A HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF GERMANY'S WEIMAR REPUBLIC, 1918–1933

C. Paul Vincent

GREENWOOD PRESS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Any attempt at a comprehensive compendium of the Weimar Republic, regardless of how ambitious it may be, is humbling. The sheer pace of Weimar research is daunting. Restrictions on time and space must eventually defeat the bravest of dictionary writers. Thus it must be said that this Dictionary (German friends insist on the term ''*Lexikon*'') is not a comprehensive examination of the Republic.

Over the more than six years required to write this book, my principal debt has been to Harry Ritter of Western Washington University. He sacrificed inordinate time and energy carefully reading and evaluating each and every entry as it was completed. When, due to length, difficult decisions had to be made as to which entries to delete, his diligent but well-considered recommendations were gracefully provided. I have gained immeasurably from his critical insight and am forever grateful for his advice, editorial skill, and encouragement.

I am obliged to several other individuals. Raymond McInnis of Western Washington related the concept for this dictionary to Greenwood Press and also introduced me to Harry Ritter. At Keene State College the administration always met my requests—including the granting of an extended leave—while the staff of the Mason Library was forever accommodating; in particular, Keith Reagan moved mountains to acquire the most esoteric items through interlibrary loan. It is worth noting that any library, regardless of size, can provide access to the world through such committed individuals. Varied entries benefitted from the criticisms of Michael Haines, Barbara Hall, and Gerard Lenthall, who are all Keene colleagues. The staff at the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* made my two visits to Munich both fruitful and enjoyable. Since the completion date for this man-

uscript was pushed back several times, Cynthia Harris, my editor at Greenwood, is to be commended for her prolonged encouragement and patience. Finally, for providing critical commentary on several draft entries, I thank Robert Pois of the University of Colorado; as my *Doktorvater*, he continues to encourage my love of history.

Many debts are indirect but no less important. Although primary materials were utilized, what follows is largely based on a plethora of secondary study. Anyone who has attempted to compile a work of this nature can empathize with the sense of feeling like a pygmy on the shoulders of giants. Without naming them all—indeed, I only scratch the surface—I must underscore a special obligation to Stephanie Barron, Richard Bessel, Francis Carsten, Thomas Childers, István Déak, Erich Eyck, Gerald Feldman, Peter Gay, Harold Gordon, Larry Jones, Walter Laqueur, Peter Stachura, and Henry Turner. Moreover, without the biographical accomplishment of the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences in its series *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, and of Wolfgang Benz and Hermann Graml in *Biographisches Lexikon zur Weimarer Republik*, the many profiles that follow would have been thinner and less useful. Although a personal dialog did not develop with any of these individuals, without their scholarship this dictionary would not exist. To them and the legion of other historians who have dedicated their lives to an understanding of the Republic, I extend great appreciation. This book does not compete with their labors so much as it attempts to synthesize them.

A carpenter, I understand, once coached that ''whenever you use a level, check it once for yourself and once for the one who comes after.'' It is a simple, yet poignant, instruction. A dictionary of almost six hundred entries is bound, I fear, to embed some error. As parts of a living document, entries were invariably being written and rewritten during the course of my research. Throughout, Nancy Vincent was the first ''one who comes after.'' She skillfully guided my sometimes fuzzy thinking during the years that this book was under construction. The result is my responsibility, but it could not have come to fruition without her boundless material and spiritual support. This dictionary is dedicated to her.

C. Paul Vincent
Keene, New Hampshire
15 July 1996

INTRODUCTION

This dictionary had its origins in the late 1980s in my pedagogical frustrations as a teacher of modern German history. Thus, as first conceived, it was envisioned as a tool for undergraduate students. Since then, it has evolved into something that I hope will be useful for a broader audience of researchers and general readers, but it retains its basic value as a resource for undergraduates and teachers of undergraduates.

The more one knows about Weimar Germany, the more one is baffled by its formless image. Its kaleidoscopic nature inspires curiosity and frustration. Certainly, the study of the Weimar Republic is of necessity the study of life in a precarious world. While the Republic was distinguished by great creativity, its cultural output consistently enhances one's sensitivity to the ''terrible things over the horizon.'' With Peter Gay's observation always in mind that the Republic was ''born in defeat, lived in turmoil, and died in disaster,'' one approaches it as if stepping on hallowed ground; the life history of so many participants is wrenching. However, that history is also instructive and enriching. One cannot deny the Republic's prefascistic qualities; however, the comprehensive study demanded for this project has demonstrated that the picture of Weimar as a ''republic without republicans,'' while enchanting, is fundamentally wrong. It is true that conservative politicians who deigned to cooperate with the National Socialists often did so because of their antirepublicanism. Few realized, until it was too late, the extent to which the Nazis' view of government and society was revolutionary, repudiating not only republican but also traditional notions of legality and public responsibility. Hitler used such naïveté to his advantage. Yet by viewing Weimar through the lens of the Third Reich, historians too often

focus on failure. Vividly seeing the roles of Hitler, Hugenberg, Hindenburg, and Papen, they fail to discern such actors as Otto Braun, Carl Severing, Arnold Brecht, Ernst Heilmann, or Rudolf Hilferding. It is no accident that most of these individuals were associated with the state of Prussia. Prussia in the Weimar era was remarkably successful at throwing over the political authoritarianism that had marked this, the largest German state, during the Wilhelmine Reich. Notable for political alliances that proved fragile when attempted in the Reichstag, Prussia was governed from 1920 until 1932 by a collection of astute pragmatists uncommonly successful at political compromise. As Dietrich Orlow underscored in his study *Weimar Prussia*, the history of Prussia—that is, the history of the state comprising three-fifths of Germany's territory—''is largely ignored in accounts of political dynamics during the republican years.''

Of the many problems the compiler of a dictionary of German history faces, one of the most frustrating is language. The German adjective *völkisch* (from *Volk*, meaning ''people'' or ''race''), for example, cannot be adequately translated into English. Often rendered ''racist'' or ''racial,'' it might also be translated ''nationalist,'' ''nativist,'' or even ''anti-Semitic.'' Although the word ''ethnic'' is sometimes employed, it is inadequate without a clear anti-Semitic property. In any case, this dictionary uses the translation ''racial.'' But it remains important to note that the Nazi Party was viewed in the Weimar era as an extreme example of both the nationalist Right and the *völkisch* movement. Other German words may also prove troublesome. One translation with which some may quibble is ''Prime Minister'' for *Ministerpräsident*; although ''Minister President'' may be more accurate, it fails to properly relate the nature of the position to Anglo-Saxon users. The user should consult the Glossary for other translations.

Of equal importance is my frequent use of the expression ''seizure of power'' when referring to Hitler's appointment and rapid consolidation of political control. This may trouble those who view his installation on 30 January 1933 as natural and constitutional—predetermined by three years of electoral success. But this begs a question as to how natural or constitutional was Germany's political condition after the inauguration of Presidential Cabinets in 1930. I hold the view that from the Reichstag elections of September 1930, Germany was marked by a pseudo-constitutionality that increasingly paralyzed proponents of the Republic, subverted the practice of parliamentary democracy, and steadily moved the country in the direction of an authoritarian regime. Yet, while embracing this perspective, I reject the concomitant notion that the inevitable result was a Nazi state. Indeed, the NSDAP was seriously damaged by the Reichstag elections of November 1932, and there was every indication that, given a few more months of economic recovery and perhaps one more national election, Hitler's political edifice would have crumbled. To quote one historian, it is ''one of history's most tragic ironies that at precisely the moment when the [Nazi] party's electoral support had begun to falter, Hitler was installed as chancellor'' (Childers, *Nazi Voter*, p. 269). That installation, resulting from a backroom pal-

ace intrigue hatched by shortsighted conservatives, was neither constitutional nor inevitable. Hitler, of course, seized his opportunity (indeed, the expression ''seizure of power'' was first employed by the NSDAP) with a skill that astonished his would-be manipulators, effortlessly consolidating his position at their expense during the following five months.

As the words ''Weimar Republic'' should invoke much more than political turmoil, entries have been offered on such topics as cabaret, film, music, theater, and the Bauhaus. Moreover, in an attempt to span the arts and sciences, information is provided on individuals from Karl Abraham to Arnold Zweig. (Asterisks are used throughout to reference other full entries.) Sources of additional information are provided at the end of each entry. To save space, these are limited to the author's last name and an abbreviated title; complete citations are included in the bibliography at the end of the book.

Nevertheless, I harbor no illusions that the dictionary will satisfy every user. Although it is more comprehensive than any comparable single volume in English, it remains of necessity a work of synthesis. Moreover, given market constraints, I must quote Aby Warburg in saying that what follows feels a bit ''like a stripped Christmas tree.'' Many entries should have been—and, indeed, were—lengthier; others are simply missing. No one will argue, for example, that much of the intellectual tapestry of the period was produced in Switzerland or by Austrians, Czechs, and Hungarians: for example, Broch, Freud, Hesse, Kafka, Kraus, Lukács, Reinhardt, Rilke, Roth, Werfel, and Zweig. But while these individuals are properly viewed as quintessential ''Weimar,'' several of them did no more than visit Germany during 1918–1932. Unless they were an integral part of Weimar life—as were Lukács, Reinhardt, and Roth—they do not appear in this book. I sincerely regret this fact.

Although the author of a historical dictionary can identify the rich web of connections that makes the whole greater than the sum of its parts, the user is less likely to appreciate the reality of these associations. Perhaps the words of Mephistopheles, taken from Goethe's *Faust*, will lend credibility to this reality:

> Methinks the workshop of our
> mind
> Resembles those looms of a special
> kind
> Where the treadle a thousand threads
> will lift
> While the shuttles are flitting in
> both directions
> The woven tissue invisibly shifts
> And *one* move makes a myriad
> connections.

A HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF GERMANY'S WEIMAR REPUBLIC, 1918–1933

A

ABEGG, WILHELM. *See* Ernst Torgler.

ABRAHAM, KARL (1877–1925), Freudian theorist; established the first institute for training psychoanalysts. Born to a prosperous and cultured Jewish home in Bremen, he earned a medical degree at Freiburg and then took a post in a hospital near Burgholzli, Switzerland, to study with Carl Jung. The latter introduced him to Sigmund Freud in 1907. Abraham soon moved to Berlin* and secured a position at the city's mental hospital. After several years he began a private psychiatric practice.

Abraham was among Freud's closest collaborators. In 1910 he formed the Berlin Psychoanalytical Society, but he is best remembered for founding, with Max Eitingon, the clinic that in 1920 became the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute. With Abraham as principal theoretician, it was the first center devoted to training analysts. Although plans were made to make him *ausserordentlicher Professor* at Berlin, hostility toward psychoanalysis precluded the appointment. Abraham worked on war neuroses, drug addiction, and anal eroticism; he also contributed the idea that biology dictates a sequence in developing the aims of the libido. Although he was praised for his insight into ''object relations,'' he was better known for clinical work than for theory. Chronic bronchitis, contracted during World War I, caused his early death.

REFERENCES: Karl Abraham, *Selected Papers*; Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture*; *IEPPPN*; Ernest Jones, *Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*; *Oxford Companion to the Mind*.

ADENAUER, KONRAD (1876–1967), politician; among the Weimar era's most influential city leaders, he foiled separatist actions in the Rhineland.* He

was born in Cologne, where his father was an official in the municipal justice office. Brought up in an atmosphere of Catholic* piety and family solidarity, he also inherited a strong regional patriotism. His studies earned him a law degree in 1899, after which he gained appointment in Cologne's solicitor's office. In 1906 he was elected to the city council. His wife, whom he married in 1904, was the cousin of Max Wallraf. When Wallraf became *Oberbürgermeister* in 1909, Adenauer was named his deputy. The appointment was opportune; Wallraf was often called to Berlin,* and at such times Adenauer was responsible for Cologne's finance and personnel departments. A hard worker, he was popular and prosperous by the time war broke out in 1914. But the next few years proved difficult. His wife died in 1916, and his own health, never robust, precluded his induction. In the summer of 1917 he was severely injured when his chauffeured automobile collided with a streetcar. Yet in October 1917 he became Cologne's *Oberbürgermeister*. ''There is nothing better that life can offer,'' he said at the time, ''than to allow a person to . . . devote his entire being to creative activity'' (Prittie).

As *Oberbürgermeister* for sixteen years, Adenauer was linked with Otto Gessler* of Nuremberg, Hans Luther* of Essen, and Karl Jarres* of Duisburg among the Republic's great municipal leaders. He guided Cologne through food shortages and foreign occupation, rebuilt the city's university, masterminded the construction of an electrical plant and a bridge across the Rhine, and was critical in planning a city park and stadium. A member of the Center Party,* he worked with the SPD in the city council and with the British occupation authorities. Although he was innately suspicious of Prussia,* he thwarted attempts in 1919 and 1923 to establish a separate Rhenish Republic. Twice, in 1921 and 1926, he was approached to stand as a candidate for Chancellor; by insisting on the guarantee of a stable Reichstag* majority, he undermined both ventures. Gustav Stresemann,* who relied on his support, esteemed him as a defender of the Republic. During 1921–1933 he was President of the Prussian *Staatsrat*. An outspoken opponent of the NSDAP, he was removed from his several offices in March 1933 and denied entry into Cologne. He survived periodic imprisonment to become the Federal Republic of Germany's first Chancellor (1949–1963).

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Cook, *Ten Men*; Craig, *Germans*; Peter Koch, *Konrad Adenauer*; Prittie, *Konrad Adenauer*.

ADORNO, THEODOR (1903–1969), social theorist and musicologist; a key associate of Frankfurt's *Institut für Sozialforschung*. He was born in Frankfurt, where his father was a Jewish wine merchant (born Wiesengrund, Theodor adopted his mother's maiden name, Adorno, during World War I). Studies at Frankfurt led to a doctorate in 1924 with a thesis on the philosophy of Edmund Husserl.* During 1925–1928 he studied music with Alban Berg in Vienna and wrote his *Habilitation* on Kant and Freud. The completed manuscript was never examined; growing Marxist involvement and friendships with Walter Benjamin* and Max Horkheimer* led him to withdraw the thesis from his examiners. Re-

turning to Frankfurt in 1928, he submitted a book on Søren Kierkegaard as a new *Habilitation*. He began teaching at Frankfurt in 1931, but he was not officially part of the Frankfurt School* until 1938, after its relocation to New York. During 1928–1930 he edited *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, a Vienna-based music journal. In September 1933 the NSDAP withdrew his right to teach. Initially relocating to Berlin,* he left for London in the spring of 1934.

Most attempts to classify Adorno are inadequate. While he was influenced by Marx, his work drew extensively on Hegel and was influenced by the pre-Marxist thought of Georg Lukács* and Benjamin. Also, while sociology enriched his thinking, during most of his life—from 1920 until his death in 1969—he published regularly on music. He identified himself with Vienna's *neue Musik* (especially the music of Berg and Arnold Schoenberg*), and his critique of music was integral to his philosophy and sociology. In sum, whether he was writing philosophy, psychology, or musicology, Adorno aimed to dissolve conceptual distinctions resulting from some mistaken notion of ultimate ''primacy.'' His best-known work, *The Authoritarian Personality*, appeared only in 1950; inspired by his German experience, the book's thesis contends that authoritarianism serves as the core around which certain personalities are forged.

REFERENCES: Jay, *Adorno* and *Dialectical Imagination*; Lunn, *Marxism and Modernism*; Rose, *Melancholy Science*.

AGRARIAN LEAGUE. *See Reichslandbund.*

AGRICULTURE. *See* Farmers.

DIE AKTION; a weekly journal of arts and politics, subtitled *Wochenschrift für Politik, Literatur, Kunst* and edited by Franz Pfemfert. Launched in 1911 as an underground journal, *Aktion* endured until Pfemfert emigrated in 1932 to Mexico. During World War I the censor forced it to focus exclusively on culture; it reverted to politics in 1918. *Aktion* was vital—as was Herwarth Walden's* *Sturm*—in launching Expressionism.* After the November Revolution* it aimed to ''organize the intelligentsia.'' Its contributors included Hugo Ball,* Gottfried Benn,* Carl Einstein, Georg Heym, Else Lasker-Schüler,* Carl Sternheim,* Franz Werfel, and Carl Zuckmayer.* Suffering financial problems, it appeared irregularly after 1927.

In the decade before 1910, when he began editing *Der Demokrat*, Pfemfert had associated with Berlin's* anarchists; he worked later with the syndicalist Communist Workers' Party (*Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei Deutschlands* or KAPD). He was a blunt and energetic radical, more plebeian than those who wrote for him. His quarrel with *Der Demokrat*'s publisher led him to assume control of the journal in February 1911; he renamed it *Die Aktion*. Although he was troubled by the SPD's failure to promote its revolutionary program, his socialism was always more cultural than political. Rebuking the KPD as anti-

revolutionary and the Third International as revisionist, he slowly isolated himself in the 1920s.

REFERENCES: Thomas Friedrich, *Berlin between the Wars*; Hürlimann, *Berlin*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

ALBERS, HANS (1892–1960), film* actor; the debonair hero in many of Germany's early sound productions. Born in Hamburg, he made his stage début with a touring company shortly before World War I. During the war, in which he was twice wounded, he took bit parts while on leave. While he was convalescing the second time, he began acting in light comedy. By 1920 he was in Berlin,* appearing in roles on stage and in silent films. During 1926–1928 he performed with Max Reinhardt's* *Deutsches Theater*. Before 1930 he was regularly cast as an adulterer or well-dressed rogue. With the December 1929 release of Germany's first sound film, Carl Froelich's* *Die Nacht gehört uns* (The night belongs to us), he became the first German to speak on celluloid. A box-office hit, *Nacht* transformed his career. Siegfried Kracauer* remarked that during 1930–1933 he ''played the heroes of films in which typically bourgeois daydreams found outright fulfillment; his exploits gladdened the hearts of worker audiences, and in *Mädchen in Uniform* we see his photograph worshiped [*sic*] by the daughters of aristocratic families.'' Equally successful in support of Marlene Dietrich* in *The Blue Angel* (1930), he became Germany's screen idol. ''Each Albers film,'' Kracauer recorded, ''filled the houses in proletarian quarters as well as on [the wealthy] Kurfürstendamm. This human dynamo with the heart of gold embodied on the screen what everyone wished to be in life.'' While he remained in Germany and acted until his death, he never matched the recognition he achieved in the Weimar years.

REFERENCES: Ephraim Katz, *Film Encyclopedia*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*; Schumann, *Hans Albers*.

ALBERS, JOSEF (1888–1976), painter and graphic artist; foremost interpreter of the Bauhaus* following his emigration and widely considered the forerunner of op art. He was born in the Westphalian town of Bottrop. During 1908–1913 he studied and taught at Berlin's* *Königliche Kunsthochschule*. His teaching status brought an exemption from military service during World War I. In 1920 he enrolled in Johannes Itten's* introductory Bauhaus course; he remained with the school until the NSDAP forced its closure in April 1933. He was collaborating by 1922 on stained-glass projects with Walter Gropius,* and began team-teaching the introductory course in 1923 with László Moholy-Nagy.* When he left Germany in 1933, he had studied and taught at the Bauhaus for thirteen years, longer than any colleague.

Albers emphasized technique and material quality rather than style. His early lithographs and woodcuts gradually gave way to brightly colored paintings that, stressing the use of bars and lines, possessed no element of depth or relief. Emigrating in 1933, he brought his ideas first to North Carolina's Black Moun-

tain College and then, from 1950, to Yale. His comprehensive studies of color were published as *Interaction of Color* (1963).
REFERENCES: Clair, *1920s*; Neumann, *Bauhaus*; Nicholas Weber, *Drawings of Josef Albers*.

ALEXANDER, FRANZ (1891–1964), psychoanalyst; best known for his work on psychosomatic disorders. Born to a philosophy professor in Budapest, he studied medicine at Göttingen with Max Verworn. Having completed medical studies, he was serving his compulsory year as a physician in an Austrian military hospital when war was declared. He spent the next four years as a medical officer.

The turmoil surrounding Béla Kun's short-lived Soviet regime in 1919 convinced Alexander to leave Hungary. Resuming recently initiated psychiatric studies, he became Karl Abraham's* first student at Berlin's* new Psychoanalytic Institute. In 1921 he received Sigmund Freud's prize for the best clinical essay of the year, published later as *Analysis of the Total Personality*. He followed with an analytical study of ''the criminal, the judge, and the public,'' coauthored with Hugo Staub. In 1932, after visiting the United States, he settled permanently in Chicago and founded the Institute for Psychoanalysis.

Alexander had a proclivity for philosophy, stemming, perhaps, from the influence of his father or from attending Edmund Husserl's* lectures at Göttingen. He argued that the well-adjusted individual was not the goal of human development; instead, a good life was one in which an unadjusted individual used his creativity to change his environment to meet his needs. His work on psychosomatic disorders was highly influential.
REFERENCES: Alexander, *Western Mind*; *IEPPPN*.

ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT. *See* Erich Maria Remarque.

ALLIED MILITARY CONTROL COMMISSION. *See* Disarmament.

ALSACE-LORRAINE; France's eastern provinces, ceded to the new German Empire in 1871 after France's collapse in the Franco-Prussian War, then restored to France via the 1918 Armistice.* During 1871–1914 France's desire for *revanche* rested upon a passion to regain these ''lost territories.'' Although Germans were pained by their forfeiture, few were surprised when President Wilson's Fourteen Points stipulated that ''the wrong done to France by Prussia* in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine'' must be corrected. Allied agreement on this issue was so strong that the Armistice agreement (Article 2) required Germany to abandon the provinces. When the Germans held National Assembly* elections on 19 January 1919, the French prohibited voting in Alsace and Lorraine.

Speculation had existed on the outcome of a plebiscite in the provinces if one were allowed in 1919. Although Germany's plea for a plebiscite was rejected—

France underscored the lack of precedent from 1871—there is little reason to believe that the provinces would have voted against reunion with France. Until 1911 the provinces were designated *das Reichsland*; as such, Germany treated them more as foreign colonies than as integral to the Reich. Although their status was blurred in 1911 by an administrative change, they were never designated states (*Länder*) by the Constitution.* Such discrimination stemmed largely from economic lobbies that, fearing textile and other commercial interests in Alsace-Lorraine, sabotaged efforts at full-fledged integration. The populations of both Alsace and Lorraine, resenting German annexation in 1871, were disdainful of their treatment in succeeding years. According to Erich Eyck*, there was little evidence of distress in the provinces over reunion with France (an Alsatian autonomy movement was an annoyance to France). Nevertheless, the issue was not shelved until Gustav Stresemann* signed the Locarno Treaties,* thereby giving formal recognition to Germany's western borders.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; McDougall, *France's Rhineland Diplomacy*; Silverman, *Reluctant Union*.

ALSBERG, MAX (1877–1933), attorney and legal scholar; among Berlin's* prominent trial lawyers. Born in Bonn, he studied law at several universities before taking a doctorate in 1908 with a thesis on the penal system and criminal law. In 1906 he established a legal practice in Berlin, where, with his courtroom skill, he became one of Germany's best criminal lawyers. Via an assortment of libel cases, he defended numerous prominent personalities. Best known was his 1920 defense of Karl Helfferich,* one-time Imperial State Secretary, against whom Matthias Erzberger* had brought libel action. The proceedings compelled Erzberger to resign his office as Finance Minister. Alsberg was also counsel in several cases brought against the journal *Die Weltbühne*.*

Alsberg's success was not limited to the courtroom. His most respected publication, *Der Beweisantrag im Strafprozess* (The presentation of evidence in criminal proceedings), was a ground-breaking work on criminal law. Out of respect for his scholarship, Berlin made him an honorary professor in 1931. The son of a Jewish merchant, he fled Germany in 1933 and committed suicide in Switzerland.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; *NDB*, vol. 1; John Williamson, *Karl Helfferich*.

ALTHAUS, PAUL. *See* Wilhelm Stapel.

ALTONA. *See* ''Bloody Sunday.''

AMANN, MAX (1891–1957), publisher; among Hitler's* earliest and most devoted followers. Born in Munich, he was trained in business but had already elected a military career when World War I erupted. During the war he was

sergeant-major in Hitler's regiment. After Germany's defeat he worked in a bank until Hitler persuaded him in 1921 to become the NSDAP's business manager. Dwarflike in stature, Amann was ruthless, dictatorial, and aggressive. Because of his faithfulness to Hitler, his station in the NSDAP steadily rose. In April 1922 he became general secretary of the *Völkischer Beobachter*,* the Party newspaper,* and director of the Munich-based Eher Verlag.

Amann enjoyed Hitler's confidence, and despite a modest intellect and coarse manners, he was regularly assigned special duties. Although his participation in the November 1923 Beerhall Putsch* brought arrest, a sympathetic judge released him with a fine of one hundred gold marks. In the months following the putsch, he formed with Julius Streicher* and Hermann Esser a circle of Hitler's staunchest supporters.

Amann was remarkably effective as manager of Eher Verlag. Not only did he maintain the company's financial health during the Party's weakest years, but he established its publishing monopoly within the Nazi movement. As publisher of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (volume 1 in 1925, volume 2 in 1926, and a revised edition in 1929), he reaped profits that persevered into the depression* years. When Hitler became Chancellor, Amann was named *Reichsleiter für die Presse*; indeed, he was an impediment to Joseph Goebbels'* efforts to gain control of Germany's press. Inflexible and greedy, he amassed enormous wealth, but lost everything through the postwar trials.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Bracher, *German Dictatorship*; Hale, *Captive Press*; Layton, ''*Völkischer Beobachter*.''

DER ANGRIFF (Attack); a weekly (later daily) Nazi newspaper,* founded in 1927 by Joseph Goebbels.* Intending to compete with Gregor Strasser's* *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Goebbels published *Angriff* on Monday, when Berlin* dailies typically did not appear. Until Hitler's* appointment as Chancellor, it often embodied a leftist view on economics. In 1928, for example, Goebbels wrote: ''The worker in the capitalist state is—that is his great misfortune—no longer a lively human being, no longer a creator, no longer a shaper of things. He has become a machine. A number, a gear in a factory devoid of understanding or comprehension'' (Turner). During the depression* *Angriff* preached socialization of large firms and profit sharing for workers; with limited success, it attempted to win Berlin's industrial workers to the National Socialist Factory Cell Organization.* Goebbels aimed to make *Angriff* the dominant NSDAP daily in northern Germany, but was thwarted in 1930 when the Party's Munich organization began publishing a Berlin edition of the *Völkischer Beobachter*.* With decreasing success, *Angriff* continued publication until 1935.

REFERENCES: Hale, *Captive Press*; Layton, ''*Völkischer Beobachter*''; Lemmons, *Goebbels*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

ANNABERG; the scene of a bloody battle between Freikorps* units and Polish irregulars on 23 May 1921. Situated on the banks of the Oder River, Annaberg

is the highest peak (elevation 1,263 feet) in Upper Silesia* (now in Poland*). An Allied-directed plebiscite, held on 20 March 1921, provided a bitter defeat to Poles who hoped to acquire the greater part of Upper Silesia as part of the postwar settlements. Ignoring the results, Polish irregulars crossed into Upper Silesia on 3 May, intent on conquering the entire province. Freikorps units thereupon regrouped to meet the threat. Fighting erupted on 23 May at Annaberg's Franciscan monastery between Poles, led by Wojciech Korfanty, and the Silesian Volunteers, led by Lieutenant-General Bernhard von Hülsen. Gaining a decisive victory, the Freikorps units consecrated Annaberg as a symbol of their exploits.

REFERENCES: Campbell, ''Struggle for Upper Silesia''; Tooley, ''German Political Violence''; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

ANSCHLUSS. See Austria.

ANSCHÜTZ, GERHARD (1867–1948), legal scholar; deemed the Republic's foremost constitutional authority. Born in Halle, he studied law and qualified in 1896 as an accessor in Berlin.* Academic appointments took him to Tübingen in 1899, to Heidelberg in 1900, back to Berlin in 1908, and again to Heidelberg in 1916. His focus was political law, later branching into legal history and church law. A commanding classroom presence, with markedly democratic leanings, he was chiefly known for his commentaries on the Constitution,* which eventually comprised fourteen editions.

Anschütz used his commentaries to critique the improper use of Article 48, which provided for the declaration of a state of emergency, during the era of Presidential Cabinets* (1930–1933). In 1933, underscoring his courage and integrity, he wrote Baden's Education Minister requesting early retirement because he could not muster the intellectual solidarity to train students ''in accord with the intent and spirit of the current government.'' He was promptly dismissed.

REFERENCES: Brecht, *Political Education*; Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice*; *NDB*, vol. 1.

ANTI-SEMITISM; anti-Jewish prejudice, founded on pseudoscientific speculation, that devised a racially based hostility toward Jews.* Although European Jews had endured centuries of religious enmity, they had been free to counter the hostility of Gentile neighbors by converting to Christianity. But the nineteenth century, which saw a steady erosion of religious belief, witnessed the evolution of ''enlightened'' theories identifying Jews as racially distinct from other Europeans. While such theories had no scientific basis, the concept that national groups were organic entities capable of being undermined by an alien race had great appeal to those enamored of a twisted Darwinism and aroused by deep-seated anti-Jewish prejudice. The new theories were particularly sinister because they could be used to condemn all Jewish people, regardless of religious conviction.

Although German anti-Semitism predated World War I (the term was coined

in 1879 by Wilhelm Marr), it failed to prosper as a disconnected political movement. It was, however, embedded in the political programs of such groups as the Pan-German League and the *Reichslandbund.** It took a lost war, a suspect statistical report reflecting poorly on Jewish participation in that war, and the lure of a new eugenics movement before fanatical anti-Semites could amass widespread endorsement of the charge that Jews controlled the economy, masterminded anti-German political movements, engaged in decadent and immoral cultural activities, and threatened *Deutschtum* with racial hybrids. In the Republic's unstable early years (1919–1923) such slurs were linked with an array of tiny organizations (including the NSDAP) that struggled to gain notice. Once the initial period of turmoil was over, the radical anti-Semites watched their meager support dissolve; indeed, the DNVP, which numbered Jews in its membership, silenced its vocal anti-Semites in the wake of Walther Rathenau's* assassination* (June 1922). Although anti-Jewish riots erupted late in 1923 in several German cities—the worst occurring in November in Berlin*—evidence from the next five years suggests that anti-Semitism had lost its *raison d'être*. But appearances were misleading; the attitude toward Jews was too often one of ambivalence rather than acceptance. When radical anti-Semitism resurfaced during the depression,* this time as a virtual NSDAP monopoly, the Republic's inability to control its destiny led many casual anti-Semites to the Nazis.

There was nothing new in the NSDAP's concept of anti-Semitism. But the Party's demands for the systematic removal of Jews from political, economic, and cultural life found greater sympathy among other political parties after the NSDAP's stunning electoral success in September 1930. Violent Jew-haters never comprised a majority of Germans harboring anti-Jewish prejudice; instead, the success Hitler* achieved with anti-Semitism during the Republic's final years was owed to concern about ''racial hygiene'' and *Bildungsantisemitismus*, Thomas Mann's* cynical term for ''cultured anti-Semitism.''

REFERENCES: Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide*; Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction*; Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism*; Niewyk, *Jews in Weimar Germany*; Parkes, *Antisemitism*; Pulzer, *Rise of Political Anti-Semitism*.

ARBEITSRAT FÜR KUNST (Working Council for Art). Modeled on the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils,* the *Arbeitsrat* was founded in Berlin* on 18 November 1918 by Walter Gropius,* Bruno Taut,* the painter César Klein, and the architectural critic Adolf Behne and aimed to validate the place of modern art in postwar society. Its membership overlapped with that of the *Novembergruppe** and included many who had associated with Expressionism* before World War I. But it was dominated by architects, and it accepted Gropius's belief that the arts should be brought under architectural direction. More focused on application than the propaganda-oriented *Novembergruppe*, the council was first led by Taut. When Taut published a six-point *Architekturprogramm* in December 1918, the document was signed by 114 painters, publishers, critics,

museum directors, and architects. Taut resigned on 1 March 1919 in favor of Gropius, with whom he had worked before the war.

The *Arbeitsrat* staged exhibitions, held public lectures, and published books and pamphlets (e.g., *Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrates für Kunst*). Among its visions was one calling for abolition of professorships in favor of the time-honored master-apprentice relationship traditional among artisans. Its manifesto, a ''Call to All Artists in All Countries,'' exalted a socialist art that would be the ''business of the entire People.'' When Gropius left in April 1919 to found the Bauhaus* in Weimar, Behne became the council's leader, but much of the spirit inspiring the *Arbeitsrat* was relocated to the Bauhaus. It disbanded on 30 May 1921.

REFERENCES: Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg. *Weimar Republic Sourcebook*; Lane, *Architecture and Politics*; Long, *German Expressionism*; Pehnt, *Expressionist Architecture*; Weinstein, *End of Expressionism*.

ARCO-VALLEY, ANTON GRAF VON (1897–1945), assassin of Kurt Eisner.* Born in St. Martin bei Ried in Upper Austria, he was scion of a respected Austro-Bavarian family; an uncle, Emmerich von Arco-Valley, had served the Imperial Foreign Office as Ambassador to Rio de Janeiro, Tokyo, and Athens. Anton, a former officer in the Bavarian Royal Guards, became enamored of rightist ideology in the wake of the Armistice.* According to Rudolf von Sebottendorff of the Thule Society,* he was refused entry into the racist group because of Jewish ancestry on his mother's side (the Oppenheim banking family). Although he apparently supported Eisner in 1918, he murdered the Prime Minister on the morning of 21 February 1919. Sebottendorff claimed that he ''wanted to show that even a half Jew* could carry out an act of heroism.'' At his trial he testified that it was his duty to get Eisner out of the way to bring order back to Bavaria.* The murder was an essential step in the formation of Munich's *Räterepublik*.

Upon shooting Eisner, Arco-Valley was in turn wounded by the Prime Minister's bodyguard. After convalescence, he was tried and condemned to death. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and after about five years (during which he was joined at Landsberg Prison by Hitler*) he was released.

Arco-Valley was a fervent Bavarian who consistently opposed Berlin's* influence in southern Germany. His early support of Eisner was no doubt linked to the Prime Minister's success in retaining Bavaria's separate identity, but as Eisner's reputation faltered, so did Arco-Valley's confidence. As an opponent of German nationalism, he distrusted the NSDAP. In 1925 he wrote *Aus 5 Jahren Festungshaft* (From 5 years of fortress confinement). Later he edited the regionally popular newspaper* *Bayerische Vaterland* and eventually worked for *Süddeutsche Lufthansa*.

REFERENCES: Bosl, Franz, and Hofmann, *Biographisches Wörterbuch*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; *NDB*, vol. 1; Phelps, '' 'Before Hitler Came' ''; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

ARMISTICE. The decision to seek an end to hostilities on the Western Front was made on 29 September 1918 by Paul von Hindenburg* and Erich Ludendorff.* In view of the later *Dolchstosslegende*,* it is crucial to note that the army's Supreme Command initiated the Armistice. This does not suggest that Hindenburg and Ludendorff understood the forces that they had unleashed; both men probably foresaw a temporary cessation to hostilities, a respite that might provide an opportunity to regroup before launching a new offensive. Their insistence that the Chancellor, Prinz Max* von Baden, seek a truce based on Wilson's Fourteen Points confirms their political naïveté: Point Eight of Wilson's blueprint demanded German withdrawal from Alsace-Lorraine,* a procedure that would undermine defenses on the Western Front.

Prinz Max spent much of October exchanging correspondence with Wilson to gain prearmistice terms. The President's note of 23 October is critical to an understanding of following events. Emphasizing that he was representing his Allies, Wilson told the Chancellor that any truce must nullify Germany's ability to resume hostilities; when Ludendorff objected to this, Prinz Max had the Kaiser fire him (an indication of both the Kaiser's and Ludendorff's diminished authority). The same note claimed that if the United States were to ''deal with the military masters and the monarchical autocrats of Germany'' either now or in the future, ''it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender.'' Two important implications were conveyed by this statement: first, the Kaiser's abdication was not, at least on 23 October, a requirement of the Armistice; second, and more important, a negotiated settlement might result if Wilhelm's autocratic powers were removed. Upon reading the note, Gustav Noske,* a prominent Social Democrat, remarked, ''If the Kaiser goes, we'll get a decent peace.'' This interpretation was less a proper reading of Wilson's note—although, Wilhelm was a clear liability—than a reflection of a domestic debate as to whether Wilhelm should be retained.

On 6 November Matthias Erzberger,* Center Party* leader and State Secretary without Portfolio, was appointed at Hindenburg's behest to lead Germany's Armistice delegation. When Erzberger arrived in the Compiègne Forest on the morning of 8 November, Marshal Foch presented conditions whose earlier negotiation had threatened to sever the Western alliance. To Germany's six delegates, they were unexpectedly onerous: indeed, they seemed the terms of a conqueror aiming to permanently incapacitate an enemy. Divided into seven sections and thirty-four articles, the Armistice specified evacuation of territories as far east as the Rhineland,* surrender of an abundance of war matériel (including locomotives, rolling stock, and naval shipping), reparation for war damages, withdrawal from the Baltic Sea, and continuation of the naval blockade.* With little recourse, the Germans signed the Armistice at 5 A.M. on 11 November. Article 34 provided for its extension in the event that a peace treaty was not ready after thirty-six days. Since it was late April 1919 before the Versailles Treaty* was ready, the Armistice was renewed, with some important changes,

for an additional month on 17 December 1918, for a further month on 16 January 1919, and indefinitely on 16 February.

REFERENCES: Klaus Epstein, ''Wrong Man''; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Rudin, *Armistice 1918*; Vincent, *Politics of Hunger*.

ARMY. *See* Reichswehr.

ARP, HANS. *See* Hugo Ball *and* Dada.

ART. *See* Dada, Expressionism, *and Neue Sachlichkeit*.

ARTICLE 48. *See* Constitution.

ASSASSINATION. A conspicuous part of Weimar history was political murder. Rosa Luxemburg* and Karl Liebknecht,* leaders of the new KPD, were assassinated in Berlin* on 15 January 1919 by Waldemar Pabst's* *Gardekavallerie-Schützendivision* (Guard-Cavalry-Rifle Division). Kurt Eisner,* leader of a coalition socialist government in Bavaria,* was murdered on 21 February 1919 by Anton von Arco-Valley,* a misguided aristocrat. Leo Jogiches, erstwhile companion of Luxemburg, was killed while in police custody on 10 March 1919, while Hugo Haase,* chairman of the USPD, died on 7 November 1919 of complications from a gunshot wound.

From 1920, with abolition of the Freikorps,* political violence was institutionalized under the heading *Femegericht** (''folkish justice''). Among such groups as the notorious *Organisation Consul** (OC), murder was deemed a means for destabilizing the Republic; indeed, it increasingly became its own *raison d'être*. On 9 June 1921 members of OC killed the USPD leader Karl Gareis in Munich. On 26 August 1921 they murdered Matthias Erzberger,* chairman of Germany's Armistice* delegation. They attempted to blind Philipp Scheidemann,* the Republic's first Chancellor, by spraying his face on 4 June 1922 with prussic acid. One month later they brutally assaulted Maximilian Harden,* editor of *Die Zukunft*. But their most celebrated victim was Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau,* assassinated in Berlin on 24 June 1922. This act forced the Reichstag* to pass its Law for the Protection of the Republic.* Providing a prohibition against extremist groups and stiff penalties for conspiracy to murder, the law was opposed by the DNVP, the BVP (Bavaria refused to recognize the law), and the KPD. Its impotence ultimately resulted from a judiciary enamored of the Right.

According to research completed in 1922 by Emil Gumbel,* 354 people had been assassinated since 1919. Significantly, in the 22 cases attributed to the Left, 17 people were punished; only 27 right-wing assassins were punished for the remaining 332 murders. According to Gustav Radbruch,* justice* was ''blind in the right eye.'' When Gerhard Rossbach,* another Freikorps leader, was tried in Stettin's 1928 *Fememord Prozess*, it was disclosed that 200 political murders

had been carried out in Upper Silesia* alone. In the unstable atmosphere of the depression,* this culture of violence only intensified. Richard Bessel noted that by ''the time the Weimar system crumbled, there was hardly a city or town in Germany which had been spared political violence.'' In the seven weeks preceding the 31 July 1932 Reichstag elections, Prussia experienced 461 political riots that resulted in 82 deaths and approximately 400 serious injuries. During early August a city councilor from Königsberg was murdered, the mayor of Norgau was shot to death, two police officers were killed in Gleiwitz, a Nazi was killed in Kreuzburg, two Communists and two Social Democrats were seriously wounded in Königsberg, the leader of Lötzen's *Reichsbanner** was shot to death, a Nazi accidently blew himself up in Silesia, and a Communist was killed by Nazis in Potempa.* Ultimately, the NSDAP, creating disorder while promising order, was the beneficiary of this gruesome orgy.

REFERENCES: Bessel, *Political Violence*; Brecht, *Prelude to Silence*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Howard Stern, ''*Organisation Consul*''; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

ASSOCIATION OF GERMAN INDUSTRY. *See Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie*.

AUER, ERHARD (1874–1945), politician; Kurt Eisner's* tentative political ally. Born in the village of Dommelstadl (near Passau), he passed an orphaned youth as a shepherd. At fifteen he was incarcerated for attempting to organize rural workers. Service in the Bavarian Guards brought him to Munich, where he chose to settle. He supported the SPD from an early age, becoming private secretary in 1896 to Bavarian Party leader Georg von Vollmar. Elected to the Bavarian Landtag in 1907, he later served as the chamber's Vice President. World War I briefly took him to Belgium and France. Considered Vollmar's heir apparent when the latter resigned his Reichstag* seat in October 1918, he was opposed for the mandate by Eisner. A by-election, scheduled for 17 November, never materialized.

When Eisner proclaimed a republic during the night of 7–8 November 1918, Auer became the indifferent Interior Minister of an ill-fated revolutionary regime. Consistently at odds with Eisner over the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils*—he allowed them no executive authority—Auer pressed for early Landtag elections. As Eisner's support evaporated, Auer hoped to isolate the Prime Minister and eventually replace him. But on the morning of 21 February 1919, soon after Eisner was assassinated, Auer was shot in the Landtag by Alois Lindner, a radical member of Munich's Workers' Council who held him responsible for Eisner's death. After a long convalescence he was elected to the Reichstag, where he led Bavaria's Social Democrats until 1933.

REFERENCES: Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; *NDB*, vol. 1; Raatjes, ''Role of Communism''; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

AUSTRIA. German losses in consequence of the Versailles Treaty* amounted to 70,000 square kilometers, or 13 percent of the prewar Reich. While many

Germans rationalized the loss of Alsace-Lorraine,* they were surprised at the Allied veto of *Anschluss* with Austria. Germans argued that if the Allies ''robbed'' them of land on the basis of ''self-determination,'' it was fitting that German Austria be allowed to join the Reich. With the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy, an event welcomed by many of Austria's German nationalists, Austrians of all backgrounds and political opinions were eager to unite with Germany; until 1933 Austria's Social Democrats were the most vocal adherents of *Anschluss*. If successful, the result would consummate the old *Grossdeutsch* solution rejected in the 1860s by Bismarck. But this equation seemed absurd to the war-weary Allies. After years of bloodshed, how could they sanction use of the peace process to aggrandize Germany? Indeed, some in Paris hoped to partition the Reich into the thirty-four independent states extant before 1864. Yet the decision to veto an *Anschluss* embittered Germans and made Austria, especially in the early postwar years, a ward of the West. With its limited food supply and dependence on economic assistance, Austria faced the threat of civil war from its inception.

The issue of *Anschluss* did not die with the League of Nations' veto. Gustav Stresemann* proclaimed it a future goal at the 1925 Locarno* deliberations, tying it again to the principle of self-determination. He secured a vibrant echo from Austria, where Hermann Neubacher's *Österreichisch-Deutscher Volksbund* (Austrian-German People's League) organized multiparty support for *Anschluss*. Moreover, it became a major concern in March 1931 when Berlin* and Vienna announced their desire to establish a customs union. The brainchild of Bernhard von Bülow,* State Secretary in Germany's Foreign Office, the proposal had greater support in Austria than in Germany. Nevertheless, the reaction abroad differed little from that in 1919. Many Europeans, aware that Prussia's* nineteenth-century *Zollverein* had provided a basis for Bismarck's Reich, viewed a customs union as the prelude to political union. Since many Germans also knew this, it should have come as little shock when the Hague Tribunal vetoed the proposed union in September 1931. The judges surmised that such a union would violate the 1922 Geneva Protocol,* whereby Austria agreed to avoid economic agreements that might compromise its freedom.

The Hague's ruling, coupled with Germany's thriving fanaticism, tended to negate the mood for *Anschluss* among many Austrians. Beginning in 1932, Neubacher's *Volksbund* shed its persona as an above-party organization seeking union through international consensus. Increasingly a voice of the radical Right, it denounced the League and called for *Anschluss* via ''national self-help.'' This shift provoked a radical change in the concept of *Anschluss*.

REFERENCES: Gehl, *Austria*; Ritter, ''Hermann Neubacher''; Suval, *Anschluss Question*; Von Klemperer, *Ignaz Seipel*.

B

BADEN, PRINCE MAX OF. *See* Max (Maximilian), Prinz von Baden.

BALL, HUGO (1886–1927), actor and writer; central to the founding of Dada.* Born to a shoe manufacturer in Pirmasens, he studied philosophy in 1906–1907 and settled in Berlin* in 1910 to study acting under Max Reinhardt.* Quickly honing his talents, he began creating his own Expressionist dramas and was named drama consultant to the Plauen theater company. He was serving as dramaturge with the Munich Chamber Players at the outbreak of World War I; he fled to Switzerland and found work with Bern's *Die Freie Zeitung*. In February 1916, with several other refugees—most notably the Rumanian Tristan Tzara and the Germans Hans Arp and Richard Huelsenbeck—he hatched the artistic movement known as Dada at Zürich's Cabaret Voltaire. Aside from Huelsenbeck, Ball's cohorts failed to appreciate that Dada meant something more to him than nonsensical claptrap; it had serious metaphysical underpinnings. In 1917 he abandoned the movement and, with his future wife Emmy Hennings, worked in various Swiss clubs as a piano player.

After the shapeless and anarchistic ridicule of Dada, Ball became attached to order and obedience. His polemic *Zur Kritik der deutschen Intelligenz* (On a critique of German intelligence) vented grievances against four hundred years of German history. Viewing the Reformation as Germany's greatest misfortune, he successively attacked Luther, Hegel, Bismarck, Marx, and Nietzsche. Following this sweeping condemnation, he purged his soul by embracing Catholicism, which he had abandoned in his youth. Back in Germany after the war, he was employed in 1924 by *Der blaue Vogel*, a Berlin literary magazine. He found

confirmation for his theology through a prolific ability with rhymes, verse, and essays; Hermann Hesse praised his work as honest and intellectually demanding. Ball spent his last years in Switzerland, dying of cancer near Lake Lugano.
REFERENCES: Ball, *Flight out of Time*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Last, *German Dadaist Literature*; *NDB*, vol. 1.

BALTIC PROVINCES (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia). German policy toward the Baltic region evolved through two phases during the Weimar years. Between January and November 1919 members of the Supreme Command were fixated on the Baltic provinces. In February, after orchestrating a British invitation to protect the new Baltic governments from the Red Army, Rüdiger von der Goltz* assembled a force known as the Baltic Volunteers. The aim of this Freikorps* detachment was control of *Baltikum*.

For centuries the Baltic region had evoked romantic fascination in Germans. Although Courland and Livonia, roughly today's Latvia and Estonia, had been under Russian rule since the eighteenth century, they were German in culture. The Memel region, or Memelland, was part of *Baltikum*. Attached to East Prussia* until 1919, Memelland was administered by the League of Nations, then absorbed in January 1923 by Lithuania. Inhabited by numerous Germans, foremost of whom were the highborn Baltic Barons, the provinces remarkably were deemed a worthy sphere for expansion amidst treaty deliberations in Paris. Enhanced interest was, indeed, a product of the Armistice.* Hindenburg* and his cohorts hoped to rescue German dignity by seizing the Baltics and deposing their recently formed native regimes. Naïve of this design, the British welcomed German involvement as a bulwark against Bolshevism. But the Baltic Volunteers traveled east with the spurious recruiting promise that land would serve as partial payment for their services.

Although Goltz was theoretically aiding local populations, he rigorously restricted the military role of native Balts in his campaigns. Consequently, successful offensives against the Red Army in February and March 1919 only worsened relations with the Latvians. By the time Riga fell to the Volunteers on 22 May, Goltz had installed a puppet regime in place of Latvia's legitimate government. The capture of Riga was the high point of the expedition. Not only did the operation's ease alarm the Balts and the Western Allies, it frightened a Berlin* government that could ill afford renewed militarism. When Paris learned of the treatment of ''liberated'' populations—in Riga alone, three thousand Latvians suspected of Bolshevik sympathies were shot without trial—Britain terminated its patronage and Berlin was ordered to bring Goltz home. By attaching themselves to a White Russian army, the Volunteers evaded the order. The ineptitude of Prince Pawel Michaelovich Awaloff-Bermondt, the White Russian to whom Goltz relinquished command, was Berlin's deliverance. Awaloff was dubbed ''the prince of comedies'' by a French officer; his advance on Petrograd failed, and by October 1919 he was retreating toward East Prussia. Suffering

from dysentery and malnutrition, the German Legion, as the Volunteers were then called, was rescued in late November by fresh Freikorps units.

After the Baltic expedition's collapse, German policy was reconciled to the survival of the new states; accordingly, they fell within the confines of foreign and financial policy. Guided by Adolf Köster, German Ambassador to Riga (and Hermann Müller's* first Foreign Minister), prolonged negotiations generated trade treaties with Latvia and Estonia in 1926 and 1929. Competing primarily with British business interests, the Germans enjoyed considerable success at forming economic links with *Baltikum*. At the heart of all dialog was a desire to preclude Polish inroads into the region. But foreign policy was not simply a negative formula for frustrating Poland*: the prosperity ensuing from the relationship with Germany helped secure the Baltic states while it ameliorated the lot of sizable German minorities in the region.

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Hiden, ''Baltic Germans'' and '' 'Baltic Problem' ''; Salomon, *Geächteten*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

BALTIC VOLUNTEERS. *See* Baltic Provinces.

BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS (BIS); the first international financial agency, conceived in 1928 as a control mechanism for reparation* payments. A body without political character, BIS was intended to replace the Reparation Commission and ''perform the whole work of external administration such as the receipt and distribution of payments and the commercialization of those parts of the annuities which are susceptible of being commercialized.'' Headquartered in Basel, BIS was also the agency of appeal if Germany believed that reparations were endangering the country's currency or economy; it could recommend up to a two-year moratorium on unprotected reparation annuities. Directed by Gates W. McGarrah, former chairman of New York's Federal Reserve Bank, BIS established a governing board comprised of the chairmen of the national banks of each participating country, including Germany's Reichsbank President.

BIS's ability to function as intended was subverted by the depression.* Amidst Germany's credit crisis, BIS's Special Advisory Committee drafted a report in August 1931 (the Layton-Wiggin Report) outlining the cycle of war debts, reparations, and indebtedness that had provoked the crisis. The report urged cessation of credit withdrawals, arrangement of new long-term loans, and such revision of international policies as were needed to reestablish confidence in Germany. Meeting again at year's end, the committee advised postponement of Germany's Young Plan annuity. The Lausanne Conference* was arranged to formalize this decision, and BIS played no further role with reparations.

REFERENCES: Clarke, *Central Bank Cooperation*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Schloss, *Bank for International Settlements*; Wheeler-Bennett, *Wreck of Reparations*; Wilson, *American Business*.

BARLACH, ERNST (1870–1938), illustrator, sculptor, and writer; best known for his monuments honoring Germany's war dead. Born to a physician in Wedel (Holstein), he became the master pupil of Robert Diez at the Dresden Academy (1891–1895) before studying at Paris's Julian Academy (1895–1896). It was a 1906 Russian tour, however, that inspired his personal style. His ties with publisher Paul Cassirer led in 1907 to an illustration contract; for two years he drew for the Munich periodical *Simplizissimus*. In 1910, after a lengthy sojourn in Florence, he settled in the Mecklenburg town of Güstrow, where he remained most of his life.

An outspoken patriot in 1914, Barlach was later repelled by the war when he was touched by its widespread misery. The Weimar era brought him numerous accolades: appointment in 1919 to the Berlin Academy of Arts; receipt in 1924 of the Kleist Prize for Literature; Honorary Membership in the Munich Arts Academy in 1925; and the award in 1933, upon recommendations from Max Liebermann* and Käthe Kollwitz,* of the *Pour le Mérite* (Peace Class). With Kollwitz and Gerhard Marcks,* he was among Germany's premier sculptors. A spiritual man who claimed his greatest satisfaction when working in wood, he emulated the medieval masters by completing his illustrations as woodcuts. Among his best-known work is the 1922 portfolio *Die Wandlungen Gottes* (The transformations of God), a series of plates depicting the Genesis story. His wooden monuments to the war's fallen soldiers—completed for Magdeburg, Hamburg, Kiel, and Güstrow—were testimonials against war. Indeed, his art increasingly depicted travail as mankind's basic condition.

In addition to lithographs and woodcuts, Barlach rendered his artistry through several writings, including dramas, novels, and poetry. The plays, beginning in 1912 with *Der tote Tag* (Dead day), inevitably dealt with questions of life, religion, and death. He was forbidden from 1933 to exhibit his art and he collapsed into despair during his final years as his work was first condemned as degenerate and then systematically destroyed throughout Germany.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 1; Werner, *Ernst Barlach*.

BARMAT, JULIUS (1889–1938), businessman; central to the Barmat corruption trial of the mid-1920s. Born to a rabbi in Petrikov, Russia, he emigrated to Holland in 1906 and, with his brothers Salomon and Hershel, founded a business. He developed connections with key members of the SPD before World War I, and the business shipped large quantities of food to Germany during the war and in its immediate aftermath. Julius moved to Berlin* to facilitate his lucrative business and begin new enterprises. During the hyperinflation, however, he financed his enterprise with loans from the Prussian State Bank and the German Postal System. Although the Barmat-Konzern was not alone in overextending itself during a period of easy credit, its links with the SPD transformed its misconduct into high drama. After the unanticipated currency reform of late 1923, Barmat satisfied his creditors for about a year. By the end of 1924, how-

ever, his company was 39 million marks in debt; on 31 December 1924 the Barmat brothers were arrested. The company immediately collapsed.

The Barmat trial dragged on until 30 March 1927. While many politicians could justify their dealings with the Barmats during the war-induced famine, others were rightly or wrongly implicated in the firm's shady dealings. On 25 April 1925 Anton Höfle, a member of the Center Party* and a former Postal Minister, apparently committed suicide while awaiting trial. Gustav Bauer,* a postwar Chancellor, was suspended from the SPD for failing ''to distinguish politics from business.'' DNVP members of the Barmat Committee, appointed by the Prussian Landtag, were chiefly concerned with discrediting Friedrich Ebert,* who in 1919 had urged giving Barmat a visa.

Found guilty of two acts of bribery, Barmat benefitted from one of the era's more evenhanded trials. Sentenced to prison, he was released in poor health in August 1929; his brothers were acquitted. All three men returned to Holland, where, in the mid-1930s, another scandal ensued involving the Belgian National Bank. At least one brother had by then fled to Poland* to live under an assumed name. Julius died in January 1938 while interned in Brussels. In Germany, meanwhile, the radical Right exploited the Barmat case as evidence of socialist complicity in Jewish corruption.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; *Internationales Biographisches Archiv*; Niewyk, *Socialist*.

BARTH, EMIL (1879–1941), radical trade-union* leader; represented the USPD on the Council of People's Representatives.* Born in Heidelberg, he worked as an itinerant tinsmith before settling in Berlin* in 1904. An anarchist during 1908–1910, he supported the SPD after joining the metalworkers' union in 1911. He engaged early in opposition to World War I. Inducted, he was invalided out of the army in time to succeed Richard Müller* in 1918 as leader of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards.*

On 10 November 1918 Barth was the lone radical in Berlin's combined Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* prepared to serve with Germany's interim cabinet. Although he was part of the USPD, he was also the only cabinet member not concurrently in the Reichstag.* His importance to the Republic is grounded in his brief service with the government. A proponent of spontaneous revolution, he found himself isolated between the radicals in the Spartacus League,* who were unwilling to work with the hated SPD, and colleagues in the USPD (e.g., Hugo Haase* and Wilhelm Dittmann*), who were hoping to avoid further revolution. When he was deposed in December as leader of the Shop Stewards, he lost his base of support. With Haase and Dittmann, he resigned from the cabinet on 29 December and resumed his trade as a tinsmith. Despite his revolutionary rhetoric, he never joined the KPD; indeed, while serving in the 1920s at factory-council headquarters in Berlin, he worked for the SPD.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*.

BARTH, KARL (1886–1968), theologian; his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (1919) led fellow theologians to compare him with Martin Luther (Pope Pius XII deemed him the greatest theologian since Thomas Aquinas). Born in Basel to a professor of church history, he began studies at Berlin* with Adolf von Harnack* and then pursued theology at Marburg under Wilhelm Hermann and Hermann Cohen. During 1911–1921, while pastoring an industrial parish in Switzerland, he became acutely aware of social injustice. Ever wrestling with the polarities between God and man, he labored to distinguish his social concern from his Christianity; when he finally joined the SPD in 1931, he claimed that he was embracing the Republic, not socialism.

Appointed to Göttingen's theological faculty in 1921, Barth went to Münster in 1925 and to Bonn in 1930. Already ill at ease as a student with the relativism and historicism practiced within Protestantism, he saw no paradox in his belief in the absolute ''otherness'' of God (a Kierkegaardian concept) and his passion over the world's social misery; indeed, he believed that the two intersected in the person of Jesus, the supreme medium between God and humanity. Voicing concern over contemporary theology, he was wary of modern pretensions to solve society's problems. A prophetic voice in the tradition of Calvin, he called the church back to the Bible and its living foundation, Christ. His central message, which gained wide acceptance, was fundamental to his Romans commentary—a critique of idealism, romanticism, and religious socialism. *Church Dogmatics* (1932–1959), which occupied him for thirty years, partially reconciled him with institutional Christianity.

Barth was in the vanguard of the Protestant* struggle against Nazism. His vocal criticism of Hitler's* treatment of Jews* overlapped with his Christ-centered perspective on life; it found substance in the 1934 *Barman Declaration*, a document largely written by Barth and central to the *Kirchenkampf* against the effort to control German Christianity. Although he was deprived in 1935 of his chair at Bonn, his Christian stand gained him wide prestige. He returned to Switzerland and taught systematic theology at Basel until 1962.

REFERENCES: McCormack, *Karl Barth's Critically Realistic Dialectical Theology*; Scholder, *Churches and the Third Reich*; Torrance, *Karl Barth*.

BAUER, GUSTAV (1870–1944), politician; led the coalition that signed the Versailles Treaty* and accepted the Constitution.* Born in the East Prussian village of Darkehmen, he worked in his youth as an attorney's aide in Königsberg. A troubled experience, Bauer was politicized by the work and in 1895 founded the Union of Office Employees. He directed the Berlin-based Central Workers Secretariat of Free Trade Unions from 1903; in 1908 he became Vice Chairman of the General Commission of German Trade Unions, a position he retained until 1918. A lifelong Social Democrat, he entered the Reichstag* in 1912. During World War I he served with the chamber's advisory council to the Food Office. In October 1918 Prinz Max* von Baden named him State Secretary for Labor.

After his election to the National Assembly,* Bauer joined Philipp Scheidemann's* cabinet as Labor Minister. To address the demands of the Workers' Councils,* he established a National Economic Council* and proposed introduction of the Factory Council Law.* When Scheidemann resigned in June 1919 rather than accept the Versailles Treaty, Bauer became Prime Minister. His government witnessed three key events: (1) signature of the treaty on 28 June 1919; (2) acceptance of the Constitution on 11 August 1919 (thereby reintroducing the titles ''Chancellor'' and ''Reichstag''); and (3) the abortive Kapp* Putsch of March 1920.

Bauer's cabinet survived until 27 March 1920, when repercussions from the Kapp Putsch caused its collapse. He was Hermann Müller's* first Treasury Minister and then became Joseph Wirth's* Vice Chancellor. A personal connection with the accused in the 1925 trial of Julius Barmat* led to his suspension from the SPD; rehabilitation followed at the same year's annual Party meeting. Throughout the turmoil of war and revolutionary unrest his pragmatism convinced him that the SPD should lead in coalition with the middle-class parties. Retiring from politics in 1928, he resided thereafter chiefly in Berlin* (the NSDAP briefly imprisoned him in 1933).

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Breitman, *German Socialism*; *NDB*, vol. 1.

BAUER, MAX. See *Dolchstosslegende*.

BAUHAUS; an institute dedicated to unity between the pure and applied arts. Founded in Weimar, the Bauhaus was rooted in Walter Gropius's* 1918 appointment as director of both the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach's School of Arts and Crafts and the Fine Arts Academy. In April 1919, after the Grossherzog's abdication, Gropius merged the schools as the *Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar*. His inaugural manifesto exemplified the school's history: ''Today the arts exist in isolation, from which they can be rescued only through the conscious, cooperative effort of all craftsmen. . . . All must return to the crafts. For art is not a 'profession.' There is no essential difference between the artist and the craftsman'' (Wingler).

Until 1923 the Bauhaus mirrored the utopian struggles of Weimar culture. Polarized by abstraction and craftsmanship, the school was torn between the nonutilitarian ideology of Johannes Itten* and the pragmatism of László Moholy-Nagy.* Two 1923 events—Itten's removal and a major exhibition (''Art and Technology: A New Unity'')—induced change and reflected a determination to market the school's craftsmanship. The banknotes designed for the government by Herbert Bayer, the furniture of Marcel Breuer,* and the skyscraper models assembled by Ludwig Mies* all reflected the new emphasis.

Upon the 1923 removal of Thuringia's* leftist government, Weimar's politics became incompatible with the Bauhaus. Deemed too modern and too ''un-German'' by the state's new leadership, the school relocated in April 1925 to

Dessau. New building and classroom quarters, designed by Gropius, were completed in 1926, and the school's name was changed to *Hochschule für Gestaltung* (Institute for Design). Under the rising influence of Moholy-Nagy, who proclaimed art's death in the introductory course, practical design increasingly displaced the once-prominent painters. Gradually, the school's architectural impact was noticed in cities throughout Germany, especially in Berlin* and Frankfurt.

When in 1928 Gropius released the Bauhaus to Hannes Meyer—a choice he later regretted—the emphasis on functionalism was broadened while art offerings were curtailed. The sense of mystery once associated with Itten was abandoned. Meyer was unpopular with most faculty and several students. He was an outspoken Communist, and his attempt to link Marxism with the school's curriculum also alienated Dessau's city government. Although he was replaced in November 1930 by Mies, who refocused studies on pure craftsmanship, the politicians had grown weary of the school's modernism. By January 1932 a Nazi city council was demanding closure; thus, the Bauhaus relocated to Berlin in October. Under pressure from the NSDAP, Mies closed the school on 2 April 1933; its product was deemed illustrative of *entartete Kunst* (degenerate art).

Many Bauhaus teachers and pupils scattered throughout Europe and America. Although it rarely had more than two hundred students, its long-term impact on design concepts transcended its humble size.

REFERENCES: Bayer, Gropius, and Gropius, *Bauhaus*; *EA*; Neumann, *Bauhaus*; Willett, *Art and Politics*; Wingler, *Bauhaus*.

BÄUMER, GERTRUD (1873–1954), politician; the most prominent woman in the Weimar-era Reichstag.* Born in Hohenlimburg, Westphalia, she grew up in the Pomeranian village of Cammin, where her father was a minister and school inspector. After teaching school during 1892–1898, she studied German language at Berlin,* taking a doctorate in 1904 with a thesis on Goethe's *Satyros*. Driven to improve educational opportunities for women,* she helped publish *Die Frau*, journal of the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* (League of German Women's Societies, BDF) and then served as BDF chairman during 1910–1919. In 1912 she joined Theodor Heuss* and Anton Erkelenz* on the staff of *Die Hilfe*, a journal that sponsored Friedrich Naumann's* political ideology. Instructing at a women's school when war erupted in 1914, she founded the National Women's Service (*Nationaler Frauendienst*) to assist families with men at the front.

Bäumer joined the DDP in December 1918 and was elected in January to the National Assembly.* She retained a Reichstag seat from 1920 through 1932, serving concurrently from May 1920 as the Interior Ministry's counselor (*Ministerialrätin*) for child welfare. But her attachment to liberalism was increasingly suspect. After drafting the Child Welfare Act of 1922, she led a minority of the DDP who championed the Law for the Protection of Youth against Trash and Filth,* a measure restricting pornography sales. From 1926 she promoted social

issues at the League of Nations. A nationalist who favored centralized government, she embraced the new DStP in 1930.

Under Bäumer's guidance the BDF abandoned its commitment to sexual equality in favor of a view that the sexes are innately different. The Bäumer-dominated BDF executive sponsored an increasingly authoritarian and racially oriented program. Over her protest, she was judged politically unreliable by the NSDAP and relieved in 1933 of her Interior Ministry duties. The BDF dissolved the same year. Nevertheless, Bäumer reached a modus vivendi with the Nazis and managed to publish an insipid version of *Die Frau* until 1944. Her publications were temporarily banned by Allied authorities after World War II.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Richard Evans, *Feminist Movement in Germany*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*.

BAVARIA. A rural state, Bavaria sustained a particularism and monarchism* distinct from Germany's other *Länder*. Only three cities—Munich, Nuremberg, and Augsburg—exceeded 100,000 in population; most institutions in agrarian-based Bavaria harkened back to an earlier era. Its religious makeup of 70 percent Catholics* and 29 percent Protestants* roughly inverted the situation in Germany as a whole (although, within Bavaria's eight districts, Protestants outnumbered Catholics in Upper and Middle Franconia and in the Palatinate). Moreover, the cohesiveness of the religious communities had a singular impact on the average attitude toward politics.

While the war initially fostered German nationalism among the eight million Bavarians, its final stages revived particularism and intensified anti-Prussian rancor. When on 7–8 November 1918 Kurt Eisner,* a pacifist and socialist, enlisted Bavarian war-weariness to depose the ancient Wittelsbach dynasty, the step was widely deemed an expression of Bavaria's unique status within the Reich. But the Armistice* erased any grounds for supporting this Jew* from Berlin.* When he gained only 3 of 180 seats in the state elections of 12 January 1919, Eisner's political base was subverted. He clung unwisely to office, but his 21 February assassination* polarized Bavarian politics. Johannes Hoffmann,* his Social Democratic successor, soon faced an odd assortment of utopian Communists. Fleetingly led by Ernst Toller* and Gustav Landauer,* they staged a *coup d'état* on 6 April, whereupon Hoffmann removed his government to Bamberg; this ''desertion'' seemed to underscore the SPD's ineptitude. The new *Räterepublik*, meanwhile, governed little beyond Munich's city limits (''Munich is not Bavaria'' was a typical rural response). While Bavarians went hungry, coffeehouse intellectuals passed giddy decrees—for example, the manifesto of the Public Housing Commissar that ''henceforth the living room must always be placed above the kitchen and bedroom.'' On 13 April an unsuccessful putsch by Munich's military garrison resulted in the city's seizure by real Communists. Governed by a four-man executive led by Eugen Leviné,* the regime armed the workers, banned the bourgeois press, commandeered food from farmers,* seized

the banks, and generally terrorized the city. When Berlin ordered the army and Freikorps* units to reinstall Hoffmann, the ''liberation'' claimed over one thousand lives.

Munich's leftist experiment, controlled largely by non-Bavarians, encouraged the rise of the NSDAP while transforming many Bavarians into ardent anti-Marxists. From May 1919 until the 1923 Beerhall Putsch,* Bavaria was home to an array of patriotic associations* that sought to destroy the Republic; indeed, it was the only state with a serious organization, the *Bayrische Königspartei*, seeking restoration of the monarchy (albeit Bavaria's Wittelsbach monarchy). Hoffmann, meanwhile, retained office until March 1920 in coalition with the DDP and the BVP. But having created an *Einwohnerwehr* to end Bavaria's reliance on Prussian military assistance, he was forced into retirement by his creation in the wake of the Kapp* Putsch. Although the SPD enjoyed broad support in Bavaria, it never again held a ministerial portfolio.

From March 1920 until Weimar's demise, the BVP retained the Prime Ministership and most other governmental portfolios. But state politics were marked by a peculiar struggle between the BVP, as the reactionary defender of states' rights and clerical prerogative, and the NSDAP, the voice of a radical, anticlerical nationalism. Munich's suspicion of Berlin, which typically unified Bavarians, induced several disputes with the Reich government: Bavaria refused to employ the Law for the Protection of the Republic,* it sheltered illegal paramilitary groups, and it retained unsanctioned People's Courts. But Hitler's* putsch convinced the BVP to reexamine its relationship with Berlin. Heinrich Held,* Prime Minister during 1924–1933, astutely concluded that by working with the Republic, Bavaria could retain its unique status while countering the Nazi threat; indeed, Bavaria consistently gave the NSDAP a smaller percentage of votes than the remainder of Germany. It was a major feat that Held, and thus Bavaria, mastered this delicate maneuver for so long. Ultimately, however, efforts to counter the Nazis' seizure of power by reinstating the old monarchy were crushed in March 1933.

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Dorondo, *Bavaria and German Federalism*; Garnett, *Lion, Eagle, and Swastika*; Harold Gordon, *Hitler*; Kershaw, *Popular Opinion*; Landauer, ''Bavarian Problem''; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; Pridham, *Hitler's Rise to Power*.

BAVARIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (*Bayerische Volkspartei*, BVP). On 12 November 1918, after Kurt Eisner* proclaimed a Bavarian Republic (ending the Wittelsbach dynasty's rule), the state's Center Party* split from the national organization and, at the urging of Georg Heim,* became the Bavarian People's Party. The decision had ample motivation: aversion to Matthias Erzberger's* visibility in Reich affairs; ambivalence vis-à-vis Berlin*; and a transparent effort to disguise the Party's Catholicism.* Soon Bavaria's* leading party (its influence was negligible only in Protestant* Franconia), the BVP was recognized for two attributes: it was decidedly Catholic and monarchist. While key members, no-

tably Heim and Gustav von Kahr,* promoted autonomy, the Party as a whole was not separatist. On balance, it promoted German nationalism in foreign affairs while endorsing states' rights in domestic politics. (Its aim to link Austria* and Bavaria, Catholic states, reflected a wish to balance Protestant Prussia.*)

With its largely rural constituency, the BVP's agenda was shaped by distrust of Berlin. Some Party officials believed that Berlin planned to ''take over'' Bavaria, completing what Bismarck had left undone in 1870–1871; others feared the long, anticlerical arm of ''Red'' Berlin; still others feared Prussian Protestantism; many envisioned north German plots to exploit Bavarian agriculture. Such notions sparked animosity that neither Munich nor Berlin could afford in the troubled postwar era. Disputes typically focused on Berlin's efforts to centralize such things as the judiciary, taxation, fiscal policy, and paramilitary administration. During the period (1920–1923) in which Kahr wielded control, any action that embarrassed Berlin was deemed honorable. Only when Party chairman Heinrich Held* became Prime Minister in 1924 (a post he retained until 1933) did the BVP become circumspect in its relations with Berlin. While Held was committed to Bavaria, he considered Kahr stubborn and shortsighted. Only by working with Berlin, he asserted, could Bavaria maintain its federalist program in light of the Nazi threat—a threat made tangible by Hitler's 1923 Beerhall Putsch.* Since the BVP ''owned'' most ministerial portfolios until 1933, Held's policy became Bavaria's policy.

Until 1927 the BVP blocked conciliation with the Center; indeed, when Wilhelm Marx,* the Center chairman, ran for President in 1925, the BVP backed Paul von Hindenburg,* a Lutheran Junker.* While its Reichstag* faction would not always follow Munich's dictates, it was never a reliable Center ally. Nevertheless, after supporting Center-DNVP collaboration for two years, the BVP accepted a merger offer in November 1927. But unity proved illusive; retaining distinct names and faction meetings, the Parties regularly split over cooperation with the SPD. Upon Fritz Schäffer's* 1929 selection as BVP chairman, relations worsened. A diehard federalist, Schäffer sometimes ordered the faction to oppose Heinrich Brüning's* economic program. Although he was friendly with the Catholic Chancellor, he opposed measures (e.g., an increased beer tax) that encroached upon states' rights.

Upon Hitler's appointment, Held and Schäffer tried to avert disaster by restoring the Wittelsbachs in the person of Crown Prince Rupprecht. Nazi agents frustrated the plan. With Held in Switzerland and Schäffer in prison, the BVP was dissolved in July 1933.

REFERENCES: Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Harold Gordon, *Hitler*; Walter Kaufmann, *Monarchism*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; Schönhoven, *Bayerische Volkspartei*, ''Heinrich Held.''

BECHER, JOHANNES. *See Die Linkskurve.*

BECKER, CARL HEINRICH (1876–1933), Prussian Cultural Minister; championed educational reform. Born in Amsterdam, he took a doctorate in

Semitic languages before traveling extensively throughout the Mediterranean. He completed a *Habilitation* at Heidelberg and went to Hamburg in 1908 as Professor for the History and Culture of the Orient.

Following his appointment at Bonn in 1913, Becker's career made a sharp turn. His wartime writings on Middle Eastern issues brought assignment in 1916 with the Prussian Cultural Ministry. This led, in turn, to appointment in 1919 as State Secretary for Higher Education in the Cultural Ministry of Konrad Haenisch. By 1921 he was Cultural Minister in the Prussian cabinet of Adam Stegerwald.* Although the appointment was short-lived—he reverted to State Secretary in the fall of 1921—in 1925 he was again Cultural Minister, this time under Otto Braun.* He retained the portfolio until 1930.

Combining a solid humanistic education with political savvy and cosmopolitan bearing, Becker transformed the Cultural Ministry into a place of lively intellectual discourse. He promoted technical-school reform, founded an academy to enhance teacher education, created the Prussian Academy of Poetry, and drafted a concordat between the Prussian government of Braun, a Social Democrat, and the Holy See. But his chief mission was to link higher education and the life of the nation, thus promoting contact between the academy and the Republic. To accomplish this, he sought greater participation from students and junior faculty in university governance. Yet his ideas generated hostility from both the *Verband der deutschen Hochschulen* (Corporation of German Universities) and the *Deutsche Studentenschaft*,* the national student organization.

Although Becker was close to the DDP, he remained nonpartisan. In January 1930 Braun was forced to replace him when the SPD demanded more cabinet portfolios. His departure thwarted plans for further reform and impaired Braun's government. Wise and evenhanded, his administration underscored the political success possible during the Republic.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; *NDB*, vol. 1; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*; Steinberg, *Sabers and Brown Shirts*.

BECKMANN, MAX (1884–1950), artist; best remembered for his hard, disillusioned renderings in the immediate aftermath of World War I. Born in Leipzig, he began studies in 1900 at Weimar's *Kunstakademie*. After a sojourn in Paris, he exhibited with the *Berliner Sezession*. In 1906 he was awarded Florence's Villa Romana Prize. In 1910 he joined the *Berliner Sezession*. Volunteering as a medic early in World War I, he was discharged in 1915 with nervous depression. Barring sojourns abroad, he lived continuously in Frankfurt from his discharge until 1933, teaching at the *Städelschule* from 1925 until the NSDAP dismissed him.

Before 1914, when his art was linked with the *Sezession*, Beckmann was influenced by Edvard Munch and the German Expressionists.* However, the war transformed his formerly direct style. His early postwar art became hard, disillusioned, and enigmatic. Subsequent work was marked by images of candles, cats, and mirrors and by a preoccupation with masks, actors, carnivals, and

circuses. Until the mid-1920s he used dull and sickly colors, well represented by his 1919 series *Die Hölle*, of which *Die Nacht* (The Night) is best known. From about 1925, inspired by a trip to Paris, his art changed; with stronger and brighter colors, it had a pure expressiveness by 1930 (e.g., *Fastnacht*). In the 1930s he turned increasingly to mythological themes (*Odysseus* and *Perseus*). Much of his work, purchased by Germany's major museums in the 1920s, was labeled *entartete Kunst* (degenerate art) by the NSDAP.

Beckmann moved to Berlin in 1933 and remained until 1937. After a year in Paris, he settled in Amsterdam; in 1947 he left Europe for good, emigrating to the United States.

REFERENCES: Belting, *Max Beckmann*; Clair, *1920s*; Friedhelm Fischer, *Max Beckmann*; *NDB*, vol. 1.

