, the result is the same, a general feeling of anger if not of disgust at the manner in which the new Government has treated minorities within its jurisdiction. While the press on both sides of the Atlantic has certainly not failed to express its views, one or two papers have continued to maintain a very watchful eye on the changing state of affairs in the Fatherland. The *Manchester Guardian* has been very active in this respect, and has continued to publish from time to time lengthy accounts of cases of official and private abuse of power. So straightforward in its condemnation of the Hitler movement has this paper been, that it is still one of the prohibited foreign newspapers.

While the National Socialist press continues to reiterate that the anti-German attitude which developed in foreign countries as the result, they state, of Jewish and Marxist influence is quickly

disappearing, yet the same Press has lately printed under large headlines such a significant statement as the following:—

Todesstrafe für Ueberfälle und Greuelpropaganda.

(Death penalty for unexpected attack and cruelty propaganda). One may be excused for thinking that cruelty still exists. So determined is the State to prevent the spread of propaganda concerning personal cruelty, general distress and suspicion amongst its people, that no one who has left Germany dare raise his voice in protest, for those of his relatives who are still there are liable to imprisonment. From one of the great German newspapers, I extract the following:

Weimar, Jul. 25. Because of the spreading of cruelty information in Czechoslovakia concerning Germany, by the late Burgomaster Wurch of Langwiesen in Thuringen, his relatives (wife and daughter) have, until further notice, been taken into custody.

Numerous cases of the confiscation of property have already been made known. One of the most flagrant, and one to which great publicity has been given, is that of Prof. Einstein. Valuable books, original papers, bank deposit, all have gone. If any one thing more than another were required to bring before the world the stupid and cruel nature of the mind of those who are in power, it was the case of Einstein. One of the greatest scientific minds of the day, cast out with all the ignominy of a most undesirable alien! Could anything reflect more clearly the utter grossness and despicability to which the educated Teutonic mind can attain? I know people of the Jewish faith in Germany to-day who have given liberally for their Fatherland, for education, for social work, and in the hour of her greatest calamity. But had they the means, they would leave for ever the land of their birth, and be glad to hide themselves far from the insults and disgrace which their fellow-countrymen have heaped upon them. Since they cannot do so, they needs must live in seclusion, going out only when absolutely necessary, mixing with none, and living in perpetual anxiety as to the future.

A book, entitled *Juden sehen Dich an*, has recently been published in Germany by Dr. Johann Von Leers, a man who has served on international conferences. This work includes short biographical notices of eminent Jews and politicians. At the end of those articles about men who have been murdered or killed in the political struggle stands the word, *gerichtet*, (executed). Those who have been fortunate enough to escape from Germany have the distinction of being classed as *bis jetzt ungehängt* (not yet hanged). In this

category are names of men such as Einstein, Emil Ludwig and Lessing. Professor Lessing was professor of philosophy at Hanover, a Jew, a Socialist and pacifist. At the commencement of the activities against the Jews he was dismissed from his Chair, his property confiscated, he himself escaping to Czechoslovakia. A reward of 40,000 M. was offered to anyone who could bring him back, and finally, that being unsuccessful, a sum of 80,000 M. was placed on his head. He was killed at Marienbad in Czechoslovakia, on or about the 1st. September, 1933.

This leads naturally to the numerous stories of oppression and vengeance. So many have been the tragedies reported in the foreign press that one is fully prepared for a long tale of personal sorrow and suffering if one goes to the right quarters for it. Amongst those who, while not in full agreement with much of the crude, vulgar and vengeful methods of certain of the Storm Troops, are heartily in agreement with the ideals of the new Government, one often finds that calmness and indifference which indicates that it is better to disregard your neighbours' troubles lest a little misinterpreted sympathy may place you in the same situation. There is also a strong feeling that we overrate the hardships of the Jews. I was told that most foreigners are disappointed because they do not find a dead Jew at every street corner. Still, tyranny exists. There are too many reports of prisoners shot while trying to escape; too many are found hanged in their cells, prison cells we presume, where ordinarily it is not usual to allow facilities for suicide; a number have lost their lives by jumping out of windows while their guards were busy looking the other way; and as to arrest and imprisonment without a semblance of a proper trial, no more need be said.

What is the result of all this in the minds of those who do not openly disagree and remain passive? It is a growing resentment, all the more dangerous in that it can find no means of open expression. The people are held by fear; to raise one's voice in protest is to find oneself in a concentration camp and one's dependants penniless. Much that may or I fear may not be exaggerated has been reported concerning the life in certain prison camps. It is said that in Bavaria the following terse prayer is on the lips of those who live in fear:

*Lieber Gott, mach mich stumm
Dass Ich nicht nach Dachau kumm.*

It was at the camp at Dacha that Herr Fechenbach, the secretary and friend of the Bavarian President, Kurt Eisner, was "shot

while trying to escape", in the early part of August 1933. Small wonder is it that one finds persons in Germany who in the streets and in public conveyances will talk not at all, or only in whispers. While walking with friends whose political colour was not brown, I have found that conversation has suddenly stopped because the person overtaking us had failed to pass and was well within ear-shot. To realize to any real extent the degree of discontent, one must talk to people in their homes. There one learns of fear for the future, and anxiety lest a worse befall. Even apparent pro-Nazis, faced by reason and common sense, lose much of the hopefulness that forceful and tyrannical measures can ever unite a people. Trusting and patient as the average German citizen is, it must dawn and is dawning on the mind of many who can afford to look at facts in the cold light of reason that all can not be so well as reports would have them believe. When mayors of cities publicly call for funds to support the S. A. and S. S. detachments, when officials are "politely requested" to take subscriptions for theatre and opera from which all Jewish artists have been dismissed, when both employer and employee have to pay "voluntary" contributions in proportion to income and salary to National Socialist funds, then the average man does begin to rotate things in his mind. Intimidation is not a pleasant word, and much intimidation takes place in Germany to-day. It is, however, a form of activity which very quickly raises antagonistic forces, and so all over the land there is plenty of evidence that criticism is growing.

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When one has been brought up in an atmosphere of freedom, when one has lived in an atmosphere of British universities where not only freedom of thought, speech, and action, but freedom of criticism is indulged, one is utterly at a loss, on first contact, to understand the mentality of the German students of to-day. Their advocacy of the suppression of freedom, their conformity, *en masse* almost, to a system of thought which is characterised by an utter lack of intellectualism, their naive belief that a new nation can be built up by a coercive legislation, a suppression of the press, *Schutzhaft* and concentration camps, leaves one almost speechless, and with but little hope for the intellectual development of future generations of German people.

That only one international cultural conference was allowed to meet on German soil in 1933, and that a conference of university students, is significant. This conference was held at Ettal in the Bavarian Alps. Some 200 students, representative of practic-

ally every country in the world except Russia, were present. The German delegation was carefully chosen with a view to presenting as favourably as possible the National Socialist point of view. Although Capt. Rohm of the S. A., Herr Schemn, Minister of Education, and representatives of the Foreign Office were there, the freedom of speech permitted was remarkable. At this conference opinions were expressed on subjects as far apart as Fascism and extreme Communism. A similar freedom for discussion has been allowed exchange students at certain German universities. At one large university such conferences of exchange students with the leaders of the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* were held weekly during part of this summer. It was clear that the Germans were eagerly endeavouring to place in as fair a light as possible the whole purpose of the new Government. It was also clear that many Scottish and English, Italian and French students were just as eager to put the whole Nazi system under the withering fire of a searching criticism.

In looking at the new development from the point of view of the *Deutsche Studentenschaft*, one is confronted with so many expressions of opinion that it is somewhat difficult to express an opinion which may be regarded as general.

It is generally maintained by the intelligent man as represented by the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* that the Jews, because of their religious isolation, are not and never have been desirous of comingling with the German people. Many by their undoubted ability have become a power in the political, social, cultural and economic life of the country, but it is affirmed that they have always left the imprint of their own racial characteristics upon all that they have done, to the great detriment of German national character. It has been asked if the present anti-Semitic campaign is not utterly detrimental to German prestige, to which one authority has answered that the work of an Einstein or of an Emil Ludwig is of no value to Germany, and that while it may be admitted that such men have international reputation, such reputation is entirely foreign and without significance to the new German Culture. Is it not, it has been queried, unfair to condemn the creative qualities of the Jewish composers as shown in the realm of music? Evidently it is not unfair, for it is said that a comparison of the Aryan composers, Bach, Beethoven and Mozart, with the Jewish Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer proves the latter to be hopelessly inferior, and to those who have the ability to discern these things has clearly demonstrated the astounding talent for plagiarism which is so entirely characteristic of the Jew. So speaks the new born Nazi Chancellor

of a German university famous for its contributions to arts and science. Had a professor from the Sorbonne, with the clarity of mind, intuition and logic so characteristic of his country, delivered himself of such a weighty explanation, we might have foreborne to smile. But when we are told in ponderous German phrases that

Die Musik ist ein ausgezeichnetes Beispiel für die unschöpferische dafür aber erstaunliche nachschaffende Begabung des Judentums,

we may be excused a passing thought as to the home of originality.

The antipathy towards the Jew is so unreasonable that it bears no questioning. To continue to question any defender of the Nazi faith on this matter is to lead him from one impasse to another, and ultimately to be reminded that Germany is in the middle of or has finished another Revolution, or to be warmly informed that the non-Teutonic mind is incapable of understanding the German point of view. A prominently placed poster in a German student-house in Munich has the following:—

Our most dangerous enemy is the Jew and everyone connected with him. The Jew can only think Jewish. If he writes German, he lies. We wish German students to have the will and capacity to destroy Jewish intellectualism. We demand that students and professors should be chosen from Germans, and that German thought and the German spirit should be thus safeguarded.