BEERHALL PUTSCH (*Bürgerbräukeller Putsch*). On the evening of 8 November 1923, Hitler* embarked upon an ill-planned ouster of the Bavarian government as step one of a national revolution. The *Bürgerbräukeller*, one of Munich's largest and most popular beerhalls, was the opening scene of his coup. Munich's leading citizens had gathered at the hall to hear a speech by Gustav von Kahr.* Among the attendees were Otto von Lossow* and Hans von Seisser,* Kahr's cohorts in Bavaria's dictatorial triumvirate. With a crowd of about three thousand, the site offered Hitler an ideal opportunity. Surrounding the building with stormtroopers, he coerced the proceedings with a gunshot, badgered the triumvirate into accepting his ''national revolution,'' and then, after a rousing speech that garnered the crowd's support, extracted a public commitment to his cause from each of Bavaria's leaders.

Despite an auspicious beginning, Hitler left too much to chance and failed to press his advantage. Several Nazis were unaware that a putsch was taking place, questions of arms and supplies went unaddressed, key buildings remained in the hands of the Reichswehr* or the State Police, and insufficient force of authority was used when the police were asked to join the putsch. Erich Ludendorff* committed a fatal gaffe when he released the triumvirate, whom Hitler had left in his charge, trusting in their statements of loyalty. All quickly reclaimed their advantage with military forces in and around Munich. Hitler was consistently outmaneuvered, and the putsch ended on 9 November in a bloody fiasco as he and his entourage marched through Munich to the south side of the Odeonplatz.

Although Hitler probably had greater popular backing on 9 November than his adversaries, his forces were outgunned by disciplined units. The fourteen putschists killed in the encounter near the Feldherrnhalle were immortalized and served to bolster Hitler's rise to power. But more important than the episode itself was the impact it had on Hitler: after he transformed his ensuing trial into a public-relations triumph, he jettisoned the NSDAP's revolutionary strategy and formed the conviction, not evident before November 1923, that he was the only person capable of leading Germany's nationalists to victory.

REFERENCES: Dornberg, *Munich 1923*; Harold Gordon, *Hitler*; Merkl, *Political Violence*; Stachura, ''Political Strategy.''

BEHRENS, PETER (1868–1940), architect; perhaps the foremost industrial designer in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Born in Hamburg, he inherited considerable wealth as a teenage orphan and used it to study art. He moved to Munich, where his fertile mind profited from a milieu that, with the 1896 founding of the journals *Jugend* and *Simplizissimus*, generated an avid public. Influenced by *Jugendstil*, he gravitated to graphic design. At the request of Hesse's *Grossherzog* Ernst Ludwig, he helped found Darmstadt's Artists Colony during 1899–1903; while he led Düsseldorf's *Kunstgewerbeschule* during 1903–1907, he helped create the German *Werkbund*.

In 1907 Paul Jordan, AEG's managing director, invited Behrens to become chief designer for the Berlin-based electric company. After unveiling Moabit's massive glass-and-steel turbine building in 1909, Behrens proceeded to design both the interior furnishings and exterior plans for numerous internationally recognized industrial buildings. He always viewed architecture as an extension of art, and his imagination increasingly led him beyond AEG's vision. In addition to large buildings, he designed small industrial components such as arc lamps, ventilators, electric ovens, and teakettles. Nor were his activities confined to AEG. During 1909–1912 he designed private homes, a crematorium, a Catholic meeting house, the Ketten Bridge of Cologne, the new buildings of the Frankfurt Gas Company, the offices of the Mannesmann Conduit Company in Düsseldorf, the German embassy in St. Petersburg, and the villa of Peter Wiegand in Berlin.* Concurrently, he completed numerous designs for AEG. When his creativity led him to work in stone, he contrived the gabled script on the Reichstag,* *Dem deutschen Volk* (1916), and a tombstone in Heidelberg for Friedrich Ebert* (1925). His garden designs were shown in Düsseldorf, Bern, Oldenburg, Mannheim, and Munich, and his *Wintergarten* appeared in 1925 at the Paris Exposition for the Decorative Arts.

Although Behrens taught the master class in architecture at Vienna's *Kunstakademie* in 1922–1927, he remained active in Germany; in 1920–1924 he designed IG Farben's* future administrative headquarters in Hoechst. Two large structures on Berlin's Alexanderplatz, *Berolina* and *Alexander* (both designed in strict, objective style), were completed in 1932. During the Nazi era he taught at Berlin's *Kunstakademie* and designed an unexecuted German embassy for Washington. Under his influence new building materials and methods were employed throughout Europe; indeed, without him the vision of the Bauhaus* might have been much restricted (Walter Gropius* and Ludwig Mies* were his assistants at various times during 1908–1911). In evaluating the modernist tradition, he must be accounted the pacesetter for his many better-known colleagues.

REFERENCES: Blake, *Master Builders*; Buddensieg and Rogge, *Industriekultur*; *NDB*, vol. 2.

BELL, JOHANNES. *See* Hermann Müller.

BELOW, GEORG VON (1858–1927), historian; among the Republic's leading academic opponents. He was born in Königsberg to a family renowned for landholdings, officers, and bureaucrats. After abandoning plans to join the civil service,* he studied history, taking a doctorate in 1883. Following an editorial assignment with Prussia's *Abgeordnetenhaus*, he completed his *Habilitation* in 1886 at Marburg. *Ausserordentlicher Professor* in 1889 at Königsberg, he was full professor at Münster (1891), Marburg (1897), Tübingen (1901), and Freiburg (1905). He became emeritus at Freiburg in 1924.

Below's encyclopedic writings accentuated constitutional and economic history. He was a generalist, and his work blended history, law, economics, and sociology; however, he embraced Ranke's dictum that all areas of historical study are subservient to political history. Intrigued by institutional origins, he promoted the concept that contemporary public institutions had private, family-related foundations. His central work on this idea, *Der deutsche Staat des Mittelalters* (The German state of the Middle Ages), was incomplete at his death. He also stressed historical method, demanding its exclusive validity for all writing, including area studies. When he sensed the intrusion of a materialistic or positivistic methodology, he launched his considerable intellect against the violator. Yet he refused to acknowledge that his own work was imprinted with Lutheran religiosity and devotion to the German nation. Henry Pachter, his student at Freiburg, referred to him as ''a Prussian Junker* and a monarchist, an enemy of any type of progress, to the point of ignoring women* students in his classes. He hated the Republic and the bourgeoisie.''

Below became active in 1907 with the Pan-German League. In 1917 he founded, with Houston Stewart Chamberlain,* the journal *Deutschlands Erneuerung* (Germany's renewal) and, with Otto Spann, *Herdflamme* (Hearth blaze); both were antidemocratic, anti-Semitic, and militaristic. Named Freiburg's rector in 1916, he was immediately embroiled with the liberal historian Veit Valentin,* forcing the latter's dismissal in 1917. When Carl Becker,* Prussian Cultural Minister, tried to enhance higher education's relevance with interdepartmental offerings, Below, tracing the concept to Becker's ''Marxist leanings,'' became the Minister's relentless opponent.

REFERENCES: Richard Bauer, ''Veit Valentin''; *NDB*, vol. 2; Pachter, *Weimar Etudes*; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*.

BENJAMIN, WALTER (1892–1940), intellectual; a Frankfurt School* associate, remembered for the aphorism ''Every monument to civilization is also a monument to barbarism.'' Born to a wealthy Jewish home in Berlin,* he volunteered for the army in World War I. Although he took a doctorate in philosophy in 1920, a likely brilliant career miscarried when his *Habilitation* was rejected in 1925 at Frankfurt; later published as *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels* (Origin of German tragedy), the thesis was too unconventional for

the academy. Thereafter, he directed his intellect to writing and criticism; much of his work appeared after his death. An authority on German literature, he cultivated an expertise in French studies, translating the work of Proust and Baudelaire. His essays appeared in *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, a journal edited by his friends Theodor Adorno* and Max Horkheimer.* Attracted to Marxism, he visited the Soviet Union* in 1926–1927 and thereafter focused on a critique of ''reductionism'' (i.e., explaining society's superstructure through reference to its economic foundation). But he never joined the KPD; his esoteric thought, like that of his colleagues, was directed more to philosophy than politics. Astutely aware of the arts (he was a devotee of Bertolt Brecht*), he claimed that the impact of film* and mass reproduction would forever change aesthetics.

Benjamin grasped his vulnerability in 1933 and emigrated to France. Attempting to escape in 1940, he feared capture by the Gestapo and committed suicide near the Spanish border.

REFERENCES: Arendt, ''Introduction''; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; David Gross, ''*Kultur*''; Laqueur, *Weimar*; Lunn, *Marxism and Modernism.*

BENN, GOTTFRIED (1886–1956), writer; his work combined elements of Expressionism* with a disturbing realism. Born in the West Prussian town of Mansfeld, he studied language and philosophy. On military scholarship, he took a medical doctorate in 1912 from the Kaiser Wilhelm Academy in Berlin* and then served briefly at the front as a medical officer. Through ties with Berlin's Expressionists he became the lover of Else Lasker-Schüler.* His medical practice, specializing in venereal and skin diseases, lasted from 1917 until 1935; yet he sustained contact with the Republic's intellectual community, which led in 1932 to his induction into the Prussian Academy of Arts. His collaboration in the 1920s with Paul Hindemith* resulted in the oratorio *Das Unaufhörliche* (Change and Permanence), first performed in 1931.

Benn's writing was inseparable from his medical training. His poetry exhibited an aggressive and cynical Naturalism, inconceivable without his profession and most strikingly represented in *Morgue* (1912). He once claimed that art should be concerned exclusively with ''style, not truth,'' an assertion troublesome to many admirers. Relativism was also central to his prose and essays, genres he favored in the 1920s (*see Gesammelte Prosa* [Collected Prose] and *Können Dichter die Welt ändern?* [Can poets change the world?]). While he alleged that his work was morally indifferent, he expressed contempt for the Republic's social structure and politics.

Since Hitler* infatuated Benn, the early years of the Third Reich are a sordid period in his biography. In 1933 he was the leading German writer to commend Nazism as the fulfillment of a valid artistic ideology. But by 1935, when he reenlisted and coined the term *innere Emigration*, he had broken intellectually with the regime. His mature poetry, appearing after 1945, reflected a despondency associated with Germany's defeat.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *EP*, vol. 1; Ritchie, *Gottfried Benn*.

BERG, ALBAN. *See* Arnold Schoenberg.

BERGMANN, CARL (1874–1935), financier; Germany's chief reparations* advisor. State Secretary in the Finance Ministry during 1920–1921, head of the *Kriegslastenkommission* (literally, War Burdens Commission) in Paris, and principal emissary to the Reparation Commission until 1924, he had served twenty-five years with the Reichsbank when he became Germany's financial expert at Versailles. Between the Spa Conference* (July 1920) and acceptance of the Dawes Plan* (1924), he shifted so often between Berlin,* Paris, London, Brussels, and Switzerland that he was dubbed the ''International Commuter.'' Before Dawes, his efforts to fix a reparations debt were compromised either by problems arising between France and England or by provocative remarks from his colleagues. As Germany's strongest proponent for fulfilling Allied demands, he often overlooked the political implications of his recommendations. Walther Rathenau's* financial confidant when the Foreign Minister signed the Rapallo Treaty* (April 1922), he privately censured the accord. In 1923 he was a candidate for the position of Reichsbank President (Hjalmar Schacht* was appointed).

Bergmann retired from both government service and a post with Deutsche Bank in 1924. His *Der Weg der Reparation*, published in 1926, appeared in 1927 as *The History of Reparations*.

REFERENCES: Kent, *Spoils of War*; Harry Graf Kessler, *Walther Rathenau*; Keynes, *Activities*; Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe*.

BERLIN. In the mid-nineteenth century Heinrich Heine referred to Berlin as ''that mixture of white beer, mendacity, and Brandenburg sand.'' Berlin was never the liveliest German city, and it was a surprise when it became the epitome of modernism in the 1920s. Even during its decades as the Kaiserreich's capital, it was characterized by many as a garrison town. The condescension ended in the 1920s. Whether one viewed the bustle of Potsdamer Platz, the flashy shops and cafes of the Kurfürstendamm, the elegant villas along Lützow Ufer, or the government district east of the Tiergarten, the image was that of Germany's, even Europe's, most exciting city. Greater Berlin was created by a law of 27 April 1920 amalgamating eight municipal districts, fifty-five suburban districts, and twenty-three estates in an effort to eliminate the social and economic differences separating the city's poor eastern boroughs from its wealthier western municipalities. With four million people, it was the world's third-largest city and a magnet to all who wished to live ''on the outer edge.''

Yet Berlin's glamour and intellectual vitality, and its illusion of power, were misleading on several levels. Lacking a common denominator, the city was not simply the exciting focal point of theater,* music,* film,* and art; it was a

microcosm for all the tortuous problems facing the Republic. When things went wrong, as they did in the 1920s, Berlin was the scapegoat for Germany's national grievances. After Philipp Scheidemann* proclaimed ''the German Republic,'' Friedrich Ebert* found it necessary to secure his regime by forming Freikorps* units to counter leftist revolts in Berlin's streets. The resulting tumult forced the pristine National Assembly* to desert the capital for Weimar. But the deadly clashes that marked the spring of 1919 (approximately 1,200 people, many of them innocent bystanders, were slain in March) simply initiated a string of crises. March 1920 witnessed the rightist Kapp* Putsch, and from war's end through the numbing inflation,* the typical Berliner lived with hunger and soup kitchens (first appearing in the ''Turnip Winter'' of 1916–1917). Strikes, political murders (e.g., of Walther Rathenau*), corruption trials (one ended the career of greater Berlin's first *Oberbürgermeister*, Gustav Böss*), suicides, bankruptcies, a high level of endemic crime, and, in the Republic's final years, bloody battles between Nazis and Communists all marked Berlin's landscape during the years when Germany's capital grew famous for its avant-garde theater, anarchist philosophers, seedy nightclubs, ingenious music, and perceptive newspapers.* Throughout, the elegance of Berlin's western sections—from the Tiergarten through Grunewald and Wannsee—was counterbalanced by the crime and poverty of Prenzlauer Berg and the *Scheunenviertel* (''barn quarter'') of the city's northeast.

Such is the balanced image of a city that, upon the Hohenzollerns' collapse, lost its moorings. The erstwhile garrison town, marked by the facades and stone magnificence of its former arrogance, served as a haven to all unwelcome elsewhere—and during the Republic, ''elsewhere'' included Weimar, once home to Goethe and Schiller, and reactionary Munich, once raffish and bohemian. At social gatherings a reactionary Junker* might be seen standing by a socialist member of the Reichstag.* As István Déak recorded, it meant little if one were an outsider or a newcomer to Berlin. Much of its culture was unimaginable without refugees from Russia or Hungary, exiles from Austria* and Poland,* and the curious from throughout the world. The mix inspired Alfred Döblin's* *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, Bertolt Brecht's* *Die Dreigroschenoper*, Fritz Lang's* *Metropolis*, the revues of the Metropol Theater, the satire of Kurt Tucholsky* and Walter Mehring,* the music of Arnold Schoenberg,* and the acting of Marlene Dietrich.* Many naïvely presumed that Berlin represented Germany; the Nazis laid bare the error of this judgment.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Otto Friedrich, *Before the Deluge*; Thomas Friedrich, *Berlin between the Wars*; Kiaulehn, *Berlin*; Liang, *Berlin Police Force*.

BERLIN ALEXANDERPLATZ. *See* Alfred Döblin.

BERLIN TREATY. *See* Ulrich Graf von Brockdorff-Rantzau *and* Soviet Union.

BERLINER TAGEBLATT. *See* Rudolf Mosse, Newspapers, *and* Theodor Wolff.

BERMANN, GOTTFRIED. *See* Samuel Fischer.

BERNHARD, GEORG. *See* Newspapers *and* Ullstein Verlag.

BERNSTEIN, EDUARD. *See* Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany *and* Social Democratic Party of Germany.

BERTRAM, ADOLF (1859–1945), Archbishop and Cardinal; leader of the German Catholic Church during the Republic and the Third Reich. Born to modest circumstances in Hildesheim (his father owned a fabric shop), he studied outside of Prussian territory to escape Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* against Catholicism. After pursuing theology during 1877–1881, he attended seminary in Munich and entered the priesthood in 1883. Evolving into a distinguished church administrator, he was named Bishop in 1906 of his home city, Hildesheim. Advanced to Archbishop of Breslau in 1914, he received a Cardinal's cap in 1916. As tradition dictated, he became Chairman of the Conference of German Bishops at the death in 1919 of Felix Cardinal von Hartmann; he retained the position until his own death.

As Breslau was in eastern Silesia, Bertram was sensitive to the church's exposure resulting from the severe Polish-German tension of the 1920s. Although he was respected in the Weimar era for his pastoral skills, his strict political neutrality—he punished both German and Polish clerics who became outspokenly nationalistic—was little appreciated. However, the Bishops' Conference profited from his energy, his encyclopedic knowledge, and his diplomatic skill; he helped negotiate the Vatican's 1929 concordat with Prussia.* In 1930 he issued an exhortation asking that Catholics* rebuff fanaticism and distance themselves from racism. Under his guidance the conference issued a 1932 prohibition on joining the NSDAP.

Old enough to sustain wounds from the *Kulturkampf*, Bertram was horrified when Hitler* seized power. He had once denounced the idea of an Aryanized church, but he revised his maxim to avoid endangering Catholicism. He insisted on patience and compromise (he habitually sent Hitler birthday greetings), and his posture seriously damaged his reputation. When he learned of Hitler's death in April 1945, he held a requiem mass for the Nazi leader.

REFERENCES: Balfour, *Withstanding Hitler*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Lewy, *Catholic Church*; Volk, ''Adolf Kardinal Bertram.''

BERTRAM, ERNST (1884–1957), poet and writer; one-time companion of Stefan George,* best known for his biography of Nietzsche. Born in Elberfeld (now in Wuppertal), he studied literature and art history, taking a doctorate in 1907. While working as a private scholar, he was befriended in Munich by

George, becoming part of his circle until the end of World War I. During these years he wrote literary articles, poetry, a few novellas, and essays on German self-awareness. His 1918 work on Nietzsche, for which he shared the Nietzsche Prize with Thomas Mann,* established his reputation. While the book was celebrated by Friedrich Gundolf as a ''memorial to the German spirit,'' it ruptured his relationship with George. Because it served as his *Habilitation* at Bonn, Bertram gained appointment in 1922 as Professor of German Literature at Cologne; he held the chair until he was stripped of it in 1946 as part of denazification.

Bertram's poetry revealed his debt to George. In 1925 he published *Das Nordenbuch* (The book of the north), an acclaimed selection exalting Teutonic culture. Meanwhile, his Nietzsche study was followed by solid books on Heinrich von Kleist and Adalbert Stifter. In 1933 he delivered a lecture at Cologne tracing the roots of Germany's ''awakening''—that is, the Nazi awakening—to George's poetry. Although no member of the *George-Kreis* openly declared himself hostile to the Nazis, Bertram was the only one who joined the NSDAP and found favor with it. Although he prevented the burning of works by Thomas Mann and Gundolf in May 1933, he nevertheless attended the ''solemn *auto-da-fé*.'' Since 1945 his substantive writings have been largely ignored.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Bithell, *Modern German Literature*.

BETRACHTUNGEN EINES UNPOLITISCHEN. *See* Thomas Mann.

BLACK REICHSWEHR (*Schwarze Reichswehr*).

In 1923, after a series of events that included France's Ruhr occupation* and Lithuania's seizure of the Memel district, Hans von Seeckt* took steps to bolster Germany's limited army. Fearing a Polish attack or a deeper French incursion, Seeckt gained Friedrich Ebert's* authorization to create a force known as the *Arbeitskommandos* (Labor Troops) from old Freikorps* units. Thus, with approval at the Republic's highest levels, Seeckt concluded a secret accord on 7 February 1923 with Carl Severing,* Prussian Interior Minister, whereby the Reichswehr* would finance, train, and garrison *Arbeitskommandos*, popularly known as the Black Reichswehr. Numbering 50,000–80,000 men by September 1923, the force was responsible to Lieutenant-Colonel Fedor von Bock (attached to Berlin's* Third Reichswehr Division) and drilled under the command of Major Bruno Buchrucker.*

By submitting the troops to army discipline, Seeckt hoped to break their willful spirit. Thus the *Arbeitskommandos* joined in maneuvers and attended a noncommissioned officers' school. But Seeckt's hope went unfulfilled; the men were not interested so much in defending Germany's frontiers as in deposing its Republic. The episode climaxed in September 1923 when Gustav Stresemann* offended their nationalist pride by ending passive resistance in the Ruhr. Planning a putsch for 29 September, Buchrucker and his men were inadvertently neutralized when Ebert declared a state of emergency—a measure aimed at

Bavaria.* Although the Black Reichswehr staged a pathetic 1 October march on the Küstrin barracks (near Berlin), it ended without bloodshed.

Angered by the Küstrin affair, which received wide press coverage, Seeckt ordered the Black Reichswehr's immediate dissolution (anxiety over Poland* led to retention of a few units). Defense Minister Otto Gessler*, when called before committees of the Reichstag* and Prussian Landtag in 1926 to explain the then-defunct *Arbeitskommandos*, made the feeble claim that they had been organized to collect and destroy illegal weapons caches—a preposterous assertion given the rigorous military training required of them.

REFERENCES: Craig, *Politics of the Prussian Army*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

BLÄTTER FÜR DIE KUNST. See Stefan George.

DER BLAUE ENGEL. See Heinrich Mann.

DER BLAUE REITER. See Expressionism.

BLOCH, ERNST (1885–1977), social philosopher; evolved a Marxism sustained more by Kant than by Marx. Born in Ludwigshafen, he studied during 1911–1916 at Heidelberg, forming a friendship with fellow student Georg Lukács*; Lukács labeled him a ''born philosopher'' of the Hegelian type. Swayed by Expressionism* and the intellectual milieu of postwar Munich, his ideas embody key contradictions. He began his career in 1918 at Leipzig with publication of *Geist der Utopie* (Spirit of utopia), followed in 1922 with a study of Thomas Münzer that blended Marxism and mysticism. His Marxist revisionism was further developed in *Spuren* (Footprints, 1930) and *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (Heritage of our times, 1933).

A formidable intellect, Bloch lacked the political instinct to realize that his utopian philosophy was not solidly Marxist. He was once deemed the heir to the dialectical paradigm developed by Hegel and Marx, but his roots are now questioned. Kolakowski claimed that he not only attempted to graft a ''complete metaphysic'' onto Marxism but unmasked ''its neo-Platonic roots.'' Identified with the esoteric thought of the Frankfurt School,* he was, with Lukács and Karl Korsch,* among those who believed Leninism too primitive for western and central Europe. Walter Laqueur maintained that his work was ''a curious mixture of expressionist style and Old Testament pathos interspersed with Marxist terminology.'' He ultimately viewed politics as little more than a means to deeper spirituality and higher culture. Fleeing to the United States in 1933, he returned to East Germany in 1948. His major work, the three-volume *Das prinzip Hoffnung* (The Principle of Hope, 1954–1959) stirred such controversy that he was forbidden to publish it. In 1961 he left the German Democratic Republic and lived in Tübingen until his death.

REFERENCES: *EP*, vol. 1; Garland and Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature*; Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*; Laqueur, *Weimar*.

BLOCKADE (March 1915–July 1919); a ''weapon'' instituted by England during the first year of World War I. Retained as a concept almost by accident in the early twentieth century, it was by 1917 the preeminent weapon in the Allied arsenal. Through its refined use, including pressure on neutrals who might otherwise have traded with the Germans, the Allies managed to strangle Germany economically. According to Prime Minister Herbert Asquith, it was ''the control of the sea by the British Navy which fed and equipped the Allies, by successive stages drained the life-blood of the enemy, and won the War'' (Vincent).

Article 26 of the November 1918 Armistice* stipulated that ''existing blockade conditions set up by the Allied and Associated Powers are to remain unchanged, German merchant ships found at sea remaining liable to capture. The Allies and the United States contemplate the provisioning of Germany during the Armistice as shall be found necessary.'' Since the Armistice remained in force until July 1919, when the National Assembly* ratified the Versailles Treaty,* the blockade endured these eight months. Moreover, that portion of Article 26 ''contemplating'' Germany's provisioning was only activated in March, after a protracted inter-Allied quarrel over Germany's means for purchasing foodstuffs. Food was shipped when France belatedly accepted a policy whereby Germany could use gold reserves for food delivery in exchange for the surrender of its merchant marine, a demand added to the Armistice in January 1919.

It is impossible to judge the physical and psychological impact of continuing the blockade beyond November 1918. Although Germany's economic resilience became a source of both admiration and concern in the 1920s, its exhaustion at the conclusion of hostilities has been well documented. The post-Armistice blockade sharpened the enmity inspired by four years of trench warfare. A collapse of moral and legal principle, an impairment of physical and mental well-being, and a general conviction that Allied policy was based less on Wilsonian idealism than traditional power politics were the blockade's legacies.

REFERENCES: Bane and Lutz, *Blockade*; Bell, *History of the Blockade*; Keynes, ''Dr. Melchior''; Offer, *First World War*; Siney, *Allied Blockade*; Vincent, *Politics of Hunger*.

BLOMBERG, WERNER VON (1878–1946), general; named Defense Minister upon Hitler's* appointment as Chancellor. Born in Stargard, Pomerania, he was educated in the cadet corps before entering the infantry. First appointed to the General Staff in 1911, he was assigned to the new Defense Ministry in 1919. During 1925–1927 he headed the *Truppenamt*'s training department, then became Chief of the *Truppenamt*. Embroiled in a policy conflict—Defense Minister Wilhelm Groener* and Kurt von Schleicher* sustained the Locarno Treaties* by reorienting German defenses toward Poland,* while Blomberg,

foreseeing a two-front war, urged illegal rearmament in the demilitarized west—he was reassigned in 1929 as Commander of the First Army District in Königsberg. While he was in East Prussia,* he came under the influence of men sympathetic to the NSDAP. Given leave in 1932 to lead the military delegation at the World Disarmament Conference,* he resisted concessions that impeded preparation for a two-front war. He also employed his special assignment to gain access to Hindenburg,* advising the President to avoid disputes with the NSDAP and then urging Hitler's appointment as Chancellor. In late January 1933 Hindenburg asked him to serve as Defense Minister in a Hitler-led cabinet; Hitler was delighted, retaining Blomberg until 1938.

The Nazis dubbed Blomberg, who was impulsive and easily charmed, the ''rubber lion.'' Ironically, he demanded heavier and faster rearmament and less international cooperation than Hitler initially condoned. In June 1934 he concluded an alliance with Hitler aimed at the SA*; the purge of Ernst Röhm* occurred weeks later. Shortly thereafter he helped draft the Hitler oath required of all members of the armed forces upon Hindenburg's death. Only in November 1937, when he fathomed Hitler's intent to use the army before it had achieved a margin of advantage, did he express misgivings about Hitler. When it became known that he had married a Berlin prostitute, Hitler had him dismissed (January 1938). Hitler ensured that he remained persona non grata; his former General Staff colleagues ostracized him until his death.

REFERENCES: Bennett, *German Rearmament*; Deutsch, *Hitler*; Görlitz, *History of the German General Staff*; *NDB*, vol. 2; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*.

"BLOODY SUNDAY." On Sunday, 17 July 1932, the NSDAP staged a parade in Altona, a largely KPD-controlled Hamburg precinct. Correctly deeming the event a willful provocation, Communists fired on the marchers. The resulting skirmish left seventeen dead. Heretofore, Altona's SPD police commissioner had only occasionally granted assembly permits to either the KPD or the Nazis. In July, however, he sensed that any attempt to rein in the NSDAP would be overruled in Berlin; for several weeks Franz von Papen* had acquiesced to Hitler's* requests.

On the same day, the NSDAP chose to challenge SPD and KPD control in Greifswald's working-class districts. About eight hundred men participated in a march organized by the SA.* Although windows were smashed, the progression remained relatively peaceful until early evening, when, after terrorizing at least one neighborhood, a small group of stormtroopers was attacked while returning to nearby villages. When the skirmish ended, three SA men were dead.

Rather than use the violence as grounds for reinstating a ban on paramilitary activities, Papen employed it as final justification for dismissing Prussia's* SPD government. Meanwhile, in both Altona and Greifswald Nazis had been the chief victims of the violence. The NSDAP scored a psychological victory by exposing the ineptitude of the police to prevent serious disorder.

REFERENCES: Bessel, *Political Violence*; Childers and Weiss, ''Voters and Violence'';

Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*; Ward, '' 'Smash the Fascists.' ''

THE BLUE ANGEL. See Heinrich Mann.

BLUMENFELD, KURT (1884–1963), Zionist; championed the resettlement of Jews* to Palestine. Born to a judge's family in the East Prussian town of Marggrabowa, he was raised in an assimilated home. Although after legal studies he worked briefly in a judicial office, he was increasingly drawn to Zionism. Having joined the Zionist Student Movement in 1905, he was general secretary of the Zionist Federation of Germany (*Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland*, ZVfD) during 1911–1914, charged with responsibility for propaganda and organization. During this period he evolved his concept of ''postassimilationist'' Zionism. His overlapping ambitions were to invite assimilated Jews to rediscover their roots while encouraging massive emigration of *Ostjuden** to Palestine.

Blumenfeld was the precursor of a second and more radical generation of Zionists. Through his clear and well-publicized espousal of Jewish nationalism, he hoped to reestablish a Jewish homeland; indeed, his influence was paramount in the 1914 passage of a resolution at the ZVfD's Leipzig convention stipulating that Jews had no roots in Germany. He expressed privately that Germany was the home ''of the parvenu and the snob.'' The implication that assimilation was wrong and that it bred anti-Semitism* was censured by the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith.*

Blumenfeld used his analytical skill to subvert the ideological basis for emancipation and to demonstrate the hollowness of other liberal ideals embraced by assimilated friends. During 1924–1933, as president of the ZVfD, he generated a vigorous and financially sound program of emigration, the majority of whose converts were *Ostjuden*. Lest anyone question his personal commitment to *Jüdischkeit* (Jewishness), he chose an unassimilated Russian Jew as his wife. Acknowledging the potential for problems between Jewish settlers and the indigenous Arabs, he proposed a binational Palestinian state in 1929.

Blumenfeld emigrated to Palestine in 1933. From 1936, as part of the international organization Keren Hayessod, he labored for a middle position between Zionism's extremes.

REFERENCES: Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*; Hans Bach, *German Jew*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Niewyk, *Jews in Weimar Germany*.

BONN, MORITZ JULIUS (1873–1965), financier; among the Republic's international economic advisors. Born in Frankfurt, he came from a banking family of assimilated Jews.* His chief influence was Lujo Brentano, Munich's esteemed economist, under whom he took a doctorate in 1895. His later life was shaped by broad international travels. Much of his early scholarship focused on British imperialism. He became a *Privatdozent* of economics in 1905 at Munich;

in 1910 he was named rector of Munich's new *Handelshochschule*. Serving in the war's early years as a guest professor in the United States, he became an avid proponent of Wilsonian policies.

Bonn experienced the full impact of revolutionary events in Bavaria.* His international experience and contacts, but above all his economic expertise, brought appointment in April 1919 to the peace delegation. Soon indispensable to both the Chancellor and the Foreign Office, he participated in the Spa* (1920) and Genoa* (1922) conferences as a reparations* expert; at the 1929 Paris meeting that spawned the Young Plan,* he was an advisor to Hjalmar Schacht.* Supporting Schacht's economic policies, he was a critic of indiscriminate borrowing. During 1930–1932 he sat with the League of Nations' Commission of Experts, a task force charged with preparing an international economic conference.

Although diplomatic commitments forced Bonn to resign his rectorship in 1920, he continued teaching, from 1922 at Berlin's *Handelshochschule* (in October 1931 he was appointed *Rector Magnificus*). A classic liberal, Bonn championed the political centralization of the Republic and abhorred Marxism for its destruction of political liberty and its misinterpretation of economics. Because he hoped to counter the *Dolchstosslegende*,* his scholarship encompassed research on the economic causes for Germany's collapse in 1918. In 1933, under siege by Nazi students, he resigned his rectorship and moved to England. After teaching at the London School of Economics, he emigrated to the United States.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Bonn, *Wandering Scholar*.

BORN, MAX (1882–1970), physicist; a key player in the development of quantum mechanics. A native of Breslau (now Poland's Wroclaw), he began university studies in his home city. Moving to Göttingen in 1904 to study with David Hilbert, he took a doctorate in 1907 and then taught and did research variously at Breslau, Göttingen, and Cambridge. A visiting professorship at Chicago in 1912 was followed by independent research and then appointment in 1915 as *ausserordentlicher Professor* at Berlin.* Relieving Max Planck* of lecture obligations, he became full professor and spent four years working with Planck and Albert Einstein.* During 1919–1921 he swapped positions with Max von Laue* and taught at Frankfurt.

When Born was proffered Göttingen's theoretical physics chair in 1921, he persuaded Carl Becker,* Prussian Cultural Minister, to jointly appoint James Franck.* With Hilbert, Franck, Werner Heisenberg,* and Robert Pohl, he was soon absorbed by quantum theory. Among his collaborators were Enrico Fermi of Italy, Victor Weisskopf of Vienna, Eugen Wigner of Hungary, and Robert Oppenheimer of the United States. By 1930, with his work internationally recognized, gifted researchers were arriving to hone their skills at Göttingen's ''Born School.'' But Born was of Jewish ancestry. On 25 April 1933, as stipulated by the Nazis' *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* (Law for the restoration of the professional civil service), he was dismissed. Until

then, he wrote later to Einstein, ''I had never especially considered myself Jewish. Naturally, I now feel it very strongly.'' He left Germany in May, taught for two years at Cambridge, and then became Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Beyerchen, *Scientists under Hitler*; *DSB*, vol. 15, suppl. 1.

BOSCH, CARL (1874–1940), chemist and industrialist; helped create IG Farben.* Born in Cologne, he was a nephew of the industrialist Robert Bosch.* He studied metallurgy and engineering before taking a doctorate in chemistry at Leipzig. In 1909, as a promising young metallurgical engineer with BASF (*Badische Anilin- und Soda-Fabrik*), he was asked to devise a method for mass-producing ammonia, which Fritz Haber* had just synthesized. Given unlimited resources, he built a chemical plant at Oppau (near Ludwigshafen) and by 1913 was mass-producing Haber's ammonia. It was largely for this process that, eighteen years later, he was the first engineer awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry.

Among BASF's stars, Bosch was elected to the company's board of directors. When Walther Rathenau* became head of the War Materials Department in the war's early stages, he asked Haber and Bosch to assist in the development of gunpowder. In an early prototype of the Manhattan Project, Bosch focused BASF on the extraction of saltpeter from ammonia, thereby saving the army from the embarrassment of running out of gunpowder. In 1916 he built a new factory in Leuna for the production of synthetic nitrate. (He later regretted prolonging the war.)

As new chairman of the BASF board, Bosch served as an industrial expert at Versailles.* In 1924 he persuaded the board to accept the proposal of Carl Duisberg,* head of Bayer, to fuse Germany's six largest chemical firms. Following protracted discussions between the six companies, Bosch became managing-board chairman in December 1925 of the newly incorporated IG Farben.

During the war Friedrich Bergius had contrived a process for converting coal into synthetic gasoline. The discovery so captivated Bosch that in the late 1920s he perilously strained the resources of IG Farben by investing millions in a huge synthetic-gas plant in Leuna. Although he eventually mass-produced gasoline, thereby helping convince the Nobel Committee to award him the chemistry prize, the coincidental discovery of vast oil reserves in the Middle East turned his factory into Europe's largest white elephant.

While Standard Oil of New Jersey eased his predicament by purchasing patent rights to Farben's synthetic-fuel research, Bosch's error had important political consequences. Counted among industry's most vocal anti-Nazis, he supplied the NSDAP with five hundred thousand marks once Hitler* came to power—more than any other German industrialist. It seems that he closed a Faustian bargain with Hitler that allowed him to salvage the biggest venture of his tenure with IG Farben, the Leuna gasoline plant. Yet he struggled to keep his distance from

Nazi racial policies. In 1938 he succeeded Max Planck* as president of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society.*

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Borkin, *Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben*; Mann and Plummer, *Aspirin Wars*.

BOSCH, ROBERT (1861–1942), industrialist; famous for applying socialism in the workplace. Born in Ulm, he studied precision-tool manufacturing; during extensive travels he became familiar with English socialism. In 1886 he founded the *Werkstätte für Feinmechanik und Elektrotechnik* (Workshop for Precision Mechanics and Electrical Engineering), a Stuttgart firm specializing in electrical ignition systems. A friend of Karl Kautsky, leader of the SPD, he revolutionized his factory in 1906 by introducing Germany's first eight-hour workday. With their forty-eight-hour workweek, his 580 workers matched the earnings of counterparts at other factories, whether they were working for hourly wages or by the piece.

Bosch, an uncle of the well-known industrial chemist Carl Bosch,* preached compromise before confrontation. Although he was supportive of the Republic, he formed no political attachment and rejected a 1919 offer to become Reconstruction Minister. He held memberships on Württemberg's Socialization Commission and the National Economic Council* and also sat on the presidium of RdI. To preclude further radicalization, he promoted both the eight-hour workday and creation of Workers' Councils* for industry. In 1929 he was one of two industrialists (the other was Hermann Bücher of AEG) to sign a protest condemning the plebiscite against the Young Plan.* His industrial standing did not dilute his progressive vision, an anomaly in Germany. The near-monopoly position of his firm was owed to the quality of its product. At the end of the 1920s, buoyed by his company's finances, he diversified in the face of an economic slump. Amidst the depression* he defended free enterprise against a growing protectionist disposition. Moreover, to alleviate unemployment, he recommended shortening the workday to six hours.

A liberal and individualist—he hoped to achieve an understanding with France—Bosch opposed Nazism. When he was invited in February 1933 to meet Hitler* at the home of Hermann Göring,* he politely declined. The Third Reich's most prominent industrial dissenter, he regularly hired people dismissed by other firms due to race or political opinion. When Carl Goerdeler* was relieved in 1937 as *Oberbürgermeister* of Leipzig, Bosch made him his financial advisor. Until his death, he facilitated the escape of Jews* from Germany.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Heuss, *Robert Bosch*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

BÖSS, GUSTAV (1873–1946), municipal leader; first *Oberbürgermeister* of Greater Berlin.* Born in Giessen, he studied finance at that city's university. After working with the Prussian-Hessian Railroad, he relocated to Berlin and became a member of Schöneberg's city council in 1910. His administrative

talent brought election in 1912 to the all-Berlin chamber. Finally, in 1921, he became *Oberbürgermeister* of the united municipality of Berlin.

A committed republican and member of the DDP, Böss was *Oberbürgermeister* until 1929. With uncommon skill he bridged Berlin's sectional and partisan differences, centralizing most of the city's municipal functions. But his accomplishments were erased in 1929 through involvement in the Sklarek Scandal. Owners of a Berlin clothing factory, the Sklarek brothers contracted for the city's uniform needs. Investigators proved that city officials, including Böss, had received bribes from the Sklareks. After a tedious inquiry by Prussia's* Interior Ministry, he was fined three thousand marks in October 1930. Moreover, having resigned in disgrace, he lost a well-earned pension, and Berlin lost an astute mayor.

Briefly arrested in 1933 by the Nazis, Böss settled in Bavaria.* Although Gestapo files erroneously labeled him a Marxist/Communist, he lived out his life in peaceful solitude.

REFERENCES: Engeli, *Gustav Böss*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Thomas Friedrich, *Berlin between the Wars*; *NDB*, vol. 2.

BRANDLER, HEINRICH. *See* Communist Party of Germany.

BRAUN, MAGNUS FREIHERR VON (1878–1972), bureaucrat; Agriculture Minister under Franz von Papen* and Kurt von Schleicher.* Born to a Junker* home in Upper Silesia,* he acquired an East Prussian estate and became a *Regierungspräsident* in 1919; however, he lost his post after supporting the Kapp* Putsch. He joined the *Reichslandbund*,* the DNVP, and Potsdam's *Einwohnerwehr*.

Via an intrigue between Schleicher and Eberhard von Kalckreuth, a member of the *Reichslandbund* presidium, Braun was named *Osthilfe** Commissioner and Agriculture Minister in Papen's cabinet *before* the collapse of Heinrich Brüning's* government. Asked by Papen in late May 1932 to help form ''a cabinet of gentlemen,'' he joined Wilhelm Freiherr von Gayl* and Paul Freiherr von Eltz-Rübenach—former members of the Potsdam *Einwohnerwehr*—in Papen's ''Cabinet of Barons.''

Despite such social homogeneity, economic policy spawned conflict when Braun's agrarian strategies, demanding high tariffs and generous state support, clashed with the free-trade bias of Economics Minister Hermann Warmbold.* When the dispute escalated into a topic of public debate, Ludwig Kaas* asked President Hindenburg* in November 1932 not to reappoint Papen; the advice reflected poorly on the Chancellor and his feuding ministers.

Notwithstanding his friendship with Papen, Braun also opposed his reappointment, fearing that a Papen government might spark civil war. Remarkably, Braun and Warmbold managed to establish a pretense of cooperation in Schleicher's cabinet; indeed, Braun was among Schleicher's few supporters. But when Braun and the Chancellor restored Brüning's plan to settle nonaristocrats on

bankrupt Junker estates, the *Reichslandbund* accused both of ''agrarian Bolshevism.'' Ever vigilant in his support of the nobility, Hindenburg threatened to dismiss the cabinet unless it redressed the Junkers' grievances. Since Braun had in fact supplied vast sums to the estate owners, he was charged with corruption when Schleicher's cabinet collapsed. No serious consequences ensued from the charge.

REFERENCES: Bracher, *Auflösung*; Dorpalen, *Hindenburg*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2.

BRAUN, OTTO (1872–1955), politician; served as Prussian Prime Minister. Born in Königsberg to a railway worker, he apprenticed as a printer before joining the SPD in 1889. He soon launched a career in Königsberg's Party organization and assumed editorial and printing duties in 1893 with the SPD's *Volkstribüne* (later the *Königsberger Volkszeitung*). The assignment provoked numerous prison sentences; Hugo Haase,* a practicing attorney in Königsberg, represented him in sixty-four trials over seventeen years. Yet he remained broadly engaged: he sat on the *Hauptvorstand* of the *Bauernbund* (Peasants' League) during 1909–1920, was part of the SPD's *Parteivorstand* during 1911–1917, and belonged to the *Abgeordnetenhaus* in 1913–1918. A great organizer, he was rarely attentive to theoretical issues. He served with the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* during the November Revolution* and then became Prussian Agriculture Minister.

Braun was elected to the National Assembly* in 1919, to the Reichstag* in 1920, and to Prussia's* Landtag in 1921. From March 1920 until July 1932—barring brief interludes in 1921 and 1925—he was Prime Minister of Prussia (from 24 April 1932, after losing a majority in state elections, as head of a caretaker government). Under his leadership Prussia was the first Weimar-era government to rule with a Great Coalition* (SPD, DDP, Center Party,* and DVP); indeed, Braun's tenacity at forming coalitions and his skill in making them work were crucial in establishing the democratic character of the SPD. In traditionally autocratic Prussia he became known as ''the red Tsar,'' and while he could be autocratic, his state enjoyed unprecedented freedom. This ended on 20 July 1932.

With powers granted by President Hindenburg,* Franz von Papen* became *Reichskommissar* for Prussia and dismissed Braun and his cabinet. Although the Supreme Court ruled the action unconstitutional on 25 October 1932, its decision allowed for misinterpretation. In early March 1933, after being dismissed a second time, Braun went into Swiss exile. Settling in Ascona, he became a Swiss citizen and refused to return to Germany after 1945. ''Next to Ebert* and Stresemann*,'' Hajo Holborn claimed, Braun ''had the greatest personal influence in fashioning the democratic life of the Weimar Era.''

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Brecht, *Political Education*; Holborn, ''Prussia''; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1918–1925*, *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*.

BRAUNS, HEINRICH (1868–1939), priest and politician; Labor Minister and promoter of the Christian Labor Movement (*Christliche Gewerkschaftsbewegung*). Born to a Cologne tailor, he studied theology at Bonn and returned to Cologne during 1886–1890 for seminary studies. In 1900, after a decade as a pastor, he turned to social work with the *Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland*, a Catholic* group headquartered in München-Gladbach. Dubbed the ''red Chaplain,'' he split his time between social work and studies that led in 1905 to a doctorate in political science. He was soon in charge of the *Volksverein* and became a prewar leader of the Catholic labor movement.

Brauns enjoyed key contacts in the Center Party,* and his political interest was activated by the war. He entered the National Assembly* in 1919 and the Reichstag* in 1920 (he retained his seat until March 1933). Respected for his social convictions, he assumed the Labor Ministry in June 1920 under Konstantin Fehrenbach.* Because he was Fehrenbach's third choice for the post, few expected him to retain office for long. But whereas Fehrenbach resigned in 1921, Brauns held his portfolio for eight years. As Chancellors came and went, he became known as ''Heinrich the Eternal'' (*Heinrich der Ewige*), using his office to advance tenets held as *Volksverein* leader—among them, greater parity in the workplace. To level class differences, he created factory committees with representatives from labor and management. That his agenda came to naught was due less to his work than to political and economic changes; throughout the thirteen successive cabinets to which he belonged, the environment steadily shifted to the Right. Although he opposed the Center's left wing for fear of binding the Party too closely to the SPD, as a leader of the *Volksverein* (liquidated in 1930), he was widely identified with the Left. Coalition politics forced his replacement in June 1928.

Brauns soon became chairman of the Reichstag's social policy committee, a responsibility he held until January 1933. Engaged in public speaking from 1928, he focused his lectures on social and political issues. During 1929–1931 he led the German delegation to meetings of the International Workers Conference in Geneva; Heinrich Brüning,* meanwhile, asked him to lead the Commission of Investigation into the World Economic Crisis. He refused to run for reelection in March 1933, and his work with the Catholic workers' movement was soon proscribed by the NSDAP.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Ellen Evans, ''Adam Stegerwald'' and *German Center Party*; Mockenhaupt, ''Heinrich Brauns''; *NDB*, vol. 2.

BRECHT, ARNOLD (1884–1977), bureaucrat; represented Prussia's* deposed SPD government before the Supreme Court in 1932. He was born in Lübeck, where his father ran the Lübeck-Büchner Railroad Company. During 1902–1905 he studied law and German literature. He completed state judicial exams in 1910 and worked briefly as a judge before accepting appointment with the Justice Ministry. He remained with the ministry until Prinz Max* von Baden transferred him to the Chancellery in 1918.

Although Brecht was strictly nonpartisan during the Republic, he was committed to democracy. Appointed director at the Interior Ministry in 1921, he helped draft the Law for the Protection of the Republic* in 1922. His responsibilities included preliminary legal work for the 1923 currency reform and efforts at reforming Germany's system of proportional representation. In April 1927, as a State Undersecretary, he was abruptly retired by Interior Minister Walter von Keudell,* a member of the DNVP opposed to his politics. Otto Braun,* Prussian Prime Minister, quickly appointed him ministerial director for his government; the post made him Prussia's representative to the *Reichsrat* (*see* Constitution). Thereafter, he focused vainly on converting Germany into a unitary state by diverting many Prussian functions to the Reich government while establishing a sharper division between Reich and state responsibilities.

When Franz von Papen,* acting as *Reichskommissar* for Prussia, dismissed Braun's government in July 1932, Brecht filed suit with the Supreme Court. Although the Supreme Court deemed Papen's action unconstitutional, its decision allowed for misinterpretation. On 2 February 1933 Brecht delivered the last free speech in the *Reichsrat*, reading Hitler* his constitutional duties as Chancellor and receiving in turn Hitler's oath of office. Soon dismissed, he eventually accepted appointment with New York's New School for Social Research. After World War II he helped draft West Germany's constitution. Erich Eyck* called him ''one of the best of the nation's civil servants.''

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Brecht, *Political Education* and *Prelude to Silence*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2.

BRECHT, BERTOLT (1898–1956), poet and dramatist; perhaps the twentieth century's most influential playwright. He was born in Augsburg, and his early writings appeared when he was sixteen in the *Augsburger Neueste Nachrichten*. Beginning medical studies in 1917 at Munich, he returned to Augsburg the next year as an orderly in a military hospital. The suffering he witnessed in this capacity turned him into a radical opponent of both the war and the nationalism that spawned it. Liberating himself from Expressionism* after the war (in June 1918 he remarked that ''Expressionism is frightful''), he aimed at accessible plays and verse. Yet the play *Trommeln in der Nacht* (Drums in the night) was first staged in an Expressionist style in September 1922 at Munich's *Kammerspiele*. *Trommeln* rapidly played at forty other theaters,* including Berlin's* *Deutsches Theater*. It earned Brecht the Kleist Prize in 1922.

Although Brecht was a man of genius, his reputation as a sexual and intellectual predator lent ambiguity to his talents. In 1924 he became Max Reinhardt's* assistant at the *Deutsches Theater*. Assisted by a talented circle that included Carl Zuckmayer,* the director Erich Engel,* friend and designer Caspar Neher, and the composers Kurt Weill* and Hanns Eisler, he impacted Berlin as a new theatrical force. He entered a new phase in 1925 when he linked the realistic representation of Ernst Barlach,* the political theater of Erwin Piscator,* and the dialectical materialism of Karl Marx. He was fascinated with com-

bining music and drama, and the climax of his work came with the musical plays *Die Dreigroschenoper* (*The Threepenny Opera**) and *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (*Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny*), completed in 1928–1929 in collaboration with Weill and Elisabeth Hauptmann.

Brecht's ''epic theater'' (not original with him) mirrored ideas taken up by *Neue Sachlichkeit** and exerted a strong impact on modern drama. By using varied acting styles and visual techniques (e.g., actors reading their lines without expression), he aimed to minimize an audience's rapport with the story while enhancing its awareness of a play's message. The impact is labeled *Entfremdungseffekt* (alienation effect).

Brecht's name appeared fifth on the NSDAP's blacklist. With Helene Weigel, a talented Austrian actress whom he had married in 1928, he fled to Switzerland when Hitler* seized power. Seeking asylum variously in Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, he eventually crossed the Soviet Union* and settled in 1941 in Hollywood. In 1948 he returned to East Berlin and founded the *Berliner Ensemble*.
REFERENCES: Fuegi, *Life and Lies*; Hayman, *Brecht*; Völker, *Brecht*; Willett, *Theatre of Bertolt Brecht*.

BREDT, JOHANN VICTOR (1879–1940), politician; served as Heinrich Brüning's* Justice Minister. Born to a manufacturing family in Barmen, he worked in 1897–1898 as a trainee with a banking association. Studies in law and economics led to a doctorate in jurisprudence in 1901, a doctorate in philosophy in 1904, and, upon completion of his *Habilitation* in 1909, appointment as *Privatdozent* at Marburg. Well served by bureaucratic connections, he became Professor of State and Church Law at Marburg in 1910. During 1911–1918 he represented the Free Conservatives in Prussia's* *Abgeordnetenhaus*; he was among a small group of Free Conservatives who in early 1918 called for abolition of Prussia's three-class voting system.

Following the collapse of the Kaiserreich, Bredt helped found the DNVP; however, annoyed by the Party's involvement in the Kapp* Putsch, he left it in the spring of 1920. Objecting to Hugo Preuss's* draft constitution,* he devised his *Entwurf einer Reichsverfassung* (Model for a national constitution) as a substitute merging the offices of President and Chancellor. After helping Hermann Drewitz found the Economic Party* in 1920, he was elected to the Prussian Landtag (1921–1924) and served in the Reichstag* during 1924–1933. At his bidding the Party changed its name in 1925 to National Party of the German Middle Class. In 1926 he joined the parliamentary committee of inquiry into the causes of Germany's military collapse. Active with the Evangelical Church, he wrote several legal opinions concerned with church politics; his research into church law remains of scholarly importance. Finally, during March–December 1930 he was Brüning's Justice Minister. When his Party opposed Brüning's allegedly prosocialist economic policy—that is, his willingness to accept American requirements for dollar credits—Bredt reluctantly resigned his ministry.

Bredt served briefly as the Economic Party's chairman in 1931. After the

November 1932 elections he was his Party's lone representative in the Reichstag. In 1933 he returned to Marburg, where, despite openly opposing the NSDAP, he managed to continue teaching.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; *NDB*, vol. 2.

BREITSCHEID, RUDOLF (1874–1944), politician; a champion of Gustav Stresemann's* fulfillment policy.* Born to a bookshop clerk in Cologne, he studied economics and earned a doctorate in 1898. The same year he assumed editorial positions for newspapers* in Hamburg and Hanover. Moving to Berlin* in 1905, he was soon elected to Wilmersdorf's governing council and served until 1910 as secretary of the Association for Trade Agreements (*Handelsvertragsverein*).

When the Liberal Alliance (*Freisinnige Vereinigung*), which he joined in 1903, adopted a political program advocated by Friedrich Naumann* (a program deemed too ''middle class'' by Breitscheid), Breitscheid separated from the group and, with Theodor Barth and Hellmut von Gerlach,* founded the Democratic Alliance (*Demokratische Vereinigung*). But failing to generate support—he ran unsuccessfully for the Reichstag* in 1912—he joined the SPD. Sympathizing with those who split with the SPD during the war to form the USPD, he published the new Party's newspaper, *Der Sozialist*, during 1917–1923. From 11 November 1918 until 4 February 1919 he was Interior Minister in Prussia's* revolutionary government. Elected to the Reichstag in 1920, he became co-chairman of the SPD faction when the socialist parties reunited in 1922.

With his friend and colleague Rudolf Hilferding,* Breitscheid was reputed the SPD's strongest intellect. Generally speaking for the Party on foreign-policy issues, he ardently sponsored the Great Coalition* and reconciliation with France. When Germany joined the League of Nations, Stresemann asked him to serve on the League delegation, an assignment he retained until 1930. During 1931–1933 he sat with the SPD's *Parteivorstand.*

Breitscheid fled Germany in April 1933, going first to Switzerland and then to Paris. When France was invaded in 1940, he joined Hilferding in Marseilles and there applied for a Swiss visa. The French police released him to the Gestapo in February 1941; he died at Buchenwald in an air raid.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; *NDB*, vol. 2; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*

BRENTANO, LUJO. *See* Moritz Julius Bonn.

BREUER, MARCEL (1902–1981), furniture designer; best known for his ''Breuer Chair.'' A native of Pécs, Hungary, he came to Weimar in 1920 to study design at the Bauhaus.* When the school moved to Dessau in 1925, he went along as the ''master'' in charge of the furniture studio. Remaining with the Bauhaus until 1928, he acquired the title Master of Interiors. During the

Dessau years he designed the famous steel-tube chair that he named ''Wassily'' (after his friend and colleague Kandinsky*), and the even better known ''Cesca'' cantilevered chair.

Although Breuer grew impatient with the Bauhaus program, later disavowing its influence on his work, Walter Gropius* maintained that nothing so inspired Breuer's creativity as his years as a Bauhaus student. After working as a Berlin* architect during 1928–1931, Breuer embarked on lengthy travels and study throughout Europe. He practiced during 1935–1937 in England and then reconnected with Gropius as an associate professor of architecture at Harvard. He worked independently from 1947.

REFERENCES: *EA*; Cranston Jones, *Marcel Breuer*.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU, ULRICH GRAF VON (1869–1928), diplomat; the Republic's first Ambassador to the Soviet Union.* Born of Danish ancestry in Schleswig, he took a doctorate in law at Leipzig in 1891. Too young to join the foreign service, he served three years as a junior officer in the Foot Guards and then was appointed attaché in 1894 at the Foreign Office. Following three years (1897–1901) as legation secretary in Russia, he served in Vienna until 1908 and then was transferred to Budapest. Finally, in May 1912 he became Ambassador to Copenhagen; an opponent of Prussia's* Danish policy, he stabilized a German-Danish relationship strained since the 1860s.

At the invitation of Friedrich Ebert* and Philipp Scheidemann,* Rantzau became Secretary of Foreign Affairs in January 1919, advancing to Foreign Minister in February. Although he was an aristocrat by tradition and bearing, he espoused democracy and joined the new DDP. He also nurtured a belief that peace was attainable through (*a*) securing internal stability against leftist revolution; (*b*) confirming national self-determination à la Woodrow Wilson; (*c*) uniting Germany with German Austria; and (*d*) joining the League of Nations. He was, accordingly, horrified when, upon leading Germany's peace delegation to France in May 1919, he encountered a settlement that violated Wilsonian principles. Viewing the Versailles Treaty* as a *Diktat* (dictated peace), he refused to sign it and resigned with most of Scheidemann's cabinet. Although he advised signing the same *Diktat* when Germany was faced with invasion and dismemberment, he always viewed Versailles as a personal affront. For three years he campaigned as a private citizen for treaty revision.

In a memo of 15 July 1922 Rantzau warned Ebert of the dangers inherent in Walther Rathenau's* Rapallo Treaty,* claiming that the West would view Rapallo as a military threat. Yet soon after his October 1922 appointment as Ambassador to Moscow, he not only embraced Rapallo but, irritated by the Ruhr occupation,* pursued even tighter relations with the Soviets. Seeking to readjust the frontiers of both powers at Poland's* expense, he increasingly disparaged the West; indeed, sustaining Soviet hostility to the Locarno Treaties,* he openly criticized the agreements. In April 1926 he helped bring some balance to German foreign policy by persuading the Soviets to sign a friendship and neu-

trality agreement (the Berlin Treaty). Esteemed by the Soviets, Rantzau became friends with Georgii Chicherin, the Foreign Commissar. He retained his post until August 1928, when he died while on leave in Berlin.*

REFERENCES: Bonn, *Wandering Scholar*; Hilger and Meyer, *Incompatible Allies*; Holborn, ''Diplomats and Diplomacy''; *NDB*, vol. 2; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*.

BRONNEN, ARNOLT (1895–1959), dramatist; best known for the play *Vatermord*. He was born in Vienna; his father was Ferdinand Bronnen, a Jewish playwright. After World War I, in which he was wounded and imprisoned, he forsook prewar legal studies and moved to Berlin* in search of success as a freelance writer. He was soon a prominent Expressionist* dramatist. But while his work retained the crude effects and violent language associated with Expressionism, he soon migrated to a severe realism. *Vatermord*, a story of patricide first performed in 1920, provoked a riot when it was staged in 1922. It was in reference to Bronnen's early work, not that of Bertolt Brecht,* that the term ''epic theater'' was first used.

Bronnen soon moved from left radicalism to an ever more prominent nationalism and anti-Semitism.* Already working seriously with the NSDAP by 1926, he formed a contact with Joseph Goebbels* and became a drama critic on the radio in 1933. Proclaiming himself the illegitimate son of an Aryan, he retained his Nazi membership until he was dismissed from his position in 1937. Returning to Austria,* he was active from 1940 with the Communist resistance. He worked as a journalist in Linz after World War II and moved to Vienna in 1951 to become a theater* director. In 1955 he relocated to East Berlin.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Garland and Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature*; Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture*.

BROWNSHIRTS. *See* SA.

BRUCK, ARTHUR MOELLER VAN DEN. *See* Moeller van den Bruck, Arthur.

DIE BRÜCKE. *See* Expressionism.

BRÜNING, HEINRICH (1885–1970), politician; the Republic's most controversial Chancellor. He was born to a prosperous Catholic* home in Münster; his father was a vinegar manufacturer and wine merchant. After completing Gymnasium in 1904, he studied for ten years on stipend in Germany and England, taking a doctorate in political science at Bonn. Despite poor eyesight, he gained a commission and soon distinguished himself at the front. The experience reinforced his intrinsic nationalism while leaving him with a naïve faith in military hierarchy.

Joining the Center Party* in 1919, Brüning began working in 1920 for Prussian Welfare Minister Adam Stegerwald.* As Stegerwald was also the leader of

the League of Christian Trade Unions (*Vereinigung christlicher Gewerkschaften*), Brüning became the organization's business manager and remained active with Catholic labor for several years. Although he was never committed to unionism, he acquired an expertise on German social conditions and an interest in the fate of the working class. Elected to the Reichstag* in 1924 as Stegerwald's protégé, he soon gained a reputation as a leading financial expert. His ideas found expression in *Lex Brüning*, a law setting limits on revenues derived from worker payrolls. In 1929 Ludwig Kaas,* the Center chairman, appointed him faction leader; within months Brüning was Chancellor. Erich Eyck* has underscored his wartime experience as crucial to his character. Not only was he unduly respectful of selflessness, sacrifice, and subjection to discipline, but he idolized Hindenburg.* When he acceded on 28 March 1930 to Hindenburg's summons to become Chancellor, his motivation was cogently expressed in a letter to a friend: ''In the end I could not resist the President's appeal to my *soldier's sense of duty*'' (Eyck). Despite a superior intellect, his veneration of the Field Marshal made him the junior partner in their relationship.

Retaining office until May 1932 and assuming the Foreign Office in October 1931, Brüning immediately governed without a parliamentary majority. Exercising power at Hindenburg's pleasure and driven to widespread use of the Constitution's* Article 48 in a depression-ravaged country threatened after September 1930 with the rise of the NSDAP, he implemented an unpopular austerity that aimed not simply at balancing the budget but at a fundamental reform of the Republic. His policy of reduced expenditure and rationalization—including salary cutbacks, tax increases, and welfare curtailment—was condemned by those, especially the civil service,* whom it harmed the most. But his most damaging act was taken in July 1930 when, with his budget blocked in the Reichstag, he dissolved the last parliament enjoying a republican majority. Although political compromise was an option before this date, rule via emergency decree was imperative once the September elections returned a Reichstag with 107 Nazis.

Brüning's long-range design has been subjected to endless debate. He clearly aimed to use Germany's domestic crisis to pressure termination of reparation* payments; indeed, his policies were subordinated to this aim. Evidence suggests that he hoped to revive Germany's position of hegemony in Europe, that he worked for a restoration of the monarchy, and that the parliament he envisioned was one that filled an advisory function, much as it had under the Kaiser. His monetary policies not only sharpened Germany's economic crisis, thus leading in 1932 to the desired termination of reparation payments via the Lausanne Conference,* but forced reliance on Article 48. His five emergency decrees of 1930 rose to forty in 1931 and fifty-seven before his dismissal in 1932. He and his collaborators failed, however, to anticipate that the NSDAP would glean the spoils from his policies. By 30 May 1932, when Brüning lost Hindenburg's confidence (largely due to an *Osthilfe** proposal to settle unemployed workers on Junker* estates), the populace was habituated to an ineffectual Reichstag and

rule via Article 48. It is difficult to imagine any successor salvaging a parliamentary republic by this date.

Unequivocally opposed to the NSDAP, Brüning was under continuous Gestapo surveillance in 1933. He fled to England in February 1934 and emigrated the next summer to the United States. He thereafter taught political science at Harvard.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Brüning, *Memoiren*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; James, *German Slump*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Kolb, *Weimar Republic*; Morsey, ''Heinrich Brüning.''

BUBER, MARTIN (1878–1965), religious philosopher; his ideas gave Zionism its spiritual core. Born in Vienna, he was moved to the eastern Galician city of Lemberg (now Lvov) upon his parents' separation. Raised by his paternal grandparents, he fell under the influence of his grandfather Salomon Buber, a Hebrew scholar and local banker. To his grandfather's exacting education in Hebrew and Jewish traditions, Lemberg added a rich Hasidic experience. Both inspired Buber's later efforts at transforming the negative nineteenth-century stereotypes of *Ostjuden** in the perceptions of Western Jews.*

Buber studied philosophy and took a doctorate in 1904 at Vienna. He gained inspiration as a student from Friedrich Nietzsche and Wilhelm Dilthey; he also wrote essays on Arthur Schnitzler, Peter Altenberg, and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, all authors he greatly admired. In 1898 he joined Theodor Herzl's Zionist movement and three years later briefly edited its newspaper,* *Die Welt*. Friction arose, however, when Buber began espousing a spiritual Zionism in place of Herzl's political vision. He argued that Zionism should be viewed as Judaism's cultural renaissance, not as a negative reaction to anti-Semitism*; its foundation should be a broad program of education, not propaganda. In his view, which was crucial in altering perceptions of the *Ostjuden*, Herzl epitomized the rootless Western Jew—a nineteenth-century rationalist whose personality was devoid of Jewish tradition (he later mellowed toward Herzl). His notion of Zionism was, nonetheless, interwoven with German notions of blood and *Volk*, and his search for an authentic community (*Gemeinschaft*), which also echoed German thought, helped inspire a Jewish youth movement in revolt against materialism and rationalism. While Buber was not a racist, he embraced the conviction that a Jew's destiny was fixed by an organic link to a common, collective fate.

Although Buber later labeled his early views ''lyrical doctrinarianism,'' he always worked to form an intellectual bridge between East and West. Withdrawing from the Zionist movement after his clash with Herzl, he took up a study of mysticism and reembraced the Hasidism that had so captivated him in Lemberg; his *Hasidic Tales*, begun in 1906, helped regenerate a spiritual basis for Europe's Jewish community. Joining Gustav Landauer's* utopian Socialist Bund in 1908, he reentered the Zionist movement around 1910. With his 1911 *Discourses on Judaism*, he blended the longing for a Jewish homeland with Hasidic mysticism and religious socialism. The book, which made him the

spokesman for those who wished to underscore the humanism and power inherent in their bonds as Jews, inspired debate between Buber's disciples and Jews who advocated conversion to Christianity. By the 1920s Buber was among the outstanding figures of modern Judaism. He published a monthly journal entitled *Der Jude* (1916–1924) and, with Franz Rosenzweig,* began a German translation of the Hebrew Bible, a task he finally completed in 1961. Qualified to lecture in 1923, he taught comparative religion at Frankfurt, becoming honorary professor of religion and Jewish ethics in 1930.

Although Buber was forced from Frankfurt's faculty in 1933, he worked diligently for five years against the moral defamation and social discrimination of the NSDAP. In March 1938 he emigrated to Palestine. His philosophy is embraced in his 1923 book *Ich und Du*.

REFERENCES: Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*; Hans Bach, *German Jew*; George Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism*; Wistrich, *Jews of Vienna*.

BUCHRUCKER, BRUNO ERNST, officer; commanded the illegal Black Reichswehr.*A veteran of the 1919 Baltic campaigns who had been discharged for complicity in the Kapp* Putsch, he was inexplicably given command of the Black Reichswehr in 1923 by Lieutenant-Colonel Fedor von Bock, chief-of-staff of Berlin's* Third Reichswehr Division. A diehard monarchist, he hoped that passive resistance to France's Ruhr occupation* would escalate into a war that might force a change in government. When Gustav Stresemann* ended passive resistance in September 1923, he was outraged. Under his command the Black Reichswehr units stationed at Berlin's Küstrin barracks planned a putsch for late September aimed at forming a military cabinet and renewing resistance against France. But when events in Bavaria* induced a state of emergency, thus enhancing the authority of General Hans von Seeckt,* he correctly perceived that the army would not support the effort. When he attempted to cancel the putsch, however, his troops declared their resolve to proceed, with or without his leadership. Buchrucker thereupon led an ineffectual march on the Küstrin barracks. Arrested and tried for treason, he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. In reference to the putsch, he exclaimed that a ''people that always wants to go the safe way will go safely into enslavement.''

Buchrucker had served only a fraction of his term when President Hindenburg* pardoned him. He later joined Otto Strasser's* *Schwarze Front* (Black Front), an organization of disillusioned Nazis opposed to Hitler.* Arrested in June 1933, he was released before Christmas of the same year.

REFERENCES: Craig, *Politics of the Prussian Army*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Scheck, ''Politics of Illusion''; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

BÜLOW, BERNHARD WILHELM VON (1885–1936), diplomat; originated the concept of an Austro-German customs union. Born in Potsdam, he came from a family long wedded to the diplomatic service (his uncle was Foreign Minister and Reich Chancellor between 1897 and 1909). He entered the

foreign service in 1911, serving initially as an attaché; during 1915–1916 he was legation secretary in Constantinople and Athens. From 1917 until the end of World War I he was assigned to the Foreign Office. A participant at Brest-Litovsk and the Versailles deliberations, he vigorously opposed acceptance of the Versailles Treaty.*

Although Bülow retired to write in 1919, he agreed in 1923 to head a committee reporting to the League of Nations. Soon named ministerial director and head of the Foreign Office's European Department, he succeeded Carl von Schubert* as State Secretary in June 1930. It was at this juncture that he floated his plan for a customs union. Remaining an outspoken critic of Versailles—he published *Versailler Völkerbund* (Versailles's League of Nations) in 1923—he believed that such a venture could lead to a more active and independent foreign policy.* When the union was vetoed in 1931 by the Hague Court, Bülow's chief, Julius Curtius,* was impelled to resign as Foreign Minister.

Bülow remains an enigma. A nationalist, he was devoted to peace. In 1932–1933 he was the German most resolved to achieve a settlement at the World Disarmament Conference.* His character, shaped by the duty and idealism innate to the old aristocracy, can be easily misread. He was neither a man for the spotlight nor capable of easy diplomatic compromise: both factors account for his failure to become Foreign Minister. Those closest to him were struck by his depth. Ernst von Weizsäcker stated that he was, along ''with Maltzan,* the best horse in our stable between the two World Wars.'' Inspired by a religious attachment to Germany (*ein Vaterlandsgefühl*), he also believed in the perfectibility of the League (he despised it as originally created). But the sense of duty that led him to rejoin the foreign service during the crisis year of 1923 induced him to remain after Hitler* became Chancellor.

REFERENCES: Bennett, *German Rearmament*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; *Memoirs of Ernst von Weizäcker*; *NDB*, vol. 2.

BUMKE, ERWIN (1874–1945), jurist; as Supreme Court President, sanctioned Franz von Papen's* 1932 coup against the Prussian government. Born in the Pomeranian city of Stolp (now Slupsk), he studied law and took a doctorate at Greifswald. After working as a jurist in Essen, he joined the Justice Office in 1907. Excepting a wartime leave—he achieved the rank of captain—he remained in the Justice Ministry (renamed in 1919) and became a director in the early 1920s.

As *Ministerialdirektor*, Bumke aimed his key petitions at reform of criminal law, including the regularizing and phasing of criminal penalties. Controversy remains as to whether his efforts were progressive or reactionary. His draft of a new codification of criminal law was presented in 1927 to the Reichstag.* Although the reform was urgently required, it was submitted to committee and never reappeared (he later reworked it in the Third Reich). Appointed to the International Crime and Prison Commission in 1925, he became President of that body in 1930. Meanwhile, in 1929 he succeeded Walter Simons* as Pres-

ident of the Supreme Court, Germany's highest judicial office; he retained the post until April 1945. In 1930 he declared unconstitutional an anti-Semitic school prayer that Wilhelm Frick* had drafted as Interior Minister of Thuringia.*

Bumke's most controversial decision came in 1932. When President Hindenburg* used Article 48 of the Constitution* to appoint Papen *Reichskommissar* of Prussia* on 20 July, Papen used the power to dismiss eight Prussian ministers, including Prime Minister Otto Braun* and Interior Minister Carl Severing,* both Social Democrats. By running roughshod over Prussia's cabinet, Papen assumed control of the state and transformed its political climate. Baden and Bavaria* demanded an immediate review of the act, believing it an encroachment on states' rights, but Bumke's court refused to grant a restraining order on the dismissals and on 25 October, in an ambiguously worded decision, declared the action unconstitutional while allowing the Chancellor enough leverage to retain his dictatorial hold on Prussia. Efforts to change the Constitution in order to prevent a repeat of Papen's action came too late to be of significance.

Bumke's direction of the Supreme Court helped lay a foundation for Hitler's* *Gleichschaltung* (synchronization). Named deputy to President Hindenburg in December 1932, Bumke was in theory the second most powerful man in Germany when, upon Hindenburg's death in August 1934, he drafted the law that unified the offices of President and Chancellor. He held considerable responsibility for allowing the courts to become instruments of Nazi terror. On 20 April 1945, as American troops entered Leipzig, he committed suicide.

REFERENCES: Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice*; *NDB*, vol. 3.

BUND DEUTSCHER FRAUENVEREINE. See Women.

BUND NEUES VATERLAND. See German Peace Society.

BUSONI, FERRUCCIO (1866–1924), pianist and composer; his famous pupils included Paul Hindemith,* Kurt Weill,* and Percy Grainger. Born in Empoli (near Florence) to a clarinettist, he was deemed a child prodigy at age four; at eight he gave his first recital in Triest. In 1881, at fifteen, he was named to Italy's *Reale Accademia filarmonica*. Brahms recommended him to Carl Reinecke in Leipzig, where, with his interpretations of Grieg, he gained considerable notice. He composed two string quartets in Leipzig and began transcribing some of Bach's organ works for piano.

Awarded Moscow's Rubinstein Prize in 1890, Busoni was internationally renowned when he moved to Berlin* in 1894. Excepting tours and a war-induced retreat to Switzerland, he remained in Berlin for the next thirty years. From 1902 his concerts of new music with the Berlin Philharmonic—he premiered the works of Arnold Schoenberg*—became famous. Moreover, as composer of controversial instrumental works and operas, he earned a place among the pioneers of modern music. Although his chief compositions highlight the piano, his operatic works, especially *Turandot* and *Doktor Faust* (completed posthu-

mously by a friend), are precursors to the musical theater* that blossomed under Weill and Bertolt Brecht.* In his last years (1921–1924) he taught the composition master class for the Prussian Academy of Arts.

REFERENCES: *NDB*, vol. 3; *New Grove*, vol. 3; Schebera, *Kurt Weill*.

C

CABARET (*Kabarett*), a French term used to describe both a form of theatrical entertainment and the dance halls and taverns in which the genre blossomed around 1900. It was in the Weimar era, principally in Berlin,* that cabaret flourished in Germany. In a period marked by artistic productivity, cabaret served to popularize much of the talent. Although *Scala*, *Wintergarten*, and *Kabarett der Komiker* were well-known Berlin establishments offering cabaret, Max Reinhardt's* *Schall und Rauch*, *Die Böse Buben* of Carl Meinhard and Rudolf Bernauer, and Rudolf Nelson's *Nelson-Revue* were devoted almost exclusively to cabaret. The chief writers of cabaret texts included Kurt Tucholsky,* Walter Mehring,* Marcellus Schiffer, and Erich Kästner,* while much of the music* was composed by Richard Heymann, Friedrich Holländer, Rudolf Nelson, Theo Mackeben, and Mischa Spolianski.

Weimar cabaret, evolving from *fin de siècle* vaudeville, provided a popular escape from the misery of everyday modern life. But while entertainment—indeed, wantonness—was a basic attraction, social satire remained cabaret's focal point. Performers satirized contemporary culture and politics through skits, pantomimes, poems, and songs (chansons). Since the motif was often set by contemporary events, cabaret assumed an importance larger than that accorded mere entertainment. In a republic plagued by defeat, incomplete revolution, hunger, rampant inflation,* and counterrevolution, satirists had abundant raw material for active imaginations. For example, in Weimar's early months the ''unholy alliance'' formed by a socialist, Friedrich Ebert,* and the army's Quartermaster General, Wilhelm Groener,* allowed for trenchant satire; in the name of the Kaiser's army, Groener agreed to support a socialist-led regime while

Ebert agreed to preserve that army as a bulwark against disorder. Since satire thrives on embellishing discrepancies between ideals and reality, the Groener-Ebert accord richly augmented those in sympathy with Carl von Ossietzky's* claim that Weimar was a ''republic without republicans.'' This image of political absurdity was sustained and embellished until the regime's collapse.

It has been argued that nothing so subverted the Republic, while concurrently diminishing the menace of Nazism, as the careless ridicule of Weimar cabaret. As time passed, every actor on Weimar's stage—the Kaiser, the generals, Ebert, Gustav Noske,* Matthias Erzberger,* Walther Rathenau,* the anti-Semites, Hugo Stinnes,* Gustav Stresemann,* Paul von Hindenburg,* Heinrich Brüning,* Hitler*, the bankers, and the industrialists—was reduced to a common level of absurdity. If one assumes that art relates a political message to which society is attentive, then it was among the Republic's chief tragedies that its intellectuals were unable to juxtapose caustic derision with a presentation of the regime's positive aspects. Blind to the threat of Nazism, many would regret the omission. With the Third Reich's horrors as backdrop, there is dark poignancy to the satirical nihilism that was so much a part of respectable, middle-class Weimar culture.

REFERENCES: Appignanesi, *Cabaret*; Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* and ''Cabaret''; Kiaulehn, *Berlin*.

THE CABINET OF DR. CALIGARI (Janowitz-Mayer); famous Weimar-era film.* Based on a story by Hans Janowitz and Carl Mayer, it evolved from a combination of the two men's experiences. The sinister Caligari, fashioned on a psychiatrist encountered by Mayer in the war, runs a sideshow in a traveling fair. His act centers on the somnambulist Cesare, who Caligari claims can foretell the future. But the doctor's real occupation is murder. Director of an asylum, he has taken Cesare, entrusted to his care, and through hypnosis has commanded him to kill. A young man, whose friend is Caligari's victim, becomes suspicious and, in the process of spying on the doctor, detects his macabre secret. When a confession is forced from him, Caligari loses his own sanity and is forced into a straitjacket—symbol of the institution he has betrayed.