Surely a striking commentary on the inability of German intellectualism to hold its own against a people who form only one per cent of the nation.

So strongly are the student body and university staffs supporting Hitler that one is amazed that the bulk of the intellectuals, in so far as universities represent the intellectual life of such a country as Germany, should have followed the lead of an uneducated Socialist. It is indeed a measure of the strength with which the youth of Germany is about to be educated up to the ideals of National Socialism, and the universities are set to play a very definite part in this education. Thousands of boys selected from the schools are in work camps. In these camps the boys are physically trained, made to work and play together, and above all are given instruction in the new ideas of a united Germany, where the individual must subjugate all his energies to the interests of the People. It is proclaimed that no longer will the upper classes alone enjoy the advantages of university life, but that all will have equal opportunity to pass to higher cultural and professional education. But it is quite apparent that the open door to university education is only

for those who have the right political spirit within them, or who are content, temporarily, to waive all claims to freedom of thought or speech.

During the past six months Nazi influence has had undisputed sway in universities. Nazi student councils have taken over full control. Chancellors, presidents, professors and lecturers unwelcome to these bodies have been ruthlessly treated. Those of extreme political views, Jews and even the few daring spirits who indulge in bold and fearless criticism, have been summarily dismissed. Promises that those who had served in the front line, had received war honours or suffered war wounds, would be retained in their posts have been shamelessly disregarded. It is impossible in this connection to mention names; but I know two well known professors in the medical profession who have fulfilled (one of them all) these conditions, who were *beurlaubt* (placed on holiday) in May of this year and who, four months afterwards, were *dismissed*. The Academic Assistance Council, formed in London to investigate cases of urgent need amongst dismissed scientific men, finds itself with a roll of some 400 names from all parts of Germany. It is indeed little that can be done effectually to help in such a problem. Many highly educated men, from all walks of life, pacifists, Jews and Socialists and people of the working classes with little between their families and poverty, have not only been thrown out of employment, but have been taken into *Schutzhaft* (a new word meaning "protective custody") or sent to concentration camps. And all because they think for themselves, and refuse to be bullied into agreement with a ruthless political party. Surely one may think there are professional men strong enough and big enough to protest against such injustice. There are, but of those who have done so very few retain their posts. As one professor put it, "A wave of cowardice and mendacity has apparently swept across the whole of our universities; most of us seem to have lost the very marrow from our back bones".

That is a very true statement. I know of cases where professors of no mean eminence have been temporarily retired and then dismissed from their Chairs, and that largely by the intrigue of interested people with Nazi councils. Such actions bring forth no protests in Germany, for independent opinion amongst men of education and experience has been sorely muzzled. The average German has no opportunity to learn anything of world opinion, for he does not read the *Times* nor the *Manchester Guardian*. As to the German press, it has treated with the scantiest notice, and that merely to disparage, the protests against Nazi persecution

made by Sir Austen Chamberlain in the British House of Commons, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and many others. The flame of foreign indignation, which flared so hotly a few months ago, now flares but fitfully. Distance dims and other interests distract, and we vaguely wonder, at times, how the Jews and Communists are continuing to exist in the land where, it would appear, intolerance is a virtue and compassion mere weakness.

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The significance of the militaristic tendencies of the Nazi movement is not far to seek. Remembering the fact that reviews, military and otherwise, *fests* musical and commercial, and the parade of uniforms political or social are events dear to the German heart and not to be regarded altogether too seriously, we are nevertheless bound to admit that the repeated parading of hundreds of thousands of so called Storm Troops, all trained in military manoeuvres, all armed with revolvers, on various occasions before the reputed leaders of the Nazi movement indicates a decided change of outlook on the part of those who so vociferously acclaim Hitler as the saviour of his adopted country. On August 6th., 1933, 100,000 Brown Shirts were inspected in Berlin by the Storm Troop leader, Capt. Rohm. At Nuremberg last September, some 150,000 Nazi troops were reviewed by Hitler amidst scenes of the greatest enthusiasm. Not only have we such manifest indications as to how the wind blows, but in an anonymous work entitled *The German Militia of the Future*, published by Mittler and Son, Berlin, we have this statement:

The declarations which the Government of the Reich has made concerning the conversion of the German defence forces to a form of universal service on a militia basis have evoked universal attention. They have opened the eyes of the German people for the first time to the possibility of regaining their "defence sovereignty" and thereby an equal place amongst the nations".