When the story was released in early 1920 as a silent film, it ushered in Germany's golden age of cinema. Produced by Erich Pommer and directed by Robert Wiene, the dark Expressionist* production served as the focal point for Siegfried Kracauer's* later study of German film, *From Caligari to Hitler*; it still gains attention as a landmark piece of art. But Wiene inverted the story's ending, depicting the doctor as kindly and his young antagonist as deranged. The authors resented the change since, as Kracauer explained, they justifiably believed that it negated their message. In the war's wake, Janowitz and Mayer wished to symbolize the brutality of authority; Wiene made rebellion against authority appear as madness. Given Germany's extraordinary circumstances, the change must be viewed as exceeding mere poetic license.

REFERENCES: Lotte Eisner, *Haunted Screen*; Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*.

CARTELS. From early in the Kaiserreich, numerous cooperative ties linked potentially competitive industries, leading observers to characterize Germany's economy as ''organized capitalism.'' According to Henry Turner, the Republic inherited a pervasive collection of cartels, all designed to regulate markets via agreements that set prices and limited production. Although some disengagement followed Germany's defeat, the Republic's precarious economy soon inspired renewed concentration.

Walther Rathenau* argued that the era of free markets had been supplanted by a period in which the state should indulge centralization. Indeed, while the state often intervened in social issues, it generally gave business and industry a free hand in economic policy. Cartel agreements had official sanction; should a member to an accord violate its provisions, that member could be penalized by the courts. The Cartel Law of 1923 supposedly addressed the ''misuse of monopolistic power''; in fact, it prohibited neither cartels nor monopolies. By creating a Cartel Court, the law reinforced concentration while exerting no influence on the price and production policy of trusts. Moreover, given the Republic's impassive Economics Ministry, the elimination of competition through the spread of cartels continued unchecked into the Republic's final years. It was officially estimated that the Weimar era's business and industry cartels numbered 2,500. The SPD, which might have challenged the trend, tended to view ''organized capitalism'' as a logical step to ''organized socialism''; it even encouraged concentration in 1919 by creating state-supervised cartels in the coal and potash industries.

The most famous ''communities of interest'' were the United Steel Works (*Vereinigte Stahlwerke*) and IG Farben,* both ''perfected'' as monopolies by 1926. United Steel employed 200,000 workers and produced 35 to 50 percent of Germany's metals. IG Farben, founded initially in January 1916 as a loosely federated chemical cartel, responded to international competition and the demands of the Versailles Treaty* by incorporating its organization into a giant trust. One can appreciate the temptation by looking at IG Farben: in 1926, soon after Farben became Europe's largest enterprise and the world's biggest chemical producer, the value of its stock tripled.

The depression* sent world prices plummeting well below those set by industry. Since concentration led to fixed prices, cartels reliant upon international trade were hardest hit. Most reacted by reducing production rather than lowering prices, thereby intensifying unemployment. When small business and the political Left argued that lower prices would follow if the cartels were dissolved, the DNVP responded that high prices were due to the inflated costs of social insurance, not to industrial concentration, thus shunting responsibility to the unions and the SPD. Chancellor Brüning* retained a hands-off posture until

December 1931, when, by forcing a 10 percent cut in cartel prices, he alienated big business, which censured him for violating capitalistic principles.
REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Bessel and Feuchtwanger, *Social Change*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Hayes, *Industry and Ideology*; Michels, *Cartels, Combines, and Trusts*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

CASSIRER, ERNST (1874–1945), philosopher; with Heinrich Rickert,* Germany's leading neo-Kantian between 1900 and 1930. Born in Breslau of German-Jewish parentage, he studied philosophy and German literature, coming into contact with Hermann Cohen (1842–1918) while at Berlin*; in 1896 he transferred to Marburg to continue studies with Cohen. On his own, Cassirer identified both his method and his philosophy as an example of Cohen's Marburg School of neo-Kantianism (the Baden School, embracing Freiburg, Strassburg, and Heidelberg, was distinct from the Marburg School). In 1899 he took a doctorate with a thesis on Leibniz's theory of knowledge. His appointment as *Privatdozent* at Berlin was owed largely to Wilhelm Dilthey, who appreciated his genius. Despite barriers in Germany owing to his Jewish heritage, Cassirer rejected a 1914 offer to teach at Harvard.

In 1919 Cassirer joined Hamburg's new university. While he was evolving his concept of symbolic forms, he earned a reputation as a brilliant teacher. His life, marked by broad intellectual interests, was an exemplar of the German tradition of *Bildung*. In 1930 he was promoted to university rector. It was his good fortune to form rich friendships at Hamburg with Erwin Panofsky* and Aby Warburg,* and he later assisted with the transfer of Warburg's library to London.

When Hitler* came to power in 1933, Cassirer resigned his positions and taught successively at Oxford (1933–1935), Göteborg (1935–1941), Yale (1941–1944), and Columbia (1944–1945). Always a neo-Kantian, he was broadly attracted to the formation and interrelationship of scientific and cultural concepts. His publications included *Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen* (Philosophy of symbolic forms, 1923) and *Sprache und Mythos* (Languages and myth, 1925).
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *Cambridge Biographical Dictionary*; Ferretti, *Cassirer, Panofsky, and Warburg*; Peter Gay, ''Social History of Ideas''; *NDB*, vol. 3.

CATHOLIC CENTER PARTY. *See* Center Party.

CATHOLICS. The status of Germany's Catholics differed from that of most of their coreligionists in Europe in that they were a minority. Representing about a third of Germany's population during the Kaiserreich, they had come to stress freedom of worship and social equality as opposed to authoritarian rule. Through the loss of Alsace-Lorraine* and the Polish districts of West Prussia* and Upper Silesia,* the Versailles Treaty* reduced Germany's Catholics by almost 19 percent, compared to less than 5 percent for Protestants.

The diminution in numbers was offset, however, by the enhanced freedom and security guaranteed by the Weimar Constitution.* While most Catholics remained loyal to the Center Party* in the Weimar era—indeed, the Center enjoyed greater voter fidelity than any other party—that loyalty steadily eroded: in the 1919 National Assembly* elections, 62.8 percent of professing Catholics voted Center; in the September 1930 Reichstag* elections, only 47 percent backed the Party. This change, which embraced all classes and occupations, underscored that political fidelity was no longer a simple product of religious confession. Ironically, the change was owed to constitutional liberties for which Catholics had struggled for five decades.

In addition to supporting a major political party (two parties with the BVP), many Catholics remained active in the languishing Workers' Associations (*Arbeitervereine*), groups focused more on paternalism than economics. Although it was not strictly Catholic in membership, the more vibrant League of Christian Trade Unions (part of the German Trade-Union Federation*) represented workers whose religious sensibilities precluded their joining the socialist trade unions.* Catholic youth tended to belong to Catholic clubs, the most significant being the republican *Windthorstbund* and the antirepublican *Neudeutschland* (which had an undisguised *völkisch* outlook).

During the Weimar era religious and educational questions tended to unify Catholics more readily than Protestants. This was due largely to the fact that Catholicism benefitted, in both organization and dogma, from a well-tuned, supranational structure. Although numerous Catholics, especially those who remembered Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, struggled to highlight their nationalism, many grew adept at differentiating between fidelity to Germany and criticism of the Republic. They were aided by the commanding presence of Eugenio Pacelli. Papal Nuncio in Germany from 1917, Pacelli (who became Pope Pius XII in 1939) coordinated Vatican policy in the Reich. His policy aimed chiefly at negotiating concordats with the Reich and the several *Länder* (states)—agreements that ensured recognition of Rome's central authority in affairs of the church.

The November Revolution,* especially the early effort of the USPD to close parochial schools and separate church and state, turned Pacelli into an implacable foe of socialism. Since the Republic's survival rested on cooperation between the Center Party and the ''atheistic'' SPD, Pacelli's contempt for the SPD was awkward at best. That cooperation was more often rule than exception is borne out by the number of Catholics—Konstantin Fehrenbach,* Joseph Wirth,* and Wilhelm Marx*—who formed cabinets with SPD support or toleration. Only in the depression-engulfed final years—after Ludwig Kaas* had become leader of the Center Party—did cooperation with the SPD become irksome for Catholics wishing to dodge charges that they lacked patriotism in the face of a growing nationalistic temperament. Although most Catholics opposed a National Socialism that they deemed anti-Christian, their commitment to parliamentary

democracy grew decidedly ambivalent after the September 1930 elections. Heinrich Brüning's* chancellorship is testimony to the change.

REFERENCES: Balfour, *Withstanding Hitler*; Conway, ''National Socialism''; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Scholder, *Churches and the Third Reich*; Zeender, ''German Catholics.''

CENTER PARTY (*Zentrum*). Founded in the Prussian *Abgeordnetenhaus* in 1858 as *Fraktion des Zentrums*, the Center Party was the political voice of Prussian, and later German, Catholicism. Although plans were conceived in the Republic's early months to change its name and to appeal to Protestants* and workers—the Center campaigned in January 1919 as the *Christliche Volkspartei* (Christian People's Party)—such ideas were abandoned when it became clear that fears of a socialist *Kulturkampf* (Bismarck's policy of branding Catholics* subversives and denying them civil rights) were chimerical. Thus there was little in the Weimar years to distinguish the Party from its imperial counterpart (its Bavarian branch, favoring federalism above centralization, became known as the Bavarian People's Party*). Other than that its membership was Catholic, the Center's electorate, especially after the enfranchisement of women,* was a microcosm of Germany. Since the country's Catholic population was reduced by the Versailles Treaty* in far greater proportion than its Protestant population, the Party's Reichstag* faction dropped by just under a quarter. Moreover, throughout the Weimar years it experienced a steady loss of electoral support. Meanwhile, studies of voter patterns indicated that women's suffrage provided the Center with a more stable base of support than would otherwise have been the case—a fact that annoyed the old hierarchy.

As a party representing both a religious minority and a broad socioeconomic spectrum, the Center generally supported positions favoring toleration and democracy during the Weimar years. But open-mindedness came at a price: many priests, intellectuals, and Catholic landowners, repelled by democracy and the Party's inclination to work with socialists, deserted the Center in favor of the DNVP. At the same time, however, only the most reactionary Catholics regretted the passing of the Hohenzollern monarchy. Ultimately, by tolerating the Republic, the Center became one of the Weimar Coalition* parties with the SPD and the DDP.

The Center's religious basis served increasingly as a handicap to political compromise, especially where issues of church and state were entangled. Growing ambivalence with parliamentary democracy led the Center from solidarity with the SPD during Weimar's early years (e.g., in passage of the 1922 Law for the Protection of the Republic*) to association with the DNVP (inspired by a resolution to maintain separate confessional schools). Moreover, its loose alliance with the liberal *Windthorstbund*, a Catholic youth group linked with the Party since the 1870s, became increasingly uncomfortable. Internal discord erupted in 1927 when Finance Minister and Party colleague Heinrich Köhler* drafted a provocative civil-service salary increase; damned by Adam Steger-

wald,* leader of the Catholic labor movement, the bill divided the Party's Reichstag faction. *Germania*, the Party's official newspaper, struggled throughout the Weimar era to define Center policy; its editorial pages mirrored the political conflict between leftist and rightist proponents.

The analysis of the Center Party by Ellen Evans accents an important point: founded originally as a defender of Catholic interests, the Center was so successful at shaping the Weimar Constitution,* thereby giving Catholics everything for which they had toiled for five decades, that its role as advocate for a threatened minority became anachronistic. Gradually comprehending the change, its leadership grew conservative and turned to the Right. In 1933, under the dubious leadership of Ludwig Kaas,* the Party surrendered its parliamentary responsibility by voting for Hitler's* Enabling Act.*

REFERENCES: Ellen Evans, ''Center Wages *Kulturpolitik*'' and *German Center Party*; Morsey, *Deutsche Zentrumspartei* and *Untergang*; Scholder, *Churches and the Third Reich*.

CENTRAL ASSOCIATION OF GERMAN CITIZENS OF JEWISH FAITH (*Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens*). Founded in 1893 by Raphael Loewenfeld, director of Berlin's* *Schillertheater*, the *Centralverein* aimed to combat anti-Semitism* by underscoring the falsity of its allegations. Prosecuting anti-Semites in the courts and assisting in their defeat at the polls, it also worked to strengthen both Jewish and German consciousness while educating Jews* on ways to act that might preclude antagonists from embarrassing them. The *Centralverein* preserved these activities throughout the Weimar era and convinced numerous intellectuals and political leaders to sign declarations condemning anti-Semitism. Most German Jews, while not paid members, supported the *Centralverein* and its activities. Paid membership grew from 45,000 at the end of 1918 to a high of 72,400 in 1924. Shortly before Hitler* assumed power, membership stood at 64,000; this was somewhat more than 10 percent of the total population of Germans of Jewish faith. Only Zionists and some ultra–right-wing Jews spurned the *Centralverein*'s activities.

Donald Niewyk has highlighted three features of the *Centralverein*'s work: (1) it confronted anti-Semites, via publications such as the weekly *Central-Verein Zeitung*, with a rational expression of the truth; (2) it subsidized efforts by antiracist parties, especially the SPD and the Center Party,* to defeat anti-Semites; and (3) it fostered a sense of security and confidence among Jews. In retrospect, this third feature was tragic. Through superb publications, a team of qualified lawyers, and a vast organization, it provided the false hope that truth, if widely disseminated, surely prevails.

REFERENCES: Hans Bach, *German Jew*; Niewyk, *Jews in Weimar Germany* and *Socialist*.

CENTRAL ASSOCIATION OF GERMAN INDUSTRIALISTS (*Centralverband der deutschen Industriellen*). *See Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie*.

CENTRAL WORKING ASSOCIATION (*Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft der industriellen und gewerblichen Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer Deutschlands*, ZAG). On 15 November 1918 a compact was signed between Germany's employers' associations (*Vereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände*), represented by Hugo Stinnes,* and the free trade unions,* led by Carl Legien,* wherein the parties agreed to foster conciliation between the opposing interests of labor and management. This Stinnes-Legien accord, which buried the strife that had beset labor-management relations during World War I and provided for collaboration both during demobilization and beyond, was the prelude to the Central Working Association and was extolled at the time as a labor Magna Carta. Recognizing the fragility of Germany's interim regime and fearful lest revolutionary conditions threaten the factory structure and international trade, employers initiated talks with labor in October 1918. (In fact, the unions had asked employers to join them in an association early in the war; the summons went unheeded until 1918.) When the employers agreed to address long-held demands for reform, the unions endorsed the partnership. Actually, labor no less than management believed that radicalization could be checked only by restoring normal economic life.

Formally launched by its constitution of 4 December 1918 (drafted by Legien and Hans von Raumer*), ZAG has been likened to the 10 November 1918 agreement between Friedrich Ebert* and General Wilhelm Groener,* whereby the army agreed to defend the interim cabinet in exchange for the latter's support of the high command. Through Stinnes-Legien (and thereafter ZAG), employers acknowledged the unions as the ''authorized representatives of the workers'' (as opposed to the companies ''yellow'' unions) and as the entity with which to negotiate wages. In addition, they agreed to an eight-hour day, with compensatory wage adjustment, and approved the creation of workers' committees in firms with more than fifty employees. In return, the employers secured union support for the existing factory system and Germany's economic structure.

By demonstrating that a partnership with management might preclude the need for social revolution, ZAG tempered labor demands prior to the December 1918 Congress* of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils; it also facilitated German demobilization. But, like the Ebert-Groener pact, Stinnes-Legien proved short-lived. Once the revolutionary fervor had evaporated, and as fiscal policies sparked hyperinflation, the integrative force of ZAG was imperiled. The 1923 Ruhr occupation* finally undermined ZAG by bleeding the resources of the ADGB and killing the eight-hour workday. The agreement collapsed when the Republic's fiscal-stabilization measures of 1923–1924 ushered in a period of intensified social conflict. Although state intervention preserved collective bargaining until 1933, ZAG's collapse underscored the Republic's inability to create conditions essential to a modern industrial society.

REFERENCES: Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*; Feldman, ''German Business'' and *Great Disorder*; Feldman and Steinisch, *Industrie und Gewerkschaften*; Kolb, *Weimar Republic*; Skrzypczak, ''From Carl Legien.''

CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART (1855–1927), racial theorist; his concept of Aryan supremacy was embodied in Nazi mythology. Born to an English admiral in a village near Portsmouth, he was sent to Versailles in 1856 (upon his mother's early death) for tutoring with a grandmother and an aunt. The sojourn had a lasting impact, for when he later studied in England, he felt awkward and foreign. Handicapped by a nervous disorder, he abandoned both England and formal study and, in their place, embarked upon nine years of European travel. After mastering German through friendship with the theologian Otto Kuntze, he completed a baccalaureate in 1881 in the natural sciences; however, graduate work in botany induced a nervous breakdown. During 1884–1889, while residing in Dresden, he formed an enthusiasm for German literature and art. A move to Vienna in 1889 to reembark on formal studies only revived his nervous disorder; after a year he abandoned the effort. In 1892 he finally turned to writing. In addition to articles and essays on Richard Wagner, he occupied himself with science, religion, history, and political issues. Relocating to Bayreuth in 1909, he became part of the intimate circle centered on Cosima Wagner. In 1916 he took German citizenship.

Already a Germanophile at twenty-one, Chamberlain wrote: ''My belief that the whole future of Europe—i.e., the civilization of the world—rests in the hands of Germany, has now grown to a firm conviction'' (Field). But his security in the conviction was fragile. In *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1899), the work that established his reputation, he presented the theory (not unique to him) that history is a struggle between races. Although the study was dismissed by scholars as the musings of a pseudointellectual, it aroused the interest of an insecure generation. Riddled with Wagnerian themes of Teutonic supremacy, *Foundations* became a favorite of the Kaiser; in later exile Wilhelm characterized Chamberlain as a personality he could understand.

Chamberlain called World War I a moral crime against Germany for which England was accountable. Weimar democracy was, he claimed, a hopeless experiment in romanticism. Among a group of self-appointed prophets that included Julius Langbehn, Eugen Dühring, and Paul de Lagarde, his ideas helped lay the foundation upon which Nazism was constructed. He is reputed to have proclaimed himself ''enraptured with Hitler*'' when the latter visited him in 1923 during his final illness.

REFERENCES: Field, *Evangelist of Race*; *NDB*, vol. 3; Viereck, *Metapolitics*.

CHANCELLORSHIP. *See* Constitution.

DER CHORAL VON LEUTHEN. *See* Joachim Freiherr von der Goltz.

CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONS. *See* German Trade-Union Federation *and* Trade Unions.

CHURCHES. *See* Catholics *and* Protestants.

CINEMA. *See* Film.

CIVIL SERVICE. A considerable section of Germany's middle class (*see Mittelstand*) consisted of civil servants (*Beamten*). Since the great mass of this group performed ''politically neutral'' tasks such as teaching, tax collection, postal and railroad operations, municipal services, and the filling of Protestant* pulpits, it is difficult to reconcile its ambivalence (indeed hostility) to the Republic. But like its landowners and officers, Germany's bureaucracy revered the monarchy; indeed, many landowners were *Beamten* and many *Beamten* had served as officers under the Kaiser. As with military commissions, a civil-service appointment was a lifetime pledge. Even the Weimar Constitution* (Article 129) accorded special esteem to the ''inviolable'' and ''well-acquired rights'' of *Beamten*. Since such officials deemed themselves professional servants rather than ministerial subordinates (political appointees), they lacked connection to the new crop of ministers who governed after November 1918. Yet they might have come to accept the Republic had it given evidence of success; instead, they increasingly judged it a threat to both their living standard and their social standing.

The lower civil-service ranks, never sufficiently paid, were forced into intolerable living standards in the wake of World War I. Poor salaries had often been supplemented in the Kaiserreich with interest paid on private wealth. But the inflation* ravaged the value of set salaries while eliminating many private fortunes. Moreover, wartime investments into government bonds were lost. The Kaiserreich often ''paid'' *Beamten* for years of loyal service with titles and decorations, which were almost as important as salary. The respect bestowed by granting an honorific ''von'' was the Kaiser's simplest means of consoling underpaid *Beamten*. The Republic suspended endowment of all such honors. Then, after years of inaction or cutbacks (1923–1924), the Reichstag* passed an excessive salary increase (21–25 percent) in 1927 for federal bureaucrats, a step inducing similar increases at state and municipal levels (both requiring federal subsidies). Unfortunately, with the 1929 economic crash, the new salaries could not be maintained; Heinrich Brüning's* deflationary reductions led many *Beamten* to fear, with predictable results, that they would slip into the lower middle class (*untere Mittelstand*). In his memoirs Otto Braun* recorded that the ''excessive salary increase [of 1927] scarcely won any civil servants to democracy, but the salary cuts which later proved necessary drove countless officials into the National Socialists' camp.''

REFERENCES: Balfour, *Withstanding Hitler*; Brecht, *Political Education*; Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy*; Michael Hughes, ''Private Equity, Social Inequity''; Jacob, *German Administration*; Jarausch, ''Crisis of German Professions''; Röhl, ''Higher Civil Servants.''

CLASS, HEINRICH (1868–1953), politician; helped radicalize the DNVP. Born in Alzey, he attended Gymnasium in Mainz before studying law. He com-

pleted legal studies in 1895 and founded a law practice in Mainz. Family tradition fostered in him a rigid nationalism. After working with the anti-Semitic *Deutschbund* (German League), he became a leader in 1897 of the Rhineland-Hesse chapter of the Pan-German League (*Alldeutscher Verband*). Under his growing influence the League evolved a biological anti-Semitism* comparable to that later espoused by Hitler.* In 1908 he became the League's chairman, an office he held until 1939. Class believed in the inevitability of a war in which France played the role of archvillain and England that of treacherous cousin. He used his position to attack the imperial government, and his propaganda brought him into repeated conflicts with the Kaiser's ministers. Among those making sweeping annexation demands once war began, he was a founder of the Fatherland Party in 1917.

During the Republic Class, as editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, encouraged an antidemocratic opposition. He defended both the 1920 Kapp* Putsch and the Beerhall Putsch* of 1923. In July 1925, responding to the DNVP's failure to oppose Gustav Stresemann's* Locarno Treaties,* he began a campaign of public rebuke that helped radicalize the Party. In January 1926 he devised plans for a rebellion that entailed President Hindenburg's* dissolution of the Reichstag* and formation of an authoritarian regency; upon uncovering the plot, Prussia's* Interior Ministry vainly attempted to convict Class for conspiring against the Constitution.* A devotee of Alfred Hugenberg,* Class championed the latter's efforts to replace Kuno von Westarp* as leader of the DNVP; indeed, before Hugenberg seized leadership in 1928, Class lamented that a man with such ''ability, objectivity, and training'' did not have greater influence. In 1929 he united with Hitler, Hugenberg, and Franz Seldte* (*Stahlhelm** leader) in opposition to the Young Plan*; in 1931 he was an influential member of the Harzburg Front.* Although Class entered the Reichstag in 1933 as a Nazi, Hitler suspected both his monarchism* and his ties to Hugenberg; his influence soon dwindled. The Pan-German League was officially dissolved on 13 March 1939.

REFERENCES: Chamberlin, ''Enemy on the Right''; Leopold, *Alfred Hugenberg*; *NDB*, vol. 3; Pulzer, *Rise of Political Anti-Semitism*.

COHN, OSKAR (1869–1934), jurist and politician; while he was serving on the Committee of Investigation into Germany's defeat, his unlucky queries helped propagate the *Dolchstosslegende*.* Born in Guttentag, he earned a doctorate in jurisprudence and thereafter practiced law in Berlin.* Elected to the SPD's Reichstag* faction in 1912, he migrated to the USPD during the November Revolution.*

After election to the National Assembly,* Cohn was placed on the constitutional committee (fearful that someone less democratic than Friedrich Ebert* might hold the office, he warned against awarding the President too much authority). In August 1919 he joined the committee investigating Germany's defeat. But Cohn was soon politically impaired when Adolf Joffe, the first Soviet emissary to Germany, publicly claimed that Cohn had received Russian funds

with which to organize the November Revolution (Joffe had been deported in November 1918). When Cohn asked Karl Helfferich* to recount for the committee the army's decision favoring unrestricted submarine warfare, the former Imperial State Secretary refused—''If I were sitting here before a court I would object to Dr. Cohn as judge, and would have the right to do so under the criminal law''—yet he used the opening to accuse Cohn of helping initiate the events that had stabbed the army in the back. Arising on 15 November 1919, the indictment helped disseminate the *Dolchstosslegende*. It proved so alluring that Paul von Hindenburg* repeated it in testimony three days later.

Helfferich's charge, inspired by Joffe's careless remark, was technically accurate. But Cohn's basic conservatism was also well documented. On 19 December 1918 he had sponsored the crucial motion at the Congress* of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils that endorsed election of a National Assembly: ''We Social Democrats must take at last a most decisive and persistent stand against the way in which our clean, clear, good Socialist ideology is constantly being sabotaged and discredited by Bolshevist perverseness''—hardly the words of someone manipulated by Moscow.

Remaining in Prussia's Landtag, Cohn retired from political life in 1924. He worked as a private Berlin attorney until he emigrated in 1933 to Palestine. He soon returned to Switzerland and died in Geneva.

REFERENCES: Bonn, *Wandering Scholar*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Hilger and Meyer, *Incompatible Allies*; Max Schwarz, *MdR*.

COLONIES. *See* Versailles Treaty.

COMBAT LEAGUES. *See* Freikorps.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*, KPD). The KPD emerged from a radical opposition within the SPD. Arguing that Marx's vision could be achieved only via revolution (orthodoxy), the radicals (known since 1915 as the *Gruppe Internationale*) differed with a party espousing an evolutionary form of parliamentary socialism (revisionism). Employing the name *Spartakusgruppe* in 1916, the radicals joined the new USPD in 1917, then adopted the name Spartacus League* on 11 November 1918. Rosa Luxemburg* began publishing *Rote Fahne*, the League's newspaper,* the same month.

Deeming the revolution inadequate, the Spartacists, the Revolutionary Shop Stewards,* and smaller radical leftist organizations from Bremen (the *Bremer Linke*), Hamburg, and Dresden assembled in Berlin* from 29 December 1918 through 1 January 1919 for what became the KPD's founding congress. Luxemburg, unenthusiastic when the League chose to separate from the USPD, expounded her vision of a unified German Socialist Republic under the administration of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.* (The Shop Stewards, sharing Luxemburg's qualms, refused to join the KPD.) In contrast to the Soviet

experiment, Luxemburg sought to avoid terror while retaining Germany's federal structure. But a violent spirit animated the congress; Luxemburg was overruled, and her aim to enter the forthcoming National Assembly* elections was rejected. Using Karl Radek as his agent, Lenin pressed the KPD to seize power. The KPD was stirred to action by the Shop Stewards, but the attempt proved tragic. Although Berlin was chaotic in early 1919, working-class opinion favored a nonviolent approach to Germany's problems. The ultraradicals took the KPD into a four-month bloodbath, thereby severing the KPD's ties with the masses. Moreover, with the 15 January murder of Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht,* the Party's intellectual core was lost.

During the painful first half of 1919, which witnessed the death of Leo Jogiches in March and of Eugen Leviné* in June, the KPD appointed Paul Levi* chairman and launched a campaign to establish itself as a mass party. In October 1919 Levi began expelling those who had repudiated cooperation with Germany's trade unions* or had vetoed participation in the National Assembly. But this did not avert the KPD, against Levi's wishes, from fomenting an insurrection after the Kapp* Putsch of March 1920. The creation in April of the ultraradical Communist Workers' Party (KAPD) did little to bolster the KPD's precarious position. Hoping to split the USPD, Lenin publicly disowned the ultraradicals in June 1920. His communiqué came too late to help the KPD in the same month's Reichstag* elections: it gained 1.7 percent of the vote and two parliamentary seats. Yet the prosperous USPD (18.8 percent of the vote and eighty-one seats) did in fact split in October 1920, with its larger left wing joining the KPD.

Prospects were again dashed when, at Moscow's urging, the KPD launched another putsch (the ''March Action'') in 1921. It was a grievous failure. Yet because Levi had denounced the planned revolt as madness, he was expelled from the *Zentrale* in the uprising's aftermath; half of the *Zentrale* retired with him. When Levi and his allies left the Party, it reversed its posture and began promoting the tenet that Germany's revolutionary situation was temporarily at an end.

By 1921 a pattern of factional strife, sometimes founded on ideology and sometimes on personality, had become endemic to the KPD. Moscow's hand was always evident. During 1921–1923, under the unsteady leadership of Heinrich Brandler, the KPD pursued a United Front* with the SPD and trade unions. Again, with Radek as agent, Moscow directed the change. Although the policy was rarely effectual, it found brief success in 1923, the year the KPD established its first paramilitary arm, the Proletarian Hundreds (*Proletarische Hundertschaften*). In October 1923 the KPD, aroused again by Moscow, launched abortive uprisings in Saxony* and Thuringia* that induced Berlin to outlaw it for six months. The actions, moreover, spawned another reversal in policy. In this instance, Brandler was branded a traitor for insufficiently supporting the SPD-KPD uprisings *and* for discrediting the Party with his United Front policy. Notwithstanding such absurd inconsistency, he was stripped of the chairmanship

in February 1924 (within days of Lenin's death) and replaced by Ruth Fischer* and Arkadi Maslow.

The leadership of Fischer and Maslow, radicals who had pressed for the 1923 uprisings, was sanctioned by Grigori Zinoviev. Faced with sagging membership, the cochairmen abandoned the United Front and, despite growing economic stabilization, reactivated a posture of confrontation. In 1924 the *Roter Frontkämpferbund** (RFB) replaced the Proletarian Hundreds. Although the KPD polled 12.6 percent in the May 1924 Reichstag elections—placing sixty-two deputies in the chamber—the next year's presidential campaign brought a 50 percent loss in support. Due largely to Fischer's unbridled attacks on the unions, the KPD alienated most workers and erased hopes of playing a role in Germany's parliamentary process.

By mid-1925 Fischer and Maslow were entangled by the infighting in Moscow; upon Zinoviev's eclipse both were dismissed from the KPD. Ernst Thälmann,* whose presidential candidacy had both secured the election of Hindenburg* and underscored the bankruptcy of radical sectarianism, was Stalin's personal choice as Party head. A Hamburg dockworker totally loyal to Moscow, this erstwhile friend of Fischer and Maslow became leader of a party (with Heinz Neumann* and Hermann Remmele* from 1928) that briefly reactivated a United Front, but ensured that the KPD would remain a Stalinist pawn (a fact that led in 1928 to a minor Party split and formation of the *Kommunistische Partei-Opposition*). While the KPD's electorate grew during Thälmann's regime—rising to six million votes in 1932—the Party was increasingly Stalinized. At Moscow's order and amidst internal discord, Thälmann abandoned the United Front in 1928; yet, despite growing street violence, the KPD launched no further insurrections. Stalin, blind to the threat embodied in Hitler,* focused the KPD's attacks on the Republic and the SPD—the ''social fascists''; indeed, the Party randomly cooperated with the radical Right against the Republic.

Germany's third largest party after the November 1932 Reichstag elections (it garnered 16.9 percent of the votes cast), the KPD was crushed by the end of April 1933. In March, after the Reichstag fire, Thälmann was imprisoned, KPD mandates were annulled, and the Party was dissolved. Within weeks, thousands of mid-level party functionaries were in prisons and concentration facilities.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Borkenau, *European Communism*; Conan Fischer, *German Communists*; Fowkes, *Communism in Germany*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Hermann Weber, *Kommunismus*.

COMPIÈGNE FOREST. *See* Armistice.

CONFERENCE OF EXPERTS. *See* Young Plan.

CONGRESS OF GERMAN INDUSTRY AND TRADE. *See* German Industry and Trade Congress.

CONGRESS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCILS (*Rätekongress*). Held at the request of the USPD, the first and most significant General Congress of German Workers' and Soldiers' Councils met in the Prussian *Abgeordnetenhaus* from 16 to 21 December 1918. Elections to the event, held in late November and reflective of worker opinion at the time, gave the SPD an overwhelming preponderance of the 514 delegates; Karl Liebknecht* and Rosa Luxemburg* failed to win seats. The delegates showed little sympathy for events in Russia; their key decision came on 19 December when, by a 344–98 vote, they rejected a motion to confirm the council system as ''the basis of the constitution of the socialistic republic.'' Correspondingly, they passed by 400–50 the motion of Oskar Cohn* setting National Assembly* elections for 19 January 1919. Disillusioned, the USPD delegates abstained from a vote creating a new central committee—aimed at coordinating the relationship between the councils and the interim government (the Council of People's Representatives*)—and thereby abandoned an opportunity to counterbalance the power of the SPD. Before adjourning, the Congress passed nonbinding resolutions to initiate ''socialization of all industries ready for it'' and to destroy the symbols of German militarism. This last proved especially irritating to conservatives.

The decision in favor of traditional parliamentarianism was the Congress's paramount ruling. A bitter defeat for the Spartacus League,* the Revolutionary Shop Stewards,* and the USPD, it led indirectly to the USPD's 27 December withdrawal from the interim government and to the overhasty decision of the Spartacists to establish the KPD and boycott elections.

A second Congress convened on 15 April 1919. Largely a USPD affair (the SPD was satisfied that the need for councils had ended with the January elections), it was an inconclusive attempt to resolve the debate between those favoring a parliamentary course (''Party Independents'') and those clinging to a council system (''Council Independents''). Because the strength of the Shop Stewards had been squandered in three months of civil war, the debate proved inconclusive.

REFERENCES: Herwig, ''First German Congress''; Kolb, *Weimar Republic*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Ryder, *German Revolution of 1918*.

CONSERVATIVE PEOPLE'S PARTY (*Konservative Volkspartei*, KVP); founded on 23 July 1930 by Kuno von Westarp* and Gottfried Treviranus,* former Nationalists disheartened by the direction in which Alfred Hugenberg* was leading the DNVP. The KVP, while strictly conservative, sought to support Heinrich Brüning's* cabinet in cooperation with elements in parties to the Left of the DNVP. Various conservative groups did in fact sustain the KVP in publishing an appeal in favor of Brüning's reforms. But while several business leaders supported Treviranus and Westarp in their defection from the DNVP, efforts to unite anti-Hugenberg conservatives were dashed when the *Deutsches Landvolk* (a coalition of the Bavarian Peasants' League and the Christian-National Peasants' and Farmers' Party) and the *Christlich-Sozialer Volksdienst*

(Christian Social People's Service), both earlier defectors from the Hugenberg-led DNVP, ran separate candidates in the September 1930 Reichstag* elections.

Although the KVP was organizationally weak, it had substantial business support. IG Farben* and the *Ruhrlade* (a group of iron and steel industrialists) provided staff to run the Party's campaign. Brüning, previously close to the DNVP's moderate elements, placed great hope in the KVP. Thus he was quite depressed when the Party mustered under 1 percent of the votes and only four seats in the September elections.

Despite its size, the tiny KVP faction, led by Westarp, orchestrated Wilhelm Groener's* dismissal as Defense Minister in May 1932. By this point, however, Westarp was lending his name to the new National Front of German Estates (*Nationale Front deutschen Stände*), and the KVP was largely moribund.

REFERENCES: Chanady, ''Disintegration''; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Turner, *German Big Business*; Walker, ''German Nationalist People's Party.''

CONSTITUTION. When the National Assembly* convened in Weimar on 6 February 1919, the first order of business was the writing of a constitution. Hugo Preuss,* appointed Interior Minister on 13 February, submitted a draft document to the Assembly. But deliberations were arduous, complicated chiefly by the continued existence of Germany's federal states (*Länder*). Although monarchism* had been abolished throughout Germany, many states—for example, Bavaria,* Prussia,* and Saxony*—had long histories that inspired considerable local patriotism. Preuss, Professor of Constitutional Law at Berlin's *Handelshochschule*, wished to radically restructure the states and diminish their importance. But opposition grew so acute that he was forced to offer a plan that, while it removed privileges associated with taxation, transportation, and military affairs, left the *Länder* fundamentally unchanged. Added to the several defects enumerated next, the inability to institute a truly unitary state was a fundamental constitutional flaw that tormented the Republic throughout its existence.

Between February and July 1919 every clause in the Preuss draft was debated twice in the Assembly's twenty-eight-member Constitutional Committee. Particularly outstanding in their contribution to the final result were the DDP's Conrad Haussmann* (Committee Chairman) and Erich Koch-Weser,* Wilhelm Kahl of the DVP, and Clemens von Delbrück of the DNVP. The *Länder* retained a voice in the national legislature through creation of a second chamber, the *Reichsrat*, made up of state representatives. While not as strong as the old *Bundesrat*, the *Reichsrat* had a key role in advising on legislation. At the Constitution's core was the first legislative chamber, or Reichstag,* which enacted legislation and controlled the executive. The country was divided into thirty-seven electoral districts, in which the political parties produced lists of candidates, and one Reichstag mandate was allowed for each 60,000 votes received by a party. Surplus votes from all districts were pooled to elect additional delegates from party lists; thus no vote was wasted in Weimar's system of pro-

portional representation. Yet, as explained later, this attempt to ensure balanced democracy probably weakened the Republic.

The Constitution created an executive with both a President and a Chancellor. The President, popularly elected every seven years with the option of indefinite reelection, nominated the Chancellor, whose tenure required the confidence of the Reichstag. To avoid parliamentary absolutism, the President was given power through Article 48 to enforce the Republic's laws, even in the face of opposition on the part of state governments and the Reichstag (he could dissolve the latter). Article 48 provided also for proclamation of a state of emergency by the President if and when ''public security and order'' were endangered. In such circumstances constitutional guarantees impacting individual rights, inviolability of the home, secrecy of communications, free speech and assembly, free association, and private property could be suspended. When General Wilhelm Groener,* a key advocate for the Republic, learned of this article, he gleefully wrote Paul von Hindenburg*: ''An ordinance is being prepared . . . which will give the *Reichswehrminister* such wide powers in those areas designated by the *Reichspräsident* that one may speak of them as dictatorial'' (Gordon). Only Oskar Cohn,* an Independent Socialist, possessed sufficient clairvoyance to warn against giving such power to the President. Outrageous use of Article 48 during 1930–1933 underscored key weaknesses in the Constitution; yet the Republic might have collapsed in the turmoil of 1923 without the emergency prerogative.

Since Reichstag elections normally occurred once every four years, the Constitution provided for the direct democracy of plebiscites. In theory, a conflict between the chambers, or between the legislature and the President, could be settled by a plebiscite. Moreover, if 10 percent of the electorate petitioned for legislation that the Reichstag rejected, the bill would be placed before the public for plebiscitary decision. Although every attempt to organize a plebiscite failed, the campaigns surrounding them helped poison the Republic's political atmosphere (*see* Young Plan). Eberhard Kolb has argued that the Constitution's provision for plebiscites underscored the deputies' fear of a fully parliamentary system.

Although the Constitution was commended as an eminently democratic document, it contained major flaws reflecting the haste with which it was composed, the inexperience of its authors, and the reassuring presence of Friedrich Ebert* in the presidency. Although they are still open to debate, these flaws are as follows: (1) Proportional representation, assured by Article 22, deterred the integration of diverse views into a reasonable number of parties; indeed, it invited rifts in preexisting parties. It also fostered the election of single-issue zealots possessing neither the ability nor the propensity to seek compromise between divergent viewpoints. Relatedly, Article 22 inhibited the building of local coalitions that might have defeated extremists. Even as the committee deliberated, Friedrich Naumann* directed criticism to Preuss that a ''parliamentary system and proportional representation are mutually exclusive.'' (2) In a naïve mis-

reading of the American system, the Constitution provided for the popular election of a President. While this procedure succeeds in an environment dominated by two parties, it is perilous in a system based on numerous parties and splinter groups. When no single party can gain sufficient backing for its candidate, the tendency, as was demonstrated in the 1925 runoff election of Hindenburg, is to elect political outsiders possessing little genuine parliamentary experience. Had the Constitution left the President's election in the hands of the legislature, Hindenburg could not have stood for election in 1925. (3) The insufficiently limited powers of the President transformed the office into that of a pseudoemperor. Given the tumult of 1919, perhaps it was inevitable that the President received such broad regulatory and emergency powers; such was the rationale for Article 25 (''The Reich President can dissolve the Reichstag'' and call new elections), Article 53 (''The Reich Chancellor and on his proposal the Reich Ministers are appointed and dismissed by the Reich President''), and, of course, Article 48. But in improper hands such powers were excessive and damaging to the Reichstag. (4) Article 129 declared that ''[c]ivil servants are appointed on life tenure, unless otherwise provided by statute. . . . The vested rights of civil servants are inviolable.'' Because the imperial bureaucracy had not been purged during the November Revolution,* this provision stood as a major barrier to administrative reform and is perceived as one of the Assembly's cardinal errors. Any demagogic support on behalf of the claims of civil servants could thus be deemed a nonpartisan appeal to the public good and a defense of the Constitution.

The committee used forty sessions to debate the Constitution's 181 articles. The resulting draft then received three separate readings before the full Assembly. On 31 July it was passed by the 262 votes of those parties—SPD, Center, and DDP—that formed the Weimar Coalition*; the 75 votes cast in opposition were from the USPD, the DVP, and the DNVP. President Ebert adopted the Constitution on 11 August 1919, a date thereafter designated Constitution Day.
REFERENCES: Boldt, ''Article 48''; Brecht, *Political Education* and *Prelude to Silence*; *Democratic Tradition*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Koch, *Constitutional History*; Kolb, *Weimar Republic*.

COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION OF GERMAN INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS. *See* Central Working Association.

COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES (*Rat der Volksbeauftragten*). Established on 10 November 1918, the Council of People's Representatives was the Republic's interim cabinet. It initially comprised three members each from the SPD and the USPD. Wishing to work with the USPD, the SPD invited it to form a coalition cabinet (the bourgeois word *Kabinett* was dropped until February 1919). Although many USPD activists were either skeptical or hostile, preferring a government of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils,* the USPD

chose to accept the SPD's offer in light of widespread worker support for reuniting German socialism. Representing the SPD were Friedrich Ebert* (chairman and Chancellor), Philipp Scheidemann,* and Otto Landsberg*; the USPD nominated Hugo Haase* (cochairman), Wilhelm Dittmann,* and Emil Barth.* Barth was a metalworker and a Revolutionary Shop Steward,* but the other representatives were Reichstag* deputies with considerable political experience.

From the start the council was a weak alliance; the gap between the socialist parties had grown during the war. Many Independents were closer to the radical Spartacus League* than to the SPD; likewise, many in the SPD had greater affinity for wartime associates in nonsocialist parties. In the weeks that followed, the SPD focused on the election of a national constituent assembly; the USPD, lacking a distinct program, was drawn to the slogan ''All power to the councils.'' A social moderate whose pacifism had led him to found the USPD in 1917, Haase was forced to cultivate the extreme Left; Ebert, with leadership thrust upon him, was determined to retain some of the imperial structure. On 10 November Ebert's resolution led him to form a pact of mutual assistance with General Wilhelm Groener.* When during 23–24 December the three SPD deputies called upon the army, without notifying their USPD colleagues, to rescue hostages held by revolutionaries in the Royal Stables (*Marstall*), Haase and his colleagues resigned. Thus ended both the first council and the revolution's venture at socialist cooperation.

A second council, embracing only the SPD, was formed on 29 December 1918. Gustav Noske* and Rudolf Wissell* joined Ebert, Landsberg, and Scheidemann to form the cabinet. The final vacancy, initially offered to Paul Löbe,* remained unfilled. As Germany's streets became the scene of struggle between the socialist factions, Ebert and his colleagues were forced into increased dependence on the military. Noske's military expertise proved the crucial ingredient in the government's survival. The second council continued as Germany's provisional government until 11 February 1919, when it surrendered its powers to the new National Assembly.*

REFERENCES: Carsten, *Revolution*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Ryder, *German Revolution of 1918.*

COUNCILS OF WORKERS AND SOLDIERS. *See* Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

CRISPIEN, ARTUR (1875–1946), politician; cochairman of the USPD. Born in Königsberg, he apprenticed as a painter and dabbled in art studies. After joining the SPD in 1902, he helped edit Königsberg's *Freie Volkszeitung*. While serving first as secretary of West Prussia's* SPD (1906–1912) and then as editor of Stuttgart's *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, he became an ardent pacifist. In November 1914, upon siding with Party radicals against the SPD's vote for war credits, he lost his editorial post. Linked with those who eventually formed the Spartacus League,* he also joined a Württemberg-based movement to split the SPD. In

1915 he began editing *Der Sozialdemokrat*; convicted in mid-1916 of ''political offenses,'' he served three months in prison and then was inducted into the army.

From November 1918 through January 1919 Crispien served Württemberg's revolutionary government as Interior Minister and Deputy Prime Minister. But he rapidly diverged from his old Spartacist colleagues. In March 1919, at the USPD's first postwar conference, he became Party cochairman with Hugo Haase* (his election followed Haase's refusal to serve with Ernst Däumig*). Presumed to be a radical, he retained his position while becoming increasingly conservative. Following Haase's death in November 1919, Crispien became a mainstay for the status quo. Yet while he resisted proposals to stage a putsch against the Republic, he remained a critic of the SPD during the regime's early years.

After attending the 1920 Comintern Congress in Moscow, Crispien returned an outspoken opponent of Bolshevism. When the USPD voted late in 1920 to join the KPD, he opposed the motion, and the Party split. He remained as cochairman of the rump USPD until the members voted to rejoin the SPD two years later; a popular orator, he was one of three cochairmen of the reunited Party and represented the SPD's left wing in the Reichstag.* His experience with the international labor movement—he sat on the executive of the Socialist (Second) International—and his emphatic pacifism earned him the intense hatred of the nationalistic Right. In grave danger once Hitler became Chancellor, Crispien left for Austria* in March 1933 and ultimately emigrated to Switzerland, settling in Bern as a painter.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*.

CULTURAL BOLSHEVISM. *See Kulturbolschewismus.*

CUNO, WILHELM (1876–1933), shipping magnate and Chancellor; initiated passive resistance during the Ruhr occupation.* Born in the Thuringian town of Suhl, he studied law and took a doctorate at Breslau in 1901. He joined the Treasury Office in 1910 and became head of the Grain Office upon the declaration of war. Assigned to the War Food Office in July 1916, he was lured by Albert Ballin in January 1917 to the Hamburg-Amerika Shipping Company; upon Ballin's suicide in November 1918 he became the firm's *Generaldirektor*. Cuno was an economics expert during the Armistice* process and again at the peace conference. He also attended reparations* meetings as an advisor and represented shipowners in negotiations with the Republic over compensation for shipping surrendered to the Allies. In 1920, via the so-called Harriman Agreement, he secured valuable assistance for his company by forming a cooperative venture with United American Lines. While he was in America, he served as an unofficial emissary for the Foreign Office. Rejecting earlier offers to become Foreign Minister and Finance Minister, he was named Chancellor on 22 November 1922. His so-called Commerce Cabinet (*Regierung der Wirtschaft*) was

decidedly right-wing and included several ministers who, like himself, claimed no political affiliation.

Considerable hope was attached to Cuno's government, largely because of his foreign connections. However, he became Chancellor just as inflation* threatened to become catastrophic and as relations with France approached crisis. Aiming to revise the Versailles Treaty,* he proposed reparation changes in December 1922 as a means for stabilizing the Reichsmark; but at French insistence the Allies dismissed his proposal. When in late December Germany was declared in default on deliveries of timber and coal, French Premier Raymond Poincaré chose to occupy the heavily industrialized Ruhr district. Supported by five French and one Belgian divisions, engineers moved into the Ruhr on 9 January 1923 to ensure compliance with the Reparation Commission's delivery program. Cuno responded by declaring a policy of ''passive resistance,'' forbidding officials to take orders from the occupying authorities. Those authorities replied by expelling all railway and administrative officials and severing economic links with the rest of Germany. The result was disastrous: the Allies received a paltry quantity of coal in the following six months; an open state of conflict existed between Germany and France; and the value of the mark, already weak, completely collapsed. Because the Republic's financial needs by April were seven times higher than the revenue level, the Reichsbank reacted by printing an immodest quantity of money. As the mark's value plunged and assets valued in monetary terms became worthless, Cuno conceded that Poincaré would not open negotiations unless passive resistance ended. Recognizing that Cuno, who was near nervous collapse, wished to resign, the SPD removed its support from his cabinet on 12 August 1923. At that point one American dollar was worth a million Reichsmarks.

Cuno returned to the board of the Hamburg-Amerika Shipping Company, reemerging as *Generaldirektor* in 1926. His development of the firm included a 1930 merger with North German Lloyd. He also worked to emancipate German property held in the United States. In 1931, when it appeared that Hindenburg* might not run for reelection, Cuno was approached as a possible presidential candidate. The idea collapsed when it was disclosed that he was a Rotarian; the Rotary Club upheld the Versailles Treaty.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Cornebise, *Weimar Republic*; *NDB*, vol. 3; Rupieper, *Cuno Government*.

CURRENCY REFORM. *See Rentenbank.*

CURTIUS, ERNST ROBERT (1886–1956), historian and cultural critic; best known for his 1932 publication *Deutscher Geist in Gefahr* (German spirit in danger). Born in the Alsatian city of Thann, he was grandson to a famous historian and archeologist. He profited from a youth wherein French and German cultures were comfortably intermingled. The climate encouraged an open-minded intellect, and after initiating studies in Sanskrit and comparative lan-

guages, he took a doctorate in 1910 in modern languages under Strassburg's Gustav Gröber. Gröber, a professor of Romance languages, awoke Curtius's long-term interest in both the European Middle Ages and modern France. In 1913 Curtius wrote his *Habilitation* at Bonn. Following frontline service in World War I, he taught at Bonn, Marburg, and Heidelberg; he returned to a professorship at Bonn in 1929 and remained there until his retirement in 1951.

Curtius's outlook was animated by an appreciation of a medieval Europe in which peoples were divided by neither religion nor nationalism. His passion for international understanding brought friendships with many who shared his vision—for example, Stefan George,* Charles Du Bos, André Gide, José Ortega y Gasset, Max Scheler,* and Albert Schweitzer—and he devoted his scholarship to reshaping Europe's cultural community. Works on French culture and literature, published during 1919–1930, championed a more enlightened understanding of France. A compendium of his thought appeared in his 1930 volume *Frankreich* (France).

Moved by a burgeoning nationalism, Curtius published *Deutscher Geist in Gefahr*. The pamphlet denounced a growing hostility toward culture, a mindless emphasis on academic specialization, and the spread at German universities of a mentality that disparaged established truths and values. Despite personal danger, he remained in Nazi Germany and was critical in both writings and instruction of the rule of barbarism.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Arthur Evans, ''Ernst Robert Curtius''; *NDB*, vol. 3; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*.

CURTIUS, JULIUS (1877–1948), politician; as Foreign Minister, initiated conversations with Austria* in late 1930 aimed at forming a customs union. Born to a wealthy industrial family in Duisburg, he studied law and economics and earned his doctorate at Berlin.* He practiced corporate law from 1905 in Duisburg, but he quit his post in 1910 to study political science at Heidelberg. A blind patriot, he joined the National Liberal Party and promoted Germany's imperialistic *Weltpolitik* before World War I. Promoted to captain in the war, he served as an artillery officer and was awarded two Iron Crosses for bravery. After the war he returned to Heidelberg to teach international law; he served as a city councilor until 1921 and helped found the local branch of the DVP (he sat on the Party's *Hauptvorstand* during 1919–1932). Curtius was vehemently opposed to the Versailles Treaty,* especially its boundary stipulations. Elected to the Reichstag* in June 1920, he remained in the chamber until 1932, cultivating a reputation as a proponent for big business and an opponent of socialism. After establishing a Berlin residence in 1921, he built a successful law practice and was active as an attorney with the superior court. He also served as both legal counsel and board member for several large corporations.

Curtius, who vainly tried to form a cabinet in January 1927, served as Economics Minister from January 1926 until October 1929. Upon Gustav Stresemann's* death he moved to the Foreign Office. In both capacities he tried to

modify Stresemann's pro-Western policies (he misunderstood the long-term benefits of the Locarno Treaties*) by improving relations with the Soviet Union.* His adherence to laissez-faire economics earned him the distrust of heavy industry and the Junkers,* but he had noteworthy success, both with Stresemann and as his successor, in regularizing reparation* payments and achieving Allied withdrawal from the Rhineland.*

Although Curtius always aspired to the Foreign Office, he lacked Stresemann's skill and disposition. Yet years of responsibility had tempered his nationalism by 1929. As the ''Young Plan* Minister,'' he became a focal point for attacks from the DNVP, the *Stahlhelm*,* and the NSDAP. The elections of September 1930, by dramatically increasing the Nazis' public profile, sharpened the attacks and led him to embark on policies that might placate the right wing. His undoing resulted from ill-considered efforts to form a customs union with Austria. Brainchild of Bernhard von Bülow,* the scheme foundered in September 1931 when the Hague Tribunal voted 8–7 to reject it, claiming that it violated a 1922 League of Nations protocol requiring Austria to avoid commitments that might compromise its independence. With his reputation attached to the customs union, Curtius resigned on 3 October 1931.

Curtius remained briefly in the Reichstag (he moved his Party membership to the DStP); thereafter he avoided the spotlight, traveled extensively, and maintained his legal practice. Owner from 1938 of a Mecklenburg estate, he was momentarily arrested in 1944 due to the connection of family members with the Kreisauer Circle resistance group. After World War II he returned to Heidelberg.
REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Bracher, *Auflösung*; Kimmich, *Germany and the League of Nations*; *NDB*, vol. 3; Ratliff, *Faithful to the Fatherland*.

CUSTOMS UNION. *See* Austria.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. *See* Locarno Treaties *and* Universities.

D

DADA; a countercultural, artistic response to World War I. Although there are other accounts of the word's origins, the most accepted version has Hugo Ball* and Richard Huelsenbeck locating ''Dada'' randomly in a *Larousse Dictionary*. Founded in February 1916 at Zürich's Cabaret Voltaire, Dada used the ludicrous and shocking to mock those values and conventions (including Expressionism*) that had induced the horrors of the war. Its originators included the writers Ball and Tristan Tzara, the painter Marcel Duchamp, the sculptor Hans Arp, and Huelsenbeck. It emphasized the visual arts; one typical Dada product was a reproduction of the Mona Lisa decorated with a mustache and an obscene caption. After the war Tzara went to Paris and connected with Marcel Duchamp, an artist who had pioneered a similar movement in New York with Francis Picabia and Man Ray. Aiming to demolish all that was conventionally artistic, Parisian Dada spent itself by 1922, devoured by its own nihilism. Led by André Breton, it gave way to Surrealism.

Because the members of the German contingent tended to view Dada more seriously than their French counterparts, German Dada's postwar experience was unlike that in France. Founded in April 1918 by Huelsenbeck, the Berlin* Dada Club emphasized its aim to shock. Politically engaged, German Dada evolved into a sober art that focused on the external world, dealt with the grim reality of life, and sought to raise society's moral level. (A distinct movement, led by Max Ernst,* was centered on Cologne.) In June 1920 several club members organized the First (and last) International Dada Fair in Berlin (Picabia and Ernst were both represented). As with other socially conscious intellectuals (e.g., those associated with the Bauhaus*), the Dadaists demanded that art incorporate a

political message. They often used collage (and sometimes photomontage) to evoke the jagged dimension of life. Increasingly viewed as a radicalized form of Expressionism, Dada soon gave way to social realism; its key artists, notably George Grosz* and Otto Dix,* shifted by 1924 to *Neue Sachlichkeit** (New Objectivity) or Magic Realism.

REFERENCES: Barron, *German Expressionism*; Elderfield, ''Dada''; *German Realism of the Twenties*; Long, *German Expressionism*; Motherwell, *Dada Painters*; Sheppard, ''Dada and Mysticism''; Weinstein, *End of Expressionism*; Willett, *Art and Politics.*

DAHLEM, FRANZ (1892–1981), politician; among those who split with the USPD in 1920 to join the KPD. Born in the Lorraine city of Rohrbach, he entered Cologne's SPD after completing business studies in 1913. A soldier in World War I, he joined the breakaway USPD in 1917 and was later a member of Cologne's Workers' and Soldiers' Council.* When in October 1920 the USPD split over Lenin's invitation to enter the Comintern, Dahlem joined those who accepted the summons. He was soon editing the *Sozialistische Republik* and was elected in 1921 to the Prussian Landtag. In 1923 he became general secretary of the Rhineland's KPD and then went to Berlin* in 1924 to enter the editorial staff of *Rote Fahne*, the KPD's flagship newspaper.* He was promoted to the *Zentralkomitee* in 1927 and entered the Politburo in 1928. During 1928–1933 he sat in the Reichstag.*

As part of the KPD's radical Left, Dahlem led the Revolutionary Trade-Union Opposition (*Revolutionäre Gewerkschaftsopposition*, RGO) in 1931; the next year, however, he was censured for supporting Heinz Neumann.* (The KPD's Neumann wing, which had acquired a realistic fear of the NSDAP, began shifting its attacks from the SPD—Moscow's ''social fascists''—to the Nazis.) Escaping Germany in April 1933, he later led the German Communists engaged in the Spanish Civil War. He was arrested in Paris in 1939 and was released to the Gestapo in 1942, but survived World War II at Mauthausen. He was active in the German Democratic Republic.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Taddey, *Lexikon*; Wheeler, ''German Labor.''

DANZIG. Repeatedly torn in the Middle Ages between Poles and the Teutonic Knights, Danzig (now Gdansk) was slowly settled by German merchants. Embracing Protestantism in 1526, yet remaining part of Catholic* Poland,* it experienced serious economic decline during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Upon Poland's first partition in 1772, it assumed the status of a Free City; at the second partition (1793), it was incorporated into Prussia.* From 1807 to 1813, after Prussia was defeated by the French, Napoleon briefly reestablished its independent status. However, with France's defeat, Danzig reverted to Prussia and, during 1814–1824 and 1878–1919, served as capital of the province of West Prussia (West Prussia was administratively united with East Prussia during 1824–1878).

The Versailles Treaty* separated Danzig and West Prussia from Germany. Along with other pieces of eastern Germany, the province was incorporated into a new Poland, while Danzig became a self-administered Free City in 1920. Comprising Danzig proper, three rural districts, and the town of Zoppot, the city totaled 1,951 square kilometers and had 357,000 inhabitants, 96 percent of whom were German. To provide the Poles with a seaport, the city was included in Poland's customs territory. Inherently an artificial and unstable creation, the Free City was placed under the protection of a League of Nations high commissioner.

The status of Danzig was arguably Germany's chief grievance arising from the war and constituted the centerpiece of the Republic's program of treaty revision; indeed, while Germany's parties were otherwise torn by endless quarrels, they united on the necessity of returning Danzig and the ''Polish Corridor'' to the Reich. Danzig-Polish conflicts, totaling sixty-six during 1921–1934, appeared before almost every League Council session. Tension escalated when the Poles, unable to rely on Danzig as the outlet to the sea envisioned by the Allies, developed the neighboring fishing village of Gdynia into a port that increasingly rivaled Danzig. By 1930 even the Allies favored returning Danzig to Germany.

It is ironic that Hitler,* rejecting the notion of treaty revision in the East, negotiated the German-Polish Nonaggression Pact in January 1934, thereby ending fourteen years of tension over Danzig and the Corridor. By securing peace in the East, Hitler was free to consolidate his domestic power and rearm; moreover, he avoided the possibility of an overly conservative eastern settlement. When he refocused on the East in late 1937, his aim was not treaty revision but the annihilation of Poland. Annexed to Germany on 1 September 1939, Danzig was unconditionally restored to Poland in 1945. Its population is now predominantly Polish.

REFERENCES: Kimmich, *Free City*; Von Riekhoff, *German-Polish Relations*.

DARRÉ, WALTHER (1895–1953), politician; developed the NSDAP's first agricultural program in 1930. Although he was born and raised near Buenos Aires, he attended *Oberrealschule* in Heidelberg and Bad Godesberg, and was an exchange student at Wimbledon's King's College. Hoping to become a colonial farmer, he was attending the colonial school in Witzenhausen when World War I erupted. He quickly enlisted and advanced to the rank of lieutenant while serving the full fifty-one months on the Western Front. After he returned to Witzenhausen in 1919, he took a diploma in colonial farming, farmed for two years, and then pursued further studies at Halle in genetics and animal husbandry. After he received a further diploma in 1925, he spent 1927–1929 in the Baltic States; while living in Riga, he was an agricultural advisor to the German embassy.

Darré joined the NSDAP in 1930. Persuaded that the Party suffered from a big-city orientation, he endeavored to bring it into contact with rural issues. In March 1930 he created the NSDAP's first agricultural program, the foundation

of which was his 1929 publication *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der nordischen Rasse* (The farming class as life source of the Nordic race). His program mingled romanticized rambling with hard-headed material interests. After the Party's dramatic success in the September 1930 elections, owed largely to the support of farmers,* Hitler* placed Darré in charge of an Office of Agriculture. Thereupon he infiltrated the farming community in an effort to gain control of agriculture's key interest group, the *Reichslandbund*.* The modern ''noble farmer'' was developed in his book *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden* (New nobility out of blood and soil), in which the catchphrase ''blood and soil'' was popularized. Although he became Hitler's Agriculture Minister in June 1933, his influence steadily waned, and in 1942 he was relieved of all responsibilities.
REFERENCES: Larry Jones, ''Crisis and Realignment''; Orlow, *History of the Nazi Party*.

DÄUBLER, THEODOR. *See* Harry Graf Kessler.

DÄUMIG, ERNST (1866–1922), politician; chief advocate for founding a *Räterepublik* rather than a parliamentary democracy. Born in Merseburg, he failed to learn a trade in his youth and during 1887–1898 served consecutively in the German army and the French Foreign Legion. In 1898, having returned to Germany, he joined the SPD. For several years he assisted with socialist educational programs while working for the SPD press. When he was offered a position in 1911 with *Vorwärts*,* he relocated to Berlin* and focused his pen on militarism and the need to educate German workers. An opponent of Party policy from the outbreak of war, he resigned his post in 1916 and became editor of *Mitteilungs-Blatt*, a substitute weekly published before the official founding of the USPD. A member of the USPD's radical Left, he won growing influence during 1917–1918 as he agitated for a Bolshevik solution in Germany; he argued that no discussion could discount the new Russia where the ''proletariat has captured political power, has the powers of the government in its hands, and is proceeding to realize all the great socialist and democratic goals.'' After serving during March–November 1918 as USPD secretary, he sat with the executive of the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.*

Although Däumig was earmarked for cochairman of the USPD in March 1919, his selection was blocked by Hugo Haase,* only to be confirmed in December 1919 after Haase's assassination. After Däumig entered the Reichstag* in June 1920, he represented the USPD in Moscow at the second congress of the Comintern. His subsequent counsel at the October 1920 Party Congress that the USPD accept Lenin's provisions for entering the Comintern inspired a Party split. Däumig thereupon joined the United Communist Party (VKPD) and served as cochairman with Paul Levi.* Despite his prestige, he soon lost influence due to conflicts over Party tactics. In January 1922 he resigned and rejoined the USPD in April. He died three months later.
REFERENCES: Morgan, ''Ernst Däumig'' and *Socialist Left*; *NDB*, vol. 3.

DAVID, EDUARD (1863–1930), politician; first President of the National Assembly.* Born to a Prussian bureaucrat at Ediger on the Mosel, he was first attracted to socialism as a student. After he completed a course in business education, he instructed at a Giessen Gymnasium until his socialist connections forced his resignation in 1893.

David founded the *Mitteldeutsche Sonntagszeitung* and matured into the SPD's leading protagonist for an active agrarian policy. His statements regarding the vitality of small farms, which appeared in 1894 in a series of articles in *Der Sozialdemokrat* (and also in his 1903 book *Sozialismus und Landwirtschaft* [Socialism and agriculture]), were the first attacks within the SPD on Marxist orthodoxy and recast him as a key Party revisionist. He was a member of the Hessian Landtag from 1886, and his 1903 election to the Reichstag* allowed him to tutor many moderate socialists who played leading roles in the Weimar era. A defender of Germany's colonial rights, he was the SPD's principal apologist in 1914 for the Kaiser's war effort. In October 1918 he was named Undersecretary in the Foreign Office. Although he was disabled by influenza, he continued at the Foreign Office throughout the rule of the Council of People's Representatives.*

David was active in the Republic's early years. A champion for the early election of an assembly, he sponsored a coalition between the SPD, the DDP, and the Center Party.* After his election in February 1919 as the Assembly's President, he became Minister without Portfolio in Philipp Scheidemann's* cabinet (February–June 1919). When the DDP refused to sign the Versailles Treaty,* he succeeded Hugo Preuss* as Interior Minister (June–October 1919); during October 1919–March 1920 he was again Minister without Portfolio under Gustav Bauer,* a position he retained in Hermann Müller's* first cabinet (March–June 1920). Appointed Reich representative to Hesse in 1922, he moved to Darmstadt in 1923 and instructed politics until 1927, thereafter retiring to Berlin.

REFERENCES: Breitman, *German Socialism*; *NDB*, vol. 3; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

DAWES PLAN; a program for the settlement of German reparations.* On the basis of a 30 November 1923 recommendation from the Reparation Commission, two Experts Committees were formed in early 1924 to examine payment procedures instituted in May 1921 under the London Schedule of Payments. Working against a backdrop of fiscal crisis in France and Germany, these committees, the chief of which was led by the American banker Charles G. Dawes, drafted a new plan in April 1924 for the Reparation Commission. It was an economic and political compromise between divergent opinions. On the one side stood France, fighting to secure a durable and large settlement; on the other stood Britain, struggling to liquidate the economic and political aftermath of World War I. The plan was approved at the London Conference* of July–August 1924.

The Dawes Plan provided for a loan to Germany of 800 million marks, an

initial payment moratorium, and the resumption of payments according to a scale that began in 1925 with an annuity of 1 billion marks and climbed to 2.5 billion marks by 1928–1929. Thereafter the annuity was to be adjusted upward on the basis of an index that measured German prosperity. Half of each payment would come from the German budget, while the remainder would be collected from interest on bonds issued on the assets of German railroads and industry. As unanimity was difficult to achieve, the plan specified neither the term of payment nor the total reparations required, but it guaranteed annuities by placing a lien on Germany's railway system. Since the Allies demanded authority to administer railway finances, Germany was obliged to surrender sovereignty over its railroads. Upon adoption of the plan, the German government deposited bonds valued at 16 billion marks with the Reparation Commission; 11 billion represented a lien on the national railroad and 5 billion a mortgage on German industry.

A notable corollary to the Dawes deliberations was the reemergence of the United States as a limited participant in European affairs. The State Department, hoping to settle the reparations issue, envisioned the plan as a first step toward the creation of a stable climate receptive to private investment; moreover, if Dawes succeeded, the European Allies could be induced to meet their war debts to the United States.

REFERENCES: Bergmann, *History of Reparations*; James, *German Slump*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; McNeil, *American Money*; Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe*; Schuker, *End of French Predominance*.

THE DECLINE OF THE WEST. *See* Oswald Spengler.

DELBRÜCK, CLEMENS VON. *See* Constitution.

DELBRÜCK, HANS (1848–1929), historian and conservative activist; opponent of an ultra-annexationist program in World War I. Born in Bergen, he studied history and earned a doctorate in 1873 under Heinrich von Sybel. During 1874–1879, while tutoring a younger son of Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (later Kaiser Friedrich I), he began a biography of Gneisenau (1882). The Gneisenau work inspired his four-volume *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte* (History of the art of war as an aspect of political history), published during 1900–1920. Delbrück's theory of war as either a strategy of exhaustion (Frederick the Great) or a strategy of destruction (Napoleon) alienated numerous historical colleagues and frustrated a professorial appointment until 1895; in 1896 he succeeded Heinrich von Treitschke at Berlin.*

Delbrück was one of a long line of German historians to engage in politics. During 1882–1885 he represented the Free Conservative Party in the *Abgeordnetenhaus*; during 1884–1890 he served in the Reichstag.* In 1883 he joined Treitschke as coeditor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, a journal devoted to political science, history, and literature. When politics induced a parting of the

ways in 1889 (Treitschke labeled him a socialist), the journal's publisher preferred Delbrück as sole editor. His own *Politische Korrespondenzen*, a monthly critique of policy, contains his political philosophy: on domestic issues—for example, nationality concerns, social questions, and electoral reform—his progressivism led him to reproach the Conservatives and the National Liberals; regarding foreign policy, he went from promoting world empire to championing peaceful expansion and cooperation with Britain—ideas that inspired conflict with the Pan-German League. Despite his hope that Germany would acquire a colonial empire, he remained a steadfast adherent of the balance of power. The culmination of his political activity occurred during the war when, as a defender of Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg, he urged moderate war aims and abolition of Prussia's* three-class voting system.

Delbrück resigned as editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* in 1919 and campaigned thereafter against the ''lie'' of German war guilt. Yet he was an equally tireless opponent of the *Dolchstosslegende*,* reserving his sharpest attacks for Alfred von Tirpitz* and Erich Ludendorff,* the ''destroyers of the German Empire.'' He was a self-professed conservative, but his invective against nationalism, social reaction, and the egoism of the nobility often placed him in the camp of the SPD. In December 1924 he signed an open letter to Friedrich Ebert* declaring his support for ''a person to whom our nation owes so much.'' In the final analysis, he was a traditional National Liberal who advocated constitutional monarchy, the rule of law, and the political predominance of the middle classes.

REFERENCES: Richard Bauer, ''Hans Delbrück''; Bucholz, *Hans Delbrück*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Iggers, *German Conception of History*; *NDB*, vol. 3; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins.*

DEMOCRATIC PARTY. *See* German Democratic Party.

DEPRESSION. Gustav Stresemann* predicted in 1928 that ''if crisis ever hits us, and the Americans recall their short-term loans, we face bankruptcy.'' Indeed, the economic crisis that beset Germany from 1929 until Hitler's* appointment had roots in the Dawes Plan* of 1924, the stringent financial policies that served as the domestic counterpart to Dawes, and the decision to pursue a policy of fulfillment*—with major deflationary implications—vis-à-vis the Versailles Treaty.* The German ''stability'' of 1924–1929, dubbed *die goldenen zwanziger Jahre* (the Golden Twenties), was an illusion. These years were marked by high unemployment, a high rate of bankruptcy, and banks making long-term investments with short-term money. Moreover, the agricultural community had already sunk into depression by 1928. By regularly accepting high-interest/short-term American loans, while shunning comparably higher taxes, the Republic could temporarily pay reparations* and finance large-scale government deficits. No one more forcefully condemned the proliferation of foreign debt than Hjalmar Schacht,* the Reichsbank President; indeed, by 1928

the loans were a source of severe conflict between Schacht and the government. The Republic's inability to finance growing deficits (1926 was the only year in which Germany had a favorable balance of trade), due in part to rising unemployment, was integral to the social conflict that destabilized Germany. When the Americans refused to fund a further loan request in December 1929, Stresemann's prediction became reality.

Two related financial problems, both evident before the New York Stock Exchange debacle, drove Germany's economic crisis: a decrease in government income from taxes and the growth of unemployment-relief expenditure. Bitter Reichstag* debates spawned remedies that were impotent to meet the growing emergency; indeed, emergency cost-saving reforms added to the agony of the unemployed while failing to address the crisis. Between 1928 and 1930 bankruptcies soared, while production dropped by 31 percent. The number of Germans seeking work, 4.4 million at the end of 1930, climbed to 4.9 million one month later. The slight improvement of early 1931 was neutralized in June when the Reichsbank, disclosing that its gold reserves were nearing the minimum required to print currency, induced a banking crisis. A dramatic boost in the discount rate from 5 to 10 percent and Herbert Hoover's 23 June moratorium on reparations failed to stem the collapse. Unemployment reached 5.6 million in 1932, including 43.8 percent of all trade-union* members; it is estimated that another 2 million who had stopped seeking work had vanished from the unemployment rolls. While there were signs of economic recovery by the end of 1932, the impact did not register with Germany's unemployed.

Although the link between the depression and Hitler's rise may be obvious, it bears noting that unemployment and crisis impacted all industrialized countries during 1929–1933; conditions in the United States and Britain approximated those in Germany. What set the Germans apart was a habit of blaming every problem on the Allies, the Versailles Treaty, and the Weimar regime. With the depression's onset, the middle-class parties were decimated at the polls, and the economic system, such as it was, found itself without a base of support. The street violence of the early 1930s, which helped polarize politics, would have been impossible without the availability of masses of young Germans. The NSDAP was prepared to house its uniformed soldiers in SA* barracks and feed them in SA kitchens—factors vital to Party growth, as the typical German city was bordered by a shantytown by 1932. Since the KPD made similar offers to hungry and embittered young men, one can see how mass unemployment combined with the breakdown of traditional allegiances to dramatically enhance the political extremes. But in the last analysis, the Republic's collapse and the NSDAP's victory were not the same; the first occurred about two years before the second, had significant economic underpinnings, and helped prepare the way for Hitler's triumph.

REFERENCES: Balderston, *Origins and Course of the German Economic Crisis*; Bennett, *Germany and the Diplomacy of the Financial Crisis*; Bessel, *Political Violence*; Richard

Evans and Geary, *German Unemployed*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Petzina, ''Germany''; Stachura, *Unemployment*.

DEUTSCHE DEMOKRATISCHE PARTEI. *See* German Democratic Party.

DEUTSCHE HOCHSCHULE FÜR POLITIK. *See Hochschule für Politik.*

DEUTSCHE LIGA FÜR MENSCHENRECHTE. *See* German Peace Society.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU. *See* Rudolf Pechel.

DEUTSCHE STAATSPARTEI. *See* German State Party.

DEUTSCHE STUDENTENSCHAFT (German Student Association); a student-government body, formed after World War I and recognized by the Prussian Cultural Ministry on 18 September 1920, that united local councils (*Allgemeiner Studentenausschuss*) into one national association. Although it was originally a progressive body founded to advance curricular innovations and solidify the integration reflected in the Weimar Constitution,* the *Studentenschaft* evolved a nationalistic tone reflected in the pan-German zeal of extending membership to universities* in Austria* and Czechoslovakia. The longing for national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*), which produced a shift to the political Right by the mid-1920s, led in 1924 to conflict between the *Studentenschaft* and Carl Becker,* Prussia's* Cultural Minister. After an acrimonious struggle in 1927, in which racist student leaders characterized Becker as an insidious opponent of student and academic freedoms, Prussia withdrew recognition from the association when it became clear that it had departed from German citizenship requirements by including Austrians while excluding German Jews.*

Students of all backgrounds were consistently more open to Nazi propaganda than their elders, and national and state governments seemed powerless to deflect their drift to the radical Right. In consequence of growing control over the student councils at Germany's several universities, the Nazi Student League (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund*), led by Baldur von Schirach, captured the chairmanship of the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* in the summer of 1931 at the Fourteenth German Students Day—eighteen months before Hitler* seized the national government. Retaining an illusion of nonpartisanship until the NSDAP was in control of the government, the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* was finally absorbed by the Nazi League in 1935.

REFERENCES: Giles, *Students and National Socialism*; Jarausch, *Students, Society, and*

Politics; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*; Steinberg, *Sabers and Brown Shirts*.

DEUTSCHE VOLKSPARTEI. *See* German People's Party.

DEUTSCHER INDUSTRIE- UND HANDELSTAG. *See* German Industry and Trade Congress.

DEUTSCHES VOLKSTUM. *See* Wilhelm Stapel.

DEUTSCHNATIONALE VOLKSPARTEI. *See* German National People's Party.

DEVALUATION OF THE MARK. *See Rentenbank.*

DIBELIUS, OTTO (1880–1967), Protestant* minister; superintendent of the Prussian Evangelical Church. Born in Berlin,* he took a doctorate in 1902, obtained a license in theology in 1906, and then held various pastorates for two decades. Among a distinguished group of church leaders, he was stunned by the November Revolution*; yet he viewed it as an opportunity for the *Evangelischekirche* to renew itself without government interference. He was chosen to lead the Prussian Church in 1925. His widely proclaimed program of 1926, *Das Jahrhundert der Kirche* (The century of the church), called for neutrality vis-à-vis the Republic. He consistently grounded his leadership in unequivocal Christian principles.

A traditional conservative, Dibelius briefly welcomed Hitler's* regime as a chance for conservative renewal; he was soon disillusioned. Although he led the 21 March 1933 service at which Hitler humbled himself before President Hindenburg* in the Potsdam Garrison Church, he was forced into retirement in June and soon stood with Germany's Confessing Church. In June 1937, after denouncing attempts to dictate faith by state decree, he was arrested and tried. Acquitted by judges still capable of displaying some independence, he survived World War II and, with Karl Barth* and Martin Niemöller, issued the Declaration of Guilt at the October 1945 Stuttgart conference of the World Council of Churches.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Dibelius, *In the Service of the Lord.*

DIEDERICHS, EUGEN. *See Die Tat and* Hans Zehrer.

DIETRICH, HERMANN (1879–1954), politician; leader of the German State Party* (DStP). Born in Oberprechtal bei Emmendingen, Baden, he studied law before serving as a legal advisor in Karlsruhe. He was Kehl's *Bürgermeister* during 1908–1914 and *Oberbürgermeister* of Konstanz throughout World War

I. In 1911 he was elected to Baden's Landtag as a National Liberal. A founding member of the DDP, he joined the National Assembly* in January 1919. Although Baden retained him until 1920 as Minister for Reich and Foreign Affairs, he was simultaneously in the Reichstag,* maintaining his mandate until all parties but the NSDAP were dissolved in 1933. The apogee of his career came in June 1928 when he became Agriculture Minister in Hermann Müller's* second cabinet. Heinrich Brüning* retained him, initially as Economics Minister and then, from June 1930, as Finance Minister; he served concurrently as Vice Chancellor. The collapse of Brüning's cabinet (May 1932) ended Dietrich's ministerial activity. An opponent of both Franz von Papen* and Hitler,* he resumed a private legal practice in 1933, living on his farm in the Black Forest.

Within the context of the Republic, Dietrich's role was important in the depression* years that marked the regime's end. An advocate for the peasantry and rural middle classes, he aimed at a balanced economic climate, joined the campaign for agricultural tariffs in 1925, and was a steady sponsor of *Osthilfe** for financially pressed Junkers.* Nationalistic and among the more conservative Democrats, he was cool to the 1929 Young Plan.* His ministerial activity during 1930–1932, which consumed his time and energy, placed him at the center of disastrous efforts to use emergency decrees in preventing the Republic's collapse (after World War II he disparaged these efforts). Despite his ineffectual leadership of the DStP from October 1930, his personal opposition to Hitler's March 1933 Enabling Act* was noteworthy (to maintain Party unity, however, he voted for the act). In 1945 he became a founding member of the Free Democratic Party.

REFERENCES: Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; *NDB*, vol. 3.

DIETRICH, MARLENE (1901–1992), actress; best known as the character Lola-Lola in Josef von Sternberg's *The Blue Angel*. Maria Magdalena Dietrich was born into a middle-class Berlin* family in which her natural father, who died during her childhood, was a police official, her stepfather, killed on the Russian front, was an army officer, and her mother was the daughter of a jewelry-store owner. In 1921, while studying violin at a *Musikhochschule* in Weimar, she strained a tendon in her left wrist and was forced to abandon the instrument. Failing the same year to gain admittance to Max Reinhardt's* acting school in Berlin, she remained in the capital and supported herself as an advertisement model and chorus girl. She was accepted by Reinhardt in 1922, and her stage career began with various bit parts. Her film* début occurred in 1923 as the somewhat crazy, monocled Lucie in Joe May's *Tragödie der Liebe* (Tragedy of love). Playing the role of Lucie with a whiff of bisexuality, she fully ripened a similar character in Sternberg's 1930 film *Marokko* (for which she received a nomination as Best Actress). Such roles exposed the real Dietrich, whose extravagance and eccentricity—including a monocle—attracted the attention of Berlin's artistic community. Briefly retiring from the stage upon the birth of her daughter Maria in 1925, she accepted small parts in G. W. Pabst's*

1925 *Die freudlose Gasse* (Street without joy) and Arthur Robinson's *Manon Lescaut*, filmed in 1926; she then appeared briefly in Alexander Korda's 1927 film *Eine Dubarry von heute* (A Dubarry of today). Seventeen such films appeared before her return to the stage with a key role in Mischa Spoliansky's 1928 musical *Es liegt in der Luft* (It's in the air).

Spoliansky wrote the music for Georg Kaiser's* 1929 revue *Zwei Krawatten* (Two neckties). Although Dietrich's part was small, Sternberg was impressed when he saw her. Engaged by Erich Pommer to direct *The Blue Angel*—among Germany's first and most successful sound films—Sternberg ignored the counsel of advisors and cast Dietrich with Emil Jannings*; the film, enriched by Friedrich Holländer's music, established her phlegmatic character and won her world fame. In 1930, on the evening that *The Blue Angel* had its début in Berlin, she left for Hollywood to fulfill a contract with Paramount and Sternberg. Although she abandoned Paramount in 1936, Dietrich rebuffed a 1937 Nazi appeal to return to Germany. During World War II she entertained American troops, participated in war-bond drives, and made anti-Nazi broadcasts in German.

Since her death in May 1992, Dietrich has been subjected to numerous biographies, including a hostile portrait by her daughter, Maria Riva. While the accounts confirm the image of a ruthless and self-absorbed woman given to manipulation, they also attest Sternberg's sense of a talented and hardworking actress. It was her professionalism as much as her glamour that contributed to her myth and set her apart from rivals.

REFERENCES: Steven Bach, *Marlene Dietrich*; Otto Friedrich, *Before the Deluge*; Riva, *Marlene Dietrich*; Sternberg, *Fun in a Chinese Laundry*.

DINGELDEY, EDUARD (1886–1942), lawyer and politician; led the DVP from 30 November 1930 until its dissolution on 4 July 1933. The son of a church official, he joined Hesse's civil service* after studying law and economics. In World War I he worked in Worms as a jurist. After the war he established a legal practice in Darmstadt and married into the Merck industrial family. Late in 1919, as DVP chairman in Hesse, he entered the Landtag. At the time of Walther Rathenau's* murder, Dingeldey was assaulted by young socialists; he was thereafter an opponent of the SPD. He was elected to the DVP's managing committee in 1920 and joined its executive in 1922. Meanwhile, he won considerable influence as the Party's deputy chairman in southern Germany. Aligned in Weimar's middle years with the DVP's moderates, he supported Gustav Stresemann's* policies.

Dingeldey was elected to the Reichstag* on 20 May 1928. Following the severe losses of the middle-class parties (DDP and DVP) in the same election, efforts were initiated to unite the parties; in southwestern Germany discussions were led by Dingeldey and Willy Hellpach.* Although little was achieved, the NSDAP's breakthrough in the 14 September 1930 elections reenergized efforts to form a new, united middle-class party. A key advocate for bourgeois unity, Dingeldey replaced the ineffectual Ernst Scholz* as Party chairman on 30 No-

vember 1930. But when attempts at combination failed, he moved sharply to the Right and alienated many in the DStP by removing his support in 1931 from Heinrich Brüning.* In 1932, by proposing a ''national opposition'' with the extreme Right, he terminated any spiritual connection he might have retained with the late Stresemann and induced the resignation of the DVP's left wing. Oblivious to the import of his words, he hailed the end of the ''Weimar system'' in October 1932 and called for reforms to free the state from the control of the masses. During the early weeks of Hitler's* regime, he naïvely believed that the Hitler-Hugenberg-Papen coalition would soon be replaced by ''moderates'' such as himself. After the DVP's dissolution he resumed his legal practice in Darmstadt.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

DIRKSEN, HERBERT VON (1882–1955), diplomat; the Republic's second Ambassador to Moscow. Born in Berlin* to Willibald von Dirksen, a specialist in international law, he studied law before entering the Prussian civil service.* After four years with the district commissioner's office in Bonn, he was transferred in 1914 to the Commerce Ministry in Berlin. The outbreak of war brought his mobilization with a cavalry regiment. Having served two years on both fronts, he returned to the civil service as district chief of Namur, Belgium. In May 1918 he joined the diplomatic corps with the legation in Kiev; he was fortunate to escape the Ukraine's revolutionary turmoil in January 1919.

Upon returning to Berlin, Dirksen was assigned to the Foreign Office's Eastern Department and given charge of the newly independent Baltic provinces.* In April 1920, after the Baltic expedition, he joined the German legation in Warsaw. When in 1921 the Foreign Office chose not to appoint an ambassador to Warsaw, Dirksen became *chargé d'affaires*. In October 1921, after the Polish insurrection in Upper Silesia,* he returned to Berlin as chief of the Polish desk. Assigned to Danzig* in May 1923 as consul-general, he was determined to promote the city's unity with the Reich. To maintain its ethnicity, he championed a major influx of economic aid to Danzig. Deeming the Free City a crucial linchpin to any revision of the eastern borders, he stated his conviction in August 1925 that Germany's best hope of regaining territories lost to Poland* was a Russo-Polish war.

In February 1925 Dirksen returned to Berlin as deputy chief of the Foreign Office's Eastern Department. He played a crucial role in helping Gustav Stresemann* balance Germany's East-West diplomatic axis during the period when the Republic signed the Locarno Treaties* and joined the League of Nations. His counsel was especially crucial in negotiations leading to the April 1926 Treaty of Berlin with the Soviets. He replaced Erich Wallroth as head of the Eastern Department in May 1928 and became Ambassador to Moscow six months later upon the death of Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau.* Despite his efforts, the years 1928–1933 witnessed a growing Russo-German estrangement.

He escaped an assassination* attempt in March 1932. In August 1933 he was transferred to Tokyo and helped negotiate the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan. Ambassador to London from May 1938 until 3 September 1939, he retired in 1940 to his family's estate in Lower Silesia.

REFERENCES: Dirksen, *Moscow, Tokyo, London*; Hilger and Meyer, *Incompatible Allies*; Kimmich, *Free City*.

DISARMAMENT. World War I ended with the victors agreed that German militarism must be checked. Although the delegates engaged in heated debate, they soon drafted disarmament clauses (Articles 159–213) demanding that Germany's army be reduced to 100,000 men, including a maximum of 4,000 officers. The Versailles Treaty* also stipulated voluntary enlistment, with officers serving twenty-five years and other ranks serving twelve. It specified a demilitarized zone extending fifty kilometers east of the Rhine River, and it proscribed an air force, tanks, poison gas, heavy artillery, and a General Staff. The mighty High Seas Fleet was reduced to a coastal defense force of six old battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, and twelve torpedo boats; it was permitted 15,000 officers and men, all long-term volunteers. Finally, an Inter-Allied Military Control Commission (IMCC) was formed to oversee destruction of equipment and monitor treaty execution.

German disarmament regularly plagued relations with Paris. Until 1925 Germany was repeatedly penalized for failure to comply with treaty clauses. Indeed, the army continued General Staff work in secrecy, concealed arms caches, tested forbidden weapons in Russia, made preparation for initiating war production, and planned for at least a threefold increase in size. Although sanctions often followed from delinquent reparation* payments, suspicion ran high that Germany was also violating disarmament stipulations. Because of France's inability to form a military alliance with either Great Britain or the United States, Paris viewed German disarmament as vital to French security. In December 1924 the IMCC reported on Germany's failure to properly disarm, thus confirming French suspicions. Gustav Stresemann* responded by offering Paris formal assurances against German aggression. In the resultant Locarno Treaties* Germany pledged to keep the Reichswehr* behind the Rhine, while Britain pledged to view a crossing of that river as an attack on France. Since the signatories were obliged to come to the aid of France or Belgium if Germany violated the Rhineland's demilitarized status, this Rhineland Pact, signed in October 1925, helped defuse the disarmament issue. Although Germany never fully complied with disarmament demands, both Britain and France agreed in 1927 that remaining lapses were largely trivial. With the withdrawal from Germany of the IMCC, the Allies accepted the logic of Britain's Foreign Secretary, Austen Chamberlain: ''Law or no law, treaty or no treaty, no power on earth can keep Germany disarmed indefinitely.''

German efforts to alter the disarmament clauses did not end with Locarno. According to Versailles, the League of Nations assumed responsibility for

German disarmament upon removal of the IMCC (Article 213). As a member from 1926 of the League's assembly and council, Germany could represent its interests from a position of equality with its former enemies. In the era preceding Hitler's* seizure of power, the army tirelessly pressed the Foreign Office to gain further modifications. (Among its goals were reduction in the period of military service, lifting of the sanctions against such weapons as tanks and heavy artillery, formation of a domestic militia, and the ''rounding out'' of the army to 160,000 men.) Militarily inferior to its old enemies, Germany promoted the logic and right of equality of armaments, and while the Germans publicly demanded that France disarm to levels comparable to those required of Germany—a demand favored in Great Britain and the United States—they secretly and flagrantly violated those same levels. Finally, German participation in the League-sponsored World Disarmament Conference* of 1932–1933 encouraged the illusion, especially in Britain, that Germany was in agreement with the concept of disarmament. In fact, the Germans were careful not to renounce further rearmament.

REFERENCES: Bennett, *German Rearmament*; Carroll, ''Germany Disarmed''; Gatzke, *Stresemann*; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Alan Sharp, *Versailles Settlement*.

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. *See* World Disarmament Conference.

DITTMANN, WILHELM (1874–1954), politician; represented the USPD on the Council of People's Representatives.* He was born in the town of Eutin near Lübeck, where his father was a master millwright. After a difficult youth he became a carpenter and in 1894 joined both the woodworkers' union and the SPD. Strongly influenced by Ferdinand Lassalle and August Bebel, he had little interest in Marxist theory. He held various editorial posts for the Party before his 1906 election to Frankfurt's city council. After three years as editor of Solingen's *Bergische Arbeiterstimme*, he was elected in 1912 to the Reichstag* (he retained his mandate until 1933). Already a prominent radical, his belief that Germany was responsible for the war's inception led him to oppose war credits in December 1915; he was soon among those who split from the SPD. In April 1917 he became the USPD's secretary, a position he retained until January 1922. In February 1918, because of his role in the prior month's strikes, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. He was amnestied, amidst Armistice* negotiations, in October 1918.

On 10 November 1918 Dittmann was among three individuals selected by the USPD to serve on the six-member Council of People's Representatives. Although he and his colleagues resigned their seats on 29 December, the overall experience recast Dittmann as one of the USPD's more cautious members. He remained in the Party executive even after the radical wing triumphed in December 1919, and he was among the delegates who attended the Moscow Comintern congress in the summer of 1920. Thereafter he opposed the decision to unite with either the Comintern or the KPD.

Moved by the 1922 assassination* of Walther Rathenau,* Dittmann recommended that the USPD, diminished by its split in late 1920, reunite with the SPD. He then served as secretary of the SPD's *Parteivorstand*. A member of Berlin's city council during 1921–1925, he never again associated with the extreme Left; indeed, his hostility to communism was evident when, in a speech to the 1929 Party congress, he argued that Germany's proletariat enjoyed greater socialization than Russia's. Joined by his friend and colleague Artur Crispien,* he fled to Switzerland in February 1933, wrote his memoirs, and returned to Bonn in 1951 to work in the SPD's archives.

REFERENCES: Morgan, *Socialist Left*; *NDB*, vol. 4; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

DIX, OTTO (1891–1969), artist; best known for his harsh portraits of postwar German society. Born in Untermhaus, near Gera, he studied art privately in 1905–1909 while working in Gera as a decorator's apprentice. His artistic training began in 1909 at Dresden's *Technische Hochschule*; he remained in the Saxon capital for five years. But it was his wartime ordeal as commander of a machine-gun unit that led to the stark black-and-white drawings of the 1920s. After the war he returned to Dresden to study at the prestigious *Kunstakademie*.

Although Dix was a founding member of Dresden's predominantly Expressionist *Sezessiongruppe 1919*, his work increasingly reflected the mentality espoused by German Dada.* Intent on rendering the dreadful reality of both the war and postwar German society, he rejected Expressionism* and endeavored, as he later explained, ''to achieve a representation of our age, for I believe that a picture must above all express a content, a theme.'' In concert with George Grosz,* his art linked humor with irony and satire. The themes of poverty, suffering, and prostitution were central to his attack on the morality of postwar bourgeois society. During 1922–1925 he studied at the Düsseldorf *Kunstakademie*, became a member of the group *Das junge Rheinland*, and worked primarily in watercolors. Having joined and exhibited with the *Berliner Sezession* in 1924, Dix relocated to Berlin* in 1925 and worked as a freelance artist. Reducing the irony and eroticism evident in much of his early Weimar work, his Berlin period (1925–1927) was marked by his pitilessly realistic portraiture. With some regret he left Berlin in 1927 to begin a successful teaching career at Dresden's *Kunstakademie*. Appointment to the Prussian Academy of Arts followed in 1931. His art, especially after 1929, was increasingly obsessed with war, death, and dying, perhaps best depicted in his graphic cycle *Krieg* (War), painted during 1929–1932.

When the Nazis seized power, most of Dix's work was labeled pornographic or grotesquely unheroic. Dismissed from his post and forced to resign his membership in the Prussian Academy, he was forbidden to exhibit in 1934. About 260 of his works were impounded; 26 were included in the 1937 traveling exhibition *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art). In 1939 he was briefly arrested under suspicion of being part of a Munich conspiracy to assassinate Hitler.*

Inducted into the army in 1945, he spent several months as a French prisoner of war.

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; Löffler, *Otto Dix*.

DÖBLIN, ALFRED (1878–1957), novelist, essayist, and physician; known chiefly for the novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. Born into a Jewish family in Stettin, he spent a lonely childhood in Berlin* after his father, proprietor of a tailor shop, fled to America with a shop seamstress; the episode was crucial to his later writing. After earning a medical degree in 1905, he briefly was an attendant in a Regensburg mental institution; returning to Berlin in 1907, he came under the influence of Expressionism* and helped found the weekly *Der Sturm* in 1910 with Herwarth Walden.* During 1911–1933 he maintained a private neurological practice. He managed the *Aktionsgemeinschaft für geistige Freiheit* (Alliance for Intellectual Freedom) from 1928, a watchdog group that scrutinized application of the Law for the Protection of Youth against Trash and Filth.* Although he was elected in 1928 to the Prussian Academy of Arts, as a ''city intellectual'' (*Asphaltliterat*) of Jewish heritage, he foresaw the personal danger involved in remaining in Nazi Germany. Immediately after the Reichstag fire (27 February 1933), he left Germany.

While Döblin was still studying medicine, he began a literary career that resulted in more than forty books. His early short stories were collected in 1913 as *Die Ermordung einer Butterblume* (The murder of a buttercup). As was the case with Gottfried Benn* (also a physician), Döblin's keen eye allowed him to distill the big-city psyche and its collective soul. Berlin, with a population nearing four million, was where the individual increasingly withdrew and disappeared. Yet while he experienced the mass soul of modern-age Berlin as pure trauma, Döblin loved the city. His masterpiece, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, an immediate best-seller in 1929, has been compared to Joyce's *Ulysses* and Dos Passos's *Manhattan Transfer*. Utilizing a montage technique, it provides a striking portrait of the Berlin underworld. Although he refused to view it as his magnum opus (he assigned this label to the tetralogy *November 1918*, written during 1939–1950), *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is generally regarded as Döblin's finest work.

Craving Berlin and his German-speaking public, Döblin found his years of exile painful. He took French citizenship in 1936 and fled to the United States in 1940. Largely forgotten, he returned to Germany in 1945 as part of the French occupation army. Remaining for eight years, he relocated to Paris in 1953, embittered by his inability to place his work with German publishers.

REFERENCES: Dollenmayer, *Berlin Novels*; *NDB*, vol. 4.

DR. CALIGARI. *See The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari.*

DOLCHSTOSSLEGENDE (Stab-in-the-back legend). In December 1918 Friedrich Ebert,* Germany's provisional Chancellor, greeted the returning

German soldiers: ''As you return unconquered from the field of battle, I salute you.'' Although the army had carefully fabricated the fiction since 1916 that German reversals were owed to civilian incompetence, Ebert's naïve statement provided the first serious component of a legend that Germany's military collapse had not preceded the revolution but was caused by it. First developed in a June 1919 pamphlet by Colonel Max Bauer, the notion gained wide publicity when it was asserted as part of Hindenburg's* 18 November 1919 testimony before the National Assembly's* Committee of Investigation; the Republic's future President observed that an ''English general has said with justice, 'the German army was stabbed in the back.' '' His remark ensued from a prior exchange between Karl Helfferich* and Oskar Cohn.* On 15 November the former Imperial State Secretary of the Interior refused to respond to a question put to him by Cohn, a committee member, on grounds that Cohn had accepted money from the Bolsheviks in order to organize the revolution while the army was engaged in its life-and-death struggle.

Although it is wrong to suggest that discontent on the home front had no effect on battlefield morale, it was well known that the Supreme Command had demanded an armistice* six weeks before the November Revolution.* Yet, following the committee's deliberations, the myth spread that the army had not been defeated in the field. Sensing that defeatism at home had caused Germany's collapse, many concluded that the revolution was the work of traitors. The *Dolchstosslegende*, attached as it was to the name of Hindenburg, became a cornerstone of rightist propaganda; those officers and men who embraced it never forgave the revolutionaries for their ''betrayal of the fighting troops.'' The myth became a special albatross for Matthias Erzberger* and Friedrich Ebert,* resulting in the murder of the former and the early death of the latter. A so-called *Dolchstoss* Trial, held in Munich in November 1925, did little to clear the late Ebert's name.

REFERENCES: Bonn, *Wandering Scholar*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Taddey, *Lexikon*; John Williamson, *Karl Helfferich*.

DORTEN, HANS ADAM (1880–1963), politician; a separatist leader in the Rhineland.* Born to a wealthy porcelain manufacturer in Bonn, he completed a doctorate in law and, after prolonged studies in England, settled in Düsseldorf in 1902 as a government solicitor. But given his family's wealth and his own disposition, he came to despise a career that he did not need. Spending considerable time with his racing stables and on extended world tours, he was indignant at a 1914 promotion that required his relocation to Berlin.*

Dorten served four years as an artillery officer before being dishonorably discharged for criticizing the Kaiser. The Armistice* saved him from a court-martial and prompted a political career. He emerged from the war with a hatred for anything Prussian, and his meeting in December 1918 with a group of Düsseldorf industrialists convinced him to dedicate his energies to Rhenish independence. Unable to win Konrad Adenauer,* the Rhineland's most important

politician, to his cause, he cultivated a mutually unreliable relationship with the French. He proclaimed ''an autonomous Rhenish Republic in federation with the Reich'' on 1 June 1919, but the ill-timed venture failed to attract mass local support, and the French government, fully engaged at Versailles, disavowed it.

Dorten was not easily defeated. In June 1920 he founded the *Rheinische Volksvereinigung* (Rhenish People's Union) and established two newspapers,* the *Rheinischer Herold* and the *Rheinische Warte*, as propaganda tools. But his efforts once again miscarried when in 1922 the German press revealed that he had rushed to Paris upon Raymond Poincaré's inauguration as Premier; with some justice, Dorten was identified as an agent of the French and Belgian authorities.

The year 1923, when *Volksvereinigung* membership reached a high of 20,000, was rich in opportunity for Dorten. With the Rhineland still occupied, France and Belgium invaded the Ruhr. As 1923 progressed, inflation* became hyperbolic, the states of Saxony* and Thuringia* became radicalized, and Bavaria's* experiment with dictatorship culminated in the Beerhall Putsch.* Cursed by perpetual crisis, Berlin was ill equipped to counter separatist activities. Yet Dorten's Aachen coup of 21 October 1923 proved to be his swan song. Poor planning, mistrust between France and Belgium, and infighting among the separatists—Dorten's leadership was challenged by Friedrich Matthes—all conspired to defeat him. Failure was ultimately owed, however, to the Rhinelanders; separatism commanded little respect among either city officials or the population at large. On 1 January 1924 Dorten fled to his villa in Nice. Taking French citizenship, he worked thereafter as a business consultant.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; McDougall, *France's Rhineland Diplomacy*.

DIE DREIGROSCHENOPER. See The Threepenny Opera.

DREXLER, ANTON. *See* Adolf Hitler *and* National Socialist German Workers' Party.

DUESTERBERG, THEODOR (1875–1950), army officer and politician; deputy chairman of the *Stahlhelm*.* Born in Darmstadt, he joined the cadet corps and launched a career in the Prussian Army in 1893. Several postings, including service in the East Asian Expeditionary Force of 1900–1901 and a frontline stint in World War I, were followed by assignment to the War Ministry. After the war he protested the disarmament* stipulation that forced his discharge. He entered politics, but his experiment as the DNVP's local secretary in Halle proved short-lived. He next joined the newly formed *Stahlhelm*, a defense force made up of frontline veterans. He was soon a leading figure in the organization, and his extreme nationalistic ideas increasingly politicized the *Stahlhelm*. Organizationally talented, he was elected *Stahlhelm* deputy chairman (behind Franz Seldte*) in 1924; he became cochairman in 1927.

Duesterberg made it *Stahlhelm* policy to oppose both the Versailles Treaty* and the Weimar Constitution.* Despite ideological affinity with the DNVP, he rejected appeals to affiliate with the Party. Yet, hoping to use the *Stahlhelm* as a means of uniting rightist opposition to the Republic, he encouraged the bonding with the NSDAP that resulted in the plebiscite demand against the Young Plan* (1929) and a shared political platform at the Harzburg* Conference (1931). The unenduring cooperation strengthened the NSDAP, but did little for the *Stahlhelm*. On the occasion of the 1932 presidential elections, the DNVP and the *Stahlhelm* nominated him against the candidacies of Hindenburg* and Hitler.* Duesterberg had little chance of winning; moreover, his candidacy was fraught with danger. During the campaign the Nazis learned that his paternal great-grandfather, Abraham Duesterberg, was Jewish. Although the *Stahlhelm* and many Nationalists continued to back him, he was discredited with the anti-Semitic Right. Soon after Hitler seized power, a quarrel was orchestrated between Seldte and Duesterberg that led to the latter's resignation. Briefly arrested after the 1934 Röhm* purge, he was privy to the resistance activities centered on Carl Goerdeler* without himself being involved. In his 1949 memoirs he defended himself and underscored his differences with the Nazis.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; *NDB*, vol. 4.

DUISBERG, CARL (1861–1935), chemist and industrialist; inspired the industrial combination known as IG Farben.* Born in Barmen, he completed a doctorate in chemistry before his twenty-first birthday. In 1883 he joined the faltering Bayer Dye Company (*Farbenfabriken Bayer*) in Elberfeld. His skill at inventing new dyes quickly reinvigorated company profits. But Duisberg had more than technical ability. Soon granted a partnership in the firm, he eventually married into the Bayer family. Although he was blessed with enormous energy, his organizational skill proved his foremost attribute. In 1886 he assumed responsibility for scientific experimentation, the patenting of inventions, and control of the patent process—all the while maintaining his duties as department manager and working engineer. Faced with the competitiveness of dye making, he created a pharmaceutical division and constructed a laboratory in which researchers worked together as a pure scientific community. In 1890 he assumed de facto control of a company that introduced heroin in 1898 and aspirin in 1899. In 1904, after visiting the United States, he was so inspired by John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil trust that he proposed a combination of German dye companies to simplify operations, elevate labor efficiency, and increase profits. While his proposal met with limited success (two blocs of dye makers emerged by 1907), it marked the first step in the twenty-year evolution of the chemical trust known as IG Farben. When in 1916 he restated the case for cooperation under the impact of World War I, the two prewar chemical blocs formed a loosely federated trust.

Duisberg had focused during the war on meeting Germany's armament needs,

including synthetic nitrates and poison gas. After the war he struggled to reestablish an industry damaged by inflation* and Allied occupation. Although he was displaced by Carl Bosch* of BASF as the most insistent advocate for the further consolidation of IG Farben, he remained a critical player in the negotiations leading to the firm's incorporation in December 1925; moreover, he was the first chairman of the firm's supervisory board (*Aufsichtsrat*).

Duisberg's view of the Republic was summed up in his admonition to German executives to find their places within the regime, not against it. Although he was a monarchist and a nationalist, he believed that Germany's future, and that of IG Farben, rested on the restoration of unity and economic power. Elected head of the influential RdI in January 1925 (a post he retained until September 1931), he used the position to help reintegrate Germany into the world economy. He championed Gustav Stresemann's* fulfillment policy,* denounced the narrow nationalism of Alfred Hugenberg,* and supported Heinrich Brüning* in the face of escalating industrial animosity. Although he was repelled by the NSDAP, he remarked in 1933 that the role of the businessman was ''to save what is savable.''

By assuming a role in public life, Duisberg proved that he could transfer his leadership gift from industry to other fields. His initiative was integral to the formation of the Society for German Science and to the creation of the Grant and Loan Society for German Students. So many interwar students were indebted to him that he was widely known as *Studentenvater*. His commitment to German science prompted the award of honorary degrees from Dresden, Munich, Berlin,* Bonn, Tübingen, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Marburg. When he died, a British scientist remarked, ''Germany is deprived of one of the greatest and most valuable citizens she ever had'' (Mann and Plummer).

REFERENCES: Hayes, *Industry and Ideology*; Mann and Plummer, *Aspirin Wars*; *NDB*, vol. 4.

DYE TRUST. *See* IG Farben.

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EASTERN AID. *See Osthilfe.*

EBERMAYER, LUDWIG (1858–1933), judge; chief justice and leading prosecutor on the Republic's Supreme Court. Born in Nördlingen, he studied law before working during 1883–1902 as a lawyer and judge in Bavaria.* Appointed to the Supreme Court (*Reichsgericht*) in 1902, he became chief justice in 1918. Upon retiring in 1926, he remained in Leipzig, assuming an honorary professorate at the university. He was the long-time chairman of the German Chapter of the International Criminal Justice Association.

Ebermayer is best known for his work in 1921–1926 as the Court's leading prosecutor. During these years the Court was oppressed by the Republic's radical politics. Ebermayer was largely accountable for handling the war-crimes cases, the disposition of which was a heavy burden as both the Allies and German legal authorities closely examined the proceedings. He was chief prosecutor in the Kapp* Putsch deliberations, in proceedings arising from KPD revolts in 1920, in the case against those accused of Walther Rathenau's* assassination, and in a trial arising from the 1923 KPD uprising in Hamburg. Although he was opposed initially to creation of a special Court for the Protection of the Republic, fearing that it might commingle ''the Supreme Court and partisan politics,'' he later praised the court for operating ''free of any partisan air.''
REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; *NDB*, vol. 4.

EBERT, FRIEDRICH (1871–1925), politician; served as interim Chancellor, cochairman of the Council of People's Representatives,* and Reich President.

Born in Heidelberg, he apprenticed as a saddlemaker. His father's stepbrother, a tailor named Strötz, introduced him in 1889 to the SPD. He soon became secretary of Hanover's saddlemakers' union and engaged for several years in union work in Braunschweig and Bremen. An adept organizer, he was rarely inspired by theoretical discussion. In 1894 he rented a tavern in Bremen that was a center for political and union activity. Highly esteemed, he became secretary of the SPD's *Parteivorstand* in 1905, a duty that took him to Berlin.* Always seeking balance and agreement, he earned considerable trust for his constancy and reliability. His skills expedited negotiations between the SPD and the trade unions* and brought adjustment to several conflicts with state and local Party organizations. Elected to the Reichstag* in 1912, he became one of the SPD's two chairmen in September 1913. During World War I he struggled unsuccessfully to balance differences between the SPD's increasingly antagonistic wings. He was an advocate of the 1917 Peace Resolution and engaged in efforts to settle Berlin's munitions strike in January 1918.

As the SPD's Reichstag faction leader (since 1916), Ebert was his Party's leading voice in October 1918 when Germany assumed the burden of parleying with the enemy. With Prinz Max* von Baden, he struggled to salvage a parliamentary monarchy and was furious when Philipp Scheidemann* proclaimed a republic on 9 November. Nevertheless, determined to defend the new regime, he became provisional Chancellor and convened an interim cabinet (the Council of People's Representatives). Fearing radical revolution, he negotiated a compact with the Imperial Army aimed at securing the cabinet's position; the resultant Ebert-Groener pact is often chastised as a first step in reestablishing Germany's conservative cliques. In February 1919 the newly formed National Assembly* elected him Reich President. Helping thwart radical efforts at social and economic reform, he relied upon the emergency powers granted by Article 48 of the Constitution* (especially in 1923) to ensure the Republic's survival.

As President, Ebert was the leading representative of Germany's new order. Never widely popular, he served as a focal point for much of the Right's antirepublican venom and was rebuked by the extreme Left for his counterrevolutionary policies of 1918–1919. In December 1924 a rash Magdeburg court ruled that Ebert, who had lost two sons in the war, had committed the equivalent of high treason through his role in the January 1918 munitions strike. The judgment was a cruel blow. A broken man, Ebert died two months later of acute appendicitis.

REFERENCES: Buse, ''Ebert''; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Heuss et al. *Friedrich Ebert*; Maser, *Friedrich Ebert*; *NDB*, vol. 4.

ECKART, DIETRICH (1868–1923), journalist, poet, and playwright; first editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*.* Born in the Bavarian town of Neumarkt, he abandoned medical studies to become a writer and critic for a small newspaper*; it proved a short-lived endeavor. Following several years as a drifter, which exhausted his inheritance, he settled into the life of a small-time Berlin*

writer. During roughly 1904–1912 he wrote poems, short stories, and novels; some plays were later performed during the Third Reich. He was perhaps best known for his free translation of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, a work that bore, in Eckart's version, many autobiographical themes. From 1913 until his death he led a bohemian existence in Munich, writing the dramas *Lorenzaccio* (1918) and *Heinrich der Hohenstaufe* (1915)—in which, it is speculated, the so-called Führer concept was first introduced.

Between December 1918 and mid-1921 Eckart published a weekly polemic entitled *Auf gut Deutsch*; he used the paper to assail the ''November Crime'' (the signing of the Armistice* and the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns) and to herald his racist and anticlerical convictions. His virulent anti-Semitism* and antirepublicanism led him first to the Thule Society* and then to the German Workers' Party (precursor to the NSDAP). When Hitler* joined the Party, Eckart exerted a powerful intellectual influence on him. Assisting socially and financially with the December 1920 acquisition of the *Münchener Beobachter*, he became the newspaper's first publisher and editor when it was renamed the *Völkischer Beobachter* in 1921; he held both positions until he was replaced by Alfred Rosenberg* in February 1923. While his role in the November 1923 Beerhall Putsch* was minimal, he was nevertheless arrested and died shortly thereafter in prison of a long-standing, probably alcohol-related, illness. His pamphlet *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin* (Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin), evidently coauthored with Hitler, was published in 1924. Hitler dedicated the second volume of *Mein Kampf** to Eckart.

REFERENCES: Bracher, *German Dictatorship*; *NDB*, vol. 4; Waite, *Psychopathic God*.

ECKENER, HUGO (1868–1954), airship pioneer; navigated the *Graf Zeppelin* around the world. Born in Flensburg, he studied economics and took a doctorate in philosophy in 1892 before turning to freelance journalism. In the late 1890s he settled at Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance. Through accounts written for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* he became conversant with Ferdinand Graf von Zeppelin's experiments at perfecting a navigable balloon. Fate brought him into contact with Zeppelin in 1906, and after forming a friendship, he forsook journalism in favor of balloon flight. Although he continued writing as an airship advocate, his primary vocation became that of test pilot. In 1909 he helped found the *Deutschen Luftschiffahrts A.G.* (German Airship Company, or Delag). By 1914, as Delag's chief pilot, he had either flown or supervised over two thousand flights; Germany's abundance of airship commanders in World War I was a corollary of Eckener's training. With the war's outbreak, he was enlisted as an instructor for pilots. After both Zeppelin's death in 1917 and Germany's defeat, he became, as guardian of the estate and Delag's pivotal personality, the leading advocate for development of navigable balloons. From this time until the May 1937 *Hindenburg* catastrophe his international fame grew. In 1924 he achieved the first transatlantic flight of a balloon. But his name is most closely tied to

the later flights of the *Graf Zeppelin*, including a twenty-one-day circumnavigation of the world in 1929.

Eckener matured into a world citizen with a truly multidimensional personality. Musically cultivated, well read, and an eloquent speaker, he traveled the world as Germany's distinguished representative. After the lost war he enhanced Germany's political position, especially vis-à-vis the United States. Before Hindenburg* announced his candidacy in 1932, Eckener probed the possibility of a presidential race against Hitler.* Hindenburg's decision to run and his ultimate reelection make academic any speculation on Eckener's political prospects. After Hitler's seizure of power, Eckener remained with the Zeppelin Works, devoting his energies to passenger flight until 1937.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Eckener, *My Zeppelins*; *NDB*, vol. 4; Toland, *Great Dirigibles*.

ECONOMIC PARTY (*Wirtschaftspartei*, WP); founded in September 1920 by Hermann Drewitz, a Berlin* baker, it was formally known from 1925 as the National Party of the German Middle Class (*Reichspartei des deutschen Mittelstandes*). A union of narrow, often-contradictory, middle-class interests, the WP blended artisans, property owners, small and middle-level businessmen, pensioners, professionals, and bureaucrats whose commonality was resentment over the inflation-related erosion of their economic and social status. Gaining support almost exclusively from the cities, the WP benefitted by defections from the DDP, the DNVP, the DVP, and the Center Party*; but it ultimately failed to harmonize disparate interests.

A contradiction existed between those groups central to the WP: the artisans, harboring a corporatist mentality, demanded protection against the ''excesses of free competition,'' while property owners generally called for a restoration of classical laissez-faire economics. The disparity was inherent in the very word *Mittelstand*,* which means ''middle estate.'' Comprised of preindustrial farmers,* artisans, and small traders, the *alte Mittelstand* was a medieval vestige. Although this meaning retained its champions in the Weimar era—for example, Arthur Moeller* van den Bruck and Oswald Spengler*—it was opposed by a modern ''middle-class'' concept favoring a liberal and rational approach to economic issues.

The WP was hardly more than an important splinter group that served first to undermine the bourgeoisie's political unity and then to enhance NSDAP infiltration among disgruntled middle-class voters. Because its support reflected the extent to which a current issue served its special interests, the WP's Reichstag* members often found themselves in coalition with the DNVP, the Nazis, and the KPD. The WP entered governing coalitions in Saxony* and Thuringia* and received 400,000 votes in the 1928 Reichstag elections, increasing its mandate from eleven to twenty-three seats. Its best-known member, Johann Bredt* (a founding member of the DNVP), served as Heinrich Brüning's* first Justice Minister (March–December 1930). Although the Party's name was changed in

1925 on Bredt's recommendation, most people continued to call it the *Wirtschaftspartei*. The July 1932 Reichstag elections, which witnessed a collapse of the political middle, shrank the Party's faction to two; an 89 percent loss of support underscored its inability to wield political power during the economic crisis. Small businessmen and numerous others, either damaged or frightened by the depression,* heard the siren call of the NSDAP and deserted the WP en masse.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Lebovics, *Social Conservatism*.

EDUCATION. *See* School Bill *and* Universities.

EHRHARDT, HERMANN (1881–1971), naval officer and Freikorps* leader; implicated in the murders of Matthias Erzberger* and Walther Rathenau.* Born in Diersburg in Baden, he joined the navy and held the rank of captain by the end of World War I. Early in 1919 he organized fellow officers in Wilhelmshaven to counter a Soviet Republic proclaimed by members of the new KPD. The *Brigade Ehrhardt* later fought so well in Berlin* that Defense Minister Gustav Noske* authorized him to organize a larger force. Initiating a major recruitment effort in Wilhelmshaven, he formed Germany's best-organized and best-trained Freikorps unit. After fighting in Braunschweig in April, it spearheaded the May attack on Munich and was involved in Upper Silesia* against Polish insurgents in August 1919.

While the Ehrhardt Brigade was in Silesia, it absorbed many men returning from the Baltic* campaigns. The savagery that marked the remaining history of Ehrhardt's units stems from this influx of *Baltikumern*. In late 1919 the brigade was ordered back to Berlin to defend the Republic against anticipated Communist unrest; ironically, this allowed Ehrhardt to abet the March 1920 Kapp* Putsch against the Republic. After Kapp's failure Ehrhardt lent support to the regime he had just sought to dislodge by suppressing leftist uprisings in the Ruhr. He was then ordered to disband his unit and was himself briefly jailed in Münster. His ensuing escape forced him to spend most of 1920–1925 abroad or in Bavaria.* In early 1920 the Bavarians allowed him to create a radical group known as *Organisation Consul** (OC). Headquartered in Munich, OC was implicated in several notorious assassinations.* Privy to the planned Beerhall Putsch,* Ehrhardt had his troops poised on the Thuringian border in October–November 1923, ready to move against Thuringia's* government before marching on Berlin.

Ehrhardt came out of hiding after a 1926 political amnesty. He joined the *Stahlhelm** and assisted with ineffectual plans for another putsch. He also appeared in a 1926 trial in which his *Wiking-Bund* (the successor to OC) brought suit against Carl Severing,* Prussia's* Interior Minister, for ordering its dissolution; although the court upheld Severing, Ehrhardt refused to disband the *Bund* until April 1928.

Ehrhardt flirted in the early 1930s with National Bolshevism.* Although his importance faded after 1928, he was involved, perhaps as a government agent, in an effort to form an anti-Hitler group known as the National Socialist Fighting League of Germany (NSKD). Centered on Otto Strasser* and Walther Stennes, an erstwhile SA* leader, the NSKD foundered over ideological issues. Fleeing to Switzerland, Ehrhardt was fortunate to escape Hitler's 1934 purge. In 1936 he relocated to Austria,* where he remained until his death.

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Moreau, ''Otto Strasser''; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

EICHHORN, EMIL (1863–1925), politician; served as Berlin's* police chief during the November Revolution.* Born in Röhrsdorf near Chemnitz, he was a mechanic in a metalworking factory before becoming a paid official with the SPD. Serving concurrently in the Baden Landtag (1901–1909) and the Reichstag* (1903–1912), he was initially counted among the SPD's moderates, but gravitated toward the radicals. During the war he organized illegal publications for the Party opposition and in 1917 split with the SPD to head the press bureau for the new USPD. In the war's last months he assisted the Soviet press agency.

Only once did Eichhorn break the bounds of the rank-and-file official, and thereby the history of the Republic's early months is inseparably connected with his name. Serving from 9 November 1918 as Berlin's Commissar for Public Safety, he aided the antigovernment intrigues of the city's radicals. On 4 January 1919, by resisting his own dismissal, he triggered the Spartacist Uprising.* The unexpectedly brutal response of the government against those who stood by Eichhorn left the new KPD prostrate and, with the murders of Rosa Luxemburg* and Karl Liebknecht,* leaderless; Eichhorn went into hiding until August 1919.

Elected consecutively to the National Assembly* and the Reichstag, Eichhorn joined the KPD when the USPD split in October 1920. He was among only a handful of prewar Social Democrats who remained with the KPD for an extended period.

REFERENCES: Liang, *Berlin Police Force*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; *NDB*, vol. 4.

EINSTEIN, ALBERT (1879–1955), physicist; postulated the theory of the relativity of mass. Born in Ulm, he spent much of his early life in Munich. Averse to classroom regimentation, he withdrew from school at fifteen, relinquished his citizenship, and joined his parents in Milan. He soon relocated to Switzerland, where, upon completing Gymnasium in 1901, he took Swiss citizenship. In rapid succession he wrote his first scientific works while working as an official at the Swiss Patent Office in Bern, completed a degree in physics and mathematics at Zürich's *Technische Hochschule*, qualified as a *Privatdozent*, started a family, earned a doctorate in 1905, and became an *ausserordentlicher Professor* in 1909 at the University of Zürich. In 1913 he relocated to Berlin* as director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Theoretical Physics; he also became a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. Eight years later he was

the Nobel laureate for his 1905 work on the photoelectric effect. Upon accepting his award in 1922, Einstein spoke not about his discovery of light quanta but about his theory of relativity—confirmed in 1919 through observation of light deviation in a solar eclipse.

After receipt of the Nobel Prize, Einstein was made an honorary German citizen (he retained his Swiss nationality). However, in the years that followed, many Germans denounced him; indeed, a society of Einstein opponents was established in Berlin. They rejected his theory of relativity because he was both a pacifist and a Jew.* Among those rebuking him was a fellow Nobel laureate. Amidst the wave of murders that claimed the lives of Matthias Erzberger* and Walther Rathenau,* friends advised him to leave Berlin. In 1922 he wrote Max Planck* that people had warned him not to appear publicly because ''I am said to belong to the group of those people against whom the Nationals have planned assassination* attempts.'' But Einstein ignored the warnings, and in time life seemed to normalize. In 1929 the Berlin city council announced its intent to honor him on his fiftieth birthday with a gift of property on one of Berlin's lakes; however, the plan soon foundered on the negative vote of the Council's DNVP members. Einstein purchased the site at his own expense.

In 1933, when Einstein and his wife were in the United States, news came that Hitler* had seized power. Einstein resolved not to return home; he resigned his positions and accepted appointment at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. He never again saw Germany.

REFERENCES: Clark, *Einstein*; *DSB*, vol. 4; Feuer, *Einstein*; *NDB*, vol. 4.

EISLER, HANNS. *See* Bertolt Brecht *and* Ruth Fischer.

EISNER, KURT (1867–1919), politician; Bavaria's* first postwar Prime Minister. Born to a middle-class Jewish family in Berlin,* he studied philosophy and German literature, but forswore a doctorate for financial reasons. Turning to journalism, he worked in Berlin for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and moved to Marburg in 1893 to become political editor for the *Hessische Landeszeitung*. His neo-Kantianism was bolstered in Marburg by attending Hermann Cohen's lectures. A parody of the Kaiser, published in 1897, landed him a nine-month prison sentence. He soon joined the SPD and caught the attention of Wilhelm Liebknecht, who ensured his appointment as editor (1899–1905) of *Vorwärts*.* But Eisner was not a rigid Marxist; his resolve to link socialism and Kantian ethics provoked his dismissal. He relocated to Bavaria and wrote for various city newspapers,* serving finally as editor for Munich's *Arbeiterfeuilletons*. He was part of Munich's bohemian set, and his literary knowledge distinguished him from his socialist colleagues. A friend remembered him as a bearded, stooped figure who captivated friends at a Schwabing locale, the *Cafe Stephanie*.

World War I transformed Eisner. An opponent of the war, he joined the new USPD in 1917 and became chairman of its tiny Bavarian branch. As instigator of Munich's January 1918 armaments strike, he was arrested and imprisoned.

Released in October 1918 to campaign in a Reichstag* runoff election, he would likely have won had he not first deposed the Bavarian monarchy. Gathering support from troops stationed in Munich, he formed a Workers' and Soldiers' Council* during the night of 7–8 November and, ousting Germany's oldest ruling monarchy, proclaimed a republic without firing a shot.

Eisner's government was founded on an unsteady SPD-USPD alliance. Aside from a desire to procure special treatment from the Allies, his cabinet established few clear goals and, when unable to commit itself on critical foreign and domestic issues, soon lost influence. Quarrels over the role of the councils (*Räte*) and Eisner's equivocation on the need to elect a new Landtag deadlocked the cabinet and alienated him from the SPD. By late December his cabinet was increasingly torn between Eisner and Interior Minister Erhard Auer,* a longtime political foe. Attempts to broaden his base by joining with Bavaria's radical farmers* were abortive; the 12 January Landtag elections brought his Party only 3 of 180 seats. For several weeks his actions, principally his February appearance at the Bern congress of the Second International, reflected an inability to accept the election results. On 20 February Auer finally persuaded him to resign. After drafting his resignation early on 21 February, he was shot in the head by Anton von Arco-Valley* while walking to the Landtag. His murder led to Bavaria's tragic and short-lived *Räterepublik*, a perversion that Eisner might have averted.

Eisner had enormous faith in the goodness of humanity and in his ability to maximize its influence. Akin to his contemporary Woodrow Wilson, he once mused, ''I believe the only *Realpolitik* in the world is the *Realpolitik* of idealism.''

REFERENCES: Freya Eisner, ''Kurt Eisners Ort''; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; *NDB*, vol. 4; Raatjes, ''Role of Communism.''

EITINGON, MAX. *See* Karl Abraham.

EMMINGER, ERICH (1880–1951), politician and judge; Justice Minister in the first cabinet of Wilhelm Marx.* Born in Eichstädt, he studied law and settled into legal practice, first in Augsburg (1906–1908) and then in Nuremberg (1908–1909). In 1909 he entered the civil service* as a public prosecutor and district-court jurist. Although he was elected to the Reichstag* in 1913 as a Center Party* deputy (he retained his seat through 1918), he volunteered for the army at the outbreak of war and served as a military judge advocate.

From 1919 until its dissolution by the NSDAP, Emminger was a member of the BVP. Retaining a Reichstag mandate during 1920–1933, he served on the chamber's legal committee and was a vocal proponent for criminal-law reform. As Justice Minister in the crucial months December 1923 through May 1924, he used an Enabling Act* to launch three key reforms: the composition of courts was dramatically changed; technical changes were made in both civil and criminal procedure; and traditional trial by lay jury was replaced by a jury bench

consisting of laymen and professional jurists. These reforms were preserved by later legislative bodies.

From 1924 Emminger's primary aim was a monetary revaluation that might equalize the harm caused by the hyperinflation. As Justice Minister he obstructed legislation that would have prohibited such equalization; he then worked in the Reichstag for a retrospective settlement favoring those most damaged by the inflation. Although Emminger remained on the Bavarian State Court (1931–1935), he abstained from politics when the BVP was dissolved in 1933. He was held briefly in protective custody in June 1933 and was arrested after the July 1944 attempt on Hitler's* life; the death of a second of his four sons led to his release.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; *NDB*, vol. 4; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*

EMPLOYMENT. *See* Depression.

ENABLING ACT (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*); a term generally reserved for the Reichstag* vote of 23 March 1933 abrogating the legislative function and granting Hitler* dictatorial powers for a period of four years. Only the ninety-four Social Democrats attending the session dissented; the seventy-two Center Party* deputies could have blocked passage. The vote was constitutional because it was based on a provision contained in Article 76 of the Constitution* whereby a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag could vote to *temporarily* eliminate the separation of powers. (Hitler subsequently violated the five restrictive provisos contained in the 1933 Enabling Act.) Article 76 was similarly used amidst the hyperinflation when the Reichstag passed an Enabling Act on 13 October 1923 giving Gustav Stresemann* authority to stabilize Germany's currency. A second act, effective 8 December 1923 to 15 February 1924, resulted in sixty-six emergency decrees, some of which brought significant and permanent changes in civil and criminal law. In both instances the restrictive logic of Article 76 was respected.

Some have argued that under Article 76 the Weimar Constitution provided the means for its own destruction. In the absence of a strong President—one prepared to exercise his right to dismiss a Chancellor—Hitler succeeded in using a legitimate Enabling Act to terminate the Republic.

REFERENCES: Bendersky, *Carl Schmitt*; Brecht, *Political Education*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Watkins, *Failure of Constitutional Emergency Powers.*

ENGEL, ERICH (1891–1966), director; an associate of Bertolt Brecht* and a key figure in post-Expressionist theater.* Born in Hamburg, he studied acting under Leopold Jessner* and in 1918 began directing Hamburg's new Chamber Players. Named director of Munich's *Prinzregententheater* in February 1922, he won acclaim for his productions of *Hamlet* and Christian Dietrich Grabbe's *Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung* (Jokes, satire, irony, and deeper

meaning). He was invited to Berlin* in 1923 by an assistant of Max Reinhardt* and established his reputation with his 1924 productions of Büchner's *Danton's Death* and Brecht's *In the Jungle*.

Engel was determined to stage new playwrights and to rethink the classics in light of Germany's prevailing social and political atmosphere. In February 1925 he presented an antiheroic interpretation of *Coriolanus* for the *Deutsches Theater*. Since his realistic ideas paralleled those of Brecht, who had arrived in Berlin in 1924, he soon became part of a so-called Brecht talent collective. In 1928 he directed the antiwar *Mann ist Mann* at the *Volksbühne* and then premiered *The Threepenny Opera** at the *Theater am Schiffbauerdamm*. Although they had an uneven relationship, Engel directed every Brecht premiere that the playwright failed to direct personally; Brecht dubbed him the ''*Regisseur des wissenschaftlichen Zeitalters*'' (director of the scientific age). He remained in Nazi Germany, mostly directing Shakespeare but occasionally working with film.*

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

EPP, FRANZ RITTER VON (1868–1947), Freikorps* leader; chiefly known for his role in suppressing leftist actions in Munich, the Ruhr, and Hamburg. Born in Munich, he attended both cadet and military academies in his home city. In 1900 he volunteered for the East Asian Expeditionary Corps; in 1904–1906 he fought against the Hottentots in Southwest Africa. He served from December 1914 to January 1919 in France, Italy, Serbia, and Rumania, advancing to the rank of colonel and commanding an infantry division. In February 1919 he went to Thuringia,* where, with support from Defense Minister Gustav Noske,* he recruited Bavarians and established Freikorps Epp. His brigade, which was soon among Germany's strongest units, participated in Munich's brutal liberation (May 1919) and was thereafter attached to the Reichswehr* as the Bavarian Riflemen's Brigade. Although he was linked with those responsible for the March 1920 Kapp* Putsch, he did not participate in the event, but was involved soon after in crushing leftist revolts in Hamburg and the Ruhr. Promoted to major-general and assigned command of the army's Seventh Division (a Bavarian division) in 1923, he resigned his commission on 31 October 1923 when his radical politics brought a threat of transfer.

Epp soon joined the BVP and was recruited by the Bavarian government in December 1923 to lead a re-created *Einwohnerwehr* (the short-lived *Deutscher Notbann*), intended to avert putsches such as that attempted by Hitler* in November. Although he acceded, Epp sympathized with the Nazis; having provided the Party financial support since 1920, he became an SA *Gruppenführer* in 1924. He officially joined the NSDAP in 1928 and was elected the same year to the Reichstag.* In September 1932 he became Hitler's *Reichsleiter* for political defense. Hitler then sent him to Bavaria* in March 1933, first as *Reichskommissar*, then as Prime Minister, and finally as *Reichsstatthalter* (state governor).

However, he was overshadowed by the local *Gauleiter*, Adolf Wagner. His status became negligible after he weakly protested various Nazi excesses.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Garnett, *Lion, Eagle, and Swastika*; *NDB*, vol. 4; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

ERKELENZ, ANTON (1878–1945), politician; chairman of the DDP executive board and among the Republic's champions. Born in Neuss in the Rhineland,* he apprenticed as a locksmith and lathe operator. Following studies at a technical school, he became secretary in 1902 at the Düsseldorf office of the nonsocialist Hirsch-Duncker Federation of Labor Associations. Although Hirsch-Duncker advocated self-help and antistatism, Erkelenz was drawn to Friedrich Naumann's* social liberalism, which aimed at diminishing class tensions and achieving social harmony. Already thirty-six and married when World War I erupted, he nevertheless enlisted and, despite a severe wound suffered in 1915, remained in the army until 1917. During the Armistice* he joined the Neuss Workers' and Soldiers' Council* and helped found the German Trade-Union Federation* (*Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund*, or DGB), which linked Hirsch-Duncker with the League of Christian Trade Unions.

Upon learning of the formation of the DDP, Erkelenz abandoned efforts to revive Düsseldorf's Progressive Party, campaigned as a labor leader, and was elected to the National Assembly.* He soon led the left wing of the DDP's parliamentary faction. As an outspoken advocate for the 1919 Factory Council Law,* he antagonized Party colleagues on the Right. Although he was elected chairman of the Party's *Vorstand* (executive) at the 1921 Party Congress, a position second in importance to that of DDP chairman Carl Petersen,* the victory was offset when Hermann Fischer, leader of the right wing, was named his deputy. Until he retired, Erkelenz fought incessantly with Fischer, often over cooperation with the SPD.

By the mid-1920s Erkelenz had reembraced the Hirsch-Duncker concepts of self-help and union self-administration. Although his ideas remained imprecise, he was most concerned with moderating class struggle and giving workers a larger share in industry's decision-making process. He was an adherent of Gustav Stresemann's* foreign policy, but he opposed DDP efforts to form a stronger relationship with the DVP (Stresemann's Party); instead, he wanted the DDP to bridge the gap between labor and the middle class. His final years in the Party were marked by frustration and bitter rivalry with Erich Koch-Weser* and Fischer. His relationship with Gertrud Bäumer,* with whom he had worked as a coeditor of Naumann's *Die Hilfe* since before the war, was also strained. Mental and physical breakdown forced his retirement in 1929; disapproval of the DDP's shift to the Right in 1930, exemplified by its alliance with *Jungdo** and its transformation into the DStP, led him to join the SPD.

From 1928 Erkelenz engaged in a futile effort to fuse Germany's three trade-union* federations. When the Nazis dissolved the unions in May 1933, he returned to private life, but persisted in his outspoken opposition to Hitler.*

Although he survived World War II despite close ties with members of the resistance, he was stabbed to death by Soviet soldiers while defending his home on 25 April 1945.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*.

ERNST, MAX (1891–1976), painter, illustrator, and sculptor; member of Cologne's Dada* circle and a founder of French Surrealism. Born in Brühl, as a young man (1908–1911) he studied philosophy and psychology, training himself as an artist in his spare time. Aroused by Nietzsche's philosophy and van Gogh's art, he was attracted to Expressionism,* joined *Junge Rheinland*, and began painting in earnest in 1912, exhibiting with Hans Arp and Paul Klee* at Berlin's* *Sturm* gallery in 1913. In 1919, after serving in the war, he and several other artists formed a Dada circle in Cologne; he displayed his work, mostly collages, at Berlin's First International Dada Fair of June 1920. Invited in 1921 by André Breton to exhibit in Paris, he moved to France and helped found Surrealism in 1924. With Man Ray, Picasso, Arp, and Klee, he exhibited at the 1925 *Première Exposition surréaliste*. Disparaged in 1926 for creating costumes for the ballet *Romeo and Juliet*, he officially broke with Surrealism but remained intellectually faithful to the movement.

Ernst's work has a symbolic, dreamlike quality. Swamps, forests, and prehistoric landscapes—sometimes containing mythological figures—evoke mystery. In 1925 he developed his trademark technique of ''frottage,'' in which the paper to be painted is placed over a rough surface such as grained wood and rubbed until it acquires the surface's quality. Following a sojourn in Switzerland, he began sculpting in 1934. The Nazis included his work in their 1937 exhibit *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art). He was interned in France after the outbreak of World War II, but escaped to Spain and flew to the United States in 1941.

REFERENCES: Clair, *1920s*; *Encyclopedia of World Art*.

ERZBERGER, MATTHIAS (1875–1921), politician; as Armistice* Commissioner and Finance Minister, he became a symbol of the Republic and Germany's most hated individual. Born to a master tailor in the village of Buttenhausen in Württemberg, he studied to be a schoolteacher (*Volksschullehrer*), but in 1896, with under two years in the classroom, he joined the editorial staff of *Deutsches Volksblatt*, the Center Party* newspaper* in Stuttgart. He also engaged in organized labor, first with the Peasants' League in Württemberg and then with a Christian trade union in Mainz. Chiefly concerned with politics, he was elected in 1903 to the Reichstag.* Entering parliament when democratization was in its infancy, he shocked older colleagues by his facility for working with the masses. He was soon a spokesman of new times and led the small democratic Left in the Center Party; in 1905–1906 he bluntly exposed the scandals that were tainting Germany's colonial experience. Karl Helfferich,* later his mortal enemy, served at the time as a Colonial Office counselor.

Until World War I Erzberger focused on financial issues; as a Budget Committee member, he acquired a reputation as an expert on fiscal and colonial issues. The war brought him unparalleled prominence while testing and changing many of his positions. When a memorandum of 2 September 1914 placed him squarely in the camp of Germany's annexationists, Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg asked him to organize the information bureau of the Naval Office. He was soon engaged in manifold diplomatic and propaganda activities, won growing influence, and was even on the supervisory board of the powerful *August-Thyssenhütte*. But his perspective slowly changed. Opposed to unrestricted submarine warfare, he inspired the Peace Resolution in the early summer of 1917 that undermined Bethmann's cabinet and created a parliamentary majority favoring peace without annexations. Although he supported the harsh Brest-Litovsk Treaty of March 1918, he did so in the curious hope that it would lead to Slavic self-determination. In any case, a growing number of nationalists viewed him as their nemesis, and the Kaiser called him a ''personal enemy of my House.''

In a September 1918 pamphlet supportive of a League of Nations, Erzberger proclaimed his optimism in the coming peace process. On 3 October 1918, after Prinz Max* von Baden became Chancellor, Erzberger was appointed Secretary without Portfolio. Supportive of parliamentary monarchy, he was named to the Armistice Commission and, at Hindenburg's* request, was persuaded by Prinz Max to lead the delegation. This proved a most fateful decision. Although the truce terms were more severe than anticipated, he was empowered to sign them, and the Armistice thereby became his albatross. During the three-month hiatus in which Germany was governed by the Council of People's Representatives,* he pressed for measures against the Spartacus League* and swift elections of a National Assembly.* While he continued as Armistice Commissioner and signed three renewals of the truce accord, he joined the first postelection cabinet as Minister without Portfolio. The further concessions forced on him by Marshal Foch, head of the Allies' Armistice delegation, were resented by the political Right. When the treaty was ready, Erzberger, believing that famine and dismemberment might follow were it rejected, urged its acceptance. After Philipp Scheidemann* resigned in June 1919, Erzberger became Vice Chancellor and Finance Minister in Gustav Bauer's* new cabinet. Acting upon earlier efforts by Eugen Schiffer,* he established a highly progressive tax system, overhauled the method of raising money, and enhanced Germany's financial sovereignty. But his policies angered the political Right; led by Helfferich, his opponents determined to drive him from office through a celebrated trial in early 1920. Unable to give sufficient attention to the campaign of his antagonist, he failed to establish the inaccuracy of Helfferich's charges of dishonesty. An ensuing inquiry did little to clear his name.

Although Erzberger was easily returned to the Reichstag in June 1920, he abstained from parliamentary activity for more than a year. In mid-1921 he resolved to return to politics; however, members of *Organisation Consul** ear-

marked him for assassination.* While he was vacationing in the village of Bad Griesbach, he was murdered on 26 August. His assassins escaped Germany and were not brought to trial until 1947.

Erzberger was vigorous, energetic, ambitious, and given to trusting the psychology of the little man. Through copious letter writing and publication, he made himself both known and indispensable. As a member of the Imperial Reichstag, he strove for general reform. He was often impulsive and careless, and his superb political instincts ultimately failed him; in 1919 it was largely due to his position in the Party that the Center's Bavarian branch separated to form the BVP. Yet he remains a symbol of both the Republic and its ambition to introduce parliamentary democracy to Germany.

REFERENCES: Klaus Epstein, *Erzberger*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Morsey, ''Matthias Erzberger''; *NDB*, vol. 4.

ESCHERICH, GEORG (1870–1941), forester and paramilitary leader; helped organize and lead the Bavarian *Einwohnerwehr*. Born in the Upper Palatinate town of Schwandorf, he studied forestry. After teaching for several years, he became a counselor at the forestry office in the Upper Bavarian town of Isen. In 1913 the Colonial Office appointed him leader of a scientific expedition to Cameroon. He served in World War I, was wounded on the Western Front, and ended the war as chief of the army's forestry administration in Bialowicz, Poland.*

In April 1919, during the weeks of Bavaria's* *Räterepublik*, Escherich returned to Isen to found a people's militia. Once the *Räterepublik* was suppressed, his militia became the nucleus of the *Einwohnerwehr*. Independent of state control, but the beneficiary of state financial support, the *Einwohnerwehr* numbered 300,000 at the time of the Kapp* Putsch (March 1920). Using the putsch as an excuse for action, Escherich engineered the *coup d'état* that removed the Bavarian government of Johannes Hoffmann*. Thereafter the rightist regime of Gustav von Kahr,* formed in March 1920, became his means of support.

Escherich's contacts enabled him to establish *Organisation Escherich* (*Orgesch*) in May 1920. A paramilitary unit headquartered in both Regensburg and Munich, *Orgesch* instituted rather reasonable goals: defense of the Constitution*; protection of work, property, and people; preservation of the Reich, including opposition to overt separatism; and resistance to putsches from both the Right and the Left. But Escherich also viewed *Orgesch* as the nucleus for a national union of *Wehrverbände*. With sixteen organizational districts throughout the country, *Orgesch* claimed a membership by late 1920 in excess of one million. Such success was its undoing; not only did it violate the Versailles Treaty's* disarmament* clauses, but Carl Severing,* Prussian Interior Minister, found its existence unacceptable. Soon banned in every German state outside Bavaria, *Orgesch* was camouflaged by Kahr until, after its May 1921 involvement against the Poles in Upper Silesia,* Berlin* forced its disbanding.

Since the paramilitary successor organizations to *Orgesch* were increasingly

radical, Escherich fell out of favor. After May 1921 he returned to Bavaria's Forestry Administration. Although he was reinstated as head of the Bavarian *Einwohnerwehr* in December 1929, his powers were quite limited. Bavaria's chief forest ranger, he retired in 1931 to write travel guides.
REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Garnett, *Lion, Eagle, and Swastika*; Large, *Politics of Law and Order*; *NDB*, vol. 4.

ESTONIA. *See* Baltic Provinces.

EUPEN-MALMÉDY AFFAIR. The districts of Eupen and Malmédy lie just south of Aachen on the Belgian border. Part of Prussia's* western territories for a century, they were transferred to Belgium by the Versailles Treaty.* Although a majority of the area's 60,000 people retained an allegiance to Germany, and while Versailles called for ''popular consultation'' in the event of a change of sovereignty, a proposed plebiscite, to be conducted by the League of Nations, was never held in the districts (the inhabitants were given six months to register their preference for Germany on public rolls).

Because of Belgium's fiscal problems after the war and Germany's wartime dissemination in Belgium of ''occupation marks,'' the Belgians sought an accord with Germany that would redeem the wartime marks at an advantageous value. Several such accords were negotiated between 1919 and 1922; none was ever ratified. When Germany stabilized its currency in 1923, the Belgians again sought a bilateral settlement, this time intimating that a readjustment of Eupen-Malmédy's status might result. Although the prospect for such an exchange matured in protracted negotiations, it was jeopardized by simultaneous discussions relative to the Locarno Treaties.* As one Locarno accord appeared to preclude any alteration of Western Europe's borders, the legality of the Belgian-German talks was placed in question. But the Germans and Belgians reasoned privately that Locarno's Rhineland Pact precluded only the forceful alteration of territorial possessions. Months of dickering, shouldered largely by the states' financial experts (Hjalmar Schacht* and Leon Delacroix), were nearing conclusion when in July 1926 Raymond Poincaré became French Premier. Hostile to treaty revision, Poincaré told the Belgians that France opposed any territorial changes without the unanimous consent of the League's Council; France then notified Britain that it would veto any change involving Eupen-Malmédy. By September 1926 the proposed transfer of the districts was a dead issue.
REFERENCES: Enssle, *Stresemann's Territorial Revisionism*; Grathwol, ''Germany and the Eupen-Malmédy Affair''; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE. *See* Genoa Conference.

EXPRESSIONISM. Both the chronological parameters and the artistic definition of Expressionism have changed in recent years. Once considered an avant-garde movement identified roughly with the years 1905–1914, Expressionism

was deemed a romantic revolt of youth against the bankruptcy of their elders. As a break with traditions tied to idealism and positivism, the pre-1914 spirit of projecting emotion through art was revealed first and most powerfully in German painting: from 1905 in the art of the Dresden-based *Brücke* (i.e., Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff*, Erich Heckel, Emil Nolde,* and Max Pechstein) and from 1911 in the work of the Munich-based *Blaue Reiter* (Wassily Kandinsky,* Franz Marc, August Macke, and Paul Klee*). Expressionism's delayed impact on music, literature, and theater,* extending well beyond Germany's borders in all these areas, was no less striking. Understood as an artist's deeply personal articulation, the movement was revered by sympathetic critics as the culmination of creativity. The atonal music of Arnold Schoenberg* and Alban Berg, emerging in 1908, and the early writing of Kurt Hiller* and Walter Hasenclever* all predated World War I. Founded in March 1910, *Der Sturm*, a literary weekly published in both Berlin* and Vienna, was the first mouthpiece for both artistic and literary Expressionism. *Die Aktion*,* established in 1911, played a similar role. But an internal feud dissolved *Die Brücke* in 1913, and the war led to the dispersal and death of many once associated with the movement—most notably, those involved with *Der blaue Reiter*.

Although Expressionism gained public notice in postwar Germany, the conditions that gave rise to it (i.e., the materialism and rigidity of the Kaiserreich) had been displaced by violence, suffering, and despair. Since several politically involved artists—for example, Otto Dix,* George Grosz,* and Rudolf Schlichter—rejected Expressionism, it became customary to view their postwar work (*see* Dada) as an entirely new movement. This explanation is no longer judged adequate. Because the total rejection of accepted aesthetic standards is a central feature of Expressionism, the daring political and social art of the early Weimar era (i.e., through 1923) is now more generally seen as the movement's second generation.

The war-induced trauma depicted in the exaggerated realism of Expressionism's second generation seemed to run its course in parallel with Germany's great inflation.* Despite the initial approval given Franz Werfel's poetry, Walter Hasenclever's plays, Max Beckmann's* drawings, and Robert Wiene's films* (*see The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*), a new style was demanded by 1924. By this date an estimated 2,500 German authors (essayists, poets, dramatists, and prose writers) had been classified as Expressionists. While many were gifted, most were charlatans with scant ability; few were still writing in 1924. Concurrent with Germany's cruel, albeit necessary, currency stabilization, Expressionism was eclipsed by a harsh *Neue Sachlichkeit*.*

REFERENCES: Barron, *German Expressionism*; Donald Gordon, *Expressionism*; Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*; Sokel, *Writer in Extremis*; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

EYCK, ERICH (1878–1964), lawyer and historian; authored a major political history of the Republic. One of six brothers and sisters born to middle-class

Jewish parents in Berlin,* he took a doctorate in history in 1904 but, following paternal advice, studied law and settled on a legal career. Yet his imagination remained preoccupied by economic and historical issues—interests encouraged by, among others, Hans Delbrück* and Gustav Schmoller. During 1906–1937 he practiced as a highly respected Berlin attorney and served also during 1915–1920 on Charlottenburg's city council and from 1928 to 1932 in Greater Berlin's assembly. A heart defect precluded his induction during World War I. He began wielding some influence in 1915 with a regular legal column in the liberal *Vossische Zeitung* and as an occasional columnist for the *Berliner Tageblatt*. He also wrote historical pieces for *Die Hilfe*, a DDP journal edited by Theodor Heuss.* With progressive views and driven by his esteem for Friedrich Naumann,* Eyck held the Kaiser in contempt and regularly attacked the incompetence of the Wilhelmine Reich. He was a member in the 1920s of the DDP and the Democratic Club and championed republican principles and the Weimar state.

Fired by the *Vossische Zeitung* in 1933, Eyck soon found his legal clientele evaporating. At this point, at age fifty-five, he began serious historical research. In 1937 he relocated his family to England. Central to his work was a dissection of the dissimilar roads of development in Germany and Great Britain. Preoccupied with understanding why Germany failed to form democratic institutions, he became convinced that Bismarck had stunted the country's development. Although his research produced significant biographies of Gladstone, Wilhelm II, and Bismarck, his magnum opus was the two-volume *Geschichte der Weimarer Republik* (*History of the Weimar Republic*). Published in 1954–1956, the Weimar work, with its unsurpassed grasp of the political and legal issues impacting the Republic, has greatly influenced subsequent historical writing on modern Germany.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Maehl, ''Erich Eyck.''

F

FACTORY COUNCIL LAW (*Betriebsrätegesetz*); a product of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* of the November Revolution,* it was introduced in the National Assembly* on 21 August 1919. Article 165 of the new Constitution* gave workers and salaried employees the minimal hope of creating factory councils for the defense and promotion of economic interests. The law, designed to make reality of this hope, required worker representation on industrial supervisory boards and the annual audit of corporate books by factory councils. But such provisions were opposed not only by corporations, which viewed them as an intrusion upon management prerogative, but also by the KPD and the USPD, which believed that they would ''ease the workers back into their capitalistic yoke.'' On 13 January 1920, during the bill's second reading, a huge left-wing demonstration against the legislation resulted in a bloody battle with police on the Reichstag* steps; 42 were killed and 105 injured. Nevertheless, given the strength of the ruling Weimar Coalition,* the law was passed on 18 January by a 213–56 vote.

The law never fulfilled its promise as a step toward socialism. Not only did corporations find loopholes in the law, but as time passed, partisanship undermined the unity of those who had supported the bill. Ultimately, the SPD was to blame for failing to induce institutional reform during the period when it possessed sufficient power to do so.

REFERENCES: Breitman, *German Socialism*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*.

FALLADA, HANS, born Rudolf Ditzen (1893–1947), novelist; best known for *Kleiner Mann—was nun?* (Little man, what now?), a novel dramatized,

filmed, and widely translated. He was born in the Pomeranian city of Greifswald, where his father was a Prussian judge. Experiencing crises common to middle-class adolescents in prewar Germany, he planned a double suicide with a fellow Gymnasium student in Berlin*; his friend took his life. After studying agriculture, Fallada was variously employed as an auditor, bookkeeper, and grain merchant. Following imprisonment in 1923 for embezzlement, he became a local reporter in Neumünster. One assignment, involving the 1930 trial of the leader of a Schleswig-Holstein peasant movement, triggered his interest in the impact of the depression* on common people. Fallada continued his journalistic career until the success of *Kleiner Mann—was nun?*, his 1932 story of a jobless worker, allowed him to purchase an estate in Mecklenburg. He managed the estate until war forced his return to Berlin in 1944.

Although he began writing as an Expressionist* in 1920, Fallada's success centered on his realistic descriptions of contemporary problems. With his 1931 autobiographical novel *Bauern, Bonzen, und Bomben* (Farmers, bosses, and bombs), his stories began depicting activities closely related to his own experiences. His best work cast a critical but humanistic eye on life's minor figures—peasants, unemployed bureaucrats, ex-convicts—all of whom seemed abandoned to uncontrollable circumstances. These circumstances were the product of a lost war, hyperinflation, and the depression.

Although Fallada was no friend of the NSDAP, he accommodated himself to the Third Reich by writing scripts and children's books. He also turned to alcohol and, inducted in 1944, was confined in an institution for alcoholics shortly before the end of World War II.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Laqueur, *Weimar*; *NDB*, vol. 5.

FANCK, ARNOLD (1889–1974), film* director; best known for mountain films and documentaries. Born in the small Palatinate city of Frankenthal, he was an expert climber and skier before taking his doctorate in geology. After he founded the production firm *Berg- und Sportfilm GmbH* in Freiburg, he produced *Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs* (The wonder of skiing), *Im Kampf mit den Bergen* (The struggle with the mountains), and *Fuchsjagd im Engadin* (Fox-hunt in the Engadine) between 1920 and 1923. Virtually documentaries in which stories of mortal conflict were secondary to the extraordinary scenery, Fanck's films offered the audience steep precipices and human drama on high-altitude glaciers in place of studio-made scenery. A common thread throughout was the individual's relationship with the forces of nature. Through his genre of mountain and sports film he transformed some of Germany's best cameramen into excellent skiers and mountain climbers. His central characters were all experts: the famous mountain climber Luis Trenker made his début in *Der Berg des Schicksals* (The mountain of fate, 1924).

Fanck's most industrious student, Leni Riefenstahl, went on to make the Nazis' *Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the will, 1934) and *Olympia* (1938). She

assisted with several of his films and acted in *Der heilige Berg* (The holy mountain, 1926), *Die weisse Hölle von Pitz Palü* (The white hell of Pitz Palü, 1929), and *Der weisse Rausch* (The white frenzy, 1931).

Because Fanck monopolized his genre of filming in the 1920s and 1930s, Universal Pictures hired him in 1932–1933 to film *S.O.S. Iceberg*. Although he turned to documentaries during the Nazi era, he directed the German-Japanese coproduction *Die Tochter des Samurai* (The daughter of the samurai) in 1937. Whether the natural grandeur or implicit mysticism of his films were proto-Nazi, as suggested by Siegfried Kracauer,* remains open to debate.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*.

FARMERS. The words ''farmer'' and ''peasant'' do not translate easily. In German the term ''peasantry,'' or *Bauernschaft*, is applied with professional pride to any agricultural producer, whether the individual cultivates one acre or a five-hundred-acre estate. Although the word *Landvolk* is sometimes translated ''farmers,'' it lacks the endorsement of *Bauern*. To the extent that one can distinguish between estate proprietors (*Landbesitzern*) and the remainder of the *Bauernschaft*, this entry focuses on the latter.

Somewhat more than a third of Germany's labor force was engaged in agriculture during the Weimar era. Although Prussia's* Junkers* represented only a fraction of this number, they exerted a disproportionate influence over both the *Bauernschaft* as a whole and the government's agricultural policy. While small farmers could wield minimal influence through societies such as the liberal Peasants' League (*Bauernbund*), the Junkers skillfully employed the *Reichslandbund** to speak for all farmers.

Traditionally conservative, Germany's *Bauern* played little role, with the minor and short-lived exception of Bavaria,* in the revolutionary events of 1918. As time passed, unless their economic interests were impacted, they took little interest in politics. KPD attempts to generate political participation among the peasantry often achieved a negative response. Although efforts to attract marginal farmers and farm workers (*Kleinbauern*) met with some response, the KPD's basic indifference to rural issues was reflected by its failure to organize agricultural workers.

Following the inflation,* during which easy credit and a debased currency allowed farmers to recoup wartime losses, agriculture experienced an accelerating decline. Instigated in 1923 when harvest income proved insufficient to meet the next year's production costs, agrarian indebtedness quickened in 1924 due to the tight fiscal policies that accompanied currency revaluation; by 1928 agrarian debt amounted to about ten billion marks. Exorbitant interest rates, proliferating bankruptcy, resistance to change, fluctuating protectionism, and plummeting food prices all helped sink the German farmer into depression* a full year before the Wall Street crash. Since latent antagonism had existed toward the Republic since 1919, the regime's inability to control or even com-

prehend the agrarian emergency led to the formation in 1928 of a *Landvolk* protest movement against the Republic's economic policies. Ironically, the most disturbing policies—high tariffs and *Osthilfe** for Junker estates—were the *Reichslandbund*'s lobbying achievements. Yet the *Bund* managed in 1929 to fuse the *Landvolk* movement with the *Grüne Front*, a new agrarian pressure group. The resulting organization simply enhanced the Junkers's ability to interfere with state policies.

The discontent that generated such splinter groups as the *Landvolk*, the *Christlichnationale Bauernpartei*, and the *Deutsche Bauernpartei* during 1928–1929 finally found response in the program of the NSDAP. Previously an urban-oriented movement, Nazism emerged from the 1928 Reichstag* elections with a new appreciation of German agriculture. Campaigning in sparsely populated districts, the NSDAP published an agrarian program in March 1930 that appealed to the mysticism rooted in the *Bauernschaft* and offered a promise of economic stability. After the Nazis pledged to redress rural grievances and provide farmers an honorable place in the nation, they gained a stunning electoral victory in September 1930. Unable to gain adequate leverage elsewhere, farmers (albeit not Catholics,* who remained faithful to the Center Party*) voted overwhelmingly for the NSDAP until Hitler's* seizure of power.

REFERENCES: Angress, ''Political Role of the Peasantry''; Baranowski, *Sanctity of Rural Life*; Farquharson, *Plough and the Swastika*; Gerschenkron, *Bread and Democracy*; Larry Jones, ''Crisis and Realignment''; Moeller, ''Economic Dimensions of Peasant Protest'' and *German Peasants*; Wunderlich, *Farm Labor in Germany*.

FATHERLAND PARTY. *See* Wolfgang Kapp.

FAULHABER, MICHAEL VON (1869–1952), Archbishop and Cardinal; a devout Christian who became a powerful opponent of National Socialism. Born in Klosterheidenfeld in Lower Franconia, he spent a year (1888–1889) in the army before entering the priesthood. Ordained in 1892, he served briefly as a parish priest and then resumed studies in Rome. In 1899 he qualified at Würzburg as a lecturer and in 1903 became Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Biblical Theology in Strassburg. He was named Bishop of Speyer in 1911 and Archbishop of Munich-Freising in 1917 (a position he retained until his death) and received a Cardinal's cap in 1921.

Faulhaber was a pioneer at analyzing uncertainties in church history. A great organizer and a celebrated and commanding speaker, he served well beyond the borders of his archdiocese—indeed, he was active throughout German-speaking Europe. He sought to intensify the religious spirit of the church by deepening an understanding of the catechism and homiletics within the priesthood while also instituting continuing education opportunities for priests. He hoped to revitalize missions through the introduction of services in railway stations (1924), through establishment of the Sisters Organization for Catholic* Home Missions

in parsonages (1922), and through construction of over one hundred new churches. He was also a powerful advocate for confessional schools.

With mixed results, Faulhaber carefully avoided direct involvement in politics and prohibited such activity on the part of priests except in instances where government measures were deemed to violate either the beliefs or the ethos of the church. Shaken by the departure of Germany's kings, he entitled his sermon of 31 December 1918 ''*Regierung von Jehovas Zorn*'' (Government of Jehova's wrath) and later asserted that the Weimar Constitution* bore the mark of Cain. Hostile to both socialism and parliamentary democracy, he deplored the Center Party's* cooperation with the SPD, and despite Konrad Adenauer's* attempt in 1922 to convince him that he was out of touch with the mood of German Catholics, he believed that the Republic epitomized centralism, socialism, and Protestantism.* Uneasy with the regime's attitude toward religion, he rebuked the separation of church and state and assisted with the 1924 concordat between Rome and Bavaria.*

Although Faulhaber censured anti-Semitism* and claimed in 1923 that the NSDAP platform did not accord with Christianity, he greeted Hitler's* 1933 appointment as a sign of progress. Yet with unequivocal courage he quickly denounced Hitler's chauvinism and anti-Semitism (Munich students had dubbed him ''the Jewish cardinal'' as early as 1923). With Bishop Konrad von Preysing, he traveled to Rome in 1933 to warn Pope Pius XI (without effect) of the pitfalls inherent in a concordat with Hitler; then, through a series of Advent sermons, he defended the Old Testament against its critics while rebuking the Nazi position on race. In March 1937 he wrote the first draft of *Mit brennender Sorge* (With burning anxiety), an outline of the points on which the Nazis had violated the concordat; smuggled throughout the country, the sermon was read from every Catholic pulpit in Germany.

REFERENCES: Donohoe, *Hitler's Conservative Opponents*; Kershaw, *Popular Opinion*; *NDB*, vol. 5; Scholder, *Churches and the Third Reich*.

FEDER, GOTTFRIED (1883–1941), politician and publicist; helped create the Nazi Party program. A native of Würzburg, he was scion to a family of respected bureaucrats. After studying engineering, he became co-owner in 1908 of a Munich construction firm. The war, which he avoided with a head injury, brought numerous military contracts, which he financed through overextended credit. His resentment at the power of the banks led him to quit his position upon Germany's defeat in favor of campaigning on behalf of the ''breaking of interest slavery.'' Styling himself an economic theorist, he gave his first lecture in late 1918 before the Thule Society,* whereupon he became acquainted with Dietrich Eckart* and other early members of the German Workers' Party. His concept of a monetary system without interest capital was incorporated into the NSDAP program of February 1920. But while he was an important Nazi theorist, his own dry and dogmatic style did little to popularize the ideas.

Throughout the 1920s Feder was immersed in publishing and organizational

activities. Involved in the 1923 Beerhall Putsch,* he was Finance Minister–designate had the coup succeeded. Elected to the Reichstag* in May 1924 as a member of the German Racial Freedom Party* (DVFP)—the NSDAP having been temporarily banned—he focused on opposing the Dawes Plan.* In 1925, when the NSDAP reappeared, he stood squarely behind Hitler* in the Party's internecine struggle. Hitler commissioned him in 1926 to publish a library, in which the Party's programmatic writings appeared, and appointed him Party Ideologist (*Programmatiker*). But his 1928 attempt to gain influence by founding the Feder-Presse (it published the *Flamme*) proved a fiasco and was given up in early 1932. From November 1931 he was chairman of the Party's Economic Council, a body that Hitler characteristically ignored.

Feder held his Reichstag seat from 1924 until the end of the Republic. From 1930 his ideas roughly paralleled those of Gregor Strasser.* The latter's Emergency Economic Program, outlined in the Reichstag in 1932, called for a reorientation of the economy toward the domestic market and state control of banks. Such views were increasingly anathema to Hitler. In December, stunned by Hitler's dismissal of the Economic Council and Strasser's resignation from his Party offices, Feder reproached Hitler in a letter. Although he quickly recanted his statements, he was relegated to the background of Party affairs. Appointed Secretary in the Economics Ministry in July 1933, he was removed from office by late 1934 and spent the remainder of his life as a professor for urban development at Berlin's *Technische Hochschule*.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 5; Tyrell, ''Gottfried Feder and the NSDAP.''

FEDERATION OF GERMAN INDUSTRY. *See Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie*.

FEDERATION OF GERMAN WOMEN'S SOCIETIES. *See* Women.

FEHLING, JÜRGEN (1885–1968), actor and stage director; among the Republic's finest interpreters of realism. Born in Lübeck to a city senator and *Bürgermeister*, he completed theological and legal studies before breaking with his family in 1910 and becoming an actor at Vienna's *Volksbühne*. Moving to Berlin* in 1918, he acted at the *Theater am Nollendorfplatz*, gained an appointment at Berlin's *Volksbühne*, and made his directing début in March 1920 with a production of Gogol's *Heirat* (Marriage). Thus began one of Berlin's renowned interwar directing careers. He was appointed stage manager in 1922 of Leopold Jessner's* *Staatstheater* and retained the position until the theater's destruction in a 1944 bombing raid.

By focusing on acting rather than the theater* or the stage, Fehling was celebrated as Max Reinhardt's* successor. His productions, which accentuated the realism in Expressionist works, were identified curiously as Expressionistic Realism. He introduced such dramatists as Else Lasker-Schüler* and Ernst Tol-

ler,* but was linked above all with Ernst Barlach.* Through his cycle of *Der arme Vetter* (The poor cousin, 1923), *Die Sündflut* (The flood, 1925), and *Der blaue Boll* (Squire Blue Boll, 1930), Fehling established Barlach as an important post-Expressionist writer.

Rising nationalism increasingly led Fehling to the safety of Shakespeare. He demanded total commitment and realism from his actors; his productions were especially successful. After Gustaf Gründgens became the *Staatstheater*'s intendant in 1934, Fehling presented a spectrum of works ranging from George Bernard Shaw to the irrationality of Knut Hamsun.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

FEHRENBACH, KONSTANTIN (1852–1926), politician; last President of the Imperial Reichstag* and Chancellor during 1920–1921. Born to a schoolteacher in the Baden town of Wellendingen, he studied theology and law (1871–1879) before becoming a trial lawyer in Freiburg. He entered the Baden Landtag in 1885 as a Center Party* deputy, but resigned his mandate in 1887 owing to differences with Theodor Wacker, Baden's Party leader (Fehrenbach was among the earliest Catholic* politicians to accommodate the Wilhelmine Reich). Reelected to the Landtag in 1901, he remained in the chamber through 1913 and served as its President during 1907–1909. In 1903 he entered the Reichstag and was soon favored as an orator. His Zabern Affair speech of December 1913, supportive of the Alsatians against the military authorities, gained him notoriety. He succeeded Peter Spahn as Reichstag faction chairman in the summer of 1917 and was appointed leader of the chamber's multiparty steering committee in November 1917. Finally, in July 1918 he became Reichstag President, a position he also held in the Republic's National Assembly.*

As Assembly President, Fehrenbach powerfully denounced the Versailles Treaty* on 12 May 1919 and predicted torment for Germany's enemies from children yet unborn; the speech endeared him to the political Right. On 25 June 1920, after long negotiations, President Ebert* convinced him to form the Republic's first middle-party cabinet (i.e., comprised of the DDP, the Center, and the DVP). As a minority government, reliant on SPD goodwill for its existence, it ventured few initiatives for easing Germany's tense internal situation. Representing the country in reparations* conferences at Spa* (July 1920) and London* (March 1921), Fehrenbach's cabinet collapsed on 4 May 1921 when his DVP ministers, unwilling to be linked with the London Ultimatum, resigned.

An esteemed member of the Center's moderate middle and a committed republican, Fehrenbach was valued for his tact, good humor, and parliamentary skill. Moritz Julius Bonn,* who served as his financial expert, labeled him ''a good figurehead for the hinterland'' with ''no knowledge of international questions, and no ambition to play a role on the international stage.'' His Reichstag career was crowned in 1923 when he succeeded Wilhelm Marx* (the new Chancellor) as faction chairman. He served also on the special Court for the Protec-

tion of the Republic and as deputy chairman of the Society to Combat Anti-Semitism (*Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*).

REFERENCES: Becker, ''Konstantin Fehrenbach''; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Bonn, *Wandering Scholar*; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; *NDB*, vol. 5.

FEININGER, LYONEL (1871–1956), painter and illustrator; although he was deemed an Expressionist,* his clarity and precision separated him from contemporaries. Born in New York to two musicians, he began violin lessons with his father in 1880 and traveled to Germany in 1887 to study music. But within a month of his arrival he chose to become a painter. During 1887–1891 he attended both the Hamburg *Kunstgewerbeschule* and Berlin's* *Kunstakademie*. After two years of Parisian studies he spent thirteen years as a caricaturist and illustrator for the *Fliegende Blätter* and *Ulk*, a satirical enclosure in the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Living again in Paris during 1906–1907, he drew comic strips for *Le Témoin* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

During 1907–1909 Feininger turned from drawing to painting, relocated to Berlin, and joined the *Berliner Sezession*. In the September 1913 exhibition *Ersten Deutschen Herbstsalon* (First German Autumn Salon), he showed his work with members of the *Blaue Reiter*. Already influenced by Futurism and Cubism, he absorbed Expressionist elements during the war years. When the government detained him in 1917 as an enemy alien (he had retained American citizenship), he was released through the intervention of Herwarth Walden,* who then sponsored his first solo exhibition at the *Galerie der Sturm*. He joined the *Novembergruppe** in 1918 and met Walter Gropius,* who invited him to join the Bauhaus.* Responsible for the school's graphics workshop, he formed close friendships with colleagues Paul Klee* and Wassily Kandinsky,* leading in 1925 to establishment of the exhibition group *Blaue Vier* (the fourth was Alexej von Jawlensky). In 1931, after many of his works had been purchased by German museums, the Berlin National Gallery honored him with a solo show.

As an illustrator Feininger merged scribbled and linear line. The humor of his early drawings, with their oversized shapes, was also evident in his early paintings. Under the influence of a 1911 sojourn in Paris, he became an exponent of Cubism, in which he showed special interest in landscape. By 1918 his surfaces had become more transparent and his colors lighter. Although he still painted landscapes in the 1920s, his works were decreasingly realistic. From about 1915 he painted chiefly in small Thuringian communities, later turning to representations of the Baltic's deep horizons, sailboats, and ships. Through a refined use of color and removal of unnecessary detail, his work acquired a pure and magical intensity.

During 1924–1935 Feininger spent almost every summer in Pomerania. When the Bauhaus's Dessau phase ended in 1932, he stopped teaching. Despite unemployment and being forbidden to exhibit, he remained in Germany until mid-1937. A visit to New York in May 1936, his first since 1887, led to permanent relocation the next year. The Nazis confiscated 378 of his pieces from public

collections throughout Germany—a testimonial to his popularity. Eight paintings, 1 watercolor, and 13 woodcuts were included in the 1937 exhibition *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art).

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; *NDB*, vol. 5; Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*.

FEMEGERICHT (Feme justice). In medieval Germany vigilante groups, distressed by the era's ineffective legal system, assumed responsibility for swift justice.* The practice was known as *Femegericht* (also *Vehmgericht*), roughly equivalent to ''folk justice.'' During the unstable early years of the Republic (especially 1920–1922), the more radical of the Freikorps* units revived *Femegericht* to dispense with those whom they deemed traitors. Although Hermann Ehrhardt's* *Organisation Consul** (OC) was not alone in the endeavor, it was the most notorious advocate of *Femegericht* and was known for its celebrated victims. OC members shot and killed the leader of Bavaria's USPD, Karl Gareis, on 9 June 1921; they murdered Matthias Erzberger* on 26 August 1921; they attacked former Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann* on 4 June 1922 with prussic acid, attempting to blind him; and they so severely bludgeoned Maximilian Harden* on 3 July 1922 that he never recuperated. Carl Severing* was saved when a plot to kill him was uncovered. But OC's most eminent victim was Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau,* murdered in Berlin* on 24 June 1922.

The perpetrators of *Femegericht* did not limit themselves to the famous. The Justice Ministry estimated in 1923 that assassination* had claimed 354 lives between 1919 and June 1922. Victims generally fell into three categories: (1) key members of the Republic; (2) civilians who had disclosed weapons caches to the authorities; and (3) former comrades. The Bavarian *Einwohnerwehr* was regularly implicated in the murders of individuals who might have exposed the location of illegal arms. At the 1928 trial of Gerhard Rossbach* it was revealed that 200 political murders had been carried out in Upper Silesia* alone.

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice*; Howard Stern, ''*Organisation Consul*''; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

FEUCHTWANGER, LION (1884–1958), novelist; his best work treated the problem of being Jewish in a non-Jewish world. Born to an Orthodox family in Munich, he studied philosophy, German language, and anthropology and completed a doctorate in 1907. Through his drama reviews (written for Siegfried Jacobsohn's* *Schaubühne*) and adaptations of theater* works (in 1923 he collaborated with Bertolt Brecht* on *The Life of Edward II*), he ascertained his gift as a novelist.

Feuchtwanger was a master of the historical novel, consolidating contemporary themes with bizarre individual experiences and complex historical scenery. Using a thorough knowledge of historical detail and playing the role of an enlightened philosopher, he was partial to both ancient Jewish history and the dilemmas of Jewish existence. His best-known works are *Jud Süss* (Jew Süss,

1925; the Nazis transformed it in 1940 into a viciously anti-Semitic film*), *Erfolg* (Success, 1930), and the trilogy *Josephus* (1932–1935). In his diary the writer Robert Musil* described Feuchtwanger as vapid yet manifesting the talents of a great author. This typically German critique was prompted by Feuchtwanger's blending of literature and history, deemed an aberration by Musil. The reproach notwithstanding, *Erfolg* brought Feuchtwanger a Nobel Prize nomination.

Despite his progressivism, Feuchtwanger's politics were indistinct in his early writings; indeed, believing politics and culture incompatible, he objected in 1918 when Jacobsohn changed the name of the *Schaubühne* to *Weltbühne*.* But with the rise of the NSDAP and through his work with Brecht, he grew sympathetic to communism. Having satirized the Nazis in *Erfolg*, Feuchtwanger, who in early 1933 was on tour in New York, was forced into exile. By the late 1930s his anti-Nazi propaganda efforts were linked with a naïve sympathy for the Soviet Union.* Living in southern France, he fled to Portugal in 1940 after brief internment as a German national. He made his way to the United States in 1941.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; *NDB*, vol. 5.

FILM. General agreement exists that the Weimar era's best film directors—for example, Fritz Lang,* F. W. Murnau,* Ernst Lubitsch,* G. W. Pabst,* and Carl Mayer—were the most talented in the world. With their facility at embracing a full visual scene (e.g., in the mountain films of Arnold Fanck*), their skill at inserting Expressionist elements into the visual framework, their flair at linking action and lighting, their theatrical proficiency (many were trained by Max Reinhardt*), and their innovations with camera mobility, the directors (and cameramen such as Fritz Arno Wagner) were so impressive that when the industry faltered during the 1923–1924 currency stabilization, Hollywood hired as many as were willing to move to California.

German movies also drew crowds throughout the Weimar era. Cinema houses, which numbered 2,000 before the war, rose to 3,700 in 1920; there were over 5,000 in 1929. But filmmaking was a precarious business. Driven by the inflation,* Germany produced an incredible 646 films in 1922, but the number collapsed to 241 in 1927 and continued to fall. While Germany produced more films in the 1920s and 1930s than the remainder of Europe combined, by the late 1920s American cinema was prospering at German expense. Film production in Germany, roughly synonymous with production in Berlin* (Süd-Film was based in Munich), was led by UFA.* But UFA was in such desperate shape in 1925 that Paramount and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer salvaged it with four million dollars; two years later it was purchased by the nationalist publisher Alfred Hugenberg.* Similarly, Phoebus, among UFA's chief competitors, collapsed in 1928.

Weimar-era film, while noted for its production quality, was conspicuous for its gothic sense of impending doom. In his cultural history of the period, Walter

Laqueur asserted that after the horrors of war it required madness, fear, and death to attract the public. Whether one views *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*,* Lang's *Metropolis*, Murnau's *Nosferatu*, or even Josef von Sternberg's *The Blue Angel*, one perceives a dark vision in which traditional values, if not humanity itself, seem threatened (the films of Carl Froelich* serve as an exception). In his elegant, if flawed, study of German film, Siegfried Kracauer* related this vision to a protofascist psychological quality. Others argue that Weimar-era film served simply as an escape. One statistic bolsters this view: in 1931, at the height of the depression,* 55.6 million cinema tickets were sold. Either way, the Left perennially attacked the industry for its bogus impartiality while the Right denounced it as a Jewish enclave.

REFERENCES: Lotte Eisner, *Haunted Screen*; Kiaulehn, *Berlin*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*; Kreimeier, *Ufa Story*; Laqueur, *Weimar*; Manvell and Fraenkel, *German Cinema*; Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin*.

FINANCIAL STABILIZATION. *See* Inflation.

FISCHER, RUTH, born Elfriede Eisler (1895–1961), politician and journalist; principal member of the KPD ultraleft wing, she led the Party in 1924–1925. Born to a middle-class Jewish family in Leipzig, she was raised in Austria.* At Vienna, where her father was a professor of philosophy, she studied philosophy and economics, joined Austria's Socialist Party, and married a fellow socialist named Friedländer. After the collapse of her marriage and the Habsburg monarchy, she helped found the Austrian Communist Party. But events in Germany drew her to Berlin* and the KPD. From 1919 she adopted the maiden name of her mother, Ida Fischer, and changed her first name to Ruth. To acquire German citizenship, she married the Party's treasurer, Herr Golke, but retained her adopted name.

Fischer soon led the KPD's ultraleft wing. After her 1921 appointment as Berlin's district chairman, she championed—with Arkadi Maslow and Ernst Reuter*—further revolutionary activity. Moscow disapproved. Use of her ''offensive theory'' led to bloody encounters with the police and army in the 1921 *März Aktion* (March uprisings) in Prussian Saxony* and Hamburg. In 1923 she opposed the United Front* policy of Party leader Heinrich Brandler and demanded a rigorous campaign to convert workers to communism without feigning cooperation with the SPD. Along with Maslow, Ernst Thälmann,* and various Comintern delegates, she induced the ''Red October'' of 1923—the KPD's abysmal failure at staging revolution in Saxony and Thuringia.* Yet because of her opposition to Trotsky, she was elected to the *Zentrale* in 1923, was raised to the Party's Politburo in 1924, and at the ninth Party Day (April 1924) displaced Brandler as Party leader. Elected one month later to the Reichstag,* she served in the chamber until 1928.

Although Fischer was added to the Comintern's executive in 1924, her star was attached to Grigori Zinoviev. She erred in refusing to embrace Stalin; in-

deed, she argued that Russia was sinking under Stalin into an antiproletarian dictatorship. In 1925 Stalin, after arranging Zinoviev's removal, contrived the ouster of Fischer and Maslow from their positions in the KPD; he then expelled them from the Comintern.

Fischer's expulsion from the KPD followed in 1926. Her later endeavors to create a more radical party miscarried. Renouncing political activity in 1929, she spent her last years in Germany performing social work. In 1933 she fled to Paris and then moved to the United States in 1940. A strident anti-Communist by the 1940s, she denounced her two brothers, Gerhardt and Hanns Eisler, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in 1947.

The influence wielded by *rote Ruth* in Weimar's Communist movement should not be underestimated. *Die Weltbühne** characterized her as ''this volcano of radicalism . . . a will free of all reflection and considered thought.'' While her history of German Communism is not devoid of error and polemics, it is a rich source on the Weimar years.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Ruth Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*; Heilbut, *Exiled in Paradise*.

FISCHER, SAMUEL (1859–1934), publisher; helped establish the careers of numerous important twentieth-century authors. Born to a Jewish family in the small Hungarian city of Török Szent Miklós, he educated himself via a local bookshop and a reading club. Thus prepared, he apprenticed as a book trader and then departed in 1881 for Berlin.* He assumed part ownership of a bookshop in 1883 and founded a publishing house in 1886. Through publication of Ibsen, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, and Zola, as well as several German-language authors, the Fischer Verlag gained international recognition.

Fischer earned an honored name in Berlin society by promoting Naturalism and social criticism, nurturing important literary friendships, and energetically assisting with the founding of several learned journals. By 1900 the Fischer Verlag had moved beyond Naturalism and was publishing some of the forthcoming talents of twentieth-century literature: Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Thomas Mann,* and Hermann Hesse. It was the risky publication of a ten-volume Ibsen edition in 1898 and of Mann's *Buddenbrooks* in 1901 that established Fischer's fame. In 1907 he launched a series of low-priced literary works. The Fischer Library of Contemporary Novels, anticipating discriminating paperbacks in series, spawned an abundance of inexpensive classical editions.

Fischer's son-in-law, Gottfried Bermann (later Bermann Fischer), joined the firm in 1925 and became manager in 1928. By convincing Peter Suhrkamp in 1933 to edit the Verlag's *Neue Rundschau*,* he heightened the firm's prestige and financial position. But running a Jewish concern in Nazi Germany was complicated (the displacement of Rudolf Kayser, a German of Jewish ancestry, by Suhrkamp was construed by some as a gesture of appeasement). Bermann took over the firm upon Fischer's death. Although his success continued, he

moved Fischer Verlag to Vienna in 1936. After the *Anschluss* it was relocated to Stockholm. Expelled from Sweden in 1940 for anti-Nazi activity, Bermann opened the L. B. Fischer Company in New York. Fischer Verlag was reorganized in Frankfurt in 1950.

Samuel Fischer did not embrace Expressionism,* becoming involved only in its fringes by publishing Georg Kaiser,* Albert Ehrenstein, and Arnolt Bronnen.* His significance came, above all, from his success in transforming German authors into world literary figures. One of these, Thomas Mann, speaking of Fischer in 1929, remarked on the ''deep, spiritual intelligence of the man, his infallible instinct for what is valuable, his knowledge of what is necessary'' (*NDB*).

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Greenberg, *Literature and Sensibilities*; Katia Mann, *Unwritten Memories*; Mendelssohn, *S. Fischer*; *NDB*, vol. 5; Unseld, *Author and his Publisher*.

FISCHER VERLAG. *See* Samuel Fischer.

FLAG CONTROVERSY. According to the Weimar Constitution,* Germany's official colors were black, red, and gold—the colors of the 1848 Frankfurt Parliament. The imperial emblem, dating from the formation of the North German Confederation in 1866, had been black, white, and red; black and white were Prussia's* colors, white and red were those of the Hanseatic cities. The change to black, red, and gold did not come easily; even in the halcyon days of the Weimar Coalition* debate raged over the flag. The DDP was divided on the issue; Hugo Preuss,* a determined republican, favored the Hohenzollern flag as a symbol of continuity (he also favored retention of the term *Reich*). Enough Democrats (including Preuss) were finally won over to ensure passage of the new colors. But the Constitution also permitted a black-white-red merchant ensign that included the Weimar colors in the corner. On 27 September 1919 President Ebert* issued a decree standardizing this provision.

The merchant ensign was a compromise designed to assuage supporters of the Kaiserreich. But monarchists were not mollified. The DNVP attacked the tricolor as symbolic of Catholic* clericalism (black), Marxist internationalism (red), and Jewish cosmopolitanism (yellow). On 5 May 1926 President Hindenburg* issued an order expanding the late President's decree. Of key importance was the requirement that embassies and consulates outside of Europe and in European seaports fly the merchant ensign *and* the Weimar flag. According to Erich Eyck*, Hindenburg's action was inadmissible, for when ''the Weimar constitution spoke of a 'merchant ensign,' it meant what the words say: the flag for merchant ships.''

Of equal import with the legality of Hindenburg's order was its political stupidity and Hans Luther's* folly in countersigning it. Few issues touched German sensibilities more than the national colors; indeed, the controversy kindled rumors of an effort to restore the Hohenzollerns. Luther's apparent indif-

ference to the flag as a republican symbol was roundly denounced in the Reichstag* and led on 11 May to passage of a vote of no confidence (176 to 146), thus ending Luther's political career. Hindenburg was forgiven for permitting his private sympathies to influence his public acts. Moreover, his flag decree remained in effect.

REFERENCES: Dorpalen, *Hindenburg*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*.

FLICK, FRIEDRICH (1883–1972), industrialist; led one of Germany's major iron and steel concerns. Born in the village of Ernsdorf-Kreuztal, he completed a business apprenticeship and studies at Cologne's *Handelshochschule* before attaining managerial positions at two small firms that formed part of the Siegerland iron industry. In 1915 he joined the larger Charlottenhütte enterprise and soon became *Generaldirektor* when stock acquisitions secured him a dominant position in the firm. Because his wartime dealings in scrap metal were quite profitable, the company supported his risky 1920 attempt at penetrating the Ruhr industrial complex. But his efforts were almost disastrous when they met the combined resistance of Fritz Thyssen* and Peter Klöckner. Flick then retreated east, greatly expanding his interests on both sides of the Polish border. This redounded to his favor during the 1923 Ruhr occupation*: Hugo Stinnes,* a Ruhr industrialist, purchased part interest in one of his eastern concerns while providing him twelve million shares of Ruhr industrial stock. Flick thereupon formed an *Interessengemeinschaft* that ultimately linked iron, steel, and finishing industries.

Flick championed the concentration tendencies so popular in the mid-1920s. As Charlottenhütte's director and as a major shareholder in the 1920 vertical combination known as the Rhein-Elbe-Union, he helped found the massive 1926 trust known as the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke A.G.* (United Steel Works, or Vestag). The same year he helped form the *Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke* (Middle German Steel Works). With single-minded tenacity, he then prepared to conquer leadership of Vestag. Through a perilous but successful use of personal capital, he offered attractive stock options from the various trust companies and, assisted by stockholders, indirectly assumed a commanding position in Vestag by gaining control of its large Gelsenkirchen mining company. The manipulative buying and selling of stock packages became his hallmark.

Flick's political connections expanded with his business influence. He was a member of the DVP and joined a futile 1924 attempt to oust Gustav Stresemann* as chairman when he disapproved of his cooperating with the SPD. Yet with his financial security weakening, he extended money to all the major bourgeois parties (not excepting the SPD) by 1930. Upon meeting Hitler* in February 1932, he was among the few key industrialists to generously finance President Hindenburg's* reelection; still fearing disaster, he then sold his majority position in the Gelsenkirchen company to the Brüning* cabinet for one hundred million marks—a transaction that, because of his network of holding companies, gave

the government controlling interest in Vestag. The deal caused a sensation when it was revealed in June 1932; many denounced it as a step toward socialism. He then lavished funds on Franz von Papen* and the traditional right-wing parties in the July 1932 Reichstag* elections. But his fear of the NSDAP, a party pledged to nationalizing trusts, forced him into a double game in which the Nazis financially exploited him in the months preceding Hitler's seizure of power. Such political insurance reaped its reward when, after he formed close connections with the Party and governmental apparatus, he gained lucrative armament contracts.

Flick was condemned in 1947 to seven years' imprisonment. Released in 1951, he reestablished much of his economic and political position by the mid-1950s.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Feldman, *Iron and Steel*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

DAS FLÖTTENKONZERT VON SANSSOUCI. *See* Joachim Freiherr von der Goltz.

FOERSTER, WILHELM. *See* German Peace Society.

FOREIGN POLICY. Aiming in the long term at the retrieval of full sovereignty, the prevailing objective of German foreign policy between the formation of the Weimar Republic in 1919 and the Republic's demise in 1933 was the recapture of great-power status through revision of the Versailles Treaty.* Although the objective was constant, the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) pursued it through three successive stages. In the Republic's early years, 1919–1923, revision was rarely more than the emotional response of a state internationally isolated. During the Stresemann* era, 1924–1929, a consistently pursued strategy of patience and forbearance, generally termed fulfillment,* ended German isolation and chipped away at Versailles. In the final stage, 1930–1933, the objective was radicalized by economic depression,* by a lack of diplomatic leadership following Stresemann's death, and by a budding perception that mere revision might be inadequate.

Although Germans condemned Versailles *in toto*, those elements deemed especially onerous are easily identified: foreign occupation, disarmament,* reparations* and war guilt, and border issues (*see* Poland). Joseph Wirth,* Chancellor in 1921–1922, correctly reasoned that any hope of revision must be linked to a promise of fulfilling the economic clauses. His government's foreign policy, guided by Walther Rathenau,* was at least pledged to fulfill Allied reparations demands. With the addition of American financial aid, Stresemann launched a more tenacious fulfillment policy in 1924, expanding it within reason to include areas not envisioned by his predecessors. Because of his diplomatic skill, Stresemann gleaned two reparation agreements (the Dawes Plan* and the Young Plan*), the multifaceted Locarno Treaties,* and German admission to

the League of Nations in 1926. In concrete terms, reparations were reduced and rationalized, the evacuation of occupied areas was accelerated, the Allies acknowledged that Germany could not be disarmed indefinitely, and a compromise was arranged whereby Germany's western boundaries were guaranteed in exchange for a possible future revision in the East.

Within two years of Stresemann's death, and in the wake of the customs union fiasco with Austria,* the Foreign Office largely resolved that there was more reward in discontinuing forbearance than in maintaining it. Radical opponents of Locarno and the Young Plan aroused nascent anti-Allied sentiment and denounced the League as a mere tool for imposing the Versailles *Diktat*. Even Heinrich Brüning,* when he acted as his own Foreign Minister, blamed the Allies for the ruinous elections of September 1930; the West, he argued, had been slow to fulfill the promise of Locarno. Thus, even before Hitler* revolutionized German foreign policy by quitting the League, there was an emerging if ill-defined impression that mere revision was insufficient.

REFERENCES: Bennett, *Germany and the Diplomacy of the Financial Crisis*; Martin Gilbert, *Roots of Appeasement*; Holborn, ''Diplomats and Diplomacy''; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Kimmich, *Germany and the League of Nations*; Lee and Michalka, *German Foreign Policy*; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*; Turner, *Stresemann*.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. *See* Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

FOURTEEN POINTS. *See* Armistice.

FRANCK, JAMES (1882–1964), physicist; his investigations into energy transfer confirmed much of the foundation for modern atomic physics. Born in Hamburg, he studied in Heidelberg (1901–1902) and there formed a lifelong friendship with Max Born.* At Emil Warburg's laboratory in Berlin,* a colloquium with Max Planck,* Heinrich Rubens, Ludwig Drude, and Warburg (later joined by Einstein*) was a formative influence on his life. His work on energy transfer, accomplished in these years with Gustav Hertz,* earned him the 1925 Nobel Prize. World War I interrupted Franck's scientific investigations when he served briefly in the army (illness led to his discharge). During 1917–1921 he was *ausserordentlicher Professor* and head of a department at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry; the postwar years brought friendship and a working relationship with Niels Bohr. In 1921 he accepted appointment as Professor of Experimental Physics at Göttingen, where he also directed a physics institute. He owed his appointment to Born; his friend had accepted the chair of theoretical physics on condition that a professorship be established for Franck. During the next dozen years the two men, with the young Werner Heisenberg,* formed the nucleus for a Göttingen research community engaged in quantum physics and attracting scientists from around the world.

Göttingen's unique community was destroyed by the Nazis. Although Franck

was of Jewish ancestry, he was initially allowed to continue his teaching and research. But when legislation forced him to dismiss coworkers and students who were either Jewish or politically unreliable, he resigned in April 1933 and published a courageous anti-Nazi statement. Within months he emigrated, going first to Copenhagen. He accepted a professorship at Johns Hopkins; in 1938 he became Professor of Physical Chemistry at the University of Chicago. Hertz reflected, at the end of Franck's life, that his friend possessed an extraordinary amount of the talent needed to intuitively judge pure physical facts.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *DSB*, vol. 5.

FRANK, HANS (1900–1946), jurist and politician; founded the League of National Socialist German Jurists. Born in Karlsruhe, he volunteered for the army in the final year of World War I. Service with the Epp Freikorps* in early 1919 was followed by memberships in such nationalist circles as the Thule Society* and the German Workers' Party. He began studies the same year in law and economics.

After participating in the failed Beerhall Putsch,* Frank fled Germany. He returned incognito to Kiel in 1924 and managed to complete a doctorate in law. He lived clandestinely until he reappeared in 1926 as a partner in a Munich law firm. He was soon engaged as an attorney in various cases involving the Nazis—he represented the NSDAP more than 2,400 times before 1933—and rejoined the Party in 1927, becoming Hitler's* official judicial expert. In 1928 he founded the League of German Jurists, the NSDAP's first professional organization. His attempt to leave the Party in 1929 to pursue further studies was foiled by Hitler's personal appeal. He was named head of the NSDAP's new Justice Section in 1930 and was also elected to the Reichstag,* where he headed the justice* committee.

Upon seizing power in January 1933, Hitler named Frank Bavarian Justice Minister and *Reichskommissar* for Judicial Standardization. Once all justice administration had reverted from the *Länder* to the Reich government, Frank became Minister without Portfolio. War brought his appointment as civil administrator for occupied Poland* (the *Generalgouvernement*). In 1946 he was condemned to death for war crimes and crimes against humanity.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Fest, *Face of the Third Reich*; *NDB*, vol. 5.

FRANKFURT SCHOOL (or Frankfurt Institute); officially the *Institut für Sozialforschung* (Institute for Social Research), a private foundation affiliated with the University of Frankfurt. Founded in 1923 with help from several endowments, the school began functioning in 1924 under the directorship of Carl Grünberg, a university sociologist. In his inaugural lecture Grünberg indicated that he envisioned the school as a Marxist-oriented research center that would investigate all aspects of social life. Rather than training ''sterile positivists,'' who became ''mandarins of the state,'' Grünberg proposed to accent a form of

constructive criticism that might transform both state and society. Recognizing life as a totality, the school aimed to synthesize sociology, cultural studies, psychology, philosophy, and economics, thereby identifying the material interdependence between society's economic, political, and cultural foundations. It was composed principally of leftist Hegelians, and its principal minds viewed the Republic as but a necessary step to true socialism.

When illness forced Grünberg's retirement in 1931, leadership passed to Max Horkheimer.* Horkheimer, who had inspired the school's founding, energized it, largely by establishing the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*. In addition to Horkheimer's philosophical contributions, the *Zeitschrift* (abruptly discontinued in 1933) published the social psychology of Erich Fromm, Henryk Grossmann's ideas on Karl Marx, Leo Loewenthal's sociology of literature, and Theodor Adorno's* reflections on the sociology of music. Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin,* Franz Neumann, Paul Lazarsfeld, and Otto Kirchheimer lectured at the school while doing research and writing reviews. All aimed to demonstrate the material interdependence between economics, politics, and culture.

Fascism was the school's chief focus in the 1930s; investigation into why individuals submitted to authoritarian regimes culminated in 1936 in the two-volume *Studien über Autorität und Familie*. By then the school was no longer in Germany; as most members were either of Jewish ancestry or Marxists (often both), they fled upon Hitler's* seizure of power. Going first to Switzerland, the majority emigrated in 1934 to New York and there affiliated with Columbia University. By this point the school was narrowly focused on its ''critical theory'' of society. The school was split by the strain of war and intellectual differences; some of the faculty, led by Horkheimer and Adorno, returned to Frankfurt in 1949 to reestablish the German school.

REFERENCES: Bottomore, *Frankfurt School*; Jay, *Dialectical Imagination*; Marcus and Tar, *Foundations*; George Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism*; Wiggershaus, *Frankfurt School*.

FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG. *See* Newspapers.

FREE CORPS. *See* Freikorps.

FREE TRADE UNIONS. *See* Trade Unions.

FREIKORPS. When on 10 November 1918 General Wilhelm Groener* made his cooperative pact with Friedrich Ebert,* he did so believing that the Imperial Army (*Reichsheer*) would remain a viable force during the period when Germany's political future was being debated. He was wrong. It was soon evident that as frontline troops returned to Germany, they melted away under the impact of peace. The army's impotence was apparent on Christmas Eve when regular troops, ordered to remove radicals from the Royal Stables, dispersed and went home. It was thus with reason that when Georg Maercker* submitted a proposal

on 12 December 1918 for the creation of an armed unit of volunteers, the Supreme Command (OHL) approved his blueprint for a Volunteer Rifle Corps. In late December, after the USPD withdrew from the Council of People's Representatives,* Ebert's interim cabinet faced an uncertain future. Fortified by Gustav Noske's* appointment as a minister charged with military affairs, the cabinet upheld OHL's plan to supplement the *Reichsheer* through a broad creation of Freikorps units.

The point of the volunteers, which existed in some fashion from late 1918 until 1923, was to defend the Republic. Led by former *Reichsheer* officers, the volunteers can be divided into three categories. First and best known were the Freikorps, or regular volunteers. These consisted of officers and soldiers, as well as students and civilians, driven by counterrevolutionary zeal, eager for adventure, or simply seeking the ''companionship of the trenches'' and regular meals. Numbering 200,000 to 400,000 men by the spring of 1919, the 103 major Freikorps units received little direct attention from the *Reichsheer* and were militarily and politically unreliable. During the first half of 1919 they were used to crush both real and imagined threats throughout Germany. Next came the Auxiliary Volunteer Units (*Zeitfreiwilligenkorps*), occasional soldiers who were attached to either army or regular Freikorps units in times of crisis. They played a key role in Berlin's* turmoil of early 1919. A third group, extant since 1914, was the *Einwohnerwehr*, administered by state and local governments. It is estimated that by January 1920 *Einwohnerwehr* membership was twice that of the Freikorps and Auxiliary Volunteers combined. Bavaria* had the largest and most ideologically homogeneous of the *Einwohnerwehr*.

Although a few Freikorps formations faithfully supported the Republic, the majority were led by untrustworthy junior officers. More important, the volunteer forces served to brutalize and militarize German politics. Not only did hundreds of thousands of respectable citizens participate in paramilitary politics as a consequence of contact with these groups, but the organizations' sentiments with respect to the Republic they were envisaged to protect were ambivalent at best and often traitorous. When in March 1920 the regime ordered its volunteers to disband in accordance with Versailles Treaty* provisions, outraged units marched on Berlin in support of the abortive Kapp* Putsch; in Bavaria the *Einwohnerwehr* used the crisis to successfully oust an SPD-led government—the first popularly elected regime overthrown during the Weimar era. Thereafter many units disguised themselves as *Wehrverbände*. Bavaria was riddled with such groups (e.g., *Bund Bayern und Reich*, *Bund Oberland*, and *Reichsflagge*), one of which, Hermann Ehrhardt's* notorious *Organisation Consul*,* mutated into a band whose principal objective was the destruction of the Republic through the assassination* of its leading citizens. Others—for example, those led by Franz von Epp,* Franz Pfeffer,* Ernst Röhm,* and Gerhard Rossbach*—voiced contempt for the Republic and were gradually drawn to the NSDAP.

Only a few Freikorps units remained viable by the end of 1922. One, covertly sponsored until 1923 by the Reichswehr,* was *Grenzschutz Ost* (Eastern Border

Defense), a unit devised to resist Polish aggression. But the 1923 Ruhr occupation* inspired a brief resurgence. Fearing German dismemberment in consequence of the crisis, Hans von Seeckt* and the government decided in March to use Freikorps troops as the nucleus for an illegal Black Reichswehr.* When it ventured a putsch in September, however, the Black Reichswehr was disbanded, as was *Grenzschutz Ost*. Many of the troops then gravitated to the *Stahlhelm*,* the SA,* or other *Kampfbünde*. Ultimately, the Freikorps' demise was linked with conditions in Germany: a stabilized currency, a sharp drop in unemployment, increased production, and higher wages all subverted the volunteers. Many *Kampfbünde*, which survived until the end of the Republic, were organized loosely under the umbrella of the *Vereinigte Vaterländische Verbände Deutschlands** (Union of German Patriotic Associations). But with loyalties traversing the political spectrum, they were unable to coordinate their activities after 1924. One old volunteer remarked that ''life wasn't much fun any more.'' REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Salomon, *Geächteten*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

FREUD, SIGMUND. *See* Karl Abraham.

FRICK, WILHELM (1877–1946), bureaucrat and politician; accommodated Hitler's* rise to prominence. Born to a schoolteacher in the Palatinate town of Alsenz, he studied law and earned a doctorate in 1901 at Heidelberg. He entered the civil service* in 1900 and became a lawyer with the Munich Police Commission in 1904. Although he was promoted to a judicial post in 1907, he retained his ties with the Munich police.

Frick was appointed chief of Munich's political police in 1919. Backed by Police Commissioner Ernst Pöhner, he used the position to support and encourage the NSDAP; indeed, Hitler's* rise as a celebrated right-wing agitator would have been untenable without the aid of Munich's police. Frick contended that ''we held our protective hand over Herr Hitler and the National Socialist Party* [because] we saw in them the seed for Germany's renewal.'' But Frick was not simply Hitler's protector; he participated in the abortive Beerhall Putsch.* Although a Munich court sentenced him to fifteen months' confinement for high treason, the sentence was suspended. In May 1924 he entered the Reichstag* as part of the National Socialist Freedom Movement (the NSDAP being banned). From 1926 until January 1930, and again from January 1932 until Hitler's seizure of power, he served in Munich's Security Office. Beginning in 1928, he led the NSDAP's Reichstag faction and during 1930–1931 held Thuringia's* portfolios for both the Interior and Education offices—the first Nazi to achieve any ministerial role in Germany. He was forced to resign the ministries in April 1931 when Thuringia's Landtag passed a vote of no confidence against him.

Since Frick possessed the greatest political and administrative expertise among the leading Nazis, Hitler appointed him Interior Minister on 30 January

1933. One of the executors of *Gleichschaltung*, he united his office in 1934 with that of Prussian Interior Minister and thereafter retained the augmented position for ten years. When Heinrich Himmler* succeeded in ousting him in 1943, he became Minister without Portfolio and ''Protector'' of Bohemia and Moravia. He was condemned to death at Nuremberg.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Bracher, *German Dictatorship*; Neave, *On Trial at Nuremberg*; *NDB*, vol. 5.

FRIDERICUS REX. *See* Joachim Freiherr von der Goltz.

FRIED, ALFRED. *See* German Peace Society.

FROELICH, CARL (1875–1953), director; a pioneer of film* as mass entertainment. Born in Berlin,* he studied electronics and engineering before his appointment as an engineer with an electrical firm. He was early enamored of motion pictures, and his background gave him insight into the running of a film studio. When Oskar Messter offered him a technical position in 1903 with the Messterfilm Company, he accepted immediately, thus beginning a fifty-year career in film. He made two movies, *Tirol in Waffen* and a biography of Richard Wagner, before World War I. During the war he employed film in the German cause; still convinced of German victory, he produced *Der Adler von Flandern* (The eagle of Flanders) in 1918.

Froelich focused in the 1920s on the conventional. In filming Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov* (1920) and *The Idiot* (1921), he emphasized acting at the expense of literary accuracy, a standard property of his work. He managed his own studio from 1922 and formed a partnership in 1924 with the popular actress Henny Porten. Although the content of their films was often shallow, the collaboration generated the Republic's most successful filming studio. In 1929 Froelich introduced Germany's first sound production, the popular *Die Nacht gehört uns* (The night belongs to us), starring Hans Albers.* Greater success followed in 1931 with *Luise, Königin von Preussen* (Luise, queen of Prussia), starring Porten. The same year he assisted Leontine Sagan, normally a stage director, in her direction of *Mädchen in Uniform* (Women in uniform).

The enormous success of sound led Froelich in 1930 to join Friedrich Pflughaupt in building a vast, modern studio in Berlin's Templehof district. The studio produced such films as *Traumulus*, *Wenn wir alle Engel wären* (If we were all angels), *Heimat* (Home), and, after the Nazi takeover, a pretentious production about Frederick the Great. As the NSDAP's favorite director, he enjoyed considerable success during the Third Reich, receiving the National Film Prize in 1936 and 1938 and becoming president of the film academy (*Reichsfilmkammer*) in 1939. His postwar work was uninspiring.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*; *NDB*, vol. 5.

FULFILLMENT POLICY (*Erfüllungspolitik*); a German response to the Allied demand, conceived at the Spa Conference* of July 1920, that Germany ''fulfill'' the terms of the Versailles Treaty.* In reality, the policy awaited the London Ultimatum of 5 May 1921. Finding Germany ''in default in the fulfillment of the [treaty] obligations'' with respect to disarmament, the reparations* payment due on 1 May, and ''the trial of war criminals,'' the Allies focused on reparations and introduced the London Payments Plan, whereby compliance was ordered under threat of Ruhr occupation.*

The government of Joseph Wirth,* formed on 10 May 1921, made fulfillment its *raison d'être*. Having served as Finance Minister under Konstantin Fehrenbach,* Wirth had no illusions about the difficulties inherent in meeting the London Payments Plan: three billion marks annually for an as yet unspecified period. But he surmised that endless protests were damaging Germany's reputation, whereas a pledge of fulfillment, underscoring German goodwill, would be of greater value than actual payments. This opinion was bolstered by the Finance Ministry's State Secretary, Carl Bergmann,* and by Walther Rathenau.* Thus was born the concept that via fulfillment the need for revision might be demonstrated.

Wirth's logic was not imparted to the political Right. Nationalistic demagogues soon attacked the policy as the fruit of a seditious mind; Karl Helfferich,* blaming fulfillment for the devaluation of the mark, labeled it ''suicidal mania.'' In the case of Foreign Minister Rathenau, it probably advanced his June 1922 assassination.* But Wirth and Rathenau were only the first to face obstruction over fulfillment. Although the policy was discarded under Wilhelm Cuno,* it was renewed and expanded during Gustav Stresemann's* six years (1923–1929) at the Foreign Office. Bolstering the merits of Stresemann's work were the Dawes Plan* of 1924, the Locarno Treaties* of 1925, German admission to the League of Nations in 1926, and the Young Plan* of 1929. Whereas each of these milestones corroborated Wirth's original judgment, they further enraged the DNVP.

Debate persists over the inherent nature of fulfillment: was it an expedient to be employed until Germany had the power to press for treaty revision, or was it simply an acceptance of Allied demands and thus a recognition of German defeat? Not only was Wirth clear from the start that revision was his goal, but Stresemann's foreign policy achieved that goal. The greater problem for historians, it seems, is disengaging the revisionism of the 1920s from Hitler's* revolutionary foreign policy of the 1930s.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Felix, *Walther Rathenau*; Grathwol, *Stresemann and the DNVP*; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*.

FURTWÄNGLER, WILHELM (1886–1954), conductor and composer; succeeded Arthur Nikisch as director of Berlin's Philharmonic Orchestra. Born in Berlin,* he was raised in the artistically charged atmosphere of his parents'

Munich home. Instructed by three highly educated and cultivated teachers, he was composing at age seven. By seventeen he had written a dozen solid works, including a symphony, a seventeen-movement setting to Goethe's *Walpurgisnacht*, and several quartets. Although the symphony was performed during the 1903–1904 season in Breslau, he was already contemplating conducting. His musing was prompted by interest in the art of interpretation, particularly where it concerned the music of Beethoven, and a desire to conduct his own music. But it was his father's sudden death in 1907 that finally pressured him to conduct.

Although Furtwängler composed for several more years, by 1914 he was irrevocably committed to conducting. After he held subordinate positions from Breslau to Strassburg, he became director of the Lübeck Opera in 1911. After four years in Lübeck and another five with the Mannheim Opera, he emerged as Germany's leading young conductor. In 1919 he began a long relationship with the Viennese theorist Heinrich Schenker; until the Austrian's death in 1935, Furtwängler routinely consulted with him on the music he was to conduct. In 1920 he succeeded Richard Strauss* as director of Berlin's *Staatsoper*; in 1922 he became permanent conductor of both the Berlin Philharmonic and Leipzig's Gewandhaus Orchestra (he led the latter until 1928). Few contemporaries were his rival. Yehudi Menuhin, an ardent admirer, called him ''an inspired mystic in the medieval German tradition . . . with the certainty and assurance of one who has seen visions and followed them'' (Schonberg).

Furtwängler's chief focus for the remainder of his career was the Berlin orchestra. He took it on a series of European tours while at the same time conducting several orchestras outside of Germany. Three tours during 1925–1927 as guest conductor of the New York Philharmonic sparked a conflict with critics whose devotion to strict objectivity allowed no room for his individualistic interpretations of the German masters. Neville Cardus said of Furtwängler, ''He did not regard the printed notes as a final statement but rather as so many symbols in an imaginative conception, ever changing and always to be felt and realized subjectively'' (*New Grove*).

Politically naïve, Furtwängler failed to take Hitler* seriously until he was Chancellor. He never approved of the Nazis; indeed, in November 1934 he temporarily resigned his positions when the Nazi *Kulturgemeinde* banned performances of the works of Hindemith.* But he believed it his duty to stay in Germany, which he did until he fled to Switzerland in January 1945—hours before his planned arrest. Friedelind Wagner, granddaughter of the composer, wrote in 1944 that Furtwängler's tragedy ''was and is the fact that inside Germany he is branded and despised as an anti-Nazi, while beyond Germany's borders he is being condemned as a Nazi'' (Schonberg). After a controversial period of denazification, he resumed conducting in 1947.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 5; *New Grove*, vol. 7; Schonberg, *Great Conductors*.

G

GAYL, WILHELM FREIHERR VON (1879–1945), politician; Franz von Papen's* Interior Minister. Born in Königsberg to a Prussian general, he studied law before joining East Prussia's* *Siedlungsgesellschaft* (Land Settlement Society) in 1904; he sat with the society's executive during 1909–1932. Although he was urbane and talented, he was driven by a nativism that inspired his vision of settling German farmers* to secure East Prussia against a feared influx of Slavs. After World War I, during which he served with the eastern command, he joined the Soldiers' Council in Kowno (Lithuania). He represented East Prussia at the Paris Peace Conference and went to Allenstein in 1920 as German Commissioner for the plebiscite that left East Prussia entirely within the Reich. He then represented the DNVP in the Prussian *Staatsrat* and *Reichsrat*.

Gayl joined the *Stahlhelm** and in 1921 founded an East Prussian *Wehrverband* with links to *Organisation Escherich*. In 1923 he sponsored Ludendorff's* idea of an authoritarian directory. When Friedrich Ebert* died in 1925, he tried to force Hans von Seeckt's* presidential candidacy on the DNVP. His opposition to the sale of bankrupt Junker* estates solidified his ties to President Hindenburg* during the depression.* While he was serving in 1932 as Interior Minister, his role was crucial in Papen's coup against the Prussian regime.

Although Gayl favored an authoritarian regime, he renounced politics when Hitler* seized power. Surviving Germany's 1945 defeat by a few months, he lived long enough to witness the forfeiture of his beloved East Prussia.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*; Taddey, *Lexikon*.

GENEVA PROTOCOL; aimed at the peaceful resolution of international disputes, it was adopted by the League of Nations in October 1924. This amendment to the League Covenant proposed a broad extension of courts of arbitration and sought to institute the principle whereby signatory states would come to the assistance of any threatened member state. Requiring great-power approval, the protocol was quickly upheld by France. But the British government, swayed by a negative vote in the Committee of Imperial Defence, rejected it. Unable to commit to a defense of France, let alone pledge his country to defend Poland,* Austen Chamberlain announced on 12 March 1925 that Britain found the protocol unacceptable. Yet while its concept of collective security proved abortive, it was a necessary prologue for the Locarno Treaties.*

A resolution of October 1922, also labeled the Geneva Protocol, echoed Article 88 of the Saint-Germain Treaty between Austria* and the Allies in proscribing ''any economic or financial engagement calculated directly or indirectly to compromise'' Austrian independence. The prohibition assumed importance in 1931 when steps were taken to form an Austro-German customs union.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Kent, *Spoils of War*.

GENOA CONFERENCE. On 10 April 1922 delegates from thirty-four nations gathered for the European Economic Conference at Genoa's Palazzo San Giorgio. A bid to promote reconstruction by eliminating barriers between winners and losers, the conference was the first postwar assembly to which Germany and Soviet Russia were invited as equals. Aiming to reintegrate Russia economically while addressing Europe's burgeoning financial problems, especially in relation to German inflation* and reparations,* the meeting was conceived by French Premier Aristide Briand (who had lost office to Raymond Poincaré three months before) and Britain's David Lloyd George. Germany attached great importance to the meeting; its delegation was led by Joseph Wirth* and Walther Rathenau,* accompanied by, among others, the Foreign Office's Ago von Maltzan* and Moritz Julius Bonn,* a special economic advisor. Lloyd George represented England, and Luigi Facta, the last Italian Premier before Mussolini's triumph, hosted the event. Poincaré was represented by his Justice Minister, Louis Barthou. The United States did not attend.

Genoa's official conversations were paralleled by confidential talks between the Allies and the Russians. The Germans attempted in vain to arrange their own meetings with the Allies. Tradition has it that Rathenau, fearing that a Russo-Allied accord might leave Germany isolated, met secretly with the Russians on 16 April in Rapallo. The ensuing Rapallo Treaty* came as a bombshell to the Genoa assembly. One can credit Lloyd George, who needed Genoa to salvage his political career, for saving a summit that, while it failed to procure economic security, did not adjourn until 19 May.

For decades Rapallo was the excuse for Genoa's failure. Recent evidence suggests that while it generated high drama, the Rapallo disturbance was short-

lived. Lloyd George and the Italians probably knew of an impending Soviet-German accord before the opening of the conference. Although Rapallo startled both the press and Barthou, poor preparation, indecisiveness, domestic politics, Russia's refusal to accept Allied conditions for normalized economic relations (including recognition of tsarist debts), and Franco-British competition for supremacy in European affairs were no less damaging to Genoa's outcome. Finally, any effort to mend Europe's economy without American participation was doomed.

REFERENCES: Bonn, *Wandering Scholar*; Felix, *Walther Rathenau*; Fink, *Genoa Conference*; Fink, Frohn, and Heideking, *Genoa*; McDougall, *France's Rhineland Diplomacy*; Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe*; Pogge von Strandmann, ''Rapallo''; Schuker, *American ''Reparations.''*

GEORGE, STEFAN (1868–1933), poet and writer; generally judged Germany's best lyric poet. Born in the Rhineland village of Büdesheim, he cultivated an interest in languages and poetry while attending Gymnasium. His first poetry appeared in 1887 under the pseudonym ''Edmond Delorme.'' Broad travels strongly influenced his development. Three semesters at Berlin,* begun in 1889, were followed by a sojourn in Vienna and a stormy friendship with Hugo von Hofmannsthal. (The correspondence between the two poets, which lasted until 1906, is an important piece of *fin de siècle* documentation.) He helped found the periodical *Blätter für die Kunst* in 1892, devoted to the work of the George Circle (a group of like-minded poets and writers), and edited it until 1919.

George sought to shape and control all that was foreign to him. Whereas Hofmannsthal aimed to grow by assimilating his environment, George disdained such cosmopolitanism and rebuked all that failed to fit his own cast of mind. Critics contend that it was due to such intolerance that he created his own language (he dispensed with punctuation and capitals), his own circle of admirers, and his own cult. In 1907 he published *Der siebente Ring* (The seventh ring); generally judged his best collection of verse before World War I, the book evokes much of the German myth often associated with Goethe, Nietzsche, and the Hohenstaufen Emperors. Although he naïvely welcomed war as the violent purging required of civilization, he was disillusioned by a reality that had no relationship to the ideals he revered. As with Dante, for whom he formed an affinity (he translated Dante, Baudelaire, and Shakespeare), he considered himself the judge and censor of his age.

Did George lay a piece of Nazi Germany's intellectual foundation? He certainly deplored the Republic; in his work *Das neue Reich* (1928) he espoused a new German culture. The influence of the *George-Kreis*, with its stress upon elite cohesiveness, reached its height during the Weimar years. It deemed itself an *Orden* or *Bund* (roughly, order or federation), vague sociological concepts that contributed to a revival of medieval constructs. Although its esoteric thought was never coherent, the *George-Kreis* did stress the need to sacrifice for a leader

possessed of a lofty mission of cultural and political revival. Yet there is no disagreement regarding George's attitude toward the Nazis: offered a place of honor in Hitler's* Germany—president of a new Academy for Poetry—he contemptuously moved to Switzerland in August 1933 and died there in December. REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Curtius, *Essays*; Metzger and Metzger, *Stefan George*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*.

GERLACH, HELLMUT VON (1866–1935), jurist and journalist; renowned interwar pacifist. Scion of a Junker* family, he was born on a Silesian estate at Mönchmotzelnitz and raised in a rigidly conservative milieu. When he was a young bureaucrat, his violent anti-Semitism* led him to abandon his career and join Adolf Stöcker's Christian Social Movement. After he broke with the autocratic Stöcker, he and Friedrich Naumann* instituted the National Social Union (*Nationalsozialer Verein*) in 1897. Elected to the Reichstag* in 1903, he joined Naumann's Liberal Alliance (*Freisinnige Vereinigung*) when the *Verein* was dissolved. Although he was still an ardent nationalist when he became editor in 1904 of the *Berliner Zeitung*, his outlook rapidly changed. He became increasingly aligned with leftist members of the Liberal Alliance, and his commitment to expanded suffrage led him to leave Naumann's group in 1907; he was defeated in that year's Reichstag elections. In 1908 he founded, with Theodor Barth and Rudolf Breitscheid,* the left-liberal Democratic Alliance (*Demokratische Vereinigung*). An opponent of Bismarck's political system, he matured into an outspoken pacifist. So radical was the conversion that in 1913 he appeared in *Who's Who of the Peace Movement*. His belief that Germany was responsible for the outbreak of World War I led him first to favor a peace of understanding and then to become a leader in the peace movement. He turned the newspaper* *Die Welt am Montag* into a mouthpiece of that movement, successfully keeping it just out of reach of the military censor.

A founder of the DDP, Gerlach became Undersecretary in charge of Polish affairs in Prussia's* Interior Ministry in November 1918. But his plans for settling the border dispute in Upper Silesia* were deemed so radical that he was forced to resign in March 1919. His public commitment to Polish-German reconciliation drew frequent threats, and he narrowly escaped an assassination* attempt in February 1920. He was soon deemed a liability by the DDP and left the Party in 1922. In numerous essays and public addresses he upheld German-French understanding, fulfillment of the Versailles Treaty,* and defense of the Republic against militarism; his charges against the Black Reichswehr* resulted in his own indictment in 1924. A council member of the Bureau of International Peace since 1919, he worked with the Carnegie Foundation during 1922–1930. When the DDP chose to unite in 1930 with the anti-Semitic *Jungdo*,* he founded the Radical Democratic Party; the organization remained a splinter group.

The imprisonment of Carl von Ossietzky* in May 1932 led Gerlach to assume direction of *Die Weltbühne*.* But in early March 1933 he fled to Paris and began

warning of the threat Germany posed to peace. Before his own death he crusaded on Ossietzky's behalf with the Nobel Peace Prize committee.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Chickering, *Imperial Germany*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Eksteins, *Limits of Reason*.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei*, DDP). Following a 10 November 1918 meeting at the offices of Theodor Wolff,* an announcement was printed on 16 November in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of the intent of liberal politicians and like-minded colleagues to form a new parliamentary party on 20 November. Responding were members of the Progressive People's Party and the left wing of the old National Liberal Party, as well as such radical liberals as Wolff, Alfred and Max Weber,* and Hugo Preuss.* But the spiritual leader was Friedrich Naumann.* That the new Party did not include all National Liberals, many of whom formed the DVP under Gustav Stresemann,* is deemed the first flaw in the Weimar party system. A second was the DDP's rapid alienation of its left wing (e.g., Hellmut von Gerlach,* Wolff, and the Webers), which was deemed too attentive to socialization and international reconciliation by the leadership. Naumann, elected chairman in July 1919, was dead one month later—a serious setback. Among the Party's subgroups were a business-oriented right wing centered on Eugen Schiffer* and a social liberal circle on the Left. Naumann's followers—including his successor as Party leader, Carl Petersen,* and the DDP's most prominent woman, Gertrud Bäumer*—interjected their dead leader's dream of a centralized state in the Party program of December 1919. The same program committed the DDP to revision of the Versailles Treaty* and to the social-reform program of the nonsocialist Hirsch-Duncker labor movement.

In the January 1919 National Assembly* elections the DDP gained 18.5 percent of the votes and seventy-five mandates. But a steady and marked shrinkage of support began with the 1920 Reichstag* elections. By May 1928, twenty-five mandates were returned by only 4.9 percent of the electorate. Although the DDP was a committed member of the Weimar Coalition* and was represented in almost every Weimar government, its following was not loyal: in 1919 it boasted 800,000 members; in 1927 the number was 117,000. Middle-class splinter groups, many opposed to the Republic, steadily eroded its base of support. At the same time, its social and political philosophy moved steadily to the Right, due largely to the death and retirement of its most prominent leaders. Naumann died at age fifty-nine, while Conrad Haussmann,* ill and often incapacitated, died in February 1922. Friedrich Payer survived until 1931, but retired at seventy-three in 1920; Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch,* both prominent intellectuals, died in 1920 and 1923 respectively; and Preuss, ''father of the Constitution,''* died in 1925. The 1922 assassination* of Walther Rathenau,* who was serving as Foreign Minister, was another blow. Of the remaining leaders, Ludwig Haas, who was forty-four in 1919, died in 1930; Otto Fischbeck, fifty-three in 1919, was often ill, while Georg Gothein, sixty-two in 1919,

frequently complained of ill health and advanced age; Anton Erkelenz,* forty-one in 1919, was a physical and mental wreck by 1930. Only Erich Koch-Weser,* Naumann's inconsistent follower, possessed the health and stamina to retain leadership until the Party's transformation in 1930. Under Koch the DDP combined in 1930 with the political arm of the anti-Semitic *Jungdo** to form the DStP.

As of 9 November 1930, the DDP ceased to exist. Although it was supported by the Republic's liberal press—that is, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Vossische Zeitung*, and Erkelenz's *Die Hilfe* (founded by Naumann)—the DDP failed in its hope of uniting Germany's middle classes. That failure must be closely linked with the breakdown of Weimar democracy.

REFERENCES: Albertin, ''German Liberalism''; Chanady, ''Dissolution''; Eksteins, *Limits of Reason*; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Pois, *Bourgeois Democrats*.

GERMAN INDUSTRY AND TRADE CONGRESS

(*Deutscher Industrie- und Handelstag*, DIHT). Since well before the Republic, Germany had boasted a network of corporate ties, sometimes labeled ''organized capitalism.'' Industry formed two separate *Spitzenverbände* designed as loose cartels*—the *Vereinigung der deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände* (Union of German Employers), which focused on labor-management issues, and the RdI, which dealt with economic policy—each providing information to their members while serving as powerful lobbies. A national chamber-of-commerce network linked the associations while maintaining its own influential entity, the DIHT. The general secretaries of all three groups often served as powerful representatives on behalf of big business.

Established in 1861 as the *Deutscher Handelstag*, the congress expanded its name in May 1918 to more realistically reflect its constituency. During the Weimar era it served as the *Spitzenverband* for ninety-five chambers of industry and trade, twenty-eight chambers of trade, and the chambers of commerce of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. Its importance in the 1920s might be measured by a Berlin* headquarters that employed more than five hundred individuals, many of whom taught at the capital's *Handelshochschule*. The DIHT—whose leading figures included Eduard Hamm,* Carl Bosch,* Carl Duisberg,* and Franz von Mendelssohn—was aligned loosely with the DDP and the DVP. Antimonopolistic and supportive of international trade, it promoted free trade and consistently fought import quotas, thus placing itself at odds with the protectionism of big agriculture and the *Reichslandbund*.* Likewise, it tended to back the Foreign Office's fulfillment policy.*

Since the DIHT sought to reintegrate Germany into the world economy, many in the congress were willing to sacrifice cartels to gain a greater goal; exports, they reasoned, equalled jobs. But their counterparts in the RdI were uneasy with this policy, and such apprehension helped promote the formation of Paul Reusch's* *Ruhrlade* in 1927. When Gustav Krupp* replaced Duisberg as head of the RdI in 1931, the choice underscored a split between the free-trade DIHT

and the increasingly protectionist Industrial League. Throughout his troubled chancellorship Heinrich Brüning* received support from the DIHT. The congress opposed both *Osthilfe** and a rural debt moratorium established by Franz von Papen* to ease the crisis facing numerous Junker* estate owners.

The most socially progressive of Germany's commercial organizations, the DIHT remained circumspect in the amount of social-welfare legislation it could support. Concerned principally with economic progress, it withheld judgment on Hitler's* appointment in early 1933: ''Because we are a chamber of commerce we judge the government according to what it does and does not do in the area of *economic policy*'' (Abraham). But its organization became hostage to the NSDAP apparatus at the DIHT's fifty-third plenary congress of June 1933. REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Nocken, ''Corporatism and Pluralism''; Schäfer, *Deutsche Industrie- und Handelstag*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

GERMAN LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. *See* German Peace Society.

GERMAN NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY (*Deutschnationale Volkspartei*, DNVP). A complex coalition of conservatives from the Kaiserreich, the DNVP (*Bayrische Mittelpartei* in Bavaria*) was formed in November 1918 by politicians from the German Conservative Party, the Free Conservative Party, the Pan-German League, the Christian Social Party, and the racialist *Deutschvölkische Partei*. Although the DVNP was a party of the middle-class Right, it embraced aristocrats and military officers among a membership that included bureaucrats, estate owners, prominent industrialists, and diverse individuals from the upper middle class. In contrast to its predecessors, it stressed merit rather than birth as crucial to political leadership. Although it was identified with monarchism,* many in the DNVP were prepared to accept a head of state with powers comparable to those of a Kaiser; yet Alfred Hugenberg* used the issue of monarchism to split the leadership in 1928 and gain control of the Party. In the DNVP's first pronouncement of 24 November 1918, the desire was expressed to work with all parties in the interest of law and order; the ambition proved less credible than the army's promise to protect the Republic. The DNVP invariably opposed the SPD and was consistently the most uncompromising adversary of the November Revolution* and the attempt to fulfill the terms of the Versailles Treaty.*

The DNVP's electoral fortunes mirrored its membership statistics. In 1919, with about 350,000 professed members, it elected forty-four to the National Assembly.* The Reichstag* elections of June 1920 brought it seventy-one mandates; those of May 1924, when membership was just short of 1 million, raised its faction to ninety-five (the second-largest bloc in the chamber). From 1924, as economic conditions stabilized, membership dissipated. In May 1928, with membership at about 700,000, it gained seventy-three seats. In September 1930,

after a turbulent Party split and in the wake of a united-front campaign with the NSDAP, the faction dropped to forty-one; it dwindled to thirty-seven in July 1932.

In the Republic's early years the DNVP was torn by its *völkisch* policy. Although members might use anti-Semitism* to attract votes, not all supported it as Party policy; indeed, the DNVP had Jewish backing in Silesia and Pomerania. The Party's first chairman, Oskar Hergt,* was regularly chided for being friendly with Jews.* It required the assassination* of Walther Rathenau* to generate the backlash needed to frustrate anti-Semitic efforts to control the Party. After an abortive bid in September 1922 to usurp control by forming the Racial Alliance (*Deutschvölkische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, DVAG), most anti-Semites broke with the DNVP and founded the German Racial Freedom Party.* The DNVP thereupon replaced the DVAG with a racial committee (*völkischer Reichsausschuss*).

From 1924, with the DNVP emerging as the second-largest Party, issues of coalition politics and parliamentary tactics focused Party attention. Because it continued to reject the Constitution,* such tactics were inherently divisive. The dilemma was intensified when Paul von Hindenburg* was elected President. The Party struggled for five years (1924–1928) with the extent and methods of parliamentary cooperation. Foreign-policy* issues were especially inflammatory; the DNVP's approach to the Dawes Plan* epitomizes the problem. An Allied plan that appealed to business and industrial interests, Dawes was designed to help Germany recover from the war. But as part of the fulfillment policy,* it suggested acceptance of Versailles and was, accordingly, anathema to the DNVP. Divided between economics and politics, the faction split when Dawes was presented for Reichstag approval on 29 August 1924.

The split over Dawes, which provoked Hergt's removal, signified a fissure between those prepared to contribute to the Republic as a loyal opposition and those implacably opposed to the ''Weimar system.'' As the April 1924 death of Karl Helfferich* had removed the DNVP's most talented figure, leadership fell briefly to Friedrich Winckler, a prominent Lutheran; Martin Schiele,* an agrarian leader, became faction chairman. The tenure of both was short-lived; Kuno von Westarp,* an old Conservative and diehard monarchist, became faction leader in 1925 and Party chairman in 1926. Despite reactionary credentials, he led the DNVP into coalition cabinets in January 1925 and January 1927—actions that alienated him from a radical opposition centered on Hugenberg.

The five-year intra-Party conflict has been described as one between the ''primacy of economics'' and the ''primacy of principles''—the former implying cooperation, the latter intransigence. After considerable infighting, Hugenberg discredited his opponents as too circumspect vis-à-vis the Republic. Elected chairman in October 1928 and ruling on the dictatorial basis of a *Führerprinzip*, he led the DNVP until its demise. In the struggle between making the DNVP the voice of big business or retaining a commitment to middle-class, peasant, and large agrarian interests, he opted for the former. His heavy-handed methods,

aimed at purging anyone who wished to work within the ''system,'' prompted the fragmented withdrawal in December 1929 and July 1930 of the DNVP's ''left wing''; among those lost were Westarp, Gottfried Treviranus,* and Schiele. Moreover, his radicalism fostered the ''National Opposition,'' an alliance with the NSDAP focused on resisting the Young Plan.* Arrogant and shortsighted, Hugenberg believed that he could manipulate the NSDAP. But while it augmented the Nazis, the ''National Opposition''—extended via the Harzburg Front*—subverted the leverage of the DNVP and accelerated the Republic's demise. To signify the end of parties, the DNVP changed its name in March 1933 to *Deutschnationale Front*; the Front dissolved on 27 June 1933.

REFERENCES: Chanady, ''Disintegration''; Grathwol, *Stresemann and the DNVP*; Hertzman, *DNVP*; Leopold, *Alfred Hugenberg*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Walker, ''German Nationalist People's Party.''

GERMAN PEACE SOCIETY (*Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft*); founded in 1892 by the journalist Alfred Fried and the renowned pedagogue Wilhelm Foerster and sustained by members of the left-liberal Progressive Party (*Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*). In 1914 Ludwig Quidde,* chairman of the society's Bavarian branch, became national president; he retained the position until 1929. Many of the society's chapters dissolved during World War I; the typical member succumbed to the rationalization, common on the Left, that Russia's reactionary barbarism had caused the war. Early in the conflict the society issued a leaflet supporting Germany's efforts. Thereafter it equivocated in its attitude toward the war and issued a vaguely annexationist statement in October 1917 calling for a peace ''securing the vital requirements and the freedom of development of the German people.'' Only a few members were prepared, in relative isolation, to ''betray the Fatherland.''

Defeat fortified the movement. But while Quidde continued to lead the society and the new *Friedenskartell* (Peace Cartel), the movement assumed two personalities: the prewar pacifists trusted in international arbitration and the League of Nations; the young pacifists, often from the USPD, believed that war must be prevented by conscientious objection and revolution. Portrayed by Carl von Ossietzky,* who joined the society in 1912, as unrealistic and dogmatic, Germany's young pacifists never proved as popular as their Western European counterparts. Yet the authorities feared and respected them. Although members were terrorized and murdered, the society consistently worked to combat militarism. Through its *Bund Neues Vaterland*—renamed the *Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte* (German League for Human Rights) in January 1922—it aided unjustly accused or imprisoned leftists, exposed the assassinations* that claimed such victims as Matthias Erzberger* and Walther Rathenau,* and published information on Germany's illegal rearmament.

The pacifists seemed to lose their *raison d'être* after the 1925 Locarno Treaties.* Exhibitions and protests were abandoned for lack of public support, and as belief in the reality of peace grew among the old pacifists, many resigned

from a crusade deemed unnecessary. The younger radicals encroached upon Quidde's authority in 1927 when they forced a triumvirate upon the society in which the president shared power with Paul von Schoenaich, a retired general, and Friedrich Küster, editor of *Das andere Deutschland*. At an extraordinary congress in the spring of 1929, Küster's triumph over Quidde was complete: faced with the radicalization of the organization, Quidde and his friends Hellmut von Gerlach* and Harry Kessler* resigned. The new leaders were so extreme that even Kurt Hiller,* an erstwhile radical, was expelled in 1930 for attacking various members as ''agents'' of French and Russian imperialism. When the society began supporting radical socialist organizations, it forfeited its traditional support with the SPD and the DStP (formerly the DDP) and lost the backing of the liberal press. By January 1933 it retained fewer than five thousand members.
REFERENCES: Chickering, *Imperial Germany*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Shand, ''Doves among the Eagles''; Wank, *Doves and Diplomats*.

GERMAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (*Deutsche Volkspartei*, DVP). Prompted by a nationwide appeal from Gustav Stresemann* dated 18 November 1918, a meeting of the National Liberal Party (NLP) executive occurred on 2 December to establish the DVP. Shaken by the monarchy's collapse and faced by perceived social revolution, many National Liberals were inclined to unite with the new DDP on a platform of liberal republicanism. But the DDP's leaders were unwilling to give the more conservative National Liberals, in many cases tied to the war's pan-German movement, equal status in their Party, and Stresemann, the charismatic leader of the NLP's Reichstag* faction, was particularly unpalatable to the DDP because of his ardent nationalism and annexationism—passions he retained in the immediate postwar period. The inability to politically unite the middle class is deemed the first grave defect in Weimar's party system.

In the Party program of 19 October 1919, the DVP stressed its continuity with NLP traditions, advocated a legal restoration of the monarchy, and promoted unencumbered private enterprise. Yet the program served also as a prototype for compromise by emphasizing the necessity to work within the republican system for national recovery and by underscoring the need for an overhaul of Germany's existing system of labor-management relations. Nonetheless, roughly 60 percent of the Party's leadership—wealthy men such as Hugo Stinnes* and Albert Vögler*—were prominent individuals within German industry. The DVP opposed the Versailles Treaty,* was guardedly sympathetic to the Kapp* Putsch, and, upon Konstantin Fehrenbach's* June 1920 appointment as Chancellor, began serving in cabinet coalitions. Its key press organs were the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and the *Hannoversche Kurier*.

From the outset the DVP was a fragile and ambivalent structure. That some of its candidates adopted republican positions while others seemed predisposed to monarchism* only reinforced the DDP in maintaining a separate existence. Stresemann—later the consummate *Vernunftrepublikaner**—and a majority of

his colleagues were emotionally tied to the monarchy. As a sense of normality reasserted itself, the DVP proved increasingly averse to the Republic and to legislation that worked against the propertied classes. But while the passage of time revealed the chimera of social revolution, it also underscored how implausible was a return to monarchism. Stresemann came to represent a middle position, by no means universally held, that the most beneficial course was acceptance of the Republic and its Constitution.* To the chagrin of old supporters, he inclined more to alliances with the Left—including the SPD—than with the Right. After Walther Rathenau's* assassination,* Stresemann, who advocated a foreign policy of fulfillment,* found himself increasingly out of step with the DVP's conservative wing; a rightist revolt in 1924, never entirely suppressed, marked the start of an internecine quarrel that survived Stresemann.

By 1930 ten DVP Reichstag deputies held between them seventy-seven company directorships. Yet the Party failed to gain consistent middle-class support. Its best electoral showing, in June 1920 (when it claimed approximately 800,000 members), brought 14 percent of the votes and sixty-five seats. But the elections of 1924 witnessed large desertions to the DNVP. Although the Party's 1924 plateau was maintained in 1928 (8.7 percent and forty-five seats), the pivotal elections of September 1930, in which the Economic Party* attracted many DVP voters, brought only 4.5 percent of the vote and thirty seats. The DVP's eclipse was linked with Stresemann's death in 1929. From December 1929 it was poorly led, first by Ernst Scholz* and then by Eduard Dingeldey.* In November 1932 it received a vote of 1.9 percent and eleven deputies; in March 1933, 1.1 percent and two deputies. It dissolved voluntarily on 4 July 1933.

REFERENCES: Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Ratliff, *Faithful to the Fatherland*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Turner, *Stresemann*.

GERMAN RACIAL FREEDOM PARTY (*Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei*, DVFP). Instituted in Berlin* on 17 December 1922 by members of the DNVP, the DVFP had its roots in the *Deutschvölkische Partei* (German Racial Party). It was founded by Albrecht von Graefe, Wilhelm Henning, Reinhold Wulle, and the publisher Ernst zu Reventlow—all of whom were disillusioned with the DNVP's refusal to sharpen its anti-Semitic* position. Soon after the Beerhall Putsch* trial, the DVFP conducted a vigorous campaign with Erich Ludendorff,* Gregor Strasser,* and other Nazis as part of the so-called *Völkischer-Block*, a fleeting anti-Semitic electoral alliance. Taking aim at the Republic's sweeping fiscal reforms, the *Block* capitalized on the frustration of social groups injured by monetary policy. In the May 1924 Reichstag* elections, with Hitler* imprisoned and the NSDAP outlawed, the *Block* gained nearly two million votes and won thirty-two Reichstag* seats (nine were later claimed by the National Socialist Freedom Movement [NSFB]). However, the DNVP-NSFB union, plagued by infighting and inept at exploiting discontent amidst growing economic stability, retained only fourteen mandates after the December 1924 elections.

In February 1925, two months after his release from prison, Hitler reestablished the NSDAP. Although the DVFP maintained a separate existence until 1928, most of its members shifted to the more attractive Nazis. Credit for the shift was owed largely to Strasser. A leader of the 1924 electoral alliance, Strasser endorsed Hitler's leadership of the *völkisch* movement; any rationale for standing in opposition to the NSDAP was thus erased for most anti-Semites.
REFERENCES: Hertzman, *DNVP*; Noakes, ''Conflict and Development''; Tyrell, ''Gottfried Feder and the NSDAP.''

GERMAN STATE PARTY (*Deutsche Staatspartei*, DStP); the July 1930 merger of the DDP and the People's National Reich Association (*Volksnationale Reichsvereinigung*, VNR), the political arm of *Jungdo*.* Also joining the Party were several Young Liberals (*Jungliberalen*) from the DVP. According to the merger agreement, Erich Koch-Weser,* chairman of the DDP, would serve as the DStP's Reichstag* faction leader, while Artur Mahraun, chairman of the VNR, became national leader (*Reichsführer*). Arising from the depression,* the fusion aimed to reverse the shift of middle-class voters to splinter parties. But Koch had inadequately reconciled DDP colleagues to the new arrangement. The Reichstag elections of September 1930 brought the DStP only 3.8 percent of the vote and twenty parliamentary seats. The poor showing was largely the result of old-line Democrats, offended by the merger, casting their votes for the SPD. Of less significance at the polls, but crucial in evaluating Koch's grasp of his new allies, is the fact that about half of those who had once supported the *Jungdo* cast their ballots for the NSDAP. The merger collapsed in October 1930 when old-line Democrats blocked Koch's election as faction leader while demanding a liberal platform unacceptable to Mahraun. The secession of the VNR reduced the faction to fourteen and compelled Koch's resignation. Combined with the September balloting, the October crisis was a psychological blow from which German liberalism failed to recover. Weakly managed for two years by Hermann Dietrich,* the DStP received but 1.0 percent of the vote and four mandates in the July 1932 Reichstag elections; it retained two seats after November 1932. From September 1932 until its demise the Party was led by the triumvirate of Dietrich, Reinhold Maier, and Carl Petersen.* Although it elected five deputies in March 1933, these chose, by a faction vote of 3–2, to support Hitler's* Enabling Act.* The DStP dissolved on 28 June 1933.
REFERENCES: Chanady, ''Dissolution''; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*.

GERMAN TRADE-UNION FEDERATION (*Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund*, DGB). On 20 November 1918 Gustav Hartmann, a founder of the DDP and leader of the nonsocialist Hirsch-Duncker Federation of German Labor Associations (*Verband der deutschen Gewerkvereine*), and Adam Stegerwald,* chairman of the League of Christian Trade Unions (*Gesamtverband der christlichen Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*) and a high-ranking member of the Cen-

ter Party,* united to form the German Democratic Trade-Union Federation (*Deutsch-demokratischer Gewerkschaftsbund*, DDGB). Driven by fear of comprehensive socialization, the DDGB created a complex system of alliances (*Querverbindung*) that roughly resembled the concurrent development of the Central Working Association.* A *Spitzenverband* for all nonsocialist unions, the federation aspired to amalgamate liberal and Christian unions in association with bureaucrats and clerical employees. Initially numbering about 1.5 million members, the DDGB selected Stegerwald as its chairman.

In its initial program the DDGB cooperated with the SPD by supporting parliamentary democracy, the subdivision of rural estates, the nationalization of mineral wealth, and state control of syndicates. But within a year, as the chimera of socialization evaporated, the Hirsch-Duncker unions withdrew from the DDGB, the word ''democratic'' was dropped from its title, and the organization began underscoring its Christian foundations. Thereafter the DGB comprised three basic associations: the League of Industrial Unions, the German National Union of Commercial Employees (DHV), and the League of Civil Servants' Unions.

Until the late 1920s Stegerwald hoped that the DGB might prove a springboard to a broad, antisocialist, interconfessional party that synthesized democratic values with militant nationalism. But the aim compromised his reputation with conservative Center Party colleagues who deemed a Catholic-based party more important than a Christian labor movement. Stegerwald's problems were not confined, moreover, to conservative Catholics.* His credibility with the DGB's blue-collar workers was damaged by his conflicts with Matthias Erzberger,* spokesman for the Center's left wing. Erzberger's flirtation with the SPD placed him among Stegerwald's most notable political enemies; to Stegerwald's chagrin, the League of Industrial Unions hailed Erzberger a martyr when he was murdered in 1921. Simultaneously, the DHV, with 285,000 members in 1922, had its strength in Protestant* regions. The ideology of the DHV (and to some degree that of the civil servants' unions) was unlike that of the industrial unions; not only antisocialist, the DHV was nationalistic and anti-Semitic. Stegerwald, who resigned in 1929 (Heinrich Imbusch led the DGB until 1933), discovered that preventing friction between the democratic Catholic and nationalistic Protestant unions was impossible. Controversy over the treatment of public-sector strikes, considered illegal by all middle-class parties, was especially ruinous to union harmony. By the end of the 1920s, the DGB's principal associations were providing financial support for political factions ranging from the DDP to the NSDAP. Although the DGB survived until its dissolution by the NSDAP in May 1933, even retaining a membership of 1.3 million in 1931, its power of action was steadily eroded by internal discord.

REFERENCES: Dill, ''Christian Trade Unions''; Ellen Evans, ''Adam Stegerwald''; Larry Jones, ''Between the Fronts''; Patch, *Christian Trade Unions*.

GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY. *See* National Socialist German Workers' Party.

GESSLER, OTTO (1875–1955), politician; served as Defense Minister during 1920–1928. Born to a farming family in Ludwigsburg, he studied law before turning to city administration. He was elected *Bürgermeister* of Regensburg in 1910 and was Nuremberg's *Oberbürgermeister* during 1913–1919. His prudent wartime administration delivered both Nuremberg and Franconia from much of the chaos, including council rule, that marked the postwar era. A liberal in the mold of Friedrich Naumann,* he helped found the DDP and surrendered his Nuremberg office in October 1919 to become Reconstruction Minister under Gustav Bauer.* When Gustav Noske* resigned as Defense Minister in the wake of the Kapp* Putsch, Gessler accepted the portfolio, a key appointment. He retained the ministry through thirteen cabinet changes between March 1920 and January 1928.

Working closely with General Hans von Seeckt,* Gessler was integral to revitalizing the army. In the crisis months of 1923 he maintained a middle course between Friedrich Ebert* and Gustav Stresemann* on the one hand and the Reichswehr* on the other. But over time his relationship with Seeckt soured until, in October 1926, he dismissed the general when it became public that he had approved Prinz Wilhelm von Hohenzollern's participation in a military exercise. His attempt to shift political issues from the Army Command to the Defense Ministry by creating a subordinate army department (*Wehrmacht-Abteilung*) backfired when the new department's head, Kurt von Schleicher,* chose to act independently of the Ministry by dealing directly with President Hindenburg.*

In 1927, when the DDP withdrew its support from Wilhelm Marx's* cabinet, Gessler resigned from the Party rather than relinquish his portfolio. But his unconstitutional financial activities—the release of false budgets to the Reichstag,* secret rearmament in violation of the Versailles Treaty,* and the laundering of funds through the Phoebus Film Company—finally forced his resignation. He later declined Heinrich Brüning's* offer to become Interior Minister. He was a private citizen during the Third Reich and spent seven months in the Ravensbrück concentration camp following the July 1944 attempt on Hitler's life. In 1950–1952 he was President of the German Red Cross.

Gessler said and did many things for which republicans censured him. Deeming the Reichswehr Germany's only guarantee of unity, he was a formidable defender of military prerogatives, even resorting to falsehood when necessary. Writing in the 1950s about Weimar's pacifists, he lamented that the Republic ''had not exterminated these big-city sewer weeds [*Sumpfblüten*] root and branch'' (Déak). But he rendered the Republic vital assistance when he helped it navigate through the crises of 1923, and when he forced Seeckt's resignation. REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; *NDB*, vol. 6.

GEYER, CURT (1891–1967), politician and journalist; edited the SPD's *Vorwärts** during 1924–1933. He was born in Leipzig. His father was Friedrich

Geyer, a founder of the SPD in Saxony.* Soon after he earned his doctorate in 1914, he became chief editor of the SPD's Würzburg newspaper,* the *Fränkischer Volksfreund*, and turned the paper into a mouthpiece of the socialist opposition. His dismissal in February 1917 forced him to return to a position with the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. (His father was among fourteen Reichstag* deputies to break with the SPD, vote against war credits, and form the USPD.)

Geyer was a crisp and persuasive writer, an effective agitator, and Leipzig's principal USPD politician during the November Revolution.* He was the leader of the Workers' Council* and became USPD faction leader at December's Congress* of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. After election to the National Assembly,* he slowly lost influence in Leipzig to rightist elements within the Party. But he retained a leading position in the council movement, being one of the first to advocate Bolshevik methods in Germany. In May 1920 he transferred his activities to the more congenial Hamburg, becoming editor of the radical *Hamburger Volkszeitung*. Coeditor of the pro-Moscow *Kommunistische Rundschau* from October to December 1920, he was among those who broke with the USPD to unite with the KPD at the founding congress of the short-lived United Communist Party (VKPD). He was sent to Moscow in January 1921 to represent the new Party, but came back disillusioned and, after opposing the VKPD's new leadership in February, broke with the Party. He was briefly in the Communist Alliance (*Kommunistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*), but soon rejoined the USPD. The entire Geyer family reunited with the SPD in the fall of 1922.

Although Geyer coedited *Vorwärts* from 1924 with Friedrich Stampfer,* he lost his Reichstag seat the same year and thereafter led a subdued political life. He emigrated to Paris late in 1933, helped Stampfer reestablish *Vorwärts* (renamed *Neuer Vorwärts*), and served as editor until his internment by the French in 1939. During 1938–1942 he was on the SPD's exiled *Parteivorstand*. He emigrated to England in 1941 and was London correspondent during 1947–1963 for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*.

GLAESER, ERNST (1902–1963), writer; his *Jahrgang 1902* (Class of 1902), an autobiographical novel, is ranked among the best fictional accounts of World War I. Born to the family of a judge in the Hessian town of Butzbach, he settled in Wiesbaden following university studies and worked as a freelance writer and stage director. He was literary director of the Southwest German Radio Station during 1928–1930. His fame was assured with the 1928 publication of *Jahrgang 1902*, an erotic, political, and psychological account of ordinary life on the home front. A similar mix of sexuality and politics appeared in his 1931 novel *Das Gut im Elsass*.

Glaeser's politics remain a subject of speculation. He incurred the wrath of rightist elements during the Republic, some of whom initiated legal proceedings

against him for allegedly sacrilegious publications. He was a socialist during the late 1920s and he published *Der Staat ohne Arbeitslose* (State without unemployed), a celebration of Soviet Russia, in 1931. His espousal of pacifism induced his emigration to Switzerland in November 1933 after his books had been burned by the NSDAP. Yet he was never trusted by fellow exiles, many of whom found it suspicious that the Nazis failed to ban his post-1933 writings. Involved with a Nazi circle in Zürich, he returned to Germany in May 1938 and was soon chief editor of the army newspaper,* *Adler im Süden*. In a sharp volteface after World War II he published an article praising the exile literature that had served as the ''conscience of the nation.''

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Krispyn, *Anti-Nazi Writers*; Kunisch, *Handbuch*.

GLEICHEN-RUSSWURM, HEINRICH VON. *See Herrenklub.*

GOEBBELS, JOSEPH (1897–1945), journalist and politician; led the NSDAP's propaganda operation from 1930. Born in the Rhine industrial town of Rheydt, he was raised in a Catholic,* working-class family. Although finances forced older brothers to leave school early, Joseph's parents ensured that he completed Gymnasium and had the opportunity to attend university. His character was impacted by a childhood illness that crippled his foot (he later claimed that his limp resulted from war wounds). Disqualified for military service, he used the war years for broad university studies. In 1922, the year he first joined the NSDAP, he took a doctorate in German language and literature. His motto, *Wissen ist Macht* (knowledge is power), was mirrored by the scope of his studies. Hoping initially to become a dramatist or stage director, he wrote several poems and completed a play about Christ; however, when none of his work was published, he despaired that his life would be a failure. His immature and verbose novel *Michael*, vaguely autobiographical, was published only after his rise to prominence.

Three years after receiving his doctorate Goebbels was still dabbling in minor positions—a job in a bank, a caller at the stock exchange. Resentful of a world dominated by Jews* and capitalists, he reentered the NSDAP in early 1925 and soon attracted the notice of Gregor Strasser.* He joined the north German Nazis and helped found the newspaper* *NS-Briefe*, for which Strasser served as publisher. Anti-Western and pro-Soviet in this period, his ideas verged on National Bolshevism.* While serving as Strasser's business manager, he wrote that it would be ''better [to] go down with Bolshevism than live in eternal capitalist servitude''; and in an open letter to ''My Friend on the Left,'' he chronicled each of the attitudes that he held in common with the KPD. After an important Party meeting in January 1926, he labeled Hitler* ''petty bourgeois'' and called for his expulsion from the movement. With reason, many in the rabidly nationalistic Munich-based organization violently opposed his views.

Within three months, however, Goebbels was transformed. On 9 April 1926,

his conversion complete, he penned the following in his diary: ''I love [Hitler]. . . . I bow before the greater man, the political genius.'' Animated by Hitler's personal embrace, he overturned many of his positions and abandoned the Strasser brothers. He had once written, ''The greater and more towering I make God, the greater and more towering I am myself.'' In November 1926 Hitler made him *Gauleiter* (district leader) of Berlin.* When he established *Der Angriff*,* he used the newspaper to attack the Strassers. In 1928 he was among twelve Nazis elected to the Reichstag. With a bodyguard he used to organize street brawls, he was soon Berlin's most feared radical. But his strength rested on his ability to manipulate minds. When he was challenged about the accuracy of an essay in *Der Angriff*, he responded that ''propaganda has absolutely nothing to do with truth!''

Hitler's estimate of *der kleine Doktor* grew immeasurably after 1926. His propaganda and speaking skills were second only to Hitler's. Named Party *Propagandaleiter* early in 1930, he aimed at advancing the person of Hitler; indeed, no one did more to establish the Führer cult. His reward came on 14 March 1933 when Hitler appointed him Propaganda Minister. Dutiful to the end, the ''poisoned dwarf,'' as he was cautiously called on the streets, took his life and the lives of his entire family the day after Hitler's own suicide.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Fest, *Face of the Third Reich*; Lemmons, *Goebbels*; *NDB*, vol. 6; Reuth, *Goebbels*.

GOERDELER, CARL (1884–1945), politician; *Oberbürgermeister* of Leipzig during 1930–1937. He was born in Schneidemühl (now Poland's* Pila) into a family that had a long history with Prussia's* civil service.* After completing a doctorate in law, he served briefly as a public prosecutor before following a career in municipal administration. In 1912 he became Solingen's chief jurist. He built a reputation for organization during World War I and brought order to the finances of Byelorussia and Lithuania in the wake of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. A devoted monarchist, he briefly left public life after the November Revolution.* During 1919 he vainly attempted to thwart those aspects of the Versailles Treaty* that impacted Danzig* and West Prussia—his home being in the latter area. Because of his distrust of parliamentary democracy, he joined the DNVP in 1922.

Named Königsberg's deputy *Bürgermeister* in 1920, Goerdeler devoted his great energy and organizational talent to the city for ten years. Self-confident and noted for an unbounded optimism, he nurtured a special predilection for laissez-faire economics. An outspoken opponent of socialism, he contended that nature established its own economic laws. Political renown seemed assured when on 30 May 1930 he became Leipzig's *Oberbürgermeister*. Among Germany's half dozen key cities, Leipzig was economically troubled when he took office. Although his course of strict austerity, which rescued the city from fiscal crisis, failed to endear him to Leipzigers, it was noticed in Berlin.* Judged a potential Chancellor, he was named Price Commissioner in December 1931 by

Chancellor Heinrich Brüning,* an appointment that forced his resignation from the anti-Brüning DNVP. Combining social conservatism with economic liberalism, he argued that Germany's salvation required its abandonment of parliamentary democracy. His success as Price Commissioner won him enough national attention that upon the collapse of Brüning's government, Franz von Papen* asked him to join his cabinet as Minister of Labor and Economics. Indignant that the incompetent Papen was appointed Brüning's successor, Goerdeler refused. His aspirations were dashed again when President Hindenburg* chose Kurt von Schleicher* to succeed Papen.

Goerdeler remained Leipzig's *Oberbürgermeister* until April 1937. Without joining the NSDAP, he was named Price Commissioner in January 1934; he served until July 1935. Initially believing that Hitler* was a good man surrounded by deviant followers, he welcomed the March 1933 Enabling Act* as the new government's best course. But while he was an optimist and an enthusiastic nationalist, he was also a spiritual man of high honor and exacting principle, characteristics that led him to a key position in the resistance movement. When the opposition's plot came undone, Goerdeler was condemned as a traitor and executed on 2 February 1945. He had been earmarked to serve as Chancellor in a postcoup regime.

REFERENCES: Balfour, *Withstanding Hitler*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 6; Snyder, *Hitler's German Enemies*.

GOETZ, WALTER (1867–1958), professor and politician; among the academy's vocal champions of the Republic. Born in Leipzig, he pursued an eclectic range of studies before taking a doctorate in 1890 with a thesis on the 1562 election of Maximilian II as Kaiser. He completed his *Habilitation* in 1895 at Leipzig and accepted temporary appointment in the late 1890s with the Bavarian Academy of Sciences' Historical Commission; this soon evolved into a lifelong relationship (he served as the commission's president in 1946–1951). Meanwhile, he succeeded Georg von Below* at Tübingen in 1905. Goetz went to Strassburg in 1913 and in the summer of 1915 accepted appointment at Leipzig while serving as a major on the Western Front. He soon founded Leipzig's Institute for Cultural and World History and remained with the university until the NSDAP forced his retirement in 1933. He thereafter lived in Munich.

Goetz was not content with a life of Renaissance research and cultural history. In the waning years of the Kaiserreich Friedrich Naumann* sparked his political involvement; while he was writing for Naumann's *Die Hilfe*, he became friends with Theodor Heuss.* In *Deutschland und der Friede* (Germany and the peace), which appeared in early 1918, he advocated a negotiated peace settlement. He served briefly in 1918 as counselor to the Foreign Office's Richard von Kühlmann and established a citizens committee upon the monarchy's collapse to impede radicalism in Leipzig.

Goetz applied his analytic skill to both domestic and foreign affairs, publishing *Deutsche Demokratie* (German democracy) in 1919 and *Nation und Völk-*

erbund (Nation and League of Nations) in 1920. Joining the DDP, he entered the Reichstag* in 1920 and retained his seat until 1928. Service on numerous committees and an active speaking schedule did not preclude his sustaining full academic responsibilities at Leipzig. Focusing his research skills on contemporary history, he spent several years studying Kaiser Wilhelm II. In a 1924 article he lamented that Germany's historians were too enamored with the false glamour of the Kaiserreich and too blinded by the imaginary crimes of the Republic.
REFERENCES: Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture*; *NDB*, vol. 6.

GOLDSTEIN, MORITZ (1880–1977), writer and Zionist; advanced the argument that Germany's Jews* had no home in Europe. After studying German language and literature during 1900–1906, he became editor of the *Goldene Klassiker-Bibliothek* (Library of golden classics). In 1912 he published an article entitled ''*Deutsch-Jüdischer Parnass*'' (''German-Jewish Parnassus''); the piece caused a minor furor. He argued that the Jews were directing German culture, yet had neither the capacity nor the right to do so. He noted that Berlin's* newspapers* were a Jewish monopoly, that its theater* world was directed by Jews, that Germany's musical life was unthinkable without Jews, and that the study of German literature was in Jewish hands. Despite their intellectual and emotional efforts, Germany's Jews, he insisted, remained a rootless people.

Goldstein served on the Western Front during 1915–1918. When the Republic encouraged even fuller involvement by Jews in German society, he chose not to emigrate to Palestine. In 1919 he became literary editor of *Vossische Zeitung* and then joined *Inquit* in 1928 as court reporter. Dismissed in 1933 from *Vossische Zeitung*, he emigrated to Italy. Until 1936 he directed Florence's *Landschulheim* for German students and thereafter ran a boarding school with his wife in Viargio. He was briefly imprisoned by Mussolini in 1938, and the Italians expelled him in 1939. He passed through France to England and finally emigrated to the United States in 1947.

Goldstein's thesis was, of course, exaggerated. But he was not the only Jew who believed that the Jewish people had acquired too much influence in Germany. For example, Franz Kafka claimed that it was impossible to write in German since use of the language was the ''overt or covert . . . usurpation of an alien property.''
REFERENCES: Goldstein, ''German Jewry's Dilemma''; Laqueur, *Weimar*; Strauss and Röder, *Biographisches Handbuch*.

THE GOLEM. *See* Paul Wegener.

GOLTZ, JOACHIM FREIHERR VON DER (1892–1972), dramatist and poet; famous for the play *Vater und Sohn* (Father and Son). Born in Westerburg in the Westerwald, he entered the civil service* in 1914. Following three years at the front, he settled after the war in Baden.

Goltz was soon writing. In 1921 he published *Vater und Sohn*, his popular

account of the eighteenth-century relationship between Friedrich Wilhelm I and his son and heir, Frederick the Great. Later filmed as UFA's* ''Fridericus'' trilogy—*Fridericus Rex* (1922), *Das Flöttenkonzert von Sanssouci* (The mill of Sans Souci, 1930), and *Der Choral von Leuthen* (1933)—the play established Goltz as a favorite among reactionaries. By portraying a rebellious young prince transformed by paternal discipline into the courageous King Frederick, *Vater und Sohn* served to praise monarchism* while glorifying such celebrated Prussian attributes as honesty, frugality, loyalty, and, of course, obedience. It mattered little that Goltz's Frederick was mere legend. By advocating the restoration of an authoritarian monarchy at the expense of democratic chaos, his writing helped inflame the Republic's political situation. His war novel *Der Baum von Cléry* (The tree of Cléry) was published in 1934.

REFERENCES: Garland and Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*.

GOLTZ, RÜDIGER GRAF VON DER (1865–1946), general; led the Baltic Volunteers in 1919. Born in the Brandenburg town of Züllichau (now Poland's* Sulechow) to a noble family that traced its lineage to 1297 and had produced forty-three generals (nineteen of whom had been awarded the *Pour le Mérite*, Prussia's* highest honor), Rüdiger chose a military career. He began service in World War I as commander of the Hamburg Infantry Regiment and led various brigades on both the Western and Eastern fronts in the following three years. When in February 1918 Finland requested assistance to neutralize a threat from the new Red Army, Goltz was named commander of the *Ostsee-Division*. Shipping his division from Danzig* to Hangö in April 1918, he captured Helsinki and surrounded the Bolsheviks' Western Army near Lahti. Assigned to create a Finnish army, he remained in Helsinki through December 1918.

Goltz assumed command of the Sixth Reserve Corps in February 1919; combined with several Freikorps* units, his force was known as the Baltic Volunteers. Ordered to secure the southern Baltic Provinces* from the Red Army, he captured Riga on 22 May 1919. But his paramount aim to advance to St. Petersburg and control the entire Baltic coast failed. After his October 1919 recall to Germany, he resigned his commission and became an implacable foe of the Republic. A supporter of the Kapp* Putsch (he was not involved because of his recent problems in the Baltic), he worked with *Jungdo** and helped found the *Vereinigte Vaterländische Verbände Deutschlands** (Union of German Patriotic Associations, VVVD) in 1922; he represented the VVVD in the anti–Young Plan campaign and at the Harzburg Front* gathering of October 1931. Although he campaigned for Hitler* in 1932, Goltz was a monarchist and an opponent of the NSDAP's rabid racism; he played no significant role in Nazi Germany.

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; *NDB*, vol. 6; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

GÖRING, HERMANN (1893–1946), politician; elected Reichstag* President in August 1932. Born in Rosenheim in Upper Bavaria, he was raised in a

conservative, middle-class family. His father, a colonial official, convinced him to attend cadet school; thus, when war was declared, he joined an infantry regiment in Mühlhausen in Alsace as a second lieutenant. After rheumatism forced a medical leave, he was reassigned in 1915 to a flying corps. Among Germany's premier pilots, he was awarded the *Pour le Mérite* (Germany's highest decoration) and the Iron Cross (First Class). He served as the last commander of the legendary squadron of Freiherr von Richthofen.

After the war Göring was a pilot in Sweden; he returned to Munich in 1921 and joined the NSDAP. A vague interest in political science had led him to take some courses at the university and attend a Nazi beerhall meeting. Hitler,* who was seeking a well-known personality, captivated him. While Hitler treasured Göring's social connections and the status he brought the NSDAP as a decorated war hero, the latter was groping for a leader to ensure Germany's salvation. In 1922 Hitler made him leader of the SA.* Seriously wounded in the Beerhall Putsch* of November 1923, he was smuggled through Austria* to Sweden. He recovered only slowly from his wounds and became addicted to morphine in the process.

An amnesty enabled Göring's return to Germany in 1927. Settling in Berlin,* he soon rejoined the NSDAP and was elected in 1928 to the Reichstag. His prominence steadily increased. Maintaining a distance from the Nazis in his daily life, he was nonetheless Hitler's connection in Berlin; never competing with Hitler, he was satisfied with being ''the second man.'' He nurtured contacts with powerful conservatives, with key businessmen, with military circles, and among monarchists and foreign diplomats. He enjoyed ties with Italian Fascists and also made Mussolini's acquaintance. He sustained a pompous lifestyle and was, in many respects, Hitler's opposite: no political genius and harboring little interest in ideology, he was a Party warrior prized chiefly for his loyalty.

Göring was chosen deputy faction chairman in 1930 and became Reichstag President in 1932. In the negotiations that brought Hitler to power, his conservative contacts proved crucial. He was initially a Minister without Portfolio, but soon assumed Franz von Papen's* position as Prussian Prime Minister. Göring is sometimes deemed a moderating influence; however, as head of Prussia's* Interior Ministry, he created both the *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Gestapo) and Germany's first concentration camps. Eventually named *Reichsluftfahrtkommissar* (National Air Commissar) and Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, he continued collecting offices until Luftwaffe failures in the Battle of Britain and ''Barbarossa'' led to his partial eclipse. Condemned to death at Nuremberg for war crimes, he committed suicide on 15 October 1946.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Davidson, *Trial of the Germans*; Fest, *Face of the Third Reich*; *NDB*, vol. 6.

GRAF, OSKAR MARIA (1894–1967), writer; on learning of the NSDAP's intention to spare his books in the May 1933 book burning, he wrote an open letter entitled ''*Verbrennt mich*'' (''burn me''). Born in the village of Berg in

Upper Bavaria to a baker, Graf apprenticed as a baker before fleeing provincial Bavaria.* While he was always more than a specialist on rural subjects—this was how he identified himself—it was as a folk writer, adept with colloquialisms, that he excelled; this is evident in the 1924 work *Chronik von Flechting* (Chronicle of Flechting), the 1928 collection of stories *Das bayerische Dekameron*, and his 1929 book *Kalender-Geschichten* (Calendar stories). He was a champion of the oppressed and exploited, and his life was given to resistance: against the tyranny of an older brother, from whom he escaped to Munich; against militarism and war, in opposition to which he risked consignment to an asylum during World War I; and against Nazism, in resistance to which he uttered the famous words ''burn me.'' Without ever leaving Catholic* Bavaria, he became an international socialist. His politics are best expressed in books deemed autobiographical self-confessions. At their core are his denunciation of individual greed and his tribute to community solidarity.

Graf's acclaimed *Wir sind Gefangene* (translated as *Prisoners All*) appeared in 1927. A blend of merciless self-appraisal and social criticism, it was enthusiastically greeted by Maxim Gorki, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Thomas Mann.* The book recounts his emancipation from provincial life, his literary beginnings as an Expressionist* poet, his troubled existence as an itinerant worker and anarchist, his relationship with the circle around Kurt Eisner,* and his participation in Munich's abortive *Räterepublik*.

Despite Graf's politics, the Nazis fancied his peasant appearance and dialect. Berating their efforts to entice him into accepting Hitler's* new regime, he wrote his open letter on the day of the book burning (10 May 1933), expressing his sense of insult at having been excluded from the distinguished company of Thomas Mann and Bertolt Brecht.* The letter, which appeared in the Saarbrücken newspaper* *Volksstimme*, forced him to emigrate. After he briefly edited Prague's *Neue Deutsche Blätter*, he made his way to New York. Although it was emotionally painful to be separated from Bavaria—he never learned English—he refused to return to Germany after 1945.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Berman, *Rise of the Modern German Novel*; Pachter, *Weimar Etudes*.

GREAT COALITION; a parliamentary majority comprised of the SPD, the Center Party*, the DDP, and the DVP. The first effort to form such a union was made in June 1920 by DVP faction leader Rudolf Heinze*; the SPD refused to join, due to the ambivalence of some DVP deputies toward the Kapp* Putsch. Joseph Wirth's* November 1922 attempt to prolong his government via a Great Coalition miscarried when the DVP's Hugo Stinnes* attacked the eight-hour day and called for overtime work without overtime pay; the SPD refused to join, and Wirth was forced to resign. Faced with foreign and domestic crises, Gustav Stresemann* installed the first Great Coalition on 13 August 1923, reorganized it on 6 October (the first cabinet collapsed on 2 October), and retained office until 30 November. Although the broad political base ensured passage of

an Enabling Act,* Stresemann's short-lived regime revealed the precarious nature of a multiparty coalition forced to counterbalance the SPD on the Left and the DVP on the Right.

The second and last Great Coalition was formed in May 1928 by Hermann Müller.* Enduring until March 1930, it marked the high point of the Republic's fortunes; it also underscored the despair and anxiety of weakened middle-class parties (the DDP and the DVP) prepared to work with the SPD more out of desperation than conviction. Christened the ''cabinet of personalities'' (*Kabinett der Köpfe*), it included Müller (SPD), Stresemann (DVP), Erich Koch-Weser* (DDP) at Justice, and Theodor von Guérard* (Center) at Transportation. Stresemann's death and the depression* undermined the alliance.

Beginning with Konstantin Fehrenbach's* 1920 cabinet, an implicit Great Coalition supported several governments. As the DDP, the Center, and the DVP could not ignore SPD and trade-union* aspirations, the latter often supported minority cabinets that met their conditions. This quirk, in which the strongest party refused to enter cabinets it otherwise supported, is often deemed among the Republic's more ruinous features.

REFERENCES: Breitman, *German Socialism*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe*.

GREAT DEPRESSION. *See* Depression.

GREEN FRONT. *See* Farmers.

GREIFSWALD. *See* ''Bloody Sunday.''

GRIMM, HANS (1875–1959), writer; remembered for the novel *Volk ohne Raum* (People without room). He was born in Wiesbaden; his lineage included peasants, clergymen, and jurists. His father, a professor, helped found the German Colonial Association. While his youthful ambition was to write, his father's desire that he engage in international finance led him to approach his dream circuitously through the career of an export trader. After a semester of literary studies he acquired his business training during 1895–1897 in England. Ten years followed in South Africa, first as representative of an importing firm in Port Elizabeth, then from 1900 as harbor agent and importer for the German East-Africa Line in East London (where he leased a farm outside the city). After a year in German Southwest Africa as a correspondent, he returned to Germany in 1911 to devote himself to writing. While doing freelance work, he studied political science—first in Munich and then from 1914 at Hamburg's Colonial Institute. His short-story collection, *Südafrikanische Novellen* (South-African novellas), appeared in 1913. Having joined an artillery unit in 1916, he was assigned to the High Command with the task of documenting French atrocities in Togoland, one of Germany's African colonies. What resulted was the fiercely anti-French *Der Ölsucher von Duala: Ein afrikanisches Tagebuch bearbeitet*

von Hans Grimm (an African diary adapted by Hans Grimm). Although the book used fictitious names and events, Grimm alleged that its documentation was authentic.

After years in expansive southern Africa, Grimm was claustrophobic in confined and economically depressed Germany. The feeling infected his work; *Volk ohne Raum*, a two-volume best-seller that appeared in 1926 and was set in southern Africa, covered 1887 to 1925. Not only did it espouse imperialism, but its title became a slogan for the NSDAP. In the following years, especially after visiting Southwest Africa in 1927–1928, Grimm championed the restoration of Germany's colonies and established contact with the pan-German and *völkisch* movements. Once the Nazis appropriated his *Volk ohne Raum*, Grimm encouraged them to focus attention on Southwest Africa; his lobbying had little impact.

Grimm was less poet than narrator. His *Das deutsche Südwester-Buch* (The German Southwest Book) appeared in 1929, and his seven novellas, known collectively as *Lüderitzland*, were published in 1934. These last contain some of his best writing. In 1927 Göttingen awarded him an honorary doctorate; he received the Goethe Medal and was elected to the Prussian Academy of Arts in 1932. After 1945 he remained convinced that a Nazi victory would have improved the world.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Berman, *Rise of the Modern German Novel*; Garland and Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature*; *NDB*, vol. 7.

GROENER, WILHELM (1867–1939), general; best known for his pact at the end of World War I with Friedrich Ebert* whereby the army agreed to support the new socialist regime so long as it did not radically reform the army. Born in Ludwigsburg, he joined the army in 1884 and was assigned to the General Staff in 1899. For most of the next seventeen years he worked with the Railroad Section. It was his expertise that enabled the army to quickly and effortlessly deploy at the outbreak of World War I. By perfecting Germany's military supply operations, he earned promotion to major-general in June 1915.

By the winter of 1916 the Allied blockade* had generated a nutritional emergency. Appointed head of the War Food Office in May 1916, Groener assumed responsibility for food reserves and establishment of a ration system. Over time he became a virtual economic dictator, energetically reshaping all labor and raw materials as well as the production of food and munitions. Significantly, his efforts earned him the respect of the SPD. When Erich Ludendorff* was dismissed as quartermaster general on 29 October 1918, Groener succeeded him.

Groener's importance lies chiefly in the secret agreement he reached with Ebert on 10 November 1918. Having told the Kaiser on the ninth that the army no longer supported him, he independently contacted Ebert to help solidify the Republic and ensure continuation of the officer corps. Thereafter he supervised the return and demobilization of Germany's armies, assisted with formation of

Freikorps* units, and opposed an officers' revolt against the National Assembly.* He advised acceptance of the Versailles Treaty* in June 1919 and then retired from military service on 30 September. The right-wing parties and numerous officers never forgave him either his role in the Kaiser's abdication or his pact with the Republic.

Claiming no party affiliation, Groener served in 1920–1923 as Transportation Minister. When Wilhelm Cuno's* government collapsed, he returned to private life and wrote about the 1914 Marne campaign. When scandal forced Otto Gessler's* resignation in January 1928, President Hindenburg* asked Groener to become Defense Minister. Insisting that a soldier assume the portfolio, Hindenburg also recognized the value of someone acceptable to the SPD. At Hindenburg's request, and notwithstanding disarmament* talks, Groener secretly worked to rearm the Reichswehr.* In 1931 he was also entrusted with the Interior Ministry. But his 14 April 1932 attempt to protect the Republic from the NSDAP by banning the SA* was abortive and politically suicidal. Exposed to attack from the Right, which accused him of capitulating to the SPD, and from the officer corps, which had seized upon Hitler's* promise to increase military strength, Groener was unable to bridge his loyalty to the Republic with his bond to the army; he resigned as Defense Minister on 13 May. The 30 May collapse of Brüning's* cabinet brought his removal as Interior Minister.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Craig, *Politics of the Prussian Army*; Dorpalen, *Hindenburg*; *NDB*, vol. 7.

GROPIUS, WALTER (1883–1969), architect; director of the Bauhaus.* The son of a Berlin* architect, he began his own architectural studies in 1903 at Munich's *Technische Hochschule*. During 1906–1907 he constructed the first buildings of his own design for an uncle in Pomerania. While working in Berlin in 1908–1910 as chief assistant to Peter Behrens,* he became friends with Ludwig Mies.* Establishing a practice in 1910 with Adolf Meyer, he designed the glass and concrete Fagus-Werk, a shoelast factory in Alfeld an der Leine, and a model factory for the 1914 *Werkbund* Exhibition in Cologne. His style, which combined modern building materials with an aesthetic of geometrical sobriety, was well established by this time.

Gropius's Hussar Regiment was mobilized in August 1914, and he spent most of the next four years at the front. During a hard-won furlough in 1915 he married Alma Mahler, widow of Gustav Mahler. They were rarely together, and Alma's restlessness resulted in their divorce after the war. He had already been offered direction of Weimar's *Kunstgewerbeschule* in 1914 and was asked by the *Grossherzog* of Saxe-Weimar to direct both the *Kunstgewerbeschule* and Weimar's *Kunstakademie* in late 1918. When the revolution captured his imagination, he went to Berlin, where, with Bruno Taut* and the critic Adolf Behne, he founded the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*.* Back in Weimar in April 1919, he consolidated the two institutions into the *Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar* and launched an effort to unify artistry and craftsmanship.

For several years Gropius led a multifaceted life as director, teacher, fundraiser, and political buffer; he also reestablished his prewar practice with Meyer. In 1923, when the authorities demanded evidence of the school's accomplishment, he staged an exhibit documenting five years of work: ''Art and Technology—a New Unity.'' But growing political enmity led him to move the Bauhaus to Dessau. After he designed the school's glass and steel buildings—inaugurated in December 1926—he fashioned a new course devoted to *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the ''total work of art.'' The concept called for the collaborative effort of architects, painters, and other craftsmen while stressing the need for a total community to meet political, social, and economic challenges. His work brought reality to his philosophy, as he designed low-income housing in Dessau, for the Siemensstadt in Berlin, and for the *Werkbund*'s housing exhibit of 1927.

Weary of political vilification and anxious to return to full-time practice, Gropius left the Bauhaus in 1928. After endorsing Hannes Meyer as his successor (a commendation he later regretted), he devoted his energies to lectures, articles, and practice. In 1934 he settled in England and emigrated to the United States in 1937. He eventually joined Harvard's School of Design and inspired a second generation of young architects. Lyonel Feininger,* a Bauhaus artist, once wrote that Gropius ''works until three in the morning, hardly sleeps at all, and when he looks at you his eyes shine more than anyone else's'' (Laqueur).

REFERENCES: Giroud, *Alma Mahler*; Lane, *Architecture and Politics*; Laqueur, *Weimar*; *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*; Neumann, *Bauhaus*; Pehnt, *Expressionist Architecture*.

GROSSMANN, STEFAN. *See Das Tage-Buch.*

GROSZ, GEORGE, born Georg Ehrenfried Gross (1893–1959), painter and graphic artist; among the most admired—and hated—social commentators of the 1920s. He was born in Berlin.* Expelled from school in 1908 for striking an instructor, he attended Dresden's *Kunstakademie* during 1909–1911. His first caricatures appeared in 1910 in the periodicals *Ulk* and *Lustige Blätter*. He attended the Berlin Museum's *Kunstgewerbeschule* during 1912–1916 (with an interruption in 1915 for military service). Although he pondered a literary career during these years, his vision of German militarism was always better expressed in art. Inducted a second time in 1917, he was dismissed when the army deemed him mentally unstable. He returned to Berlin and was soon involved in the Dada* movement. He coedited satirical periodicals during 1919–1924 with Wieland Herzfelde and provided illustrations for other magazines and books. With Raoul Hausmann and John Heartfield,* he organized the First International Dada Art Fair in 1920.

Grosz's talent was to render the grotesque with rare poignancy. Without encouraging any utopian vision, he deemed it imperative that contemporaries discern the realities of their surroundings. His fame is based largely on satirical drawings published by the radical Malik Verlag (headed by Herzfelde) in a series

of books and portfolios. Under the impact of war and inflation,* he targeted judges, capitalists, the military, and profiteers. His 1920 portfolio *Gott mit uns* (God with us) brought a fine of five thousand marks for attacking the army; yet he continued to violate the prevailing sense of decency, believing it his duty to shock. His 1923 publication *Ecce Homo* brought another court appearance and a fine of six thousand marks for defaming public morals. Two images in his 1928 portfolio *Hintergrund* (Background), one depicting a pastor balancing a cross on his nose and the other featuring a crucified Christ with gas mask, led to a four-thousand-mark fine for blasphemy and sacrilege (the verdict was reversed in 1929). His art steadily exposed the plight of the injured and exploited: crippled veterans, workers, office employees, the ostracized, prostitutes, and the orphaned.

The unmasking of the realities of public and private life came at a price: Grosz became a target of those whose values he attacked. Yet while he was hated by Germany's Right, he was held suspect by the Left. He joined the KPD in 1922; however, after he traveled the same year to Russia, he resigned his membership. Although he became chairman in 1924 of Berlin's *Rote Gruppe*, a society of Communist artists, the organization was less political than the name suggests. Unable to concede that any one ideology was inviolate, Grosz, like numerous contemporaries (e.g., Kurt Tucholsky* and Bertolt Brecht*), cherished his independence above all else.

Grosz was awarded the Watson F. Blair Purchase Prize of the Chicago Art Institute in 1931 and arranged his first American exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery in New York. In 1932 he taught for New York's Art Students League, and although he returned to Germany in October, he was back in America with his wife in January 1933. After Hitler's* seizure of power he remained in New York, becoming an American citizen in 1938 and teaching until 1955. The NSDAP removed 285 of his works from German institutions; 13 drawings, 5 paintings, and 2 watercolors were included in the 1937 exhibit *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art).

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; Flavell, *George Grosz*; Beth Lewis, *George Grosz*; *NDB*, vol. 7; Schneede, *George Grosz*.

GRÜNBERG, CARL. *See* Frankfurt School.

GRUPPE INTERNATIONALE. *See* Spartacus League.

GRZESINSKI, ALBERT (1879–1947), politician and trade-union* official; served as Berlin's* Police President and Prussia's* Interior Minister. Born in Treptow an der Tollense in Pomerania, he went to Offenbach in 1897 as a metalworker. In 1907 he became secretary of a German Metalworkers' Union (*Deutscher Metallarbeiterverband*, DMV) local and chairman of the local SPD. By 1913 he led Kassel's Trade Union Cartel. Through energy and ingenuity he built his reputation during the war; when the November Revolution* forced the

Kaiser's abdication, he became chairman of Kassel's Workers' and Soldiers' Council.* He remained on Kassel's city council until 1924, but declined offers to serve as *Bürgermeister*.

Grzesinski rose to national prominence in December 1918 with election to the Central Council (*Zentralrat*) of the interim German Socialist Republic. He served throughout 1919–1933 in the Prussian Landtag. As the Defense Ministry official responsible for demobilization, he was a candidate for the Defense portfolio when Gustav Noske* resigned in March 1920; instead, he led the *Reichsabwicklungsamt* (demobilization office) until 1921 and then served briefly as a Labor Ministry commissioner. He was appointed chief of the Prussian State Police in 1922, became Berlin's Police President in 1925, and replaced Carl Severing* as Prussian Interior Minister in October 1926. He was an able and energetic minister, but revelations about his private life (while married, he lived with an American actress) forced his resignation in February 1930. He was immediately reinstated as Berlin Police President and he retained the post until Franz von Papen* deposed the Prussian government in July 1932. Especially hated by the NSDAP (he tried to deport Hitler* in 1932 ''as an undesirable alien''), he fled to France on 5 March 1933. After working for the French Interior Ministry's Refugee Commission, he emigrated in 1937 to the United States.

Grzesinski coupled self-confidence and ambition with an instinct for leadership. Finding joy in conflict, even within the ranks of his Party, he enjoyed little personal popularity with SPD colleagues. During his years as police commissioner he led an internecine war on Berlin's streets with Communists and Nazis; the conflict's growing ferocity did not endear him to republicans. Yet next to Otto Braun,* whom he served and admired, he is deemed among the most commanding SPD officials of the period. Especially significant were his reforms that broke the hold of ''old'' Prussia in both the Interior Ministry and the Police Commission.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Grzesinski, *Inside Germany*; Liang, *Berlin Police Force*; *NDB*, vol. 7; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*.

GUÉRARD, THEODOR VON (1863–1943), Center Party* politician; served as Reichstag* faction leader and cabinet minister. Born in Koblenz, he studied political science and law before entering the Prussian civil service.* During 1898–1905 he was a *Landrat* in Monschau near Aachen. Initially representing the Center's right wing, he sat in the Reichstag during 1920–1930 and became immersed in legal issues related to the occupied German territories. During the election campaign of 1924 he favored coalition with the DNVP; however, after he became deputy faction chairman in May 1926, he slowly moved to the Left. Elected faction chairman in December 1927, he helped undermine Wilhelm Marx's* *Bürgerblock* cabinet in June 1928 (at which point he was removed as faction leader). He then joined Hermann Müller's* Great Co-

alition,* first combining the Ministries of Transportation and Occupied Territories and then serving from April 1929 as Justice Minister.

Although Guérard opposed Heinrich Brüning,* the latter reappointed him Transportation Minister in March 1930. Hindenburg,* insisting that there were too many Catholics* in the cabinet, forced Brüning to replace him in October 1931. Thereafter Guérard's public role was insignificant. Many colleagues distrusted him as someone who had built a stronger attachment to the Republic than to his own Party.

REFERENCES: Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; *NDB*, vol. 7.

GUMBEL, EMIL JULIUS (1891–1966), mathematician and pacifist; his documentation on political murders, published in 1922, established him as one of Germany's noted pacifists. Born to a Munich banker, he completed studies in mathematics and economics in July 1914, just before volunteering for military service. The war soon converted him to pacifism; in 1915 he joined the *Bund Neues Vaterland*, an organization committed to Franco-German understanding.

By January 1922, when the *Bund* became the *Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte* (German League for Human Rights), Gumbel was widely reviled for promoting reconciliation with France and disclosing information on *Femegericht** and the Black Reichswehr.* Among his significant writings were *Vier Jahre Lüge* (Four years of lies), published in 1919, and *Vier Jahre politischer Mord* (Four years of political murder), published in 1922. He dealt with the same themes, both in Germany and abroad, in lectures presented before pacifist groups and articles published in *Die Weltbühne*,* *Menschenrechte*, and several newspapers.*

In 1923 Gumbel completed his *Habilitation* in statistics at Heidelberg. Appointed *Privatdozent* at the university, he was soon in trouble with colleagues and students for comments made about the war. Although his scholarship in mathematics bred international esteem, when Baden's Education Ministry reluctantly appointed him *ausserordentlicher Professor* in 1931, Heidelberg's social politics spawned a right-radical student campaign (supported by a faculty majority) that demanded his termination. In mid-1932 riots finally forced the university to dismiss its embarrassing professor. An invitation to teach in Paris was followed in 1934 by appointment as *Maître de Recherches* at Lyons. Fleeing to the United States in 1939, he taught during 1940–1966 at several colleges (including Columbia University). Also interested in philosophy, he translated Bertrand Russell into German.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*.

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GÜRTNER, FRANZ (1881–1941), judge and politician; as Bavarian Justice Minister, shielded Hitler* during the Beerhall Putsch* trial. A native of Regensburg, he received a stipend to study law at Munich during 1900–1904. After taking Bavaria's* civil-service exams in 1908, he became a public prosecutor.

He was appointed personnel officer in 1909 at the Bavarian Justice Ministry and held the position until the outbreak of war in 1914. Decorated numerous times on the Western Front, he was assigned to Palestine in 1917 and ended the war as a battalion commander attached to the expeditionary corps in Turkey.

Gürtner returned to Munich in 1920 as a provincial court counselor and member of the Bavarian Justice Ministry. In August 1922, while serving as chairman of the Bavarian Middle Party (the local variant of the DNVP), he was appointed Justice Minister. Under his leadership the Bavarian courts indulged right-wing extremism, a fact of great advantage to Hitler in his trial before the Bavarian People's Court. It was thanks to Gürtner that Hitler gained early release from Landsberg Prison, that the ban on the NSDAP was lifted, and that the prohibition on Hitler's public speaking was revoked. Gürtner retained office until Franz von Papen* appointed him Reich Justice Minister on 2 June 1932. He held the same office under Kurt von Schleicher* and Hitler.

Although Gürtner was never an NSDAP member, he was responsible for the administrative and legal coordination (*Gleichschaltung*) that recast Germany's courts as instruments of Nazi policy. As a conservative lawyer, he did not concur with every measure carried out; thus he slowly lost control of the judicial system to rivals in the *Schutzstaffeln* (SS). But his impact on German justice* was profound. In *Das neue Strafrecht* (New criminal law), coauthored in 1936 with Roland Freisler, Gürtner asserted that under Nazism ''the law renounces its claim to be the sole source for determining what is legal and illegal.''

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice*; *NDB*, vol. 7.

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HAASE, HUGO (1863–1919), politician; first chairman of the USPD. Born to a Jewish merchant in East Prussia's Allenstein, he studied law before opening a legal practice in Königsberg. He thereafter gained renown defending the poor. Elected the first Social Democrat on Königsberg's city council in 1894, he attracted national attention in 1904 with his defense of Otto Braun* (Prussia's* future Prime Minister). A voice of the SPD's orthodox wing, he served in the Reichstag* during 1897–1907 and, backed by August Bebel and Karl Kautsky, succeeded Paul Singer in 1911 as Party cochairman (with Bebel until 1913, then with Friedrich Ebert*). He was returned to the Reichstag in 1912 and remained in the chamber throughout the war.

Although his Kantian humanism led Haase to oppose Party policy at the outbreak of World War I, he voted for war credits and kept his views private until the spring of 1915. But because of the war's length, his pacifism led him to resign from the SPD in March 1916. He served as cochairman of the new USPD from its founding until he died in November 1919, some weeks after being shot by an assassin. Highly ethical, he continued his law practice throughout his career and never accepted a salary from either party that he served.

Haase was USPD spokesman during the Party's affiliation with the Council of People's Representatives.* A Party moderate, he supported parliamentary social democracy and argued in his last months for a pragmatism that rejected the adventurism of a putsch. His murder was a severe blow that set the USPD adrift.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Calkins, *Hugo Haase*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*.

HABER, FRITZ (1868–1934), chemist; awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry for synthesizing ammonia from nitrogen and hydrogen. Born in Breslau (now Wroclaw), he studied chemistry to better assist his father's dyestuff firm. His aptitude led, however, to a doctorate from Berlin's *Technische Hochschule* in 1891. Although he eventually returned to his father's business, a bitter separation ensued. Upon publishing research in 1896 on hydrocarbons, he joined the faculty of Karlsruhe's *Technische Hochschule*. Publications in electrochemistry (1898) and thermodynamics (1905) won him promotion to full professor.

Marked by a sense of Prussian duty, Haber applied his skill to solving Germany's raw-material shortages. His first innovation was the fabrication of ammonia; later used in World War I, it provided an alternative to imported saltpeter. Exploiting his finding commercially, he formed a partnership with *Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik* (BASF) and was soon mass-producing ammonia. He was appointed director in 1912 of Berlin's new Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry and was asked to lead the chemical division of Walther Rathenau's* War Raw Materials Office in 1914. Thereafter his institute, dubbed *Büro Haber*, served as home to numerous scientific luminaries who managed to tackle Germany's nitrate shortage. With Haber's assistance, Rathenau persuaded Carl Bosch* of BASF to join the effort. The resulting Haber-Bosch nitrate plant at Leuna was a triumph of scientific and technical ingenuity; by 1918 it produced 90,000 tons of synthetic nitrate. *Büro Haber* also engaged in poison-gas experiments with both chlorine and phosgene. Refusing to ponder the terror of gas warfare, Haber simply hoped that such weapons would break the military stalemate.

The Allies deemed Haber the chief villain in Germany's development of poison gas. Included among 893 alleged war criminals, he had anticipated such charges; disguising himself, he fled to Switzerland in 1919. When in November 1919 Stockholm's Nobel Prize Committee disclosed his selection for the chemistry award, the scientific world was outraged; two French winners announced their refusal to accept prizes if Haber were honored. But when the Allies presented a reduced list of war criminals in 1920, his name had been removed. Returning home, he again devoted himself to Germany's economic woes. With an eye on Allied reparation* demands, he became a leader in the development of the *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft* (Emergency Association of German Science) and gave years of futile effort to extracting gold from sea water. His major achievements came in his role as director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute. In 1920 he initiated the Haber Colloquium, a seminar that attracted scientists from all over Europe to the institute; by 1929 half of its sixty members were non-Germans. When his tenure ended in 1933, the institute was credited with more than seven hundred scientific publications.

In 1933 the Nazi government honored all those deemed war criminals in 1919; however, Haber, of Jewish ancestry, ''father of gas warfare,'' was excluded. With great anxiety, he resigned his institute and university posts in April 1933. According to Max von Laue,* there was no other director ''for whom the In-

stitute was so much a part of himself'' (Hermann). Recognizing that his revered status would not protect him, he soon went to Cambridge to work with William Pope. When he died in January 1934, Germans were forbidden to mourn him.
REFERENCES: Borkin, *Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben*; *DSB*, vol. 5; Haber, *Poisonous Cloud*; Heilbron, *Dilemmas of an Upright Man*; Hermann, *New Physics*.

HAENISCH, KONRAD. *See Hochschule für Politik.*

THE HAGUE CONFERENCES. During 1929–1930 two meetings, both focused on the Young Plan,* were held at The Hague. Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain, and Italy participated. The first meeting, held 6–31 August 1929, was attended on the German side by Gustav Stresemann,* Julius Curtius,* Rudolf Hilferding,* and Joseph Wirth* (Foreign, Economics, Finance, and Occupied Territories Ministers, respectively), plus three financial experts: Hjalmar Schacht,* Ludwig Kastl,* and Carl Melchior.* The mortally ill Stresemann (he died in October) participated in the political-committee sessions, which dealt with evacuation of the Rhineland.* While these arduous talks estranged Stresemann from France's Aristide Briand, the even more onerous sessions of the financial committee were handled by Curtius. Here the British, led by Philip Snowden, adamantly opposed Young's proposed allocation of reparations.* To meet British objections, the Germans accepted an increase in the Young payment schedule—a change Schacht approved only when France agreed to evacuate the Rhineland by June 1930, five years ahead of schedule. Thus, while the meeting resulted in a lengthier reparations obligation than specified by the Young Plan (negotiated during February–June 1929), it also brought Stresemann an unqualified political success.

Because the August sessions were consumed by efforts to assuage Snowden, a second meeting was required to arrange the technical procedures for implementing payments. At this meeting, held 3–30 January 1930, Germany was represented by Curtius (the new Foreign Minister), Economics Minister Robert Schmidt,* Finance Minister Paul Moldenhauer,* and Wirth. Heading the agenda was the issue of sanctions should Germany abjure reparations. Curtius diverted the issue by suggesting that if Germany failed to make its payments, the Permanent Court of International Justice could address the question of sanctions; a procedure to this effect was added to the meeting's protocol. Schacht then caused a sensation when, in negotiations centered on the Bank for International Settlements,* he introduced political requirements as requisite to the Reichsbank's participation. A hasty parley of the Germans prevented Schacht from ruining the meeting. Although a protocol was signed encompassing the achievements of both Hague meetings, the economic depression* soon made the Young Plan moribund.
REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Kimmich, *Germany and the League of Nations*.

HAHN, OTTO (1879–1968), chemist; directed the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Chemistry during 1928–1944. Born in Frankfurt, he decided at an early age to become an industrial chemist. Defying his father, who wanted him to be an architect, he began studies at Marburg in 1897 and completed a doctorate in organic chemistry in 1901.

To cultivate his English, Hahn obtained a position in 1904 at William Ramsay's laboratory in London. Pivotal research followed when, while working with Ramsay, he isolated an unknown radioactive substance, radiothorium. Excited by his find, he went to Montreal in 1905 to work with Ernest Rutherford, the era's radioactivity authority. At Ramsay's urging, Hahn focused on radium research and in 1906 joined the institute of the famous Berlin* chemist Emil Fischer. He was soon appointed *Privatdozent* in Fischer's so-called carpentry shop and began a thirty-year association in 1907 with the Austrian physicist Lise Meitner.* In their joint research into radioactivity, Hahn focused on chemistry while Meitner handled physics. When the Kaiser Wilhelm Society* (KWG) opened its *Institut für Chemie* in 1912, Hahn, who became head of the radioactivity department, invited Meitner to join his laboratory. During World War I, as an officer in the gas-warfare corps, he served under the supervision of Fritz Haber.* Despite heavy involvement in weapons development, he and Meitner isolated a new element, protactinium, in 1918.

By the 1920s most of the natural radioactive elements were known and prospects for research were narrowing. After brief work with tracer techniques, Hahn entered the new arena of nuclear chemistry. Shortly before Hitler's* seizure of power, he joined Meitner and Fritz Strassmann, an analytical chemist, in cataloging the properties of transuranium elements. Neither a Nazi nor a participant in Germany's later bomb project, he was identified by the Gestapo as part of the ''Einstein clique.'' In mid-1938 Meitner, of Jewish ancestry, was forced by the *Anschluss* to flee Germany. When Hahn and Strassmann were later baffled by an experiment in which uranium was transmuted into radioactive barium, Meitner concluded that her erstwhile colleagues had produced fission of the uranium nucleus.

Without learning of it until after the war, Hahn was awarded the 1944 Nobel Prize in chemistry. Although he was interned in England in 1945, he returned to Berlin in 1946 as president of the Max Planck Society, the renamed KWG. The rest of his life was given to restoring German science and warning against the improper use of nuclear power.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *DSB*, vol. 6; Hermann, *New Physics*; Shea, *Otto Hahn*; Sime, *Lise Meitner*.

HAMM, EDUARD (1879–1944), bureaucrat and politician; served as Economics Minister in the first two cabinets of Wilhelm Marx.* Born in Passau, he studied law and completed state exams in 1905. Having assumed a position with the Bavarian Justice Ministry, he became an assistant prosecutor in 1906 and a district judge in 1909. He entered the Bavarian Interior Ministry in 1911 and

then went to Berlin* in 1916 to represent Bavaria* at the War Food Office. He returned to Munich in 1917 as head of Bavaria's Fat Office (an outgrowth of the blockade*) and became embassy counselor in Bavaria's Foreign Ministry in 1918.

Already active in liberal groups before World War I, Hamm joined the DDP in 1918 and was elected to both the National Assembly* and the Bavarian Landtag. In May 1919 he entered Johannes Hoffmann's* government as Bavarian Minister of Trade, Industry, and Transportation; he retained the office through three successive cabinets. Growing tension between Berlin and Bavaria, chiefly owing to the latter's cavalier response to the Law for the Protection of the Republic,* led Hamm to resign his ministry on 31 July 1922. He then enjoyed some success as a mediator between the Bavarian and Reich governments, with Bavaria finally recognizing the law. Late in 1922 Wilhelm Cuno* appointed him State Secretary in the Chancellery; when Cuno resigned in August 1923, Hamm quit the post.

On the occasion of Hitler's* Beerhall Putsch,* Hamm instructed Gustav von Kahr,* then Bavaria's General State Commissioner, to remain loyal to Berlin and avoid extending concessions to the NSDAP. On 30 November 1923 Marx appointed him Economics Minister, a portfolio he held until 15 January 1925 and through which he helped stabilize Germany's currency while reinvigorating the country's lethargic railway system. The highly influential German Industry and Trade Congress* (DIHT) appointed him general secretary of its ruling presidium in 1925, a post he retained until the NSDAP forced his resignation in 1933. During these years he published the *Deutsche Wirtschaftszeitung* (German economic newspaper) and advanced a free-trade policy that placed him consistently at odds with the protectionism of the *Reichslandbund** and heavy industry. Initially wary of Kurt von Schleicher,* he advised Hindenburg* to keep the beleaguered Chancellor in late January 1933. After Hitler's appointment he resumed a private legal practice, focusing chiefly on insurance questions.

In each of his cabinet positions Hamm encountered especially burdensome tasks. As Trade Minister, he guided Bavaria to a peacetime economy amidst currency collapse. He became federal Economics Minister on the occasion of major currency reform. As general secretary of DIHT, he represented German business both in the good years that followed currency stabilization and in the lean years of depression.* After Hitler's appointment he maintained contact with former DDP colleagues; one of these introduced him to the resistance leader Carl Goerdeler.* Arrested because of complicity in the July 1944 attempt on Hitler's life, Hamm escaped the Gestapo's brutality by leaping through an open window to his death. Hans Luther* called him ''an especially sincere, clever, and uncommonly industrious man of great modesty'' (*NDB*).

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Leber, *Conscience in Revolt*; *NDB*, vol. 7; Pois, *Bourgeois Democrats*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

HANFSTAENGL, ERNST "PUTZI" (1887–1975), journalist; the NSDAP's foreign press chief during 1931–1934. Born to a family of Munich art connoisseurs, he studied at Harvard during 1905–1909 and, to his regret, spent World War I in the United States. He returned to graduate work at Munich and took a doctorate in 1930. During his studies he met Rudolf Hess* and in 1921 joined the NSDAP. The scion of a well-known art publishing house, he ensured the Party some bourgeois respectability. In November 1923 he took part in the Beerhall Putsch.*

As Hitler's foreign press chief, Hanfstaengl served as principal propagandist outside Germany. However, disillusioned with the jealous intrigues that marked Party life, he fled to England in 1937. Interned as an alien early in World War II, he was soon released, whereupon he went to Canada. He returned to Germany in 1946 and assisted with the BBC's 1957 production ''Portraits of Power: Hitler, FDR, Stalin, Churchill.'' His memoirs, *Hitler: The Missing Years*, appeared in 1957.

REFERENCES: *Internationales Biographisches Archiv*; Kosch, *Biographisches Staatshandbuch*.

HARDEN, MAXIMILIAN, born Maximilian Felix Ernst Witkowsky (1861–1927), journalist and publisher; among Germany's important political commentators. Born in Berlin* to a Jewish silk merchant, he left school early, converted to Christianity, and traveled for ten years with a stage group, assuming the name Maximilian Harden. Turning to journalism in 1888, he wrote initially for the *Deutsche Montagsblatt* and *Gegenwart*. A friend and supporter of Bismarck, he was the pronounced opponent of his successors. In 1892 he founded *Die Zukunft* (Future); he published, edited, and substantially authored the journal for thirty years.

Harden was a combative spirit. Hugo von Hofmannsthal claimed that he was ''hard to define and easy to abuse,'' and a biographer called him ''the caricature of the crusading polemicist.'' He used *Zukunft* for fierce and often-effective attacks on Germany's political and social life, not refraining from harassing the Kaiser himself (the latter having snubbed Harden's proffer of support); he initiated an assault on the Kaiser's friend Philipp Eulenburg, including accusations of homosexuality, which served to discredit the Kaiser and his entourage while creating one of the famous scandals of the century's first decade. Such attacks led to several prison sentences. When he accused Walther Rathenau,* an erstwhile friend, of plagiarism, Rathenau challenged him to a duel (Harden refused to fight). Although Harden was an early devotee of Alfred von Tirpitz* and an aggressive world policy, he became a determined foe of annexationism during World War I and by 1916 was campaigning for a peace of understanding.

As someone ''who followed only his conscience,'' Harden is difficult to classify. With a vast intellect and extensive knowledge, he was a brilliant conversationalist and a good listener. Kurt Tucholsky,* also a journalistic force, said

that he was among ''the few German journalists who symbolized power.'' But he remained quarrelsome, inclined to be at odds with almost all of his acquaintances. By 1918 many deemed him a republican, a socialist, and a pacifist; yet he was also an elitist who spurned the Republic's bourgeois aspects. While he hailed the November Revolution,* he was soon disillusioned. A lonely admirer of the Versailles Treaty*—he called it a ''work of art''—he rejected the only Party capable of applying it. Indeed, his reproach of the SPD clashed with his advocacy of workers' rights. In the pages of *Zukunft* he was equally as prone to champion powerful industrialists such as Hugo Stinnes* as to find generous words for Soviet Russia.

On 3 July 1922, shortly after Rathenau's assassination,* a would-be assassin pummeled Harden with an iron rod. Severely injured, Harden relocated to Switzerland. Although he lived five more years, he never recovered from the assault. REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Young, *Maximilian Harden*.

HARNACK, ADOLF VON, born Adolf Harnack (1851–1930), theologian and church historian; first president of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society* (KWG) and renowned historian of Christianity. He was born in Dorpat (now Tartu in Estonia), where his father taught theology at the city's German university. He studied at Dorpat and Leipzig and earned his doctorate in 1873; he was already a full professor at Giessen in 1879. Occupying himself with the history of Christianity and its dogma, he exerted a formative influence with respect to contemporary Protestant* theology. Most significant was his three-volume history of church dogma, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (*History of Dogma*, 1886–1890). He helped found the journal *Theologische Literaturzeitung* in 1876; the liberal periodical *Christliche Welt*, with which he was closely associated, was founded by his students in 1886.

Harnack's transfer to Berlin* in 1888 sparked a conflict between the Evangelical Church and state authorities, the Church Council vehemently opposing the move; with church historian Ernst Troeltsch,* Harnack was denounced as a champion of liberal Protestantism. Under pressure from Bismarck, the young Kaiser Wilhelm II overruled the council. Although Harnack remained at Berlin until his retirement in 1921, his tenure was marked by perpetual conflict with church authorities. The greatest controversy erupted in 1892 when he proposed replacing the Apostles' Creed with a shorter liturgy based on modern scholarship.

Harnack's chief admirers were outside the church. In 1890 he was elected to the Prussian Academy of Sciences. He was named *Generaldirektor* of the Royal Library in 1905, and his organizational skill brought appointment as president of KWG in 1911; he retained the office until 1930. He assumed manifold other responsibilities, illustrated by his work as founder and first president (1903–1911) of the Evangelical-Social Congress, and was elevated to the hereditary peerage in 1914 (thereby adding ''von'' to his name). He publicly opposed

annexations in the war while favoring political reform. By urging support for the Republic after 1918, he prompted some friends to label him a traitor. He drew attacks in 1925 from the church and right-wing circles by campaigning against Hindenburg* in the presidential elections. That his influence was largely eclipsed was due not so much to his liberalism as to a decline in the progressive optimism that had distinguished Protestantism during the Kaiserreich.

Harnack's abiding significance rests with his application of historical method to the critical interpretation of early church history. Although Karl Barth* rejected his narrow definition of dogma, Harnack's standing as the premier student of early Christianity remains firm.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *Encyclopedia of Religion*; Johnson, *Kaiser's Chemists*; Pauck, *Harnack and Troeltsch.*

HARRER, KARL. *See* National Socialist German Workers' Party.

HARTLAUB, GUSTAV (1884–1963), art historian; coined the term *Neue Sachlichkeit*.* Born in Bremen to a well-established family, he studied modern art history and completed a doctorate in 1910 at Göttingen. From 1920, when he began directing Mannheim's *Städtische Kunsthalle*, he spent twelve years building a major collection of nineteenth- and twentieth-century art while giving lectures and hosting exhibitions. The Nazis dismissed him in 1933 due to his proclivity to exhibit *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art). He thereafter taught privately in Mannheim and Heidelberg. Appointed honorary professor at Heidelberg in 1946, he remained with the university until his death.

For a major exhibition, Hartlaub began soliciting works in May 1923 that featured the ''tangible reality'' found in so much of the period's art. Among others, he invited George Grosz,* Otto Dix,* and Max Beckmann* to submit their work. Cognizant of a conservative or ''classicist'' wing in new realism as well as a leftist or ''Verist'' wing, he included both in his exhibition. When it opened at the *Kunsthalle* in mid-1925, the exhibition was entitled *Die neue Sachlichkeit* (the new objectivity). The phrase soon became a means of describing Germany's post-Expressionist milieu. Hartlaub's 124-picture exhibition, representing thirty-two artists, traveled to Dresden and other middle German cities.

REFERENCES: *German Realism of the Twenties*; *Internationales Biographisches Archiv*; Willett, *Art and Politics.*

HARTMANN, GUSTAV. *See* German Trade-Union Federation.

HARTMANN, NICOLAI (1882–1950), philosopher; among the few German thinkers to advance a nonidealistic metaphysics. Born in Riga, Latvia, where he lost his father at an early age, he attended a German Gymnasium in St. Petersburg before studying medicine, classical languages, and philosophy. He completed his doctorate in 1907; his *Habilitation* was published in 1909 as *Platos Logik des Seins* (Plato's logic of being). Immersed in the neo-Kantianism

of Hermann Cohen and Paul Natorp (both at Marburg), his early thought reveals a commitment to German idealism. Appointed *ausserordentlicher Professor* at Marburg in 1920, he succeeded Natorp in 1922. With Max Scheler's* support, he moved to Cologne in 1925, the year his esteemed three-volume study, *Ethik* (Ethics), was published. Despite an aversion to large cities, he accepted appointment at Berlin* in 1931 as successor to Ernst Troeltsch* (he spent the final years of his career, after 1945, in Göttingen). Meanwhile, his initial affinity for Kant and systematic metaphysics gradually dissipated, largely under the impact of Edmund Husserl's* phenomenology.

An atheist, Hartmann deemed himself a servant of progress in a spirit of scientific objectivity. His method consisted of two parts: first, a phenomenological presentation of the facts; second, a systematic analysis of their contradictions. By 1925 not only was his philosophical approach remarkably ''un-German,'' but his writings were lucid and thorough, a feature that also conflicted with German tradition. Next to *Ethik*, his major Weimar-era work was the two-volume *Philosophie des Deutschen Idealismus* (Philosophy of German idealism), published in 1923 and 1929.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *EP*, vol. 3; *NDB*, vol. 8.

HARZBURG FRONT; label attached to the so-called National Opposition against Heinrich Brüning's* government. Comprised of the NSDAP (Hitler*), the DNVP (Alfred Hugenberg*), the *Stahlhelm** (Franz Seldte*), the Pan-German League, and the *Vaterländische Verbände*, the members convened at Hugenberg's invitation on 11 October 1931 in Bad Harzburg, two days after Brüning announced a new cabinet. They were joined by Hjalmar Schacht,* Fritz Thyssen,* Hans von Seeckt,* and other notables, thus providing Hugenberg with a broad-based public demonstration. The gathering issued demands for Brüning's resignation, the termination of emergency decrees, and new elections in Germany and Prussia.* But while they voiced a desire to assume control of the state, the attendees held no common political program. By the presidential elections of April 1932, the Harzburg Front had disintegrated.

Although Hitler went to Harzburg with misgivings, he profited from the meeting without needing to commit to Hugenberg's political program, as the latter had desired. With the public already viewing the NSDAP as part of the ''honorable'' Right, Hitler used Harzburg to initiate active courtship of industry, the military, and the Junkers.* Karl Dietrich Bracher claimed that the coalition Hitler formed in January 1933 was largely a revival of the October 1931 affiliation. Without the Harzburg precedent, Hindenburg* would have found it infinitely more difficult to appoint Hitler Chancellor.

REFERENCES: Bracher, *German Dictatorship*; *ETR*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Taddey, *Lexikon*.

HASENCLEVER, WALTER (1890–1940), writer; among the Weimar era's most respected playwrights. Born to a well-established Jewish family in Aachen,

he went to Oxford at the wish of his father (a respected physician) to study law. Tiring of the law, he broke with his father and studied literature and philosophy at Leipzig. Although he voluntarily enlisted in 1914, he soon became a pacifist. After the war he entered journalism, lived briefly in the United States, served in Paris during 1924–1929 as a reporter for *8-Uhr-Abendblatt*, and then resided in Berlin* during 1929–1932. In 1933 the NSDAP revoked his citizenship and then banned and burned his books. He spent the next eight years in Italy and France with the family of Kurt Wolff.* He was interned by the French at the outbreak of World War II and committed suicide soon after the collapse of France.

Hasenclever was early intrigued with the Naturalism of Henrik Ibsen, but was drawn to Expressionism* shortly before World War I. As a student, he formed friendships with Kurt Pinthus,* Ernst Rowohlt,* Franz Werfel, and especially Kurt Wolff. Influenced by Werfel and Pinthus, he wrote the loosely autobiographical play *Der Sohn*, published by Wolff in 1914. Featuring a boy of twenty who rebels against his tyrant father, *Sohn* introduced Expressionism's theme of portraying the younger generation's protest against the old. His antiwar drama *Antigone*, which appeared in 1917, earned him the Kleist Prize the same year. After the army institutionalized him in 1916 for psychiatric reasons, a disillusioned Hasenclever embarked on a mystical phase marked by curiosity about Buddhism and the occult doctrines of Emanuel Swedenborg. Continuing through 1924, it was represented not only in his play *Die Menschen* (1918) but also in translations of Swedenborg's work. Kurt Tucholsky* inspired him in 1924 to turn to social criticism via comedy and satire. In 1926 he wrote the witty and successful *Ein besserer Herr* (A better gentleman). His equally successful 1929 comedy *Napoleon greift ein* (Napoleon intervenes) is a mockery of fascism. *Christoph Columbus*, a heavy satire written with Tucholsky, depicts the explorer as a man cheated by Spanish manipulators. Later works, written in exile, went ignored until the 1960s. Among these are mature and beautiful poems, written after Hasenclever had met Edith Schäfer in Nice.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Garland and Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature*; *NDB*, vol. 8; Sokel, *Anthology*.

HASSELL, ULRICH VON (1881–1944), diplomat; German ambassador in Copenhagen, Belgrade, and Rome. He was born to a prominent family in the Pomeranian town of Anklam; his character was molded by a strict conservative Lutheran upbringing (his father was a leader in the Young Men's Christian Association). Deciding early on a foreign-service career, he studied law and foreign languages prior to a legal appointment in 1903 with the Prussian civil service.* In 1905 he was assigned to a clerical position at the Chinese Imperial Court in Kiao-Chow. After two years at the Foreign Office he went to Genoa in 1911 as vice-consul, an assignment interrupted by World War I. Although his father-in-law, Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz,* recommended that he safely avoid the conflict, Hassell refused to do so. He was commissioned a captain

and was severely wounded during the first Battle of the Marne when a bullet lodged next to his heart (he carried the bullet for the remainder of his life). Believing that his wounds had ended his diplomatic career, he reentered the domestic civil service and was assigned in November 1915 to Stettin. Upon Germany's collapse he joined the DNVP and divulged his politics in an article—he wrote regularly for *Der Tag*—entitled ''We Young Conservatives.'' A curious proclamation for a conservative, the article championed the national state (*Volksstaat*) while proposing the elimination of classes and authoritarianism.

Hassell's antipathy to the November Revolution* (he was close to Wolfgang Kapp's* National Union) did not preclude his reentering the foreign service in December 1919 under Hermann Müller,* a socialist Foreign Minister. Assigned to Rome as embassy counselor and *chargé d'affaires*, he was presented the delicate assignment of renewing relations with a long-time ally that had abandoned Germany during the war. He was appointed consul-general in Barcelona in 1921 and served the four years from 1926 to 1930 as Ambassador in Copenhagen; after two years as chief envoy in Belgrade, he returned to Rome in 1932 as Ambassador. Throughout, he consistently supported systematic cooperation with the country to which he was assigned as a means of restoring Germany's great-power status.

A conservative Prussian, Hassell was also a man of strong Christian principle. Although he joined the NSDAP in 1933, he was repelled by its ''vulgarity.'' When Joachim von Ribbentrop became Foreign Minister in 1938, Hassell was recalled to Berlin.* He was soon involved in the resistance group centered on Ludwig Beck and Carl Goerdeler*; he was arrested in July 1944 and executed in September.

REFERENCES: Hassell, *Hostage*; *NDB*, vol. 8; Schöllgen, *Conservative against Hitler*; Snyder, *Hitler's German Enemies*.

HAUPTMANN, GERHART (1862–1946), writer; among Wilhelmine Germany's premier playwrights. Born in the Lower Silesian town of Obersalzbrunn, he did poorly in Gymnasium and seriously considered a career in farming. However, abandoning agriculture in 1880, he spent several years dabbling in sculpting, graphic art, history, and acting. A watershed came in 1885 with marriage to Adele Thienemann, an heiress whose wealth allowed him an independent existence. Settling near Berlin,* he began writing. He was soon in contact with the Naturalists, and his 1887 work *Fasching* already shows their influence.

Hauptmann's first play, *Vor Sonnenaufgang* (Before sunrise), appeared in 1889 with Theodor Fontane's support; it achieved instant success. Thereafter he established residences in both Charlottenburg and Silesia. Numerous plays followed—twenty-five by 1914—the most significant being his 1892 account of the 1844 Silesian weavers' uprising, *Die Weber* (The weavers). Although an extended marital crisis brought divorce in 1904, his creativity was not impaired. Since his excursions outside of Naturalism were rarely successful, he maintained

his style well into the twentieth century. Adaptations of older literature, including his 1900 Shakespearean-like *Schluck und Jau*, were also common after 1900.

Although Hauptmann was prolific until the end of his life—he published forty plays, five novels, and countless stories—his powers were waning by 1910. Awarded the Nobel Prize in 1912 and the *Pour le Mérite* (Peace Class) in 1922, he had a regular lecture circuit during the Weimar era and was even mentioned as a possible presidential candidate. But his writing increasingly repeated earlier themes, while his Naturalism had grown anachronistic. While he was a gifted dramatist, his vision was insufficient to make full use of his gifts; not surprisingly, he could not escape the intellectual milieu of the nineteenth century. He was convinced of life's irrationality, and his plays leave viewers depressed at the senseless suffering of human events; his characters never act but are, rather, acted upon.

Hauptmann opposed militarism and publicly endorsed the democratic spirit of the Republic. Yet while he claimed that ''my epoch began in 1870 and ended with the Reichstag fire,'' he failed to adequately repudiate Nazism, a factor for which critics reproached him. It is generally accepted that Thomas Mann* represented Hauptmann through *The Magic Mountain*'s tragicomic yet mysterious character, Mynheer Peeperkorn.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Garland and Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature*; Knight and Norman, *Hauptmann Lectures*; *NDB*, vol. 8.

HAUSHOFER, KARL (1869–1946), geographer and political scientist; expounded the geopolitical theory of *Lebensraum* that helped inspire Hitler's* expansionist policies. Born in Munich to an economics professor, he joined the army in 1887, attended the Bavarian War Academy, and then became an instructor of military history at the academy in 1903. In 1908 he was sent to Japan as military attaché. Stefan Zweig, who met and became friends with him on a riverboat voyage, provided insight into his character: He ''and his wife had familiarized themselves with the Japanese language and even its literature. He exemplified the fact that every science, even the military, when pursued profoundly, must necessarily push beyond its own limits and impinge on all the other sciences'' (Zweig). Haushofer returned to Munich in 1910 with a pulmonary disorder that confined him for a year to a sanatorium. By World War I he was able to assume several commands, including service in Poland,* on the Somme, in the Vosges, and in the Carpathians. Embittered by Germany's defeat, he retired with the rank of major-general.

While convalescing, Haushofer had taken a doctorate with a thesis treating strategic politics and Japan's position in the Far East. In 1919 he wrote his *Habilitation* at Munich, where he was awarded an honorary professorship. His principal publications, *Japan und die Japaner* (Japan and the Japanese, 1923) and *Geopolitik des pazifischen Ozeans* (Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean, 1925), remain standard studies of their subjects. But it is his role as founder of a

geopolitical institute that is most significant. Haushofer was among the first Germans to frame a plan for reestablishing the country's position. While he was teaching at Munich, he began a journal that accentuated Germany's need for *Lebensraum* (although the term had been coined much earlier by Friedrich Ratzel, Haushofer's use of it was pivotal). His closest student, Rudolf Hess,* introduced him to Hitler. The NSDAP leader then appropriated some of his ideas and, whether by Haushofer's intention or not, used them to justify the Nazis' geopolitical policy. Haushofer's active support of Germans in border areas and foreign countries led to appointment as President of both the German Academy (1934–1937) and the League for Germans in Foreign Countries (1938–1941).

Haushofer's wife had Jewish ancestry, and his son, Albrecht, joined the resistance. In 1944, after Albrecht's arrest (he was executed in April 1945), the family was sent to Dachau. In response to the tragic impact of his life, Haushofer and his wife committed suicide in 1946.

REFERENCES: Dorpalen, *World of General Haushofer*; *NDB*, vol. 8; Norton, ''Karl Haushofer''; Zweig, *World of Yesterday*.

HAUSSMANN, CONRAD (1857–1922), politician; chairman of the Constitutional Committee. Born in Stuttgart, he studied law and opened a legal practice with his twin brother Friedrich in Stuttgart. A left-liberal, he represented the Progressive Party in Württemberg's Landtag from 1889 and in the Reichstag* from 1890. He was opposed to the Kaiserreich's autocracy and was among the chief proponents for enlarging the Reichstag's power. His efforts produced ties with men of diverse outlook, including the socialist August Bebel and Prinz Max* von Baden. He worked between 1910 and the outbreak of war to improve Germany's relationship with both England and France; he advocated a peace of understanding throughout the war and was insistent that Belgium be restored. In 1917 he sat with the Reichstag committee that drew up the Peace Resolution. After serving without portfolio in Prinz Max's cabinet (14 October to 9 November 1918), he returned to Württemberg and, with long-time colleague Friedrich Payer, founded the state's chapter of the DDP. He was elected to the National Assembly* and served as the chamber's Vice President while heading the Constitutional Committee. Some colleagues claimed that Haussmann, given his legislative agility, was more deserving of the title ''father of the Constitution*'' than Hugo Preuss.*

The Versailles Treaty* was a watershed for Haussmann. Among the first Progressives to work for a negotiated peace, he was embittered by the peace process. He rejected the thesis that Germany alone was responsible for the war and denounced the treaty as intolerable and unacceptable. After its signature he helped found a revisionist group known as both the Alliance for a Politics of Justice (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Politik des Rechts*) and the Heidelberg Coalition (*Heidelberger Vereinigung*). Versailles colored his relations with colleagues, led him to vehemently oppose alliances with either the SPD or Matthias Erzberger,*

spawned his denunciation of the May 1921 London Ultimatum, and almost caused him to topple Joseph Wirth's* cabinet in October 1921 over the issue of Upper Silesia.* Although he had once been a pragmatist, by the end of his career Haussmann's wounded nationalism had blinded him to the manner in which his attitude was weakening both his Party and parliamentary democracy. He is thus best remembered for the yeoman work he did for peace and constitutional democracy through the spring of 1919.

REFERENCES: Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; *NDB*, vol. 8.

HAVENSTEIN, RUDOLF (1857–1923), Reichsbank President; largely responsible for the postwar monetary policies that induced Germany's hyperinflation. Born in the Brandenburg town of Meseritz (now Miedzyrzecz), he studied law and became a county-court judge. Having joined the Prussian Finance Ministry in 1890, he was named President in 1891 of the *Seehandlungs-Societät* (Sea-Commerce Society), an organization attached to the Prussian State Bank. By transforming the society into a modern monetary institution, he provided a valuable service to both Prussia* and the general economy. Under Havenstein's direction the society's capital base grew from 35 million to just under 100 million marks.

Appointed Reichsbank President in 1908, Havenstein drafted the Bank Law of 1909 whereby Reichsbank notes were declared legal tender, convertible to gold coin upon request. Although the step brought Germany into line with nations already transacting business on the basis of an international gold standard, it became illegal upon the outbreak of World War I to convert bank notes into gold.

Working with Karl Helfferich,* Havenstein helped shape German policy for financing the war, creating the system of war bonds that initially met with general applause. But the system, predicated on eventual victory, opened the door to Germany's renowned inflation.* With defeat came recognition that Germany's baseless currency could no longer be restored to its prewar value. Insisting that Germany's monetary problems were tied to balance-of-payment issues, Havenstein promoted the massive printing of currency, a policy that induced hyperinflation. Historians have traditionally argued that he failed to understand the delicate relationship between state deficits, the balance of payments, and currency availability; thus he worked under the misconception that in Germany's condition there was no solution but to increase the money supply. Recently it has been alleged that he printed money only out of fear that were he to stop, the government would eliminate the Reichsbank and maintain the process without him. Either way, the government, never convinced that Havenstein was wrong, failed to remove him. When he blissfully praised the Reichsbank's printing capacity, Lord D'Abernon responded that ''such insanity has never before been spoken outside a lunatic asylum'' (Feldman). The grotesque delusion ended with Havenstein's death; occurring on 20 November 1923, it coincided with Gustav Stresemann's* emergency measures to stabilize German currency.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; *NDB*, vol. 8; John Williamson, *Karl Helfferich*.

HEARTFIELD, JOHN, born Helmut Herzfeld (1891–1968), painter and photomonteur; best known for contributions to his brother's Communist-leaning publishing firm, Malik Verlag. He was born in Berlin.* His father, the socialist poet Franz Herzfeld, was imprisoned in 1895 for blasphemy. Orphaned in 1898, Helmut moved to Wiesbaden in 1905 to become a bookshop apprentice. After enrolling in some art courses, he relocated to Munich in 1918 to study at the *Kunstgewerbeschule*. Briefly employed as a packaging designer, he returned to Berlin in 1913 and was soon part of the Expressionist circle centered on the periodicals *Aktion** (Franz Pfemfert) and *Sturm* (Herwarth Walden*). It was here that he met George Grosz.*

Heartfield's brief military stint during the war—he was dismissed on grounds of ''insanity''—was followed by a growing association with leftist circles. In 1916, with his brother Wieland Herzfelde and the Berlin writer Franz Jung, he began working with Grosz on the monthly *Neue Jugend*. At this time, amidst the war, he anglicized his name in response to anti-English propaganda. In April 1918 he (with Grosz, Jung, and Raoul Hausmann) helped Richard Huelsenbeck establish Club-Dada; it held together until 1919, when differences over communism induced a split.

Heartfield's political outlook—he joined the KPD in 1919—crystallized soon after the war. Initially marked by light satire, his photomontage was transformed by the brutalities associated with the Republic's early months. With Grosz and his brother, he helped ensure Malik's role as Berlin's leading Dada* advocate—the house sponsored the First International Dada Fair in 1920. In charge of graphic design, he created a succession of short-lived satirical journals (e.g., *Die Pleite* and *Der Gegner*); in the late 1920s he began creating title pages for the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (*AIZ*, Workers illustrated newspaper), a publication sharply critical of the resurgent Right. Although he also worked as a designer for Max Reinhardt* and Erwin Piscator,* his best-known work remains the satirical collages he constructed from pasted photographs cut from magazines.

With his brother, Heartfield escaped to Prague in 1933 and there continued his political activity for Wieland's *Neue Deutsche Blätter* and the exiled *AIZ* (renamed the *Volks-Illustrierte* in 1936). The Sudeten crisis induced his move to London in 1938. Briefly interned in 1940, he worked with Kurt Hiller's* League of Independent German Writers from 1943. A pacifist and Communist, he relocated to East Berlin in 1950 and used his final work to denounce the Vietnam War.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Clair, *1920s*; Willett, *Art and Politics*.

HECKEL, ERICH. *See* Expressionism.

HEERESLEITUNG. *See* Reichswehr.

HEIDEGGER, MARTIN (1889–1976), philosopher; widely judged the central figure in twentieth-century existentialist thought. Born to a Catholic* sexton in the Baden town of Messkirch, he was a Jesuit novice before studying theology at Freiburg. Attracted by the Aristotelian interpretations of Franz Brentano and the logic of Edmund Husserl,* he switched to philosophy and took his doctorate in 1913. After he wrote his *Habilitation* in 1915 for Heinrich Rickert,* he joined the army and then returned to Freiburg in 1918 as Husserl's assistant. Upon mastering Husserl's phenomenological method, he focused increasingly on Aristotle. He gained an appointment in 1923 at Marburg (where he became friends with Rudolf Bultmann) and began developing his own philosophical position. Although he had not published since his *Habilitation* thesis, his teaching already placed him in the forefront of German philosophy. In 1929, soon after completing his masterful *Sein und Zeit* (Being and time), he succeeded Husserl, his one-time mentor, at Freiburg.

Trained by Husserl, who was of Jewish ancestry, Heidegger publicly renounced both the teacher and the substance of his thought when in May 1933 he became Freiburg's rector. In his inaugural address he declared his support for the Nazi revolution. Although he grew disillusioned with Hitler,* his writing consistently evoked a strong nationalism. Supporting a mystical view of language, he once argued that philosophizing was possible only in German and, perhaps, Greek. As late as 1953 he appealed to Germans, in *Einführung in die Metaphysik* (Introduction to metaphysics), to renew their ''substance'' (*Sein*) between the barbaric societies of America and Russia. He was retired from Freiburg in 1945 as part of denazification.

Because Heidegger's meaning to modern philosophy cannot be overestimated, his life should not be assessed solely in political terms. (Some critics maintain, alas, that his philosophy is inseparable from his politics.) His highly original *Sein und Zeit*—a study that remained only a fragment of what he intended—revolutionized philosophical thought and influenced cognate disciplines such as theology, psychology, and the understanding of language. Using the phenomenological method without applying its content, he sought to link the divergent thought of neo-Kantianism with existentialism. Although he disclaimed the ''existentialist'' label, he was inspired by Søren Kierkegaard and, with Karl Jaspers,* focused his thought on the nature and predicament of human existence. He was especially interested in the individual search for authenticity and the problem of *Angst* (fear) in preventing its achievement. He remains a major influence on European ideas.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *EP*, vol. 3; Pachter, *Weimar Etudes*; Sluga, *Heidegger's Crisis*; Wolin, *Heidegger Controversy*.

HEILMANN, ERNST (1881–1940), politician; skillfully led the SPD's Prussian Landtag faction during 1921–1933. Born to a middle-class Jewish family

in Berlin,* he began studying law while attending Gymnasium. Although he successfully completed the first round of legal examinations, his political views precluded a requisite appointment as a jurist—he had joined the SPD as a student. Turning to journalism, he served in 1903–1907 as a parliamentary reporter and then worked as the *Chemnitzer Volksstimme*'s chief editor from 1909 to 1914. While he was in Chemnitz, he completed a history of the Chemnitz workers' movement. A member of the SPD's right wing, he volunteered for military service in 1914, but was released in 1917 when wounds left him blind in one eye. He returned to Berlin and served consecutively as editor of *Sozialistischen Korrespondenz*, the moderate-socialist journal *Die Glocke*, and (from 1929) the weekly *Freie Wort*. He also helped found the *Reichsbund der Kriegsbeschädigten* (League for War Cripples).

Heilmann was elected to Prussia's* Landtag in 1919 and retained his seat until 1933, serving from 1921 as faction leader. Although he was concurrently in the Reichstag* from 1928, his focus remained the Landtag; indeed, his influence was such that one colleague called him ''the uncrowned king of Prussia.'' He was consistently an energetic exponent of the Republic against radical detractors on the Left and the Right. Throughout 1924–1932, the Prussian government of Otto Braun* was indebted to his parliamentary skills and his superb relations with the Center* and DDP factions. As a friend of Julius Barmat,* he became a target of the DNVP during Barmat's 1925 corruption trial; lack of evidence allowed him to weather the attacks. Heilmann was perhaps the period's premier parliamentarian; his pragmatism led him to advocate compromise with Germany's wartime adversaries.

Although friends urged Heilmann to flee Germany after Hitler's* seizure of power, he remained in Berlin. Being both of Jewish ancestry and a socialist, he was arrested in June 1933. Thereafter Heinrich Himmler* took personal charge of his bitter path, which led through seven years of prison and concentration camp. He was executed by lethal injection at Buchenwald.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Breitman, *German Socialism*; *NDB*, vol. 8; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1918–1925*.

HEIM, GEORG (1865–1938), politician; the most determined of Bavaria's* leading separatists. He was born the youngest of six children in Aschaffenburg; his parents' early death led him to work as a journalist while pursuing language studies. In 1894, upon completing a doctorate in economics at Munich, he went to the Fichtelgebirge (now on the Bavarian-Czech border), where in late 1894 he founded a cooperative for peasants. A teaching position in Ansbach augmented his popularity in northeastern Bavaria, and in 1895 he was elected to both the Landtag and the Reichstag.* An adept speaker, he led the Center Party's* farmers'* lobby. In 1898 he founded the *Bayerischer Christliche Bauernverein* (Bavarian Christian Peasants' Association), a deeply conservative group that opposed the liberal *Bauernbund* (Peasants' League). Leaving politics in 1911, he dedicated himself exclusively to the *Bauernverein*. During the war

he engaged in efforts to relieve food shortages and was in the forefront of a movement that accused Berlin* of an ''immoral price ceiling'' injurious to farmers. The November Revolution* led him back to politics as a founder of the BVP. He was elected to the National Assembly* and served in the Reichstag during 1920–1924. In 1920 he became president of Bavaria's new State Peasants' Chamber.

Headquartered in the Upper Palatinate's Regensburg, among Bavaria's Protestant* districts, Heim's *Bauernverein* forced the Munich-based chapter of the Center Party to change its name in November 1918 to the BVP. Heim then published an editorial in the *Bayerischer Kurier* entitled ''Eisner's* Erring Ways and Bavaria's Future.'' A polemic, it proposed creation of a ''Greater Bavaria,'' with a northern border on the Main River (Bavaria before 1870) and political union with the Tirol and Upper Austria. Although he retreated from such extremes, his propositions fueled the lunatic elements among Bavaria's particularistic population. He strongly opposed the financial reforms of Matthias Erzberger* and the Weimar Constitution,* believing the latter destructive of German federalism.

Although Heim never held ministerial office, he was among Bavaria's most influential personalities. He opposed the NSDAP, claiming that Hitler* was more dangerous than Eisner, while the Nazis aptly charged him with striving for Bavarian independence. Heinrich Held,* Bavarian Prime Minister during 1924–1933, rose to prominence under his aegis. In 1925 he pressured the BVP to back Paul von Hindenburg* rather than the Catholic* Wilhelm Marx,* thus costing Marx the presidency. He dubbed Hitler a charlatan and supported Hindenburg again in 1932; in 1933 he ineffectually called for restoration of the Wittelsbachs. He was stripped of his positions by the Nazis and was fortunate to survive the purge of June 1934. He lived out his final years as an agricultural advisor in Würzburg.

REFERENCES: Dorondo, *Bavaria and German Federalism*; Garnett, *Lion, Eagle, and Swastika*; Harold Gordon, *Hitler*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; *NDB*, vol. 8.

HEINE, WOLFGANG (1861–1944), politician; served as Prussia's* Interior Minister during 1919–1920. Born to upper-middle-class circumstances in Posen, he attended private schools before completing Gymnasium in Breslau (now Wroclaw). Following legal studies, he completed state exams in 1883 and became a minor judge in Prussia's civil service* the next year. In 1889 he opened a private practice in Berlin,* establishing himself by representing the SPD. He was elected in 1898 to the Reichstag* and retained his mandate until 1918. A right-wing socialist and revisionist, he was among the SPD's leading speakers, forcefully advocating intellectual freedom and judicial equality. He contributed regular articles to the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* and *Berliner Tageblatt*.

On 27 November 1918 Heine became Prussian Justice Minister. He supported the 4 January 1919 dismissal of Berlin police commissioner Emil Eichhorn*

(the act that sparked the bloody Spartacist Uprising*) and was named Prussian Interior Minister in March when Paul Hirsch became Prime Minister. With support from Hirsch, he purged 10 percent of the bureaucrats whose monarchist biases discredited the new republic; as it happened, the *Landräte* remaining in Prussia's eastern provinces presented a serious threat during the Kapp* Putsch. Distrusted by the USPD and the Left of his own Party for rejecting a more thorough purge, he retained his portfolio only until March 1920; Kapp's* unsuccessful putsch was used by the Left to force his resignation, along with those of Defense Minister Gustav Noske* and Prussian Railway Minister Rudolf Oeser. He served in the National Assembly,* but forsook politics after he failed to retain his seat in the June 1920 Reichstag elections. Wilhelm Groener,* the future Defense Minister, likened him to Friedrich Ebert* and Noske, claiming that he was among the Republic's cleverest men. But opinions varied; Willy Hellpach,* a leading Democrat, maintained that he was ''almost like a Prussian officer . . . self-confident and a bit domineering.''

Although Heine remained close to many in the Prussian government and occasionally advised his successor Carl Severing,* he was chiefly involved with his legal practice. In 1922, as President Ebert's counsel in a Munich-based slander case, he deemed Munich inimical to a fair hearing and advised Ebert to drop charges against a Nazi who had accused him of treason. In March 1933, while vacationing in Italy, he was alerted of impending arrest should he return to Germany; he thereupon emigrated to Switzerland.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Breitman, *German Socialism*; *NDB*, vol. 8; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1918–1925*.

HEINZE, RUDOLF (1865–1928), politician; first chairman of the DVP's Reichstag* faction. Born in Oldenburg, he took a doctorate in law at Leipzig before serving in 1889–1912 with Saxony's* Justice Office—ultimately, as director of the State Court (*Landgerichtsdirektor*). He entered politics in 1899 as a member of Dresden's city council and was elected in 1907 to the Reichstag,* serving as a moderate National Liberal until 1912. Although he was returned to Saxony's Landtag in 1915, he was assigned to Constantinople in 1916 as a Justice official. He returned to Germany in July 1918 as Saxony's Justice Minister.

Heinze helped found the DVP in November 1918 and then led the new Party's faction in the National Assembly.* It was his efforts at compromise that salvaged a divided parliament faced on 23 June 1919 with the Allied ultimatum over the Versailles Treaty.* A member of the Constitutional Committee, he regretted the Constitution's* failure to centralize the Republic; nevertheless, his role was crucial during 1920–1924 in upholding both the regime and, in most cases, Party leader Gustav Stresemann.* His support of Gustav Bauer* during the Kapp* Putsch led President Ebert* to offer him the Chancellorship in June 1920; unfortunately, his efforts to form a Great Coalition* miscarried on SPD opposition. He was both Vice Chancellor and Justice Minister under Konstantin

Fehrenbach* (June 1920–May 1921) and retained the Justice portfolio under Wilhelm Cuno* (November 1922–August 1923). Although he and Stresemann initially split on the issue of reparations,* Heinze ultimately persuaded Stresemann to support a more compromising foreign policy.

During the unrest that plagued Saxony in October 1923, Stresemann used his emergency powers to send Heinze to Dresden as *Reichskommissar*. With Reichswehr* support, he forced the resignation of Prime Minister Erich Zeigner* on 29 October. His attempt to install a middle-class premier was averted by the Saxon Landtag, which selected the moderate socialist, Karl Fellisch, on 1 November; Heinze approved the choice. In his final public service, he became chairman in 1926 of the German Consulate's High Court in Egypt.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; *NDB*, vol. 8; Turner, *Stresemann*.

HEISENBERG, WERNER (1901–1976), physicist; established the famous uncertainty principle, as a result of which attempts to detail the unobservable internal movements of the atom were abandoned. Born in Würzburg, he moved to Munich in 1910 when his father was appointed Professor of Greek at the university. After suffering the blockade*-induced shortages of the war, he applauded the suppression of Bavaria's* socialist republic by the Freikorps.* In 1920 he enrolled at Munich and completed a doctorate in 1923 under Arnold Sommerfeld, over the protest of Wilhelm Wien, who objected to his ignorance of experimental physics. With Sommerfeld on leave, he spent his final year of study as Max Born's* assistant at Göttingen; he then remained until 1926, writing his *Habilitation* in 1924, forming a rewarding relationship with Born and James Franck,* and formulating his matrix principle of quantum mechanics. Although fellow student Wolfgang Pauli* slowly convinced him that electrons did not orbit in atoms, he went to Copenhagen in 1926 to work with Niels Bohr, who was formulating a periodic table based on the existence of orbits. While he was in Copenhagen, he devised his principle of particle uncertainty; it helped destroy a purely deterministic concept of the universe. Although the principle was welcomed by many physicists, it was initially dismissed by such luminaries as Einstein,* Erwin Schrödinger, and Max Planck* as implying the denial of objective processes. In 1927, upon appointment at Leipzig, Heisenberg became Germany's youngest full professor. He played a key role in transforming Leipzig's physics institute into a major center for quantum physics. Among his students were Felix Block, Edward Teller, and Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker. In 1932 he was named the Nobel laureate for physics.

Although the NSDAP censured theoretical physics, Heisenberg remained in Germany after Hitler's* seizure of power. As a spokesman for German physics, he believed that his country needed him to protect its scientific reputation; no doubt his attachment to Germany, his consonance with its national revival, and a sense of professional duty all aided his decision. He was never a supporter of Nazi ideals; his physics was increasingly dubbed ''Jewish science'' as he was

labeled a ''white Jew*'' and the ''Ossietzky* of physics.'' Although he was thwarted in 1937 from succeeding Sommerfeld at Munich (he came closest to emigrating at this time), he was suddenly deemed Germany's leading nuclear specialist when in 1940 he published a report supporting the feasibility of chain reactions. In 1941, to focus on fission research, he became acting director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics. While he was unsuited to experimental work, he retained the post until 1945.

Captured and interned after the war, Heisenberg returned to Göttingen in 1946 as honorary professor and director of the city's new Max Planck Institute for Physics. He retained these titles when the institute moved in 1958 to Munich. His postwar commitment was to revitalize German science by seeking government involvement in scientific policy.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Beyerchen, *Scientists under Hitler*; Cassidy, *Uncertainty*; *DSB*, vol. 17, suppl. 2; Macrakis, *Surviving the Swastika*.

HELD, HEINRICH (1868–1938), politician and journalist; Bavaria's* Prime Minister during 1924–1933. Born to a music* director in the Hessen town of Erbach, he grew up in a devoutly Catholic* and anti-Prussian home. Intending to become a violinist, he began postsecondary studies at a conservatory, but he soon switched to law and, transferring to Strassburg, completed legal exams in 1894. Still dissatisfied, he resolved in 1897 to follow journalism. In 1899 he was named editor of the *Regensburger Morgenblatt*, eventually becoming part owner in 1906 through marriage. His popularity led to appointment as city attorney in 1908, a major step in a city governed by Protestants.* A champion of the Christian workers' movement, he was elected to the Landtag in 1907, a seat he retained until 1933. Representing the Center Party,* he developed budgetary expertise and served from 1911 on the Finance Committee. In 1914 he became faction chairman. World War I softened his Catholic biases as he joined the chorus for far-reaching annexations and agitated for incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine* into Bavaria.

During the November Revolution,* which traumatized him, Held helped found the BVP. Although he became the Party's Landtag faction leader, he suffered a nervous breakdown early in 1919. Because he was forced to abstain from politics, Georg Heim* (Held's mentor) consolidated his position as Party leader. Not a born Bavarian (his detractors dubbed him *Hessen Held*), he used the *Regensburger Anzeiger* (formerly the *Morgenblatt*) to consolidate his political base. In 1921, after he replaced Heim as BVP chairman, he became president of the Frankfurt-based Catholic Assembly. Less complaisant than many colleagues about the Bavarian-based *Vaterländische Verbände*, he broke with Party colleague Gustav von Kahr* in 1923 over the state's position vis-à-vis the NSDAP.

Supported by the DNVP (the *Bayerische Mittelpartei* in Bavaria until 1924), the DVP, the Bavarian Peasants' League, and his own Party, Held replaced Eugen von Knilling* as Prime Minister in May 1924. Thereafter, until Hitler*

became Chancellor, he was Bavaria's leading figure; the BVP ran him unsuccessfully for *Reichspräsident* in 1925. Forced to shed his once-radical particularism, he became an unlikely symbol of moderation. Yet he managed to provoke occasional problems: for example, in a February 1926 speech before the Landtag, he spawned a minor incident by demanding self-determination for Germans in South Tirol. His evenhanded opposition to fanaticism and his ability to compromise on governing issues were crucial in consolidating Bavaria during his years as Prime Minister. Under his leadership Bavaria regulated its economic and cultural development, and he actively engaged in negotiations to establish relations between Berlin* and Rome. In national debates over constitutional centralization, Held, without compromising his loyalty to Germany, championed a federalistic structure. From August 1930, when his cabinet no longer commanded a parliamentary majority, he retained his post as a caretaker manager.

Through Franz von Papen's* Prussian coup and Hitler's seizure of power, Bavaria's pseudoautonomous position ended. Although Held was a monarchist, he chose not to join efforts to restore the Wittelsbach monarchy as a means of checking Nazi designs on Bavaria. When Hitler named Franz von Epp* Bavarian State Commissioner on 8 March 1933, Held went to Switzerland to announce his resignation. He eventually returned to Regensburg.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Garnett, *Lion, Eagle, and Swastika*; Harold Gordon, *Hitler*; *NDB*, vol. 8; Schönhoven, ''Heinrich Held.''

HELFFERICH, KARL (1872–1924), economist and politician; largely responsible for the war's inflationary policies, he inspired creation of the *Rentenbank** to end the inflation.* Born to a textile manufacturer in the Palatinate's Neustadt, he began legal studies in 1890 and earned a doctorate in economics in 1894. He volunteered for the army, but his hopes for a military career were dashed in 1893 by a riding accident. While studying at Berlin,* he became involved as a gold-standard advocate in the bimetallism dispute; his *Habilitationschrift* was an 1898 polemic against bimetallism. He then taught at Berlin until 1906, becoming *ordentlicher Professor* in 1902. His celebrated *Geld* (Money) appeared in 1903 and went through six editions; underscoring a commitment to gold, the book claimed that paper currency only affirms a state's financial trouble. In the years preceding World War I he promoted *Weltpolitik* and industrial growth. He was employed in 1901 by the Colonial Office, he became director in 1906 of the Baghdad Railway (among Germany's key enterprises), and was promoted in 1908 to the board of Deutsche Bank, the railway's parent company. In 1910 he joined the Reichsbank's governing board.

Helfferich resigned his positions in January 1915 when he was appointed State Secretary of the Treasury and assumed responsibility for Germany's war finances. Reversing his monetary notions, he financed the war, with support from the Reichsbank's Rudolf Havenstein,* via bond sales, fully expecting a victorious Germany to require its enemies to meet the bond obligations; because

Germany lost the war, his policies induced the Republic's inflation. In May 1916 he replaced Clemens von Delbrück as Vice Chancellor and State Secretary of the Interior. An economic liberal and proponent of freedom of the seas, he initially opposed the use of submarines, but by late 1916 he had changed his mind. His zeal for Hindenburg* and Erich Ludendorff* helped persuade Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg to support their elevation to supreme command in August 1916; both men thought that the generals would restrict the use of submarines. Yet once the U-boats were ''unleashed,'' Helfferich reversed his position, stressing optimism in the submarines' eventual success. Matthias Erzberger* impugned his optimism in a July 1917 speech that spawned the Reichstag's* Peace Resolution; Helfferich never forgave him. He was quite unpopular when he left office in November 1917. In July 1918 he became the Kaiser's last envoy to Russia.

The November Revolution* revised Helfferich's politics. Although he had been a prewar National Liberal, he joined the DNVP and bitterly opposed the Republic and treaty fulfillment.* His vendetta against Finance Minister Erzberger began in mid-1919. Broadly hated for signing the Armistice,* Erzberger was an easy target. In articles and speeches Helfferich assailed Erzberger's ''stupidity'' in nullifying Germany's military successes with the Peace Resolution. When he published the August 1919 pamphlet *Fort mit Erzberger!* (Away with Erzberger), the Finance Minister sued. Before the trial began in January 1920, Helfferich sparked another sensation when, at the National Assembly* hearings into Germany's defeat, he refused to answer questions put to him by Oskar Cohn,* implying that his questioner had committed treason during the war. His action subverted the hearings, helped launch the *Dolchstosslegende*,* and was the harbinger for the court battle. The trial, which ran until 12 March 1920, so damaged Erzberger—and, by association, the Republic—that he resigned his ministry. Helfferich indicted the government's policy of fulfilling the Versailles Treaty,* and his self-righteousness induced him to extend his battle against the policies of Joseph Wirth* and Walther Rathenau.* His rhetoric poisoned the atmosphere and was partially to blame for the murders of Erzberger and Rathenau.

Elected to the Reichstag in 1920, Helfferich exercised unprecedented authority over his faction. To his credit, he opposed the efforts of anti-Semites to gain control of the DNVP, and in October 1923 he recommended a creative monetary policy—basing the value of a temporary currency, the *Roggenmark* (''rye mark''), on a 5 percent mortgage against agricultural and industrial properties—that quickened Hans Luther's* currency measures. When Havenstein died on 20 November 1923, the Reichsbank's directors unanimously requested Helfferich as successor; Gustav Stresemann,* wishing to cultivate the Left, turned to Hjalmar Schacht.* Helfferich's last public act was a scornful critique of the Dawes Plan.* While returning from Italy in April 1924, he died in a railway accident in Switzerland. Despite his irascible nature, his loss left the DNVP and Germany without an important leader.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; *NDB*, vol. 8; John Williamson, *Karl Helfferich*.

HELLPACH, WILLY (1877–1955), psychologist and politician; DDP candidate for President in 1925. Born to a court official in the Lower Silesian town of Oels (now Olesnica), he switched from medical studies to psychology and earned a doctorate in 1899 under Leipzig's Wilhelm Wundt; he completed a second doctorate in 1903 in medicine. He founded a neurological practice in Karlsruhe and wrote his *Habilitation* in 1906 at the *Technische Hochschule*. His academic career brought appointment in 1920 as head of the *Institut für Sozialpsychologie* (Institute for Social Psychology). Hellpach's publications focused on the domain separating medicine and psychology. During the war he directed a hospital specializing in nervous disorders. Despite conservative proclivities, he joined the DDP after the war and, as a persuasive and thoughtful speaker, won a seat on the DDP's *Hauptvorstand*.

Although the DDP's politics often annoyed him, Hellpach became Baden's Cultural Minister in 1922. His success at devising a model for professional education was central to his selection in 1924 as Baden's Prime Minister. Although he lacked a national profile, he was nonetheless asked by the DDP to run for President in 1925; while he lost, he received 1.5 million votes. With a severely wounded ego, Hellpach left politics and took a professorship in 1926 at Heidelberg. Although he was elected to the DDP's Reichstag* faction in 1928, he was soon disillusioned with the partisanship that precluded forming a united front from the middle parties. ''After the empty and meaningless episode of two years,'' as he later wrote, he renounced politics in March 1930. He was remotely involved in Erich Koch-Weser's* efforts to unite with the *Jungdo*.*

There was a certain eccentricity in Hellpach's politics. An outspoken Lutheran, he opposed the formation of concordats with Rome and earned the enmity of many in the Center Party.* He also stood apart from the DDP by favoring ties with Russia at the expense of Britain and France. But politics was a secondary concern for him; by late 1930 he was completely absorbed by academic work at Heidelberg.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; *NDB*, vol. 8.

HENNING, WILHELM. *See* German Racial Freedom Party.

HERGT, OSKAR (1869–1967), politician; served as first leader of the DNVP (1918–1924). Born to a businessman in Naumburg in Prussian Saxony, he studied law before joining the Prussian civil service* in 1902. After several years with the Finance Ministry, he became the *Abgeordnetenhaus*'s budget recorder in 1909, a position he retained for six years. In 1917 he was appointed Prussia's* last royal Finance Minister. Although he had never been a party member, he

was named chairman of the new DNVP on 9 December 1918; he entered the National Assembly* in 1919 and remained in the Reichstag* until 1933.

Hergt envisioned the DNVP as a Christian-conservative coalition that, while appealing to the Junkers,* was not dependent on them. Although he loathed the rabid anti-Semites and removed them from the Party in 1922, he was a monarchist who opposed parliamentary democracy and the Republic. Yet he rejected the 1920 Kapp* Putsch and aimed to cooperate with the parties of the Weimar Coalition.* In consequence of the DNVP's gains in the May 1924 Reichstag elections, he hoped to bring the DNVP into a coalition government. It was at this juncture—the DNVP, with 106 seats, was the Reichstag's second-largest faction—that he was forced to retire as Party and faction chairman. Although he was personally opposed to the Dawes Plan,* he suspended faction discipline during the Dawes vote to avoid a Party split; a violation of DNVP protocol, the act compelled his resignation on 23 October 1924.

From January 1927 through June 1928 Hergt was Justice Minister under Wilhelm Marx.* Remarkably, he managed during this interval to convince a majority of his faction to back an extension of the Law for the Protection of the Republic*—a law implicitly barring restoration of the monarchy. When crisis threatened Party unity in 1928, DNVP moderates once again supported Hergt for chairman; however, Alfred Hugenberg,* the candidate of the radical Right, won a narrow victory. Although many prominent moderates soon left the Party, Hergt remained. He retired from politics in 1933 and lived thereafter in Göttingen. Despite his Party offices, he was always in the shadow of either Karl Helfferich* or Kuno von Westarp.* He was esteemed for maintaining his independence and moderation among the Party's extremists.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Hertzman, *DNVP*; Leopold, *Alfred Hugenberg*; *NDB*, vol. 8.

HERLE, JAKOB (1885–1957), industrialist and business leader; helped guide German industrial growth in the 1920s. Born in the Rhineland town of Erkelenz, he completed a doctorate in economics at Tübingen in 1911. His optimistic demeanor, for which he was acclaimed, served him well throughout his career. Connections with Gustav Stresemann* brought his 1910 appointment as assistant general manager of the *Bund der Industriellen* (League of Industrialists), an economically liberal organization seeking overseas expansion. When war led the *Bund* to merge with the *Central-verband Deutscher Industrieller* (Central Association of German Industrialists), Herle became the new organization's business manager.

Germany's sophisticated network of business societies played a key role both in linking big business and in lobbying government. In February 1919 Herle became business manager for the new RdI, Germany's premier industrial *Spitzenverband*; he retained the post until 1934. During his tenure he helped found the cartel* department, the Russian Committee of the German Economy, and the Exhibition and Fair Office. He also formalized the RdI's foreign contacts

and represented it at the International Trade Commission in Paris. His success at harmonizing industrial-political goals led Ludwig Kastl,* an RdI director, to call him ''the soul of organization.'' In 1925 he instituted a pension fund that ensured the autonomy of his office. The proliferation of cartels was largely owed to his talent at linking competitive enterprises, but his commitment to international trade produced friction with heavy industry.

Herle was careful in the early 1930s to uphold RdI independence in the face of growing Nazi coercion. In July 1932 he drafted a restrained yet piercing thirty-page critique of the NSDAP's economic program. Once Hitler* became Chancellor, Herle did not hide his discomfort with many of the NSDAP's positions. A committed Catholic* and friend of Heinrich Brüning,* he was ejected from his posts in 1934—retaining, however, a high position in private enterprise. In 1945 the Soviets captured and imprisoned him as a ''class enemy'' (*Klassenfeind*). Joseph Wirth* gained his release in 1952.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 8; Turner, *German Big Business*.

HERMES, ANDREAS (1878–1964), politician; important framer of German agrarian policy. Born to middle-class parents in Cologne, he studied agriculture, instructed the subject for a year, and then served as an animal-breeding assistant in Bonn-Poppelsdorf. Resuming his studies, he took a doctorate in 1905 and then settled in Berlin* as an assistant with the German Agricultural Society. In 1911 he became departmental director at Rome's International Agricultural Institute; he soon gained a rich expertise in international agriculture. During World War I he served in Berlin at the War Food Office.

In 1919 Hermes was named director of the Economic Ministry's agricultural department. He became head of the new Agriculture Ministry, created on his recommendation, in 1920; in October 1921 he assumed the Finance portfolio (he resigned Agriculture six months later) and retained this ministry until Wilhelm Cuno's* retirement in August 1923. With professional and political interests entwined, he became a Center Party* deputy in the Prussian Landtag in 1924; election to the Reichstag* followed in 1928.

Hermes was unrelenting on behalf of farmers* and consistently sponsored the linkage of Catholic* instruction with agrarian education. He led an agricultural subcommittee during 1925–1927 for the Conference of Experts, sat at Geneva's World Economic Conference in 1927 as an agrarian delegate, and led a German delegation in trade-treaty negotiations with Poland* in 1928. He was simultaneously active in agricultural organizations and was elected president in 1928 of the *Vereinigung der deutschen christlichen Bauernvereine* (League of German Christian Peasants Associations) and of the *Reichsverband der deutschen Landwirtschaftlichen* (Association of German Agriculture) in 1930. In response to the agrarian depression,* he met with the leaders of three key agricultural groups (including Martin Schiele* of the *Reichslandbund**) to found the *Grüne Front*,

a poorly organized lobby that favored high tariffs on farm products. The NSDAP, aiming to mobilize discontent, endorsed the *Front*.

Hermes resigned his Reichstag seat in March 1933. Aware of his political opposition, the Nazis arrested him the same month. He was released in July, but a charge of larceny returned him to prison in 1934. When he was released later that year, he used his international connections to relocate to Colombia, where he was a government economics advisor during 1936–1939. After he returned to Germany, he joined the resistance, was arrested after the 20 July 1944 plot on Hitler,* and was under a death sentence when the Allies rescued him in April 1945 (Carl Goerdeler* had designated him Agriculture Minister in a post-Hitler regime). He helped found the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in postwar Germany.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 8; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*

HERRENKLUB (Gentlemen's Club); sometimes called the German Club, it was founded in Berlin* in November 1924 by Heinrich von Gleichen-Russwurm, future editor of *Der Ring* (1928–1943). A rough extension of the *Juni-Klub*, a circle of the ''homeless'' Right founded in 1919 by Gleichen and Arthur Moeller* van den Bruck in response to the Versailles Treaty,* it encompassed Young Conservatives who were, within strict limits, prepared to accept the Republic, if not the Weimar Constitution.* Led by Gleichen and Bodo von Alvensleben (its first chairman), the club's main Berlin branch met behind the Reichstag* in an elegant building on Friedrich-Ebert Strasse. By 1932 Germany supported approximately twenty chapters. Included in its membership were Junkers,* prominent members of heavy industry and finance, and ambitious writers. In Bavaria* its ideas and membership overlapped with those of the Gäa (*Gemeinsamer Ausschuss*).

Among the forces gathered against the Republic's multiparty paralysis, the *Herrenklub* was noted for its intellectual force. The members, who were neither eccentrics nor intellectual lightweights, were united by a conviction that parliamentary democracy was unsuited to Germany and that the nation craved a conservative revolution linked, perhaps, with a Christian revival. Tending to blend traditional nineteenth-century conservatism with the more radical neoconservatism of the 1920s, the club especially embraced the ideas of Edgar Jung,* Moeller van den Bruck, and Oswald Spengler.*

Although *Herrenklub* membership never numbered more than five thousand, the club wielded a powerful influence on Germany's intellectual Right. Complemented by such like-minded journals as *Deutsche Rundschau*, *Deutsches Volkstum*, and *Die Tat*,* the club's *Der Ring* upheld the view that Germany required an authoritarian state, and that a predilection to aristocracy was supported better by corporatism than by parliamentarianism. Members welcomed the Presidential Cabinet* established in 1930 under Heinrich Brüning* as a step from Weimar's bankrupt structure to a new authoritarianism. Significantly, it

was from the *Herrenklub* that President Hindenburg* found Brüning's replacement. Franz von Papen,* one of the club's founders, was active in 1932 and close to Alvensleben. Valued for his social gifts, if not his intellect, Papen was endorsed by club members (Alvensleben, Kurt von Schleicher,* and Oskar von Hindenburg) as a likely Chancellor. Moreover, the January 1933 meeting between Papen and Hitler* in the home of Cologne banker Kurt von Schröder—a meeting that led to Hitler's later appointment as Chancellor—was conceived by Papen and Schröder at the *Herrenklub*.

REFERENCES: Fritz Stern, *Politics of Cultural Despair*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Turner, *German Big Business*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

HERTZ, GUSTAV (1887–1975), physicist; with James Franck,* provided proof for Max Planck's* quantum theory. Born in Hamburg, a nephew of physicist Heinrich Hertz, he studied at Berlin,* where he was mentored by Heinrich Rubens and took a doctorate in 1911. While collaborating with Franck in the laboratory of Emil Warburg, he detected quantized energy transfer in collisions between electrons and atoms. This initial proof of the quantum theory, formulated by Planck in 1900, brought both researchers the 1925 Nobel Prize for physics.

Although Hertz was wounded in World War I, he completed his *Habilitation* in 1917 and became *Privatdozent* at Berlin. After working in Holland at the incandescent-lamp laboratory of the Philips Company, he took a professorship in 1925 at Halle. He moved to Berlin's *Technische Hochschule* in 1928 and supervised construction of Germany's premier physics institute. A popular teacher, his colloquium with the theorist Richard Becker and the physical chemist Max Vollmer attracted a wide range of scientists. His use of diffusion for the separation of gas mixtures was integral to isolating the uranium isotope 235.

Although Hertz was of Jewish ancestry, his status as a wounded war veteran secured him for the early years of the Third Reich. Despite protests from his students, he was finally dismissed in 1935. Allowed to remain and work in Berlin—the Nazis feared that he would take his knowledge elsewhere—he directed the Siemens research laboratory until the end of World War II. He allegedly went to the Soviet Union* in 1945 by choice (sources disagree on this) and supervised construction of a Soviet research institute. Back in East Germany in 1954, he ended his career as director of Leipzig's Physics Institute.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, vol. 6.

HERZFELDE, WIELAND. *See* John Heartfield.

HESS, RUDOLF (1894–1987), NSDAP official; served as Hitler's* secretary and deputy. He was born in Alexandria, Egypt. His father thwarted his university studies so that he would assume the family business in Alexandria. To escape, he enlisted at the outbreak of World War I; during the Armistice* he enrolled

in the Thule Society* and Freikorps.* In June 1919 he joined the German Workers' Party (predecessor to the NSDAP). In despair at Germany's defeat, Hess is said to have experienced a near-religious experience when he first heard Hitler. His wife's memoirs recorded that he ''was like a new man, lively, radiant, no longer gloomy, not despondent.'' He thereafter deemed Hitler God's savior to rescue Germany from the evils of Jewry and communism.

As a student in 1920 at Munich, Hess studied geopolitics under Karl Haushofer*; his initiative in introducing Haushofer to Hitler is sometimes judged his sole contribution to Nazism. Joining the SA,* he was a battalion commander during the 1923 Beerhall Putsch* and was thereafter Hitler's personal secretary during their imprisonment. While Haushofer preserved contact with the prisoners, Hitler dictated portions of his political testament, *Mein Kampf*,* to Hess; Haushofer's geopolitical concept of *Lebensraum* (living space) thereby found its way into Nazi ideology.

After being released with Hitler in December 1924, Hess lived entirely for his Führer. Lacking demagogic talent or notable intelligence, he was the model disciple. In 1930 he asserted that ''the time of monarchies and democracies in Europe is over; the time of Caesarism has come.'' His mental imbalance is revealed by his inordinate fear of Heinrich Brüning,* who he believed would bring the KPD to power before forming a Catholic* dictatorship. Upon Gregor Strasser's* resignation in December 1932, Hess was appointed head of the NSDAP's Central Political Commission. In April 1933 he became Deputy Führer—in essence, successor-designate (Hitler named Hermann Göring* his successor in 1934)—and in June he was named Reichsminister without Portfolio. Although he possessed sizable political power, his chief role was to introduce Hitler at meetings. Silent and neglected, he turned increasingly to mysticism. With the possible exception of the Haushofers (his closest friends), he startled everyone when he flew to Scotland in May 1941 with a peace proposal. Diagnosed schizophrenic by a British psychiatrist, he was promptly arrested; Hitler pronounced him mad. After the war he was tried at Nuremberg, found guilty of crimes against the peace and war crimes, and sentenced to life imprisonment.
REFERENCES: Davidson, *Trial of the Germans*; Fest, *Face of the Third Reich*.

HEUSS, THEODOR (1884–1963), politician and journalist; represented both the DDP and the DStP in the Reichstag.* Born in Brackenheim, near Heilbronn, he began studies in economics and history in 1902 and took his doctorate under Munich's Lujo Brentano in 1905. Drawn as a student to the ideas of Friedrich Naumann,* he soon became Naumann's friend and associate. His first writings appeared during 1905–1912 in Naumann's *Die Hilfe*. Through Naumann he met Elly Knapp, whom he married in 1908, and Albert Schweitzer, a lifelong friend. From 1912 he edited the monthly *März* and Heilbronn's *Neckar Zeitung*; during World War I he supplied an article almost daily on either the war or domestic politics.

A prewar member of the Progressive Party, Heuss helped create the ill-

conceived *Demokratischer Volksbund* (Democratic People's League) in November 1918 and then joined the DDP. Relocating to Berlin,* he assumed writing and editorial duties for Ernst Jäckh's DDP weekly *Deutsche Politik*. His work, which focused on constitutional issues, brought him into contact with the period's best-known journalists. After Naumann's death in 1919, he lectured regularly at the *Hochschule für Politik*,* an institute founded by Jäckh and inspired by Naumann's political philosophy. During 1923–1926 he edited *Deutsche Nation*.

Heuss entered Berlin-Schöneberg's city council in 1919; after Schöneberg's incorporation into Berlin, he served with the Greater Berlin council. As a Reichstag deputy in 1924–1928 and 1930–1933 (the last years with the DStP), he inclined toward the Left on constitutional issues and was, accordingly, uneasy with efforts to unite with the more conservative DVP; he was lukewarm over the new DStP. Yet he championed *Anschluss* with Austria* and was an apologist for the army and Defense Minister Otto Gessler.* His aversion to Hitler* led him to publish *Hitlers Weg* in 1932 (it was burned in May 1933), the DStP's most brilliant attack on the NSDAP.

Heuss was among four DStP deputies reelected to the Reichstag after Hitler's seizure of power. Although he was suspended from the *Hochschule* in May 1933, and his Reichstag mandate was nullified in July, he stayed in Germany at considerable personal risk. To escape the heavy bombing, he relocated his family to Heidelberg late in World War II. In 1949 he became the Federal Republic's first President.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; *NDB*, vol. 9.

HEYE, WILHELM (1869–1946), general; Chief of the Reichswehr's* *Heeresleitung* (Army Command) during 1926–1930. Born in Fulda, he attended cadet school and was assigned in 1906 to the colonial forces in German Southwest Africa. Appointment to the General Staff's Propaganda Section (1908–1910) was followed by service in World War I as chief-of-staff for several commanders. He was in charge of the Supreme Command's Operations Section in the fall of 1918 and arranged a series of talks in early November, the ''Conference of Officers,'' that confirmed the hopelessness of further military resistance; it fell to Heye to give this message to Kaiser Wilhelm.

After the 1920 Kapp* Putsch, Heye succeeded Hans von Seeckt* as Chief of the *Truppenamt* (Troops Office). He was promoted to major-general in June 1920 and directed the Reichswehr's personnel office in 1922; he was promoted to lieutenant-general and commanded the First Army District in East Prussia during 1923–1926. In October 1926 he was named Seeckt's controversial successor as *Chef der Heeresleitung*, the Republic's senior military post. Although he was a product of Prussia's* old cadet school and a former General Staff officer, he appeared genuinely reconciled to the Republic. Nevertheless, although he was promoted to colonel-general in January 1930, he retired in December.

Largely due to the growing political influence of Kurt von Schleicher,* Heye was unable to exercise the same power at *Heeresleitung* as his predecessor. With a former Field Marshal (Hindenburg*) as President and former General Wilhelm Groener* as Defense Minister, the status of the *Chef der Heeresleitung* was severely curtailed. But it was Colonel Schleicher, a Hindenburg favorite appointed Chief of the Defense Ministry's new Armed Forces Department (*Wehrmacht Abteilung*) in 1926, who consistently circumvented Heye.

Heye was contemptuous of the NSDAP and fought to impede its influence in the army. His order prohibiting Nazis from holding key military positions was overturned shortly after his retirement. Of greater success were his activities on behalf of the navy: with Admiral Erich Raeder, his junior counterpart at *Marineleitung*, he engaged in an illicit rearmament program that gave birth to a new navy.

REFERENCES: Görlitz, *History of the German General Staff*; *NDB*, vol. 9; Wheeler-Bennett, *Nemesis of Power*.

HILFERDING, RUDOLF (1877–1941), politician; served as Finance Minister in two Weimar cabinets. The Vienna-born son of a Jewish businessman, he took a doctorate in medicine in 1901 and worked briefly as a Viennese children's doctor. But it was as a Marxist economist that he made his name. During 1904–1923 he assisted Viktor Adler, the Austrian socialist, with publication of *Marx-Studien*. His keen knowledge of economics was underscored by *Finanzkapital*, a 1910 publication. In 1906 he relocated to Berlin* and joined the SPD. During 1907–1916 he served on the editorial board of *Vorwärts*.* As the paper's political editor in 1914, he opposed the SPD's official policy when war broke out, but he worked to avoid a Party rift. He was conscripted into the Austrian army's medical service in May 1915 and served for the balance of the war in field hospitals.

Influenced by his pacifism, Hilferding joined the USPD in 1918 and became editor of the Party daily, *Freiheit*, a position he retained until the USPD dissolved in 1922. He took German citizenship in 1919 and became prominent in the USPD's right wing, speaking eloquently in opposition to unity with the KPD. During 1919–1921 he served with the Socialization Commission,* vainly urging a limited nationalization of the coal industry. After he facilitated the 1922 reunification with the SPD, he edited the SPD's key theoretical journal (*Die Gesellschaft*), assisted in shaping the SPD's 1925 program, served continuously on the SPD's *Parteivorstand*, and sat in the Reichstag* during 1924–1933. He was Finance Minister first under Gustav Stresemann* (August–October 1923) and then from June 1928 in Hermann Müller's* second cabinet. As the SPD's economics authority, he espoused the concentration of capital under a democratically elected hierarchy. Although his financial wizardry was considerable, his inability to translate theory into practice was a severe handicap to both his ministry and the cabinets he served. In December 1929 he resigned his portfolio

in protest against Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht's* interference with financial policies.

After fleeing to Switzerland in March 1933, Hilferding assisted socialist refugees. In 1938 he went to Paris to write for *Neue Vorwärts*. He was desperately seeking a visa in 1940 for Switzerland when he and his friend Rudolf Breitscheid* were delivered to the Nazis; the Gestapo executed him in Paris.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Breitman, *German Socialism*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; *NDB*, vol. 9; Smaldone, ''Rudolf Hilferding.''

HILLER, KURT (1885–1972), journalist and cultural critic; espoused an elitist socialism inspired more by Kantian idealism than by Marxian dialectics. Born in Berlin* to a Jewish businessman, he descended from a line of rabbis on his father's side and socialists on his mother's. After he took a law degree, his nonconformism led him to become one of Berlin's coffeehouse *Literaten*. A proponent of Expressionism,* he founded *Der Neue Klub* in 1909 and, soon thereafter, the cabaret *Gnu*, which engaged in protest against the Kaiserreich. He then evolved his quixotic ''*Logokratie*,'' a philosophy that espoused the rule of intellectuals. He avoided the patriotic fervor of August 1914 and was the driving force in November 1918 for a *Rat geistiger Arbeiter* (Council of intellectual workers), a futile quest aimed at achieving *Logokratie*.

Hiller joined the German Peace Society* in 1920; supported by Helene Stöcker,* he founded the Revolutionary Pacifist Group (*Gruppe revolutionäre Pazifisten*) in 1926. He worked in the early 1920s for International Workers' Aid (*Internationale Arbeiterhilfe*), but rejected collectivism and carefully maintained an above-party (*überparteilich*) posture. His Revolutionary Pacifists—variously promoted by Kurt Tucholsky,* Erich Kästner,* Harry Kessler,* and Theodor Lessing*—espoused socialization. The German Peace Society expelled him in 1930 for attacking the venerable Wilhelm Foerster as an unsuspecting agent of French and Russian imperialism.

Hiller energetically promoted his views. He edited his own *Ziel Jahrbücher*, contributed to *Die Weltbühne** and other periodicals, and lectured on behalf of humanism, rationalism, *Logokratie*, and sexual freedom. His books included an overview of his philosophy entitled *Verwirklichung des Geistes im Staate* (Consumation of the intellect in the state, 1925) and a call for socialist unity in the face of Nazism, *Das Ziel: Die rote Einheit* (The goal: red unity, 1931). Indeed, by 1930 he was among the few leftist intellects to grasp the danger of Nazism and to apprehend its divergence from other middle-class movements. In proposing Heinrich Mann* as a presidential candidate in 1932, he aimed at socialist unity.

The NSDAP arrested Hiller in 1933 and sent him to Oranienburg concentration camp. He was released in April 1934 after a period of severe torture and fled in September to Prague. He wrote for the exiled *Neue Weltbühne* and, joined by Otto Strasser,* published another plea for *Logokratie*. In 1938 he went to

London and founded the League of Independent German Writers. He settled in Hamburg in 1955.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

HIMMLER, HEINRICH (1900–1945), Nazi; leader of the *Schutzstaffeln* (SS). Born in Munich, he was the well-bred Catholic* son of a school headmaster. He enlisted in the navy in 1917 and, despite poor health, achieved the rank of ensign by war's end. In 1919 he joined a Freikorps* unit in Bavaria.* After completing studies in agronomy, he joined the NSDAP in August 1923 and participated in the Beerhall Putsch* as Ernst Röhm's* standard-bearer. His romantic nationalism and budding anti-Semitism* led him to break with Catholicism in 1924.

Although Himmler dropped his NSDAP membership after the putsch, he retained his Nazi connections, worked as Gregor Strasser's* personal secretary in 1924, and rejoined the Party in 1925. Middling positions as deputy *Gauleiter* of Lower Bavaria (1925) and Upper Bavaria (1926) and as Munich's propaganda chief gave slight evidence of his coming renown. He was working as a poultry farmer* when he was appointed head of the SS in January 1929, thus launching a career that made him one of the most powerful men in the Third Reich.

In January 1929 the SS was a small unit attached to the SA.* Himmler demonstrated his talents by expanding it to 50,000 by 1933. Meanwhile, as Munich's police chief, he founded the first concentration camp in early 1933 at Dachau. The SS remained subordinate to the SA until it was declared independent soon after the June 1934 Röhm purge. Over the next eleven years Himmler expanded its role, absorbed the Gestapo, and evolved a Party security unit (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD). His creation terrorized the state and was responsible for the wholesale murder of Jews,* Gypsies, socialists, Communists, and partisans. Captured by the British in 1945, Himmler took cyanide before he could be interrogated.
REFERENCES: Breitman, *Architect of Genocide*; *NDB*, vol. 9; Bradley Smith, *Heinrich Himmler*; Ziegler, *Nazi Germany's New Aristocracy*.

HINDEMITH, PAUL (1895–1963), composer, music* theorist, and conductor; perhaps the foremost German composer of his generation. He was born in Hanau. His father was a house painter who moved his family to nearby Frankfurt in 1902. Although financial worries and religious friction (his grandparents were Protestant* and Catholic*) strained family relations, his father ensured that Paul received music instruction. He began violin lessons in 1904 and became Adolf Rebner's pupil in 1908. Rebner, the leading violin teacher at Frankfurt's Hoch Conservatory, arranged a gratis position for Hindemith in 1909; he remained until 1917. His exceptional gifts (he was accomplished on clarinet, piano, violin, and viola) brought appointment in 1915 as second violinist in Rebner's string quartet and as concertmaster with Frankfurt's Operahouse Orchestra. He was

drafted in 1917, but was released to organize a quartet that gave concerts at the front.

Hindemith returned to both the quartet and the Operahouse Orchestra after the war. After composing for some time, his work was first performed in 1919 by Frankfurt's *Verein für Theater- und Musikkultur*. The premiere of *Kammermusik no. 1* at the 1922 Donaueschingen Festival settled his reputation as Germany's principal young composer. He was deemed the *enfant terrible* of modern German music; his compositions aimed to provoke listeners through dissonance and uncontrolled tones. He was, however, invited in 1923 to join the board of the Donaueschingen Festival. Because of his imagination and energy, the festival acquired an unexpected importance. It moved to Baden-Baden in 1927 to accommodate more ambitious projects and was relocated to Berlin* in 1930. Meanwhile, Hindemith became Composition Professor at Berlin's *Hochschule für Musik* in 1927. Although he lacked classroom experience, he soon evolved into a popular teacher. He was also a regular performer, both with a string trio and as soloist on the violin and the viola. By 1930 he was the leading performer-composer of his time.

The NSDAP did not immediately discredit Hindemith or his music. Although his anti-Nazi views were renowned among his students, he adopted a pragmatic attitude toward the Third Reich and ignored the dismissal of Jewish colleagues at the *Hochschule*. But the Nazis finally forbade performance of his works in November 1934. Although he was allowed to continue teaching, he finally left for Switzerland in 1938. He emigrated to New York in 1940 and eventually taught music theory at Yale. He retired to Switzerland in 1953.

REFERENCES: Kemp, *Hindemith*; *New Grove*, vol. 8; Willett, *Art and Politics*.

HINDENBURG, PAUL VON BENECKENDORFF UND (1847–1934), President of the Republic; appointed Hitler* Chancellor in January 1933. Born into the Junker* family of a Prussian officer in Posen, he was educated at cadet school and participated in both the Austro-Prussian (1866) and Franco-Prussian wars (1870–1871). In the 1870s he graduated with high honors from the War Academy, after which he assumed sundry routine assignments. In 1911, after commanding an army corps for several years, he retired at the rank of lieutenant-general.

Short on initiative and imagination, Hindenburg was noted for his imperturbable calm and authoritative bearing. These attributes brought his recall shortly after the outbreak of World War I. Nominal superior to Erich Ludendorff,* he was given command of the Eighth Army in East Prussia and became a national hero after stunning victories over the Russians at Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes. The myth that grew around him, enhanced by his size and aura of authority, led in August 1916 to appointment as Chief of the General Staff. But the strategy that ensued—including unlimited submarine warfare, the removal of Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, and the Brest-Litovsk Treaty—was the work of Ludendorff.

Although Ludendorff's reputation was damaged by defeat, Hindenburg survived with myth intact. He avoided signing the Armistice*—normally a military function—by giving the burden to Matthias Erzberger* and then escaped the indignity of dealing with Germany's socialist government by asking his new Chief of Staff, Wilhelm Groener,* to assume the task. Indeed, with Groener insulating him from postwar politics, he disassociated himself from both the Republic and its opponents.

Hindenburg had already been dubbed the *Ersatzkaiser* (artificial Kaiser) during the war; thus there was an inevitability in his 1925 election to the presidency of a republic yearning for leadership. But, as with his military career, he was without the talent and understanding needed to properly address his duties. Accordingly, he relied on individuals such as his son Oskar, Kurt von Schleicher,* Otto Meissner,* or Erich von dem Bussche-Ippenburg (a trusted wartime subordinate)—without, however, becoming their puppet. That his reelection in 1932 depended upon support from the Left was a humiliation that he failed to understand.

Always close to reactionary elements, Hindenburg was increasingly manipulated by a rightist camarilla. In 1930, aroused by depression* and an enfeebled Reichstag,* he formed a Presidential Cabinet* that compelled the use of emergency powers for survival; it marked the end of the Republic as a parliamentary regime. Although he long resisted admonitions to appoint Hitler Chancellor, he condoned actions such as Franz von Papen's* coup against Prussia* that further weakened the Republic. Finally turning to ''that Bohemian corporal'' (his words), he tied his prestige to Hitler by participating in the Nazis' spectacles. Yet until his death he remained an impediment to the full force of Hitler's revolution.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Dorpalen, *Hindenburg*; Wheeler-Bennett, *Hindenburg*.

HINTZE, OTTO (1861–1940), historian; helped maintain the Rankean tradition that emphasized the state as the focus of historical analysis. Born to a Prussian civil servant in the Pomeranian village of Pyritz (now Pyrzyce), he began studying philosophy and history at Greifswald. In 1880 he transferred to Berlin,* where he remained the rest of his life. His teachers included Wilhelm Dilthey, Theodor Mommsen, Heinrich von Treitschke, and Johann Gustav Droysen. In 1895 he wrote his *Habilitation* for Treitschke and Gustav Schmoller. He was appointed *ausserordentlicher Professor* in 1899 and became Professor of Constitutional, Administrative, and Economic History and Politics in 1902. The ponderous title framed a career in which he became one of Germany's foremost interpreters of Western institutions. In 1914, the year he published *Die Hohenzollern und ihr Werk* (The Hohenzollerns and their work), he was elected to the Prussian Academy of Sciences.

Although impaired eyesight, aggravated by years of archival research, forced him to leave the classroom in 1920, Hintze retained his intellectual commitment

throughout the Weimar era, as was testified by the many essays delivered at the Prussian Academy and published in *Historische Zeitschrift*. He was a pillar of historical tradition and an authority on the Prussian state; his paramount interest was the comparative study of European institutions. With Friedrich Meinecke,* a friend and colleague, he debated the respective historical significance of individuals and institutions. He was fond of claiming that through him the traditions of Ranke lived on.

Hintze's comprehension of Western civilization slowly and reluctantly led him to embrace democracy. He also admitted to a missing element in Germany's heritage, a recognition that caused this quip about Hitler*: ''This man is not of our race; there is something totally alien about him, something like an otherwise extinct primordial race which was totally amoral.'' He remained active with the Prussian Academy until 1938, when, upon completing a questionnaire, he confessed his marriage to a woman of Jewish ancestry. Hedwig Hintze, herself an accomplished historian, committed suicide in Holland four years later.

REFERENCES: Gerhard, ''Otto Hintze''; Lehmann and Sheehan, *Interrupted Past*; *NDB*, vol. 9.

HIRSCH, JULIUS. *See* Robert Schmidt.

HIRSCH, PAUL. *See* Wolfgang Heine.

HIRSCH-DUNCKER TRADE UNIONS. *See* German Trade-Union Federation.

HIRTSIEFER, HEINRICH (1876–1941), politician and trade-union* leader; served as Prussian Welfare Minister during 1921–1932. Born to an industrial worker in Essen, he apprenticed as a locksmith and thereafter worked for Krupp* steel until 1904. He soon joined the Christian labor movement and became district leader in 1904 and secretary in 1920 of the Christian-Social Metalworkers Union. In the years before World War I he struggled to institute more secure pension funding for workers. He was also active in the Center Party* and demanded a larger worker voice in the Party's program debates of 1921. The growing strength of the Center's conservative wing made it difficult to accommodate the Christian trade unions.

Hirtsiefer was elected to Essen's city council in 1907. Other mandates followed until in 1919 he joined the Prussian Assembly. He succeeded Adam Stegerwald* in November 1921 as Prussian Welfare Minister and retained the position until Franz von Papen* dismissed Otto Braun's* cabinet in July 1932. Meanwhile, he was attentive to youth and the needs of working families (with Interior Minister Carl Severing,* he created *Berliner Winterhilfe* in 1930 for the unemployed). Although he belonged to his Party's left wing, he worked with Gottfried Treviranus,* the conservative Reichsminister for Occupied Territories, to establish the *Osthilfe** Commission. After the 1930 Reichstag* elections he

sponsored closer cooperation with the SPD; indeed, he played a key role in prolonging Braun's government and protested vigorously its dissolution in July 1932. While he was not among the era's colorful politicians, he was a committed and conscientious republican.

Hirtsiefer was wrongly arrested on corruption charges in September 1933 and shipped to a concentration camp. Although the weakness of the state's case led to his release in July 1934, he was completely broken by the experience.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 9; Patch, *Christian Trade Unions*.

HITLER, ADOLF (1889–1945), leader of the NSDAP; his appointment as Chancellor on 30 January 1933 terminated the Weimar Republic. Born to an Austrian bureaucrat in Braunau am Inn, he grew up in Linz and moved in 1907 to Vienna, where he applied in vain for admission to the *Kunstakademie*. Perhaps to avoid service in the Habsburg army, he relocated in May 1913 to Munich; yet he enlisted in a Bavarian infantry regiment on 16 August 1914. Active on the Western Front, he was twice wounded and, as a corporal, received the Iron Cross (First Class). Hospitalized near the end of the war, he returned to Munich in November and reported for duty. He was assigned to an intelligence unit reviewing revolutionary activities, and it was in this capacity that he visited a meeting of the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (DAP) on 12 September 1919. Inspired by a pamphlet written by DAP leader Anton Drexler, he soon joined the Party as its 555th member (as a means of deception, the DAP's rolls began with 501; Hitler later claimed that he was the 7th member). He left the army on 31 March 1920 and thereafter devoted his life exclusively to the Party, which was renamed the NSDAP in April. On 29 July 1921, at a meeting marked by bitter infighting, he outmaneuvered Drexler and was elected chairman.

Hitler's aim until 1923 was to depose the Republic via a ''national revolution.'' Inspired by Mussolini's March on Rome, he launched his ill-prepared Beerhall Putsch* of 8–9 November 1923 with the aid of his paramilitary organization, the SA.* He fled Munich in the wake of the coup's failure, but was soon captured and incarcerated. Yet Hitler turned his trial, held before the Munich People's Court in February–March 1924, into a propaganda triumph. He was thereafter deemed the principal leader of the *völkisch* Right. Although he received a five-year sentence for high treason, he was released from Landsberg Prison on 20 December 1924.

In February 1925, upon restoring the NSDAP, Hitler quietly reasserted control over a movement torn by rivalry; he then began the process of gaining power legally. Although he was initially prohibited from public speaking (deportation to Austria* was threatened if he broke the ban), Bavaria* lifted the prohibition in February 1927. When Prussia* followed suit in September 1928, Hitler could aspire to national prominence. He first spoke at Berlin's* *Sportpalast* on 16 November 1928 and joined members of a ''nationalist opposition'' in 1929 to crusade against the Young Plan.* The depression* was the crucial backdrop to

the election campaign of 1930, from which the NSDAP emerged as the Reichstag's* second-largest Party. The outcome affirmed Hitler's constitutional strategy.

The 1930 elections brought Hitler prominence and legitimacy. After he reaffirmed his resolve to gain power legally, his base of support began expanding into the officer corps, and by briefly uniting in October 1931 with the broadly conservative Harzburg Front,* he gained an aura of respectability previously denied. In rapid succession he addressed Düsseldorf's powerful Industry Club on 26 January 1932, announced his presidential candidacy on 22 February, and took German citizenship on 26 February. In the first of two presidential elections (13 March), he received 30 percent of the vote; the obligatory runoff (10 April) brought him 37 percent. Although Paul von Hindenburg* won reelection, Hitler emerged as the preeminent ''antisystem'' politician.

The NSDAP gained 37.8 percent of the vote in the July 1932 Reichstag elections. Although this made Hitler the leader of Germany's strongest Party, Hindenburg refused to make him Chancellor. In the elections of 6 November the NSDAP suffered a two-million-vote loss. Resisting the counsel of Gregor Strasser,* Hitler retained an all-or-nothing strategy vis-à-vis Hindenburg. His gambit paid off. On 4 January 1933 Hitler and Franz von Papen* achieved an understanding that brought his appointment on 30 January. This astonishing seizure of power just as his constituency was unraveling reaffirmed Hitler in the invincibility of his will. Within eighteen months he managed to solidify his totalitarian rule by neutralizing all forms of internal opposition.

REFERENCES: Bullock, *Hitler*; Fest, *Hitler*; *NDB*, vol. 9; Waite, *Psychopathic God*.

HÖCH, HANNAH (1889–1978), graphic artist; a pioneer with collage and a member of the Berlin* Dada* movement. She was born in Gotha; her father managed an insurance company, while her mother was an amateur painter. After Hannah left school to care for a younger sister, she worked for her father before enrolling in 1912 in Berlin's *Kunstgewerbeschule*. When war forced the school's closure, she returned to Gotha and was briefly engaged in Red Cross work. But in 1915 she resumed studies in graphics at the Berlin Museum's *Kunstgewerbeschule*; she also began a seven-year liaison with Raoul Hausmann, an Austrian artist living in Berlin. During 1916–1926 she worked part-time for the Ullstein Verlag,* designing patterns and drawing models. When she joined Club-Dada, founded by Richard Huelsenbeck in April 1918, she and Hausmann began exploring collage and photomontage with an eye to bridging high art and popular culture. In 1920 she participated with Hausmann in Berlin's First International Dada Fair. Although she was among the critics of the *Novembergruppe*,* she displayed her work in the group's annual exhibitions in 1920–1923, 1925–1926, and 1930–1931. Noted for their personal touch and inclusion of humor, her paintings and collages appeared in Huelsenbeck's *Dada-Almanach*. From about 1920 she assisted Kurt Schwitters* with his ''Merzbau''; under his influence she began her Constructivist collages in 1922. In 1926, after sojourns in Italy

and France, she joined Kurt and Helma Schwitters in the Netherlands and made her first contact with the de Stijl group; living with the writer Til Brugman, she remained at The Hague until 1929, the year Holland staged her first solo exhibition.

Having returned to Berlin with Brugman, Höch exhibited in 1930 and 1931 in the *Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung* (Greater Berlin Art Exhibition) and also participated in the 1931 Berlin Fotomontage Exhibition and in *Frauen in Not* (Women in need), a show protesting the government's antiabortion laws. When the Bauhaus* moved from Dessau to Berlin in 1932, it canceled a solo exhibition of Höch's work. During the Third Reich she retained her Berlin residence, but lived in ''internal exile,'' ceasing to exhibit her work in Germany. She remained in West Berlin after World War II.

REFERENCES: Barron, *German Expressionism*; Clair, *1920s*; Lavin, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife*; Willett, *Art and Politics*.

HOCHSCHULE FÜR POLITIK; a technical school for the study of political science, founded in 1920 by the publisher Ernst Jäckh with support from the Carnegie Foundation. Successor to Friedrich Naumann's* *Staatsbürgerschule*, it was outspokenly committed to the Republic. Jäckh, a Naumann disciple with ties to the DDP, was assisted by the Prussian Cultural Ministry. Deviating from tradition, the *Hochschule* admitted students who had not completed Gymnasium and thereby attracted many individuals, including trade-union* officials, who would not otherwise have attended a university. Among the school's better known lecturers and graduates were Moritz Julius Bonn,* Arnold Brecht,* Max Scheler,* Eckart Kehr,* Hajo Holborn, and Sigmund Neumann. It was never considered a center for advanced study; its importance rested in a determination to provide broad access to education. Established while Konrad Haenisch was Prussian Cultural Minister, it hoped to achieve Haenisch's dream of instituting an educational system wherein students from all social classes might receive objective and equal instruction in politics and citizenship. Although those associated with the *Hochschule*—for example, Theodor Heuss*—were often strongly committed to Germany, the school was censured by the Right as a bastion of internationalists.

REFERENCES: Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Jäckh and Suhr, *Geschichte*; Laqueur, *Weimar*.

HOESCH, LEOPOLD VON (1881–1936), ambassador; ''the greatest of the German professional diplomats of the interwar period'' (Holborn). Son of a Dresden industrialist, he studied law and completed legal exams in 1905. After a year in the Saxon Horse Guards and judicial preparation with the Dresdner Bank, he was assigned in 1907 to the Peking legation. From 1909 he served successively as an attaché in Paris, in Madrid, and at the Foreign Office in Berlin.* During 1912–1914 he was legation secretary in London. His career took him to Sofia in 1915 and Constantinople in 1916. He was named cabinet chief in October 1917 to Foreign Secretary Richard von Kühlmann and took

part in the treaty negotiations at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. He was assigned to Oslo in 1918, became *chargé d'affaires* in Madrid in 1919, and went to Paris as embassy counselor in 1921.

When Berlin responded to the Ruhr occupation* in January 1923 by recalling its Ambassador, Hoesch assumed the thorny role of chief emissary in Paris. Gustav Stresemann,* Foreign Minister from August 1923, soon appreciated the energy Hoesch devoted to shaping Germany's position, both during and after the era of German passive resistance. Despite severe tension between Paris and Berlin, Hoesch was popular with French Premier Raymond Poincaré; indeed, Poincaré discreetly noted that he would welcome Hoesch's promotion to Ambassador, an appointment bestowed in February 1924. Maintaining close contact with the French Foreign Ministry, Hoesch was pivotal in preparations leading to the Locarno Treaties* (1925) and German admission to the Advisory Council of the League of Nations (1926). He worked diligently for a reparations* accord and was crucial in preliminary work for the Dawes* and Young* plans. He also labored for removal of troops occupying the Rhineland.* ''The Rhineland is not evacuated; it has been regained,'' he asserted in June 1930 as the last Allied troops left the final zone ahead of schedule, due measurably to his determination.

Hoesch's final years in Paris were diminished by Stresemann's death in 1929 and the imbroglio over Germany's proposed customs union with Austria* (in which his thoughtful counsel to Julius Curtius* was ignored). He was relocated to London in 1932, where he soon won the trust of his new hosts. Yet his ability to carry on constructive diplomacy was thwarted by the Nazi regime. Under Stresemann, Hoesch managed to generate a large reservoir of trust for Germany; he lamented its evaporation with renunciation of the Locarno Treaties and the military occupation of the Rhineland—this last, he judged, being the initial step toward a second world war.

REFERENCES: Grathwol, *Stresemann and the DNVP*; Holborn, ''Diplomats and Diplomacy''; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; *NDB*, vol. 9; Ratliff, *Faithful to the Fatherland*.

HOETZSCH, OTTO (1876–1946), historian and politician; represented the moderate, anti-Kapp* wing of the DNVP. Born in Leipzig to a master craftsman, he studied history and political science, and was active in the conservative German Student Union (*Verein deutscher Studenten*). After taking his doctorate in 1900 under Karl Lamprecht, he did research at the Berlin* Academy on the series *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm* (Documents and official papers concerned with the history of the Elector Friedrich Wilhelm). He also enrolled in the Pan-German League and joined its board in 1904. Framing his specialization in Eastern Europe and Russia, he wrote his *Habilitation* in 1906 under Berlin's Otto Hintze.* He taught at Posen's Royal Academy until 1913 and then returned to Berlin as *ausserordentlicher Professor*. He was promoted to full professor in 1920 and succeeded Karl Stählin in 1928 as Professor of East European History.

From 1913 Hoetzsch was increasingly viewed as Germany's authority on

Russian affairs. As a regular columnist on foreign affairs* in the conservative *Kreuzzeitung* (1914–1924) and *Tag* (1926–1928), he endorsed a conservative Prussian outlook; even after the Romanov collapse this embraced close ties with Russia, whom he believed to be Germany's natural ally against England. Determined to see Russia left intact, he argued during World War I for limited annexations along the eastern Baltic coast. By publishing his views, he became known as a dangerous Russophile, a reputation that led the NSDAP to label him ''pro-Bolshevik.'' His Russian sympathies were, however, decidedly conservative and anti-Bolshevik.

Hoetzsch was politically active during the Weimar period. A member of the Conservative Party before the war, he joined the new DNVP in December 1918 and held a Reichstag* mandate during 1920–1930. In contrast to his colleagues, he accepted both the loss of the monarchy and the Republic's parliamentary reforms. Dreaming of a large conservative-democratic party similar to the Tories in England, he advocated governing in coalition with the other middle-class parties. As a key member of the foreign affairs committee, he labored to improve the border with Poland* and promoted both the Rapallo Treaty* of 1922 and the 1926 Berlin Treaty with the Soviet Union.*

Hoetzsch opposed his Party's direction under Alfred Hugenberg.* He generally defended the Republic's foreign policy, including membership in the League of Nations, and finally quit the DNVP when it sponsored a plebiscite against the Young Plan.* In 1930 he helped found the Conservative People's Party,* but was unable to win a Reichstag seat. The NSDAP ''retired'' him in 1935.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Grathwol, *Stresemann and the DNVP*; Hertzman, *DNVP*; Hoetzsch, *Germany's Domestic and Foreign Policies*; *NDB*, vol. 9.

HOFFMANN, ALFRED. *See Organisation Consul.*

HOFFMANN, JOHANNES (1867–1930), politician; Bavarian Prime Minister during 1919–1920. Born in the Palatinate village of Ilbesheim bei Landau, he studied pedagogy and taught during 1887–1908 in Kaiserslautern. A member of the SPD, his election to the Landtag in 1908 forced him to resign his teaching post. During 1910–1919 he was Kaiserslautern's deputy *Bürgermeister*. A champion of educational reform, he was elected to the Reichstag* in 1912 and dealt mainly with nutritional issues once the Allied blockade* began restricting food availability. Just before the November Revolution* he was engaged in constitutional reform as a Bavarian Minister without Portfolio.

Hoffmann became Education Minister in Kurt Eisner's* new Bavarian Republic. He enacted key reforms, including amelioration of the social and economic situation of the teaching profession, long deemed crucial by Progressive and SPD politicians. In Eisner's fractious cabinet he took a compromise position between the Prime Minister and his USPD supporters on the one hand and the

SPD on the other. Eisner's assassination* on 21 February 1919 prompted a period of tough negotiations between the Bavarian Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* and the Landtag; Hoffmann finally emerged on 17 March as a compromise Prime Minister. His call for the creation of a *Volkswehr* (People's Defense Force) to secure the government against the KPD and his tendency to incline to the radical wing of the SPD—based largely on efforts to curtail ecclesiastical schools—were crucial to his selection. Although he aimed to give no advantage to Bavaria's* hostile factions, his effort to establish stable government was nullified by external events. When on 22 March news arrived from Budapest that Béla Kun had forced the abdication of Count Michael Károlyi, Hoffmann was no longer able to placate the radicals within the councils. Forced by a standoff to remove his cabinet from Munich on 7 April, he governed from Bamberg during the weeks of Munich's *Räterepublik*. His plea to Berlin* for assistance against the usurpers was testimony to many Bavarians of his impotence. In May, after suppression of the *Räterepublik*, he reformed a coalition cabinet of the SPD, DDP, and BVP. He also established the Bavarian *Einwohnerwehr*.

Under pressure related to Berlin's Kapp* Putsch and spearheaded by the very *Einwohnerwehr* he had created, Hoffmann was forced from office on 14 March 1920, thereby ending SPD participation in Bavaria's governments for the duration of the Republic. He soon removed himself completely from Bavarian politics, resigning his Landtag mandate on 24 August 1920. He taught in a Kaiserslautern *Volksschule* until 1923 and retained his Reichstag seat until his death.

REFERENCES: Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; *NDB*, vol. 9.

HÖFLE, ANTON. *See* Julius Barmat.

HOHENZOLLERNS. *See* Monarchism.

HÖLTERMANN, KARL. *See Reichsbanner*.

HÖPKER-ASCHOFF, HERMANN (1883–1954), politician; served as Prussian Finance Minister. Born in Herford (Westphalia) to a middle-class family, he studied law—taking a doctorate in 1907—and gained appointment with the Prussian judicial system. He served in various district and provincial courts and became judge at the Superior Provincial Court in Hamm in 1921. He was a member of the DDP from 1919 and was elected in February 1921 to the Prussian Landtag; he retained the mandate until 1932 and served simultaneously in the Reichstag* during 1930–1932.

Closely tied to Weimar Coalition* efforts in support of Wilhelm Marx's* presidential candidacy, Höpker served briefly in February–March 1925 as Prussian Finance Minister before being named Prime Minister on 31 March 1925. By arrangement with the Center* and the SPD, he declined the post, thus

smoothing Otto Braun's* formation of a new Prussian government. Braun thereupon reappointed him Finance Minister, a portfolio he held until 1931. Evolving considerable economics expertise, he had a decidedly positive profile in Braun's government. Growing conviction of the need for centralized financial planning turned him into one of the DDP's chief advocates for national reform. He was indebted to Friedrich Naumann,* Max Weber,* and Lujo Brentano for his liberal convictions. With Carl Becker,* he helped conclude Prussia's* concordat with the Vatican in 1929. His frustration at attempts to generate a procedure for merging the Prussian and federal governments led to his resignation in October 1931.

As economic and parliamentary crisis spread in 1929–1930, the DDP sought to broaden its attractiveness by merging with the rightist *Jungdo*.* Although Höpker favored the move, irreconcilable problems soon led to the splintering of the new Party (the DStP); in his haste to form a united liberal party, Höpker had been among those Democrats who failed to admit the anti-Semitism* of their would-be allies. The DStP's remaining membership named him chairman of the central action committee late in 1930. His inability in 1931 to link the DStP with the DVP reinforced his decision to leave the Finance Ministry. He retired from politics in July 1932 and lived in Bielefeld during 1933–1945. In 1951 he became the first President of the Federal Republic's Supreme Court.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; *NDB*, vol. 9; Pois, *Bourgeois Democrats*.

HORKHEIMER, MAX (1895–1973), social theorist; chief organizer of the Frankfurt School's* intellectual life and proponent of its theoretical perspective, ''critical theory.'' Born to a Jewish textile manufacturer in Stuttgart, he reluctantly entered the family business upon completing Gymnasium in 1910. Emboldened by service during World War I, he quit the factory and during 1919–1925 studied philosophy. He completed his doctorate in 1922 and his *Habilitation* in 1925 and was appointed Professor for Social Philosophy at Frankfurt in 1930.

Horkheimer was drawn to Marxism as a student. With like-minded students—including Theodor Adorno,* Leo Loewenthal, and Felix Weil—he was especially attracted to the thought of Georg Lukács* and Karl Korsch.* In 1923, gaining support from Weil's father, he prompted the founding of the Institute for Social Research (i.e., the Frankfurt School, affiliated with the University of Frankfurt). The school's first director was Carl Grünberg, a Marxist professor. When illness forced Grünberg's retirement in 1931, leadership passed to Horkheimer, by then a university professor. Horkheimer energized the school, largely by founding the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*. In addition to his own contributions, the *Zeitschrift* published the social psychology of Erich Fromm, Henryk Grossmann's ideas on Karl Marx, Loewenthal's sociology of literature, and Adorno's sociology of music*.

Upon Hitler's* seizure of power, Horkheimer was fired, the Frankfurt School

was seized, and the *Zeitschrift* ceased publication in the spring of 1933 (it later reappeared, first in Paris and then in New York). With several friends—most of whom were socialists and of Jewish ancestry—Horkheimer went first to Geneva and then in 1934 to New York. Affiliated with Columbia University, the school reopened and began stressing its ''critical theory of society.'' The pressures of war and growing intellectual conflict eventually induced a schism. In 1949 Adorno and Horkheimer helped reestablish the old school in Frankfurt.

Horkheimer's confidence that workers could regenerate society evaporated after 1945. Gradually believing that no viable political practice could lead to qualitative change, he became absorbed with the totalitarian threat to individualism.

REFERENCES: Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture*; *IESS*; Jay, *Dialectical Imagination*; Wiggershaus, *Frankfurt School*.

HÖRSING, OTTO. *See Reichsbanner.*

HUELSENBECK, RICHARD. *See* Hugo Ball *and* Dada.

HUGENBERG, ALFRED (1865–1951), politician and business leader; his radical nationalism, rooted in social Darwinism, served to undermine the Republic and expedite Hitler's* ascendancy. He was born to middle-class circumstances in Hanover; his father sat in Prussia's* *Abgeordnetenhaus* as a National Liberal. Soon after completing studies in 1888 in law and economics, he helped found the Pan-German League (*Alldeutscher Verband*). Although he remained in the background, he swayed the League's long-lived chairman, Heinrich Class.* During 1894–1899, while he was working with the Prussian Colonization Commission, he began promoting a reduced Polish influence in Posen and West Prussia. He was attached to the civil service* until 1907 and served from 1903 with the Finance Ministry. As chairman of the board at Krupp* steel from 1909, he was among Germany's economic prodigies. His virtuosity at enhancing Krupp's finances and dealing with worker issues was copied by other firms in the Ruhr. Ultimately, his skills brought appointment to the boards of numerous firms and economic organizations.

Since Hugenberg surmised that democracy could be stifled with territorial acquisitions, he was in the vanguard of those who demanded vast annexations in World War I. To foster his goals, he founded an industrial group in 1916 to purchase and reorganize the large but troubled publishing empire of August Scherl. Growing interest in journalism led him to resign from Krupp in 1918. He was soon one of Germany's newspaper* barons; he added the popular tabloid *Berliner Illustrierte Nachtausgabe* and used *August Scherl G.m.b.H.* to assail the liberal press of Ullstein* and Mosse.* In 1927 he augmented his power by purchasing UFA,* Germany's premier film* studio.

Hugenberg promoted a radical nationalism. His aim to turn Germany into a world power was matched by his urgency that Germany embrace an authoritar-

ian structure. He campaigned against unions, socialism, and the left-liberal parties and he promoted the semifeudal ideal of a society led by paternalistic landlords and employers. His long-held aversion to the ''democratic'' system created by Bismarck only sharpened his opposition to Weimar's parliamentary regime.

From 1919 Hugenberg was successively elected to the National Assembly* and the Reichstag* as a member of the DNVP. He vehemently promoted noncooperation with the ''Weimar system'' and launched an offensive in 1927 against a DNVP leadership that had struggled to work with the Republic. In the wake of a disastrous election the Party elected him chairman on 20 October 1928. Exercising dictatorial power, he castigated colleagues who had worked within the system and resisted all gestures that might sustain the Republic. His bitter campaign against the Young Plan,* pursued with Hitler in an effort to discredit the foreign policy of Gustav Stresemann,* epitomized his impact on German politics: it not only split his own Party but enhanced the respectability of the NSDAP.

Hugenberg lent further credibility to the NSDAP's conservative credentials by aligning with Hitler in the 1931 Harzburg Front.* Although he began to grasp the danger posed by Hitler in 1932, he remained convinced that he could control him and, dismissing his qualms, joined Hitler's cabinet in January 1933 as Minister for both Economics and Agriculture. He realized too late that he wielded little influence, and his isolation led him to resign on 27 June 1933. Although he was forced to sell many of his holdings—in 1937 he sold UFA—he survived World War II with much of his fortune intact. He maintained his political convictions until his death.

REFERENCES: Chanady, ''Disintegration''; Eksteins, *Limits of Reason*; Grathwol, *Stresemann and the DNVP*; Leopold, *Alfred Hugenberg*; *NDB*, vol. 10; Walker, ''German Nationalist People's Party.''

HUSSERL, EDMUND (1859–1938), philosopher; devised phenomenology, a method of probing beneath external existence to a positive perception of fundamental essence. Born of Jewish parentage in the Habsburg city of Prossnitz, he studied mathematics at Berlin* and psychology at Vienna and taught at Halle, Göttingen, and Freiburg (from 1916). His circle of skilled students was such that when he was called in 1923 to succeed Ernst Troeltsch* at Berlin, he chose to remain at Freiburg.

Because philosophy was for Husserl a science, he was convinced that it encompassed objective truths. Although his 1901 work *Logische Untersuchungen* (Logical investigations) pronounced philosophy an a priori discipline, his 1913 *Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie und phänomenologischen Philosophie* (Ideas about a pure phenomenology and phenomenological philosophy) provided a program for investigating consciousness and its objects by suspending belief in the empirical world as a means of gaining a vantage point in subjective consciousness. The methodology inspired philosophers in the United States and

Germany, notably Martin Heidegger* (who succeeded Husserl in 1928), and laid a foundation for Gestalt psychology. It was the methodology, as opposed to any incontestable philosophical truths, that established Husserl's importance. When he retired, he had published eight books or long articles; he also had 45,000 pages of manuscript in shorthand. None of his work laid claim to being definitive, for he enjoyed characterizing himself as ''a perpetual beginner.''

Although his family had converted to Protestantism in 1866, Husserl was deprived of his professorial title in 1933. He was reinstated when records revealed that his son had fallen honorably in World War I, but the title was again withheld in 1936. He remained in Freiburg until his death, but was increasingly subjected to social indignities.

REFERENCES: *Cambridge Biographical Dictionary*; *EP*, vol. 4; Farber, *Foundation of Phenomenology*; Natanson, *Edmund Husserl*; *NDB*, vol. 10.

HYPERINFLATION. *See* Inflation.

I

IG FARBEN. Established on 2 December 1925, the *IG Farbenindustrie Aktiengesellschaft* (literally, ''Community of Interests of the Dye Industry, Inc.'') was an outgrowth of Carl Duisberg's* 1904 proposal to federate Germany's major dye and chemical firms into a giant trust. Aiming at the merger of capital holdings while preserving each company's individual identity, Duisberg, head of the *Farbenfabriken vorm. Friedrich Bayer* (Bayer) of Leverkusen, wished to link Bayer with Agfa (*Aktiengesellschaft für Anilin-Fabrikation*) of Berlin, BASF (*Badische Anilin- und Soda-Fabrik*) of Ludwigshafen, *Farbwerke vorm. Meister Lucius & Brüning* of Hoechst am Main (Hoechst), *Leopold Cassella & Co. GmbH* of Frankfurt am Main, and *Kalle & Co. Aktiengesellschaft* of Biebrich am Main. While his vision was premature, two competitive blocs evolved in 1907, and these in turn combined in 1916 into *IG der deutschen Teerfarbenfabriken* (Community of Interests of the German Tar Dye Factories).

Taking advantage of tax laws that encouraged the formation of cartels,* the final merger, more the work of BASF's Carl Bosch* than of Duisberg, yielded Europe's largest corporation. With Duisberg heading the supervisory board and Bosch the managing board, Farben was neither a simple federation of formally independent firms nor a giant conglomerate focused strictly on dyes. Immersed in pharmaceuticals, photographic chemicals, film* and fibre production, artificial-rubber and fuel fabrication, pesticides, and hydrogenation—encompassing development of fertilizers and explosives—the company defied classification as light or heavy industry, basic or finishing, export or domestic based, traditional or dynamic. By 1929 it was a decentralized firm employing about 120,000 people in more than 100 locations with an annual gross income exceeding 1.4 billion

marks. Yet, consciously avoiding fields perceived to have little future as growth areas, it produced ''only'' 40 percent of Germany's chemicals.

Investment in the conversion of coal into oil, the impact of the depression,* and ill-fated ventures into international cartels damaged Farben in the Republic's final years. Peaking in 1929, sales dropped during the next three years by 38.4 percent. Although it remained among Germany's premier enterprises, its initiative faltered after 1930. Once Standard Oil of New Jersey alleviated Farben's economic emergency by buying the patents to its synthetic-fuel research, Farben redirected its endeavors to the German market. A steady sponsor of Germany's prorepublican, procapitalist parties (the DDP, the Center,* and the DVP), the firm supported Gustav Stresemann* while showing unflagging hostility to Alfred Hugenberg* and the DNVP.

Although Stresemann's death and the depression sent the moderate parties into a tailspin, no Farben board member publicly endorsed the NSDAP before Hitler's* seizure of power, nor did anyone connected with Farben sign the ''Industrialists' Petition'' of November 1932 urging Hitler's appointment. While the NSDAP's abuse of international economic cooperation was a barrier to gaining company support, the chief obstacle was propaganda depicting Farben as an agent of Jewish finance. After Hitler's appointment Farben's executives concluded that they had exaggerated the dangers of Nazi rule. Requiring stable government to resume profitability, the firm was not simply ''brought into line'' in Hitler's Reich; it became a key participant in the Final Solution.

REFERENCES: Borkin, *Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben*; Hayes, *Industry and Ideology*; Michels, *Cartels, Combines, and Trusts*; Stokes, *Divide and Prosper*.

IHERING, HERBERT (1888–1977), critic; evolved the parameters that defined Weimar's socially relevant theater.* Born in Springe, near Hanover, he studied philosophy, history, and *Germanistik*. He was soon writing essays on contemporary drama, in which he advocated a new form of theater and disparaged the period's level of criticism. His ideas attracted Siegfried Jacobsohn,* and from 1909 he wrote for *Die Schaubühne* (*see Weltbühne*). He was soon writing also for the *Vossische Zeitung* and moved to Austria* in 1914 to direct Vienna's *Volksbühne*. After he returned to Berlin* in 1918, he focused exclusively on criticism, writing first for *Der Tag* and from 1922 for the *Berliner Börsen-Courier*. His work documents the history of Weimar-era theater. Much later he claimed that ''the dynamism that was missing from the revolution was to be found in the theater.'' He perceived the crisis of Expressionist* theater while advocating a stage prepared to portray contemporary problems. As a board member for the Kleist Foundation (an organization founded to reward promising but financially impaired writers), he was committed to promoting young and unknown talent. He facilitated Bertolt Brecht's* breakthrough and sponsored the playwrights Arnolt Bronnen* and Ernst Barlach.* He also expedited the directing careers of Erich Engel,* Jürgen Fehling,* and Erwin Piscator.*

A champion of what he called ''productive criticism,'' Ihering was less in-

terested in the success or failure of a performance than in the total meaning of a production. Never a great stylist, he stressed what he conceived as a metaphysical interaction between ''productive criticism'' and the ''theater of productive contradiction.'' Because of his a partiality for ''political'' theater, he was faulted for embracing selected playwrights—an error he later acknowledged in the case of Bronnen. He scorned isolated criticism and ridiculed the individualistic approach of Alfred Kerr,* the era's premier critic. His published quarrels with Kerr were already legendary in the 1920s.

Although Ihering was a well-known leftist, he remained in Germany after Hitler's* appointment. In 1933 he joined the *Berliner Tageblatt*, for which Kerr had written. He was silenced by the *Reichspressekammer* in 1936 for his ''deliberate and systematic sabotage of National Socialist reconstruction'' and thereafter published nonpolitical portraits of actors, worked for the Tobis Film Society, and from 1942 was intendant for Vienna's *Burgtheater*. He settled in East Berlin after World War II and produced criticism until the 1970s.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

IM WESTEN NICHTS NEUES. *See* Erich Maria Remarque.

INDEPENDENT SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY

(*Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, USPD). Founded at Gotha on 6 April 1917 by about 120 socialists who had split with the SPD, the USPD was antedated by the *Sozialdemokratische Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (Social Democratic Alliance), a group of 18 Reichstag* members—including Hugo Haase,* Eduard Bernstein, Wilhelm Dittmann,* and Franz Mehring—expelled from the SPD in 1916 for failing to support a vote for war credits. The USPD's statutes were based largely on those of the SPD; indeed, a Party program was never produced. But a USPD manifesto demanded amnesty for political prisoners, unrestricted assembly and association, freedom of the press, the eight-hour workday, and universal suffrage via secret ballot. The Party chose Haase and Georg Ledebour* as cochairmen, with Dittmann as Party secretary. Affiliated with the USPD, but clearly autonomous, were the Spartacus Group (*see* Spartacus League*), led by Rosa Luxemburg* and Karl Liebknecht,* and the Revolutionary Shop Stewards.* As the USPD could count on support from numerous electoral districts that were part of the SPD organization, it was immediately a mass party. Its central organ was the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, renamed *Die Freiheit* in November 1918.

On 10 November 1918 the USPD formed a coalition with the SPD that produced the Council of People's Representatives.* Strained from the outset by a history of conflict, this interim cabinet collapsed on 29 December when, outraged by military action taken unilaterally by their colleagues, the three USPD members resigned. Two days later Party members attached to the Spartacists separated to form the KPD. The USPD received 2.3 million votes (7.6 percent)

and twenty-two mandates in the January 1919 National Assembly* elections; the faction formed the Left opposition in the chamber. During the next eighteen months the USPD grew to 893,000 members and enjoyed increasing influence with organized labor, especially metalworkers. In the Reichstag elections of June 1920 the Party attained 4.9 million votes (18.8 percent) and a faction of eighty-one seats. But events since the Kapp* Putsch had radicalized its left wing, and the electoral surge was negated at the October 1920 Party Congress. Beset since the November Revolution* by a rift over the issue of parliamentary versus council government, the USPD split when 237 delegates joined Ernst Däumig* in voting to enter the Moscow-directed Comintern. The opposition—the 156 votes behind Artur Crispien* and Dittmann—endured as the USPD; those who followed Däumig joined the KPD in December 1920. In January 1922 the USPD claimed about 300,000 members; yet, animated by the assassination* of Walther Rathenau* and the growth of right-wing radicalism, the membership voted in September to reenter the SPD. A tiny minority maintained its independence as a splinter group.

Marked by fuzziness of purpose, the USPD is sometimes perceived as a doomed experiment. The Party was born out of pacifism and the SPD's policy of sustaining the German war effort, and a large segment of the Party's membership remained wedded to the ideology advocated by the SPD. (Bernstein, although he was a pacifist, stood to the ideological Right of the parent Party.) What posture might such individuals assume once the war no longer separated them from former colleagues? The bloc centered on Haase, Bernstein, Dittmann, and Karl Kautsky—later known as centrists—did not, however, dominate Party ideology. Nor was the USPD monopolized by the revolutionary Marxism associated with the Spartacists. From its inception, the rank and file were driven by the growing discontent associated with the food crisis and other hardships tied to the wartime blockade.* Those linked to this groundswell were motivated neither by pacifism nor by evolutionary Marxism; indeed, their radicalism, exemplified by the armaments strike of January 1918, was only rarely tied to political goals. Thus, when November 1918 arrived, the USPD lacked a clear direction. The ensuing division between those favoring parliamentary or council rule festered until October 1920. By then, historians argue, the ideal of socialist unity was long dead and the foundation of the Republic was, in consequence, flawed.

REFERENCES: Berlau, *German Social Democratic Party*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Schorske, *German Social Democracy*.

INFLATION. While Germany's inflation became catastrophic only in 1923, the deterioration of the mark began early in World War I. For political, patriotic, and technical reasons, the Kaiserreich failed to cover its war expenditures through taxation (*see* Karl Helfferich), yet it increased the money supply from 12.5 to 63.5 billion marks during 1914–1918. The Versailles Treaty* accelerated Germany's financial dilemma by imposing a reparations* burden (yet undefined)

upon the weakened economy. The political disorders and fiscal policies of 1919–1923 made recovery more difficult, and the 1923 Ruhr occupation* finally induced the currency's collapse. In July 1914 the American dollar had been worth 4.2 marks. The rate was 8.9 marks in January 1919, 192 marks in January 1922, 17,972 marks in January 1923, and 353,000 marks by July 1923. At the point of the controversial currency stabilization of 15 November (*see Rentenbank*), the exchange rate was 4.2 trillion marks to the dollar. It was estimated that by August 1923, 70 trillion counterfeit marks were in circulation. When the *Rentenmark* was introduced via an Enabling Act,* it was assigned a value of 1 trillion old marks, thereby reestablishing the prewar exchange rate of 4.2 marks to the dollar.

The damage caused by the inflation has been categorized under three headings. First, it destroyed savings, devalued rents, and enriched borrowers at the expense of creditors. Consequently, it harmed property owners. Second, because wages and salaries lagged behind spiraling living costs, it penalized employees and aided employers. Finally, losses were incurred during routine business transactions unless foreign currency or another stable standard was involved. While the inflation might strengthen entrepreneurial and managerial elites, it devastated the oldest segments of the traditional *Mittelstand**: rentiers, professionals, officials, and academics on the one hand, and artisans, shopkeepers, and petty clerks on the other. Germans with paper assets (savings accounts, mortgages, or government bonds), worth more than 200 billion marks in 1918, found those assets obliterated in late 1923, when 200 billion marks equaled about one American cent.

Such damage must be translated into political fallout. Creditors asked why, if the regime could end inflation in November 1923, it had failed to do so earlier. Their middle-class standing eroded, and faced in 1924 with a revalorization of private debt at 15 percent of its 1921 value, they became disillusioned with traditional capitalism. Conversely, through the regime's sharp restriction of credit and its dramatic hike in taxes and interest rates, debtors—especially farmers* and small businessmen—were often ruined by stabilization: more bankruptcies occurred in the first quarter of 1924 than had been experienced in the prior four years. Although five years passed before large numbers turned to the NSDAP, disillusionment with the middle-class parties (DDP and DVP) was immediate, producing a corresponding evolution of special-interest parties. The depression* completed the realignment initiated by the inflation.

REFERENCES: Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Feldman et al., *Deutsche Inflation*; Larry Jones, ''Inflation''; Fritz Ringer, *German Inflation of 1923*; Webb, *Hyperinflation and Stabilization*.

INSTITUT FÜR SOZIALFORSCHUNG. *See* Frankfurt School.

INTER-ALLIED MILITARY CONTROL COMMISSION. *See* Disarmament.

INTERNATIONALE ARBEITERHILFE. *See* Wilhelm ''Willi'' Münzenberg.

IRON FRONT. *See Reichsbanner.*

ITTEN, JOHANNES (1888–1967), artist; developed the Bauhaus's* introductory course in design. Born in the Berner Oberland in Switzerland, he attended the teachers institute in Bern-Hofwil before studying at Geneva's École des Beaux Arts. Although he prepared to teach secondary school (he received a diploma in 1912), he soon turned to painting and studied during 1913–1916 under Stuttgart's Adolf Hoelzel. He turned to abstract painting, and his work appeared in 1919 in Adolf Loos's first nonobjective art exhibit in Vienna. Having taught privately in Vienna since 1916, he met Walter Gropius* in 1919. Already well known, Gropius invited him to join the Bauhaus.

Several of Itten's Vienna students accompanied him to Weimar, where Itten created the Bauhaus's *Vorkurs* in design. He brought to his teaching Hoelzel's fixation on problems of color and its distribution, harmony, and balance, as well as the interaction of colors in a pictorial presentation. Until Paul Klee* and Wassily Kandinsky* arrived, he also managed the school's rather nonutilitarian study program. His pedagogy and his immersion in Mazdaznan philosophy (theosophy) inspired Bauhaus activities until his troubled departure in October 1923. With the Bauhaus increasingly polarized between his methodology and the practical craftsmanship of László Moholy-Nagy,* Gropius's decision to market the school's work marked the eclipse of Itten's influence. The latter's unbridled commitment to spontaneity, coupled with his resolve not to correct student mistakes, also annoyed Gropius.

Although Itten returned to Switzerland to study Mazdaznan philosophy, he relocated to Berlin* in 1926 and founded the *Moderne Kunstschule* (Modern Art School). His first publication, *Tagebücher* (Diaries), appeared in 1930. In 1931 he became director of Krefeld's new *Höhere Fachschule für Textil-Flachenkunst* (Technical school for textile art). Three years later the Berlin school was closed by the Nazis and in 1938 Itten went to Amsterdam to teach and work on commission. He was elected director of Zürich's School and Museum of Arts and Crafts in November 1938 and relocated permanently to Zürich in 1943.

REFERENCES: Barron, ''Degenerate Art''; Laqueur, *Weimar*; Neumann, *Bauhaus*.

J

JÄCKH, ERNST. *See Hochschule für Politik.*

JACOBSOHN, SIEGFRIED (1881–1926), critic, publisher, and editor; founder and first editor of *Die Schaubühne* (*Weltbühne** from April 1918). Born in Berlin,* he began auditing literature courses at the university at fifteen. Determined to become a theater* critic, he was working with two theater groups at thirteen and dropped out of Gymnasium at sixteen. A regular attendee of Berlin's rich theater offerings, he met Hellmut von Gerlach* and, with his endorsement, began writing criticism in 1901 for *Welt am Montag*. A plagiarism charge, from which he was totally cleared, brought his dismissal in 1904. Temporarily living abroad, he returned to Berlin in 1905 intent on founding his own theater journal. After several financially troubled years, he established his independence in 1912 by founding the *Verlag der Schaubühne*. Broadened in 1913 to include satirical offerings and economic coverage, *Schaubühne* became a ''Weekly for Politics, Art, Economics'' (*Wochenschrift für Politik, Kunst, Wirtschaft*). Jacobsohn's premier writers, whom he granted substantial freedom, were Alfred Polgar, Julius Bab, Egon Friedell, Willi Handl, Herbert Ihering,* Lion Feuchtwanger,* and Kurt Tucholsky.*

Seeing his journal increasingly politicized by the war, Jacobsohn renamed it *Weltbühne*; the change reflected his own belief that theater was also becoming politicized. During the November Revolution* he worked closely with Kurt Hiller* and the *Rat geistiger Arbeiter* (Council of Intellectual Workers). Meanwhile, with its wealth of talent, *Weltbühne* embodied the spirit of left-wing pacifism during the Weimar era. Jacobsohn used its pages to promote the po-

litical theater of Erwin Piscator* and Jürgen Fehling* and to present interviews with Bertolt Brecht,* Ernst Toller,* and Ernst Barlach.* In May 1922 he was among the first to claim that Expressionism* had run its course. ''What is the good of an expressive art,'' he wrote, ''if it has no content worth expressing?'' On 3 December 1926 he suddenly died during an epileptic seizure.

Jacobsohn believed that it was the critic's responsibility to measure the worth of a production by what was achievable; he applied the same standard to the Republic. Regarding theater, he focused on the artistically experimental and shunned ''business'' theater as unworthy of his time. He championed a synthetic theater that combined classical and modern elements and identified Max Reinhardt* as the paragon of such a synthesis. Shakespeare he deemed an unexcelled poetic genius, Kleist the greatest of German dramatists, and Goethe the greatest of German poets. His favored modern dramatists included Ibsen, Strindberg, and Wedekind. He also used *Weltbühne* to attack those whom he disdained, including Alfred Kerr* and Maximilian Harden.* After the war he broadened his commentary to include public and international issues, dedicating the journal to a struggle against the miscarriage of justice,* the abasement of humanity, and war. Because of his steadfastness, *Weltbühne* was a major source of ethical power during the Weimar period.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; *NDB*, vol. 10; Poor, *Kurt Tucholsky*.

JAGOW, TRAUGOTT VON. *See* Justice *and* Wolfgang Kapp.

JANNINGS, EMIL, born Janenz (1884–1950), actor, director, and film* producer; Weimar's premier character actor, best remembered as Professor Unrat in *Der blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*). He was born in Rorschach am Bodensee, Switzerland; his parents moved to Görlitz when he was a child. Leaving school to work as a cabin boy, he discovered provincial theater* in the course of his travels. At eighteen he joined the Gardelegen theater company; in 1906 he went to Berlin* in hopes of gaining appointment with Max Reinhardt's* *Deutsches Theater*.

Berlin provided Jannings enormous opportunity. He worked with Reinhardt and Georg Altmann of the *Kleines Theater unter den Linden*. His vitality, creativity, and comedic talent were such that he soon matured as a character actor. Discovered by Ernst Lubitsch,* he made his film début in *Im Schützengraben* (1914). He was already widely popular when his stage breakthrough came in 1915 as a headmaster in Christian Dietrich Grabbe's *Scherz, Satire, Ironie, und tiefere Bedeutung* (Joke, satire, irony, and deeper significance). Thereafter he increasingly mixed stage work with film. As the male lead, he built a solid reputation in such acclaimed silent films as *Madame du Barry* (1919), *Die Brüder Karamasoff* (1920), *Anna Boleyn* (1920), *Danton* (1921), and *Peter der Grosse* (1923). From 1923 he was regularly cast in key roles, notably as an old

hotel doorman in F. W. Murnau's* 1924 film *Der letzte Mann* and as Mephisto in Murnau's *Faust* (1926).

Film did not remove Jannings from the stage; he performed in numerous theater productions in both Berlin and Vienna, and he was praised for his earthy 1918 portrayal of a village judge in Kleist's *Zerbrochener Krug* (Broken pitcher). Under Reinhardt he appeared in Gerhart Hauptmann's* *Und Pippa tanzt* (1919), Walter Hasenclever's* *Antigone* (1920), and Hauptmann's *Der weisse Heiland* (1920). But film success brought a three-year sojourn (1927–1930) in Hollywood, during which he won two Academy Awards—one under the director Josef von Sternberg. With the introduction of sound, he returned to Berlin to appear in Sternberg's 1930 production *The Blue Angel*. Thereafter he portrayed historical figures on stage and in film and, despite financial independence, took full advantage of opportunities during the Third Reich. His 1945 retirement was as much due to failing health as to the changed political situation. Although he was justly blacklisted for his Nazi-era activity, his superlative career was deservedly marked by his two Oscars.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *International Dictionary of Films and Filmmakers*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*; *NDB*, vol. 10.

JARRES, KARL (1874–1951), municipal leader; *Oberbürgermeister* of Duisburg and Reich Interior Minister. Born in Remscheid, he studied law and earned a doctorate at Erlangen in 1897. As a young attorney, he was drawn to city administration. Named deputy *Bürgermeister* of Düren in 1903, he assumed the same post in Cologne in 1907 and then returned to Remscheid in 1910 as *Oberbürgermeister*. He revealed himself a prudent and socially conscious administrator. Jarres next served two long terms as Duisburg's *Oberbürgermeister* (1914–1923 and 1925–1933). During the wartime blockade* he managed to provision Duisburg with food; he then countered leftist efforts to form a council government during the Armistice.*

Intensely nationalistic, Jarres championed passive resistance during the 1923 Ruhr occupation.* The occupying forces turned him out of office, brought him before a Belgian military court, and early in 1923 sentenced him to two months' imprisonment. The episode caught Germany's attention, and after his release he represented both the Prussian and Reich governments in the occupied territories. Operating from unoccupied Münster, he came to realize that resistance was feeding the inflation* and damaging the Republic's reputation in the Ruhr. Gustav Stresemann* named him Interior Minister in November 1923; he retained the office under Wilhelm Marx* (through December 1924) and added that of Vice Chancellor.

Although Jarres was politically unaffiliated, he stood closest to the DVP. After the Ruhr crisis his economic liberalism made him Stresemann's steady defender. At the Foreign Minister's urging in March 1925, he represented the rightist *Reichsbürgerblock* (an alliance of the DVP and the DNVP) as candidate for President, an office vacated upon Friedrich Ebert's* death. Although he received

the most votes (10.7 million, or 38.8 percent), the Constitution* required an absolute majority: the *Bürgerblock* replaced him on the second ballot with Paul von Hindenburg.* Jarres soon returned to Duisburg and was reelected *Oberbürgermeister*. He hoped to renew the city's industrial district—Duisburg was home to much heavy industry, including United Steel Works—but was forced to devote himself to rising unemployment. Dismissed upon Hitler's* seizure of power, he remained a leader in Duisburg's industrial community through 1945. After World War II he was key to revitalizing the Ruhr's industrial base.

Jarres is counted with Konrad Adenauer,* Hans Luther,* Otto Gessler,* and Carl Goerdeler* among the era's notable *Oberbürgermeisters*. His success at modernizing Duisburg's economic structure was matched by his skill in developing its theater* and opera. In politics, his blend of nationalism and managerial expertise was typical of the era. Never a partisan politician—his devotions consistently blended a traditional middle-class outlook with German nationalism—he nevertheless retained a connection with the DVP until the NSDAP forced the Party's dissolution. Free of reactionary sentiment, he tried to support the Republic while remaining intellectually lost somewhere between it and the old monarchy.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; *NDB*, vol. 10.

JASPERS, KARL (1883–1969), philosopher; among the founders of existentialism. Born in Oldenburg in East Frisia, he studied law before taking a medical doctorate in 1909 at Heidelberg; he then worked at Heidelberg's psychiatric hospital as a research assistant. In 1913, after he published his masterful *Allgemeine Psychopathologie* (General psychopathology), he was appointed *ausserordentlicher Professor* of psychology at Heidelberg. Just after World War I he wrote *Psychologie der Weltanschauungen* (Psychology of world views), a work heavily influenced by Wilhelm Dilthey and marking Jaspers's transition from medicine through psychiatry and psychology to philosophy. By proposing that scientific philosophy was illogical since no philosophical position could ever be universal, the book alienated Heidelberg's famous neo-Kantian, Heinrich Rickert.*

Over Rickert's protests, Jaspers became full professor at Heidelberg in 1922. Shunned by the so-called *Rickertkreis* (Rickert Circle), he found fulfillment by polishing his ideas in lectures. After he attracted a wide student following, his isolation ended in 1932 with publication of *Philosophie*, his magnum opus. Consisting of three volumes, the work helped institute *Existenzphilosophie* (existentialism) and established Jaspers as Heidelberg's premier logician. The NSDAP soon barred him from administrative appointment, proscribed his teaching in 1937, and then prohibited him from publishing in 1938. Ignoring conditions that others found intolerable, he used his isolation to prepare the first one-thousand-page volume of a projected three-volume exploration entitled *Logik*.

Jaspers was prolific, if often unclear and repetitious. His ideas focused largely on individual reasoning and action, appealing to human endeavors reflective of an authentic self-identity. He believed that philosophy, rather than exalting an idealistic absolute, should support the individual in a unique and often-enigmatic quest. Like Kierkegaard, he distrusted the conformism associated with church and state, while, like Nietzsche, he defied those philosophers who served only as apologists for the status quo. Suspicious of society's overconfidence in science, he stressed man's irrationality as an antidote to too much positivism. Glorifying neither professionalism nor the latest fad, Jaspers extolled that which was great. ''A single page from Plato or any great philosopher,'' he once argued in a lecture, ''is worth more than all the writings of Kuno Fischer''—Fischer being one of the great historians of philosophy in the nineteenth century.
REFERENCES: *NDB*, vol. 10; Wallraff, *Karl Jaspers*.

JAWLENSKY, ALEXEJ VON. *See* Wassily Kandinsky.

JESSNER, LEOPOLD (1878–1945), actor, director, and theater* manager; Berlin's* most renowned director in the Republic's early years. Born in Königsberg, he began his stage career in 1897 as an actor with the Cottbus *Stadttheater*. Soon after 1900 he acted and directed with the Ibsen Theater. He was appointed director of Hamburg's *Thaliatheater* in 1908; his imaginative summer programming with the city's *Volksschauspiele* led in 1915 to appointment as intendant of Königsberg's *Neues Schauspielhaus*. His wartime productions, including works by Gerhart Hauptmann* and Arthur Schnitzler, met with such acclaim that in June 1919 Prussia's* new government appointed him intendant of Berlin's* *Staatstheater*, a position he retained until *völkisch* attacks on ''the Jewish element in the Prussian State theaters'' forced his resignation in 1929.

While Expressionism* guided his use of light and color in productions of Shakespeare, Schiller, Hauptmann, and Wedekind, Jessner also introduced steps (*Jessnertreppe*) to reinforce dramatic action at the expense of traditional scenery. Serving as symbols of dominance or repression, or of varying levels of reality, the steps were effective in his December 1919 production of *Wilhelm Tell* and his November 1920 arrangement of *Richard III*. But when repeatedly employed, the *Jessnertreppe* became simplistic and monotonous.

Jessner continued directing at the *Staatstheater* for two seasons after resigning as intendant. Of Jewish ancestry, a socialist, and a republican, he relocated to England in 1933. After two years in Palestine, he emigrated to America in 1937. His work for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer was based on prior cinema experience: he directed his first film* in 1919 and was active in 1921 with production of *Die Hintertreppe* (The backstairs). Yet, like Max Reinhardt,* Erwin Piscator,* Bertolt Brecht,* and Erich Engel,* he is best remembered for his work on behalf of Weimar-era theater. His zeal transformed the *Staatstheater* into one of Europe's premier stages.

REFERENCES: *NDB*, vol. 10; Patterson, *Revolution in German Theatre*; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

JEWS. Without the benefit of clairvoyance, one might have argued in the 1920s that the situation of Germany's Jews was that of complete and final arrival. Emancipated by Bismarck in the 1860s and 1870s, the Jews had weathered a bitter but contained period of racial anti-Semitism* in the 1880s and 1890s and had now inherited a liberal republic promising to embrace the German concept of *Bildung* (an Enlightenment notion uniting ''education'' and ethical cultivation) and the inclusive values of the 1848 revolution. But appearances proved superficial. Several factors, not least the impact of the war, heightened German tendencies toward the irrational and served to undermine the newfound status of the Jews while simultaneously eroding the position of the Republic.

Studies demonstrate that the contribution of German Jews to their country during 1918–1933 was vastly disproportionate to their numbers. The roughly 600,000 German Jews who identified themselves as adherents of Judaism comprised no more than 0.9 percent of the total population. (Since anti-Semites identified Jews on the basis of ancestry, not religious faith, it must be noted that Jews professing Christianity were not listed as Jews in Germany's census reports.) Yet Jews held more than 3.5 percent of all positions in banking, commerce, and the professions (largely excluded from the judiciary and the civil service,* they comprised 11 percent of doctors, 16 percent of lawyers and notaries, and 13 percent of patent attorneys). They owned 40 percent of Germany's textile firms and almost 60 percent of the wholesale and retail clothing businesses, and their establishments transacted 79 percent of the country's department-store business. About 50 percent of Germany's private banks were owned by Jews, with such names as Bleichröder, Bonn,* Mendelssohn, and Warburg* being notable. Jews held key positions in science and industry—IG Farben* employed several Jewish scientists and included a Jew on its board of directors—and, through the Mosse* and Ullstein* concerns, controlled Germany's two largest publishing houses. Highly visible in journalism, music,* art, and literature, they were central to the Republic's intellectual life. The bulk of Germany's progressive activists were also Jewish. Generally derived from the urban middle class (the largest concentration was in Berlin,* with Frankfurt a distant second), Jews were on average better educated than Gentiles. Working as artists, freelance writers, journalists, and social and political reformers, the activists tended to be outside the eminent intellectual community centered on the universities.

Within the Jewish community a struggle had unfolded since the 1890s between liberal Jews (most of the community), who espoused varied degrees of secularism and assimilation, and a growing minority of Zionists, who promoted resettlement to Palestine. A third group, rejecting assimilation, harbored its own fear of Zionism's obsession with territory and state making—ideas damaging to Jewish religiosity. The liberals, seeing themselves as Germans—if not neces-

sarily urging religious conversion—exhorted Jews to eradicate ''Asiatic'' customs and habits. The Zionists, who sometimes embraced an anti-Semitic posture by identifying Jews as a separate race, were prone to see the *Ostjuden**—refugees from Eastern Europe, the *Ostjuden* comprised almost a fifth of Germany's Jewish community—as embodying unique Jewish qualities. Both groups experienced crisis during World War I. In its early stages many erstwhile Zionists forgot Palestine and rushed to join Germany's colors. Such resurgent patriotism (not unique to Germany) almost destroyed Zionism. ''The vast majority of German Jews,'' Walther Rathenau* wrote in November 1918, ''among whom there are many whose ancestors have lived in Germany for countless centuries, have only one national feeling, and that is German. We want to live and die in Germany and for Germany as our fathers did before us. Let others found a state in Palestine: nothing attracts us to Asia'' (Joll). This statement, aimed at Jews who preached Zionism, was also directed at Gentiles who questioned Jewish patriotism in the wake of a lost war. By 1918 the war had destroyed the sense of supranational community that had evolved in Europe during the prior century. It had also ruined the prosperous and complacent Kaiserreich, leaving hunger, inflation,* and the humiliation of the Versailles Treaty* in its place. Many blamed these and subsequent problems on the Jews. Since liberal Jews were outspoken in their support for liberalism, democracy, and socialism, some on the Right were quick to label such ideas ''foreign'' imports.

Despite the growth of anti-Semitism in the Republic's final years, the average Jew rejected Zionism while retaining enormous faith in emancipation and assimilation. Motivated by reason, Jews did not see disaster on the horizon. In 1932, when affluent Jews were canvased by the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith*) for funds to combat Nazism, Prinz Hubertus zu Löwenstein was told, ''First of all you are too pessimistic, secondly—well, and what if Hitler* did come to power?''

REFERENCES: Hans Bach, *German Jew*; Ruth Gay, *Jews of Germany*; Joll, *Three Intellectuals in Politics*; George Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism*; Niewyk, *Jews in Weimar Germany*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

JHERING, HERBERT. *See* Herbert Ihering.

JOËL, CURT (1865–1945), bureaucrat; served as State Secretary in the Justice Ministry during 1920–1930 and as Justice Minister under Heinrich Brüning.* Born in Greiffenburg in Silesia of Jewish lineage, he studied law before launching a career in 1899 as a public prosecutor. After two years with the state attorney's office in Leipzig, he became a counselor in 1908 at the Reich Justice Office. When World War I erupted, he gained a commission in the counterintelligence branch of the Berlin* national guard (*Landwehr*). From 1915 until November 1917 Captain Joël was head of the police office in the General Government of Belgium. Simultaneously assigned to the General Staff's counter-

intelligence unit, he vainly endeavored to repeal the death sentence against the Belgian nurse Edith Cavell. Early in 1918 he returned to the Justice Office and resumed prewar work on criminal-law reform, work he pursued during the Weimar years with Erwin Bumke.*

Joël became *Staatssekretär* at the Justice Ministry (renamed ''Ministry'' in January 1919) on 1 April 1920; he thereafter served eleven Justice Ministers through fifteen cabinets. Although his friendships were on the political Right (e.g., Brüning and Kuno von Westarp*), he enjoyed the trust of Friedrich Ebert,* Paul von Hindenburg,* and Chancellors as dissimilar as Joseph Wirth* and Hans Luther.* He was esteemed for his honesty, loyalty, and intelligence; it was due to his presence that the Justice Ministry was perceived throughout most of the Weimar era as free from partisan influence (he refused to join a party). Yet Joël was a stalwart reactionary, serving as the DNVP's steward throughout the many rotations in Justice Minister. In October 1931 Brüning appointed him Justice Minister; championing the SA* ban, he retained the portfolio until Brüning resigned on 2 June 1932. He declined Franz von Papen's* offer to stay on when he learned of the latter's plan to lift the SA ban.

Although Joël, of Jewish ancestry, suffered during the Third Reich (he personally deemed his heritage a blemish), his powerful friends shielded him from the fate awaiting most of his ethnic cohorts. Subjected to abundant humiliation, he nevertheless survived in Berlin under comparatively privileged conditions. He died in his eightieth year within days of Germany's defeat.

REFERENCES: Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice*; *NDB*, vol. 10.

JOFFE, ADOLF. *See* Oskar Cohn.

JOGICHES, LEO. *See* Communist Party of Germany *and* Rosa Luxemburg.

JOOS, JOSEPH (1878–1965), politician and labor leader; influential in the Catholic* workers' movement. Born to a working-class home in the Alsatian town of Winzenheim, he apprenticed as a carpenter before working in a furniture factory. His activity from 1897 in Catholic social work brought appointment in 1902 as local editor for a Mülhausen newspaper.* Varied press positions followed until he succeeded Johann Giesberts in 1905 as editor of the *Westdeutsche Arbeiterzeitung* (*WAZ*), voice of the Catholic Workers' Associations (*Katholische Arbeitervereine*; the *Arbeitervereine*, concerned less with economic than educational issues, were distinct from the Christian trade unions*). Under his direction, which continued until 1919, *WAZ* focused rigidly on the special concerns of Catholic workers. During the war it emphasized domestic issues, especially censorship.

In the vacuum created by the November Revolution,* Joos, well versed on conditions in the Rhineland,* was asked by the Center Party* to stand for election to the National Assembly.* Elected to the chamber, he thereafter served in the Reichstag* without interruption until 1933. Supportive until the mid-1920s

of the leftist platform of Matthias Erzberger* and Joseph Wirth,* he championed the Weimar Coalition* and defended the Republic's paramilitary arm, the *Reichsbanner*.* However, from 1926 he broke with Wirth and cultivated an increasingly conservative posture. Having retained his position within the *Arbeitervereine*, he became chairman in 1927 of the enlarged *Reichsverband katholische Arbeiter- und Arbeiterinnenvereine* (National Association of Catholic Worker Associations). In 1928 he became chairman of the Catholic Workers' International, a platform from which he advocated conciliation with France. In 1928 (Paris) and 1929 (Berlin*) he played key roles at conferences of the International Alliance of Christian Democratic Parties. A deep thinker who wrote extensively on his Party's role in Weimar society, he labored to reconcile Catholics to the Republic.

Joos was affable and well liked throughout the Center Party. But when Wilhelm Marx* retired as Party chairman in 1928, he was so ambivalent about succeeding him that he was defeated in election by Ludwig Kaas.* Believing that the post should have gone to Adam Stegerwald,* Joos also nurtured doubts about his own abilities. He was, however, appointed deputy chairman by the central committee.

Joos initially supported Hindenburg's* Presidential Cabinet* as a hedge against dangerous experiments; however, by 1932, seeking a return to parliamentary rule, he was naïvely prepared to support coalition with the NSDAP rather than retain a presidential regime. This commitment led him to sponsor a Center vote against Hitler's* Enabling Act*; however, as this was a minority position, he maintained Party discipline and voted for the act. Joos retained his position with the *Arbeitervereine* until 1940; he also wrote for the *Ketteler Wacht* (the renamed *WAZ*). In 1938 the Nazis, using his Alsatian birth as justification, revoked his citizenship. He was arrested in 1940 by the Gestapo and spent 1941–1945 confined as an enemy alien. After the war he emigrated to Switzerland.

REFERENCES: Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; *NDB*, vol. 10; Stachura, *Political Leaders*; Wachtling, ''Joseph Joos.''

JUDICIARY. *See* Justice.

JUNE CLUB. *See Herrenklub.*

JUNG, EDGAR (1894–1934), right-wing publicist; among the first Young Conservatives to publicly oppose the NSDAP. Born to a middle-class family in Ludwigshafen, he studied law at Lausanne under Vilfredo Pareto and then practiced in Munich before volunteering in 1914 for the army. Alienated by postwar society—he was among the officers whose insignia were ripped off in the November Revolution*—he joined Freikorps* Epp* in 1919, participating in Munich's liberation in May. After completing a doctorate in 1920, he briefly opened a legal practice in Zweibrücken. An early member of the DVP, he opposed

separatism in the Palatinate and resisted the Ruhr occupation.* He formed his own *Kampfbund* (Action League) in 1923 and cooperated with the *Bund Oberland* and the infamous *Organisation Consul** in arranging the assassination* of Franz Josef Heinz-Orbis, leader of the Palatine separatists. When the French expelled him from the Palatinate, he returned to Munich to reestablish his legal practice. Although he drifted from the Party, he ran unsuccessfully on the DVP list for the Reichstag's* two 1924 elections.

A member of, and publicist for, the *Herrenklub** and the Munich branch of the *Jungkonservativen*, Jung established a reputation that brought comparisons with Oswald Spengler* and Arthur Moeller* van den Bruck. In 1928 he published the popular *Herrschaft der Minderwertigen* (Rule of the inferiors), cited as ''the bible of neoconservatism.'' Invoking a romantic image of the Middle Ages, the book maligned the tendency of democracy to permit the rule of the unqualified, the monied, and the masses. But while he yearned for a conservative revolution that embraced Christianity, the creation of a corporative structure, and a return of monarchy, he believed that Germany could not restore the Hohenzollerns.

Energetic and with good connections, Jung became Franz von Papen's* secretary in 1932 and wrote many of the former Chancellor's speeches in 1933–1934. Earlier than his friends, he perceived the contradictions and brutality of Nazism. *Sinndeutung der deutschen revolution* (Significance of the German revolution), published in 1933, focused his opposition to the Nazi state; he wanted the book to foster a conservative resistance to Hitler.* When a scathing commencement address he had written was delivered by Papen on 17 June 1934 at Marburg, Hitler had him arrested and then utilized the Röhm* purge to have him executed. His life and death became an inspiration for the emerging resistance to Hitler.

REFERENCES: *NDB*, vol. 10; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

JUNGDO (*Jungdeutscher Orden*, Young German Order). Founded as a Freikorps* on 10 January 1919 by Artur Mahraun of Kassel, the volunteer unit was recast on 17 March 1920, after the abortive Kapp* Putsch, as the *Jungdeutscher Orden*. Second in size among the *Wehrverbände* to the *Stahlhelm*,* *Jungdo* combined elements of a veterans' organization with the pseudodemocracy and medieval corporatism derived from the prewar youth movement. But in early 1920 *Jungdo* was chiefly concerned with maintaining itself—the Allies having reasserted their demand for the dissolution of volunteer units—and with defending Germany against further revolution.

Calling for law and order and German ''rebirth,'' *Jungdo* soon attracted recruits and expanded its base of support. By the end of 1920 it had increased from ten local chapters in Hesse to about fifty located as far as Thuringia,* Westphalia, and Hanover. Although association with Georg Escherich's* Bavarian-based *Orgesch* convinced the Prussian authorities to ban *Jungdo* from

August 1920 to February 1921, the organization flourished elsewhere, growing from 70,000 members in August 1920 to 200,000 in October 1921.

Until 1925 *Jungdo*, which Mahraun recast in 1924 as a *Kampfbund*, retained a program roughly compatible with the political Right. But Hindenburg's* election as President convinced Mahraun that the rationale for such organizations was past. This apparent acceptance of the Republic stirred the *Stahlhelm* and other rightist groups to reprimand *Jungdo*'s ''march to the Left.'' In turn, Mahraun labeled his critics ''reactionary pawns of plutocratic interests.'' Mahraun was largely motivated by a belief that Germany was well served by Gustav Stresemann's* foreign policy*; he was not prompted by love of the Republic. Indeed, he berated his rightist critics as too willing to accommodate parliamentarianism. Less attached to monarchism* than its rivals, *Jungdo* mixed medieval metaphysics with its aspiration to supersede the Republic with an elaborate new *Volksstaat* free of party politics. The vision was outlined in Mahraun's 1927 book *Jungdeutsche Manifest*; based largely on abstractions, *Jungdo* would abolish parliamentary democracy and the ''domination of caste and money'' by instituting a complex corporative system.

Jungdo's political isolation ended in late 1928 when, disturbed by the fragmentation of the middle classes, Mahraun launched the *Volksnationale Reichsvereinigung* (People's National Reich Association). The volte-face was absolute when, upon Stresemann's death (October 1929), *Jungdo*'s new political arm began negotiations with the DDP's Erich Koch-Weser* that led in July 1930 to establishment of the DStP. Aiming to counter both the reactionary forces around Alfred Hugenberg* and Marxism, the alliance was short-lived. Concluded in secret, the DStP was distasteful to members of both groups. With former *Jungdo* members fleeing to the NSDAP and Democrats deserting to the SPD, the union collapsed in October 1930. Faced with failure, Mahraun reinstated the shaken *Jungdo*'s nonpolitical status, but the next two years saw the weakening of all *Kampfbünde* except the SA.* Mahraun's criticism of Nazism led to brief imprisonment. As part of the synchronization (*Gleichschaltung*) of the SA's paramilitary rivals, *Jungdo* was dissolved in June 1933.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*.

JÜNGER, ERNST (born 1895), writer and soldier; glorified war as the ultimate existential experience. He was born to a pharmacist in Heidelberg. His lust for adventure led him to leave home at eighteen in a fruitless quest to join the French Foreign Legion. He enlisted in 1914, became an infantry officer, and was highly respected in the trenches as the leader of assault troops. Wounded fourteen times, he was awarded Germany's highest honor, the *Pour le Mérite*, late in 1918.

Jünger left the army in 1923 as a captain, but maintained contact with such Freikorps* leaders and right-wing activists as Gerhard Rossbach* and Hermann Ehrhardt.* He despised the Republic, exclaiming that ''I hate democracy like the plague.'' (His brother Friedrich Georg, who attacked efforts to base politics

on a moral or scientific foundation, shared a similar philosophy.) After studying zoology and philosophy, he lived from 1926 as a freelance writer. Preaching ''national revolution,'' his writings often appealed to youth, especially a Freikorps-inspired group known as *Freischar Schill*. During 1930 he passed briefly through a phase characterized as ''Prussian anarchism,'' in which he established contact with bomb-throwing activists in the *Landvolk* movement (*see* Farmers). But by then he was more spectator than participant.

Jünger gained inspiration from a cluster of irrational ideas called *Lebensphilosophie*. He rose to prominence as a symbol of the adventurer and *Einsamer* (loner). His writings (e.g., *Krieg und Krieger* or *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*) underscore a fascination with action and war; with the pivotal exception of anti-Semitism,* his ideology anticipated many of the basic impulses of the Third Reich. He believed that the fulfillment of human existence came in the experience of the moment; thus movement and action were fundamental. Only in battle, with the imminent prospect of death, could one realize true consciousness. Thus Jünger fought neither for Kaiser nor victory but for the sake of fighting: for the magnificent ''show of destruction.'' Indeed, he equated victory with failure, for in bringing peace, it led to disillusionment. In a 1932 publication, *Der Arbeiter* (The worker), he stressed his hostility to both the Republic and Bismarck's Reich by proposing that a new hierarchy of power replace Weimar's anachronistic amalgam of theories, parties, and effete idealism. While he anticipated a postindividualistic society based on mass power, he also argued that his concept was the ultimate in existential reality for the individual.

Jünger searched for a leader drawn from the lower class of a society founded on industrial capitalism. Among the few Germans of the intellectual Right who did not identify with a classical model, he warned conservatives that the past could not be recaptured; one could either choose the mirage of restoration or the reality of action and war. Although he sympathized with the NSDAP, he rejected Hitler's* legal method of taking power and spent the Third Reich nurturing a silent antipathy for a movement he deemed petty bourgeois. Briefly reactivated during World War II, he grew nostalgic after 1945 for the old conservative values he had once rejected.

REFERENCES: Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

JUNKERS. The region known as Prussia* had for centuries been dominated economically, socially, and politically by an East Elbian (*ostelbische*) landed nobility collectively known as *Junkertum*. Although the term ''Junker,'' derived from ''*junger Herr*,'' can technically be attributed only to the landed German elite with ancestral ties to those *Rittergutsbesitzers* (knight estate owners) who colonized Prussia's eastern domains in the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, the term was more loosely applied by the 1920s. Indeed, Junkers were neither entirely noble nor exclusively German. Numerous Junker estates in Silesia, East Prussia, and western Prussia were held into the twentieth century by

noble families of Polish origin (including Kleist and Dönhoff). The eighteenth century saw a considerable expansion of *Junkertum* through both the immigration of Polish and French nobles and the generous ennoblement of farmers* with large landholdings. Intermarried with German and non-German nobles, and with untitled Prussians, the Junkers hardly formed a true caste.

Although the Junkers' economic power peaked in the mid-nineteenth century, the agricultural depression that began in the mid-1870s—and was exacerbated by an exodus of peasants to Germany's more profitable industrial sector—led landowners to request state aid in the form of heavy tariffs. That the Junkers' position in German society had not been eclipsed by 1900 was due largely to the failure in central Europe of the 1848 revolutions and to Germany's unification under Prussian leadership. Although Bismarck addressed the economic goals of the middle classes, he preserved the nobility's social and political status. To redress their loss of economic power, the Junkers formed an Agrarian League in 1893 for political leverage. By 1914 they commanded a large plurality of Prussia's administrative positions. Both the Junkers and the state bureaucracy (largely under Junker control) accepted the ''natural relationship'' of protection and dependence between the larger landowners and the small peasants, believing it useful to both small landowners and the state. Accustomed to limited rights, the peasantry generally acquiesced.

Believing themselves indissolubly linked to the Prussian crown, the Junkers viewed the November Revolution* as a crushing blow. According to Elard von Oldenburg-Januschau,* owner of 8,576 hectares of land in East and West Prussia, ''I felt a world was collapsing and burying under its ruins everything that had been the content of my life'' (Carsten). In fact, while the trappings certainly changed, their basic existence was untouched under the Republic. The structure of German agriculture was largely the same, with Prussia's large estates receiving government subsidies to survive. During the Weimar era 41 percent of Prussian land belonged to estates of more than 200 hectares, while 1,155 landlords owned over 1,000 hectares each. Although only a fourth were owned by noblemen, the typical estate owner managed to maintain conditions much as they had been in the Kaiserreich. Still, the Junkers' political position was imperiled after 1918. The Conservative Party (DKP), which had aspired to defend the interests of big agriculture, gave way to the new DNVP, a party that openly supported the *Mittelstand** and was unwilling to bow to Junker demands. Threatened by such change, the Junkers redoubled their efforts to maintain power in the countryside. Groups such as the *Stahlhelm** and the Pan-German League were deemed a last line of defense against a new and threatening world. In 1921 the Junkers orchestrated a union of two large pressure groups to form the *Reichslandbund*.* Yet as the 1920s wore on, their economic position deteriorated. Although high import tariffs on rye and wheat helped protect these crops, by 1930 this proved insufficient to maintain a privileged elite locked in the nineteenth century. The subsidies known as *Osthilfe** were the Republic's last means for protecting a class long since unprofitable.

Ironically, Junker demands brought emancipation from the free market in the Weimar era. The total nationalization of the agrarian market, finally achieved under Hitler,* was well advanced before 1933. But by fighting for their economic and political survival, the Junkers helped destroy Weimar democracy and thereby contributed to their own elimination as a class. The outcome had long been sought by liberal theorists such as Friedrich Naumann* and Max Weber.* Believing that the SPD would one day be transformed into a reformist party, such theorists, who revered Britain as their model, envisioned a day when the middle class would unite with the proletariat to neutralize the Junkers. While the Nazi revolution was not the anticipated formula, it accomplished their goal.

Neither the Junkers nor the *Reichslandbund* were the chief initiators of the Republic's demise. German agriculture, even east of the Elbe, was badly divided on the eve of Hitler's triumph, and many conservative agrarians were distressed by the events leading to his victory. While Junkers were hostile to the Republic, few shared the aspirations of the radical Right; the conservative regeneration they sought had little in common with the violence and demagoguery of the NSDAP. But the nobility's effectiveness was undercut by the intrigues of DNVP chairman Alfred Hugenberg,* by a depression* that drove countless peasants and agricultural laborers into the Nazi camp, by the NSDAP's success at infiltrating the *Reichslandbund*, and by a neoconservatism that espoused a mythical new nobility presumed to commandeer many of the functions once performed by Junkers. Unable to communicate legitimacy, the Junkers learned too late that they were merely conduits for the transmission of disaffected rural voters from the traditional conservative parties to the NSDAP.

REFERENCES: Baranowski, *Sanctity of Rural Life*; Berdahl, *Politics of the Prussian Nobility*; Carsten, *History of the Prussian Junkers*; Gerschenkron, *Bread and Democracy*; Larry Jones, ''Crisis and Realignment''; Schissler, ''Junkers''; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Max Weber, ''National Character.''

JUSTICE. The Republic's judicial system mirrored the structure molded forty years earlier by Bismarck. Bismarck had purged the courts of their liberal justices and thereafter had used the system against his political opponents. To become a judge in the Kaiserreich, one had to survive a probationary period of at least eight years as an assistant judge. Clearly, only the wealthy could aspire to a judicial career, while only the socially and politically admissible could maneuver through the probationary period. In the decade before World War I public prosecutors, all of whom had mastered compliance after years of state service, were typically chosen when it came time to fill high-level judgeships. Not surprisingly, such judges were notorious antisocialists; it became customary for activists within the workers' movement to stand trial for high treason. One judge tellingly proclaimed that what ''the army is at our borders, our decisions must be within them.''

The collapse of the Kaiserreich and the sudden rise to power of the SPD humiliated and offended Germany's judiciary. Yet the Republic's leaders, be-

lieving that they could not act otherwise, allowed such judges to maintain their positions with guarantees of immunity. Although the judges pledged to uphold the Republic, most allied themselves with the DNVP. Accepting the rightist claim that the Kaiser's army had been ''stabbed in the back'' (*see Dolchstosslegende*), numerous judges assisted those intent on removing the ''enemy within.'' By basing justice on the concept of ''friend versus foe,'' a position refined by Carl Schmitt* in his 1927 book *Der Begriff des Politischen* (The concept of the political), judges often appraised crimes against a broader background of supposed patriotism and loyalty to the old Kaiserreich. Accordingly, the act of murder might be excused, or even be deemed proper, if the murderer were acting out of ''patriotism.'' It is clear that such judges were carrying over to the Republic their old notion of ''high treason.'' In countless cases involving rightist defendants, including that of Traugott von Jagow in the Kapp* Putsch trial, judges excused behavior by stating that the accused had no doubt ''acted with noble motives.'' In the judgment passed in April 1924 against the defendants in the Beerhall Putsch* trial, the court claimed that Hitler* and his followers ''had been guided in their actions by a purely patriotic spirit and the noblest of selfless intentions.'' Not surprisingly, in those trials that affected the NSDAP after Hitler's imprisonment—even that before Leipzig's Supreme Court—the system consistently excused slander, violence, and murder as the actions of good men with noble intentions. Late in 1931 an SPD memorandum documented 1,184 cases of Nazi violence during the prior two years in which 62 people had been killed and 3,209 injured; still, the courts refused to concede the heinous nature of such violence. This response, based on the abstract ''friend versus foe'' concept, encouraged right-wing aggression while undermining the confidence of republicans. The notion that ''defense of the state'' justified any act, including murder, ultimately claimed both law and justice as its victims.

Walther Rathenau* argued that the ''*Volksstaat* is not created by institutions and paragraphs of constitutions and laws, but by spirit and will'' (Joll). Among the Republic's tragedies was that men such as Rathenau, who genuinely wished to be free of old abuses, refused to give law and democracy a chance to work. Gustav Radbruch* warned in 1929 that application of the judicial system's ''national defense'' doctrine, not unlike Rathenau's concept of the *Volksstaat*, could justify the actions of ''fascists who might attempt to rescue the state by force from the permanent emergency of its 'democratic-liberal' constitution.'' Ingo Müller contended that the doctrine was used to justify everything later done by the Nazis.

REFERENCES: Bendersky, *Carl Schmitt*; Michael Hughes, ''Private Equity, Social Inequality''; Jarausch, ''Crisis of German Professions''; Joll, *Three Intellectuals in Politics*; Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice*; Howard Stern, ''*Organisation Consul*.''

K

KAAS, LUDWIG (1881–1952), theologian and politician; as chairman of the Center Party,* his ''yes'' vote on behalf of his faction secured Hitler's* Enabling Act* on 23 March 1933. Born to a Trier businessman, he decided at sixteen to become a priest. He studied initially at Trier's seminary, took a doctorate at Rome's Papal University, and was ordained in 1906. His two-volume study entitled *Die geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit der katholischen Kirche in Preussen* (Spiritual jurisdiction of the Catholic Church in Prussia) brought appointment in 1918 as Trier's Professor of Church Law. As advisor to Papal Nuncio Eugenio Pacelli, he was named Church Prelate (an honorary ecclesiastical title) in 1917.

Monsignor Kaas launched a political career in 1919 with election to the National Assembly.* His overriding aim was to secure a concordat with Rome and protect Catholic* rights within the new Republic. He was elected to the Reichstag* in 1920 (where he remained until 1933) and joined the Prussian *Staatsrat* in 1921. With Party colleagues Wilhelm Marx* and Konrad Adenauer,* he promoted a separate Rhenish state (i.e., one that would be part of Germany but separate from Prussia*). His distaste for Gustav Stresemann* did not preclude his supporting the Foreign Minister's accommodation with France. In 1924 the weight of his political responsibilities and duties to Pacelli led him to resign his professorship. During 1926–1928 he represented Germany at the League of Nations.

Despite delicate health, Kaas became Party chairman in 1928 as the compromise candidate of the Center's moderate right wing. The election ended easy cooperation with the SPD. Kaas never embraced parliamentary democracy, but advocated a form of populist dictatorship based on plebiscites. While he initially

supported the government of Party colleague Heinrich Brüning,* he began urging his faction to work with the radical Right. Increasingly estranged from his former friend, he may have played a role in Brüning's 1932 dismissal.

Because Kaas assumed that fascism offered firm guarantees to the church, he courted a coalition with the NSDAP during the Chancellorship of Franz von Papen.* Immediately following passage of the March 1933 Enabling Act,* he offered Hitler his support. His talks sustained Hitler's notion that protection of religious freedom applied to Christians, not to Jews,* and that equality before the law should not extend to Marxists—a category including the SPD; thus, to achieve his dream of a concordat, Kaas may have engaged in a dishonorable compromise with Hitler. In April 1933 he traveled with Papen to Rome, ostensibly for an Easter visit; in fact, the trip initiated intense negotiations, capped in July by the *Reichskonkordat*. Although Papen soon returned to Berlin,* Kaas remained in Rome until his death in 1952, supervising excavations under St. Peter's and becoming one of the papacy's trusted advisors (Pacelli became Pius XII in 1939). His failure to acknowledge that Nazi beliefs ran counter to Catholic teachings prejudiced Vatican policy toward both Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Helmreich, *German Churches under Hitler*; Morsey, ''Ludwig Kaas''; Stehlin, *Weimar and the Vatican*.

KAHL, WILHELM. *See Vernunftrepublikaner.*

KAHR, GUSTAV RITTER VON, born Gustav Kahr (1862–1934), civil servant; was Bavarian General State Commissioner at the time of the Beerhall Putsch.* Born to a judge in Weissenburg in Bavaria,* he completed legal studies in 1888. His 1902 appointment to Bavaria's Interior Ministry was followed by rapid promotion to *Staatsrat*. His dedication to protecting folk art and historic monuments in Bavaria's provincial cities brought ennoblement in 1911.

In 1917, as provincial president of Upper Bavaria, Kahr was among the first officials to predict the coming upheaval. After the November Revolution* he became convinced of the need to form a connection with Berlin* that complemented Bavaria's needs. A Protestant,* he entered the Catholic BVP and in the wake of the Kapp* Putsch became Prime Minister in a coalition advocating restoration of the Bavarian monarchy. The Landtag forced his resignation in September 1921 when he rejected Berlin's demand that Bavaria's *Einwohnerwehr* be disbanded. He thereupon resumed his duties as provincial president.

Kahr met Hitler* just before relinquishing office. With like-minded contemporaries, he deemed Hitler the drummer for Germany's national revival and hoped that Bavaria's many *Wehrverbände* might unite behind the Nazi leader. On 26 September 1923, with Berlin enmeshed in crisis, Bavarian Prime Minister Eugen von Knilling* appointed Kahr to the semi-dictatorial post of General State Commissioner. In succeeding weeks Kahr, who desired an authoritarian state,

toyed with the idea of a march on Berlin. But by the evening of 8 November, the occasion of Hitler's putsch, he had abandoned his plan as unworkable (he may have intended proposing a Wittelsbach restoration). Hitler's unexpected action split Bavaria's nationalists and doomed Kahr's political future. His ambivalence to the putsch led friend and foe alike to use him as a scapegoat.

When Kahr was dismissed from office in February 1924, his civil-service career seemed at an end. But in 1930 Heinrich Held* named him President of Bavaria's *Verwaltungsgerichtshof* (administrative court). Hitler had him executed on 30 June 1934 as part of the Röhm* purge.

REFERENCES: Dorondo, *Bavaria and German Federalism*; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Garnett, *Lion, Eagle, and Swastika*; Harold Gordon, *Hitler*; *NDB*, vol. 11.

KAISER, GEORG (1878–1945), writer; among Germany's premier Expressionist* playwrights. Born in Magdeburg, he broke off an apprenticeship in the book trade to take a position with an export and import company. In 1898, having created the literary society ''Sappho'' in 1895, he went to Latin America in pursuit of a more congenial life. After three years in the Buenos Aires office of German General Electric, he returned to Magdeburg with malaria. Marriage in 1908 to a prosperous woman brought him more than a decade of untroubled