A survey of this book shows that in Germany stress is being laid on the training of the youth of the land as an essential step in the reorganization and development of their military forces. It is suggested that the future militia of Germany be trained as recruits at first for a period of six months, and for the next twelve years each man must put in ten days of full military training, after which he passes into the reserve (*Landwehr*).

Calculations as to the number of men that would eventually be brought under arms are not always an indication of the efficiency

of such a scheme. It is stated, however, that Germany under such a system would have 300,000 men under arms for six months of the year, and it is probable that in twelve years some two million men would during a short period be within military system. Such a militia, having behind it German resourcefulness and thoroughness, and above all inspired by the tradition of the old Imperial Army, would constitute an extraordinarily effective war machine. To-day the German standing army numbers officially 100,000 men. It is admitted that that body is equivalent to 100,000 officers, ready to take the 300,000 or more disciplined Storm Troops of Hitler and mould them into a force calculated to make traditional enemies deeply anxious concerning their security. The danger in such a development is all too apparent to anyone who realizes the passions which move nations and communities in continental Europe.

A unified Germany under the Swastika banner is a Germany which has no concern with revision of the Treaty. It is firmly assured, and who could criticise the conviction, that such a procedure would end in deadlock and added bitterness. The new Germany is just the old Germany, it has no time for conferences, it realizes the futility of argument with the traditional enemy, and therefore its only hope lies in a preparation for recourse to arms.

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That unemployment figures have been considerably reduced by the Nazis, is incontrovertible. That the figures actually indicate a commensurate improvement in labour conditions, is open to question. What are the methods whereby these appalling unemployment figures have been definitely reduced? They are—the introduction of shorter hours, the compulsory employment of more workers, the dismissal of women, the dismissal of young men in favour of their elders, and the recruiting into labour battalions of these young men dismissed and many others who have swelled the ranks of unemployment. It is hoped that the Government will keep unemployment well below the five million figure during the coming winter, an extremely laudable proposal in view of last winter's unemployment figure of over 6,100,000. There is at present, according to Nazi statements, an improvement in the unemployment figures of almost one million over those of last year. During the month of August (1933) there was a decrease in the figures, it is stated, of some 200,000. Direct comparison is, however, misleading, for some 250,000 men in labour corps are not included. Hamburg and other cities announced that Communists, Socialists

and Jews were excluded from receiving relief; this would further reduce the number.

As to trade prospects, it is apparent that the widespread indignation which has followed the introduction of Nazi methods has had a certain bad effect on trade generally. Trade and commerce are not affected to any great extent by private tragedies and internal political strife. In July 1932 the import trade was valued at 366 million marks; in July 1933 it was 360 million marks. Exports were 385 million marks in July 1932, and are less by 46 million marks in July 1933. The motor car industry has benefitted by a Nazi measure which abolished taxes on new motor vehicles. In the last six months of 1932, 22,116 cars were manufactured; in the first half of 1933 the figure rose to 42,293 and the sales figures rose from 23,278 to 42,623. Probably the second half of 1933 will see another and more ingenious measure demanding that all taxes on 1933 cars be collected forthwith.

The Government is aware of the need for goodwill and an understanding of the interests of foreign nations. The appeal of National Socialism was social as well as national; it was as hostile to the big business concerns as it was anxious to improve the lot of the smaller merchants, as eager to curb the financiers and capitalists as to encourage the labourer. Dr. Schmitt, the new Minister for Economic Affairs, has boldly exposed many of the fallacies upon which the original political campaign was based. The employment of six where three would be sufficient is an absurdity; the restoration of public confidence in capital is essential to trade revival, he says. There is so much concentration of the public mind on Hitler that we are likely to forget or fail to see that in the background there are men of sound character upon whom the ultimate hope of Germany depends, and without whose active participation Germany will not know "stable and authoritative Government" and thus "as a great people be an acceptable partner of the other States of the world." The quotations are from Hitler's speech on the objects of the Revolution, in the Reichstag in May.

Unfortunately to-day the German has apparently no foresight. They are, as in 1914, wholly without vision; they are unable to view themselves as forming a part of a great international whole, they are essentially egotistical, they see nothing but futility in reasoning, and accordingly look to drastic measures as the only means of achievement. The problem can be understood only by a long and sympathetic stay in the country. It is really useless to argue from the point of view of reason; it is to them not a question of reason; it is not a question of whether Democracy or Socialism shall rule;

it is a question of whether or not a strong people shall be allowed freedom to develop. In order that the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty, and galling enough they are, should be for ever cast aside, a rampant spirit of nationalism has arisen, a spirit born of the demands of the present generation of the youth of Germany to live unfettered by the results of a war in which they had no part except to starve at home. Hatred and resentment are alive: so unless the saner elements in the new régime come into a greater power than they at present possess, and unless those who, with all the offensive and devastating military devices possible, surround Germany practise restraint, there can be only one outcome and that is war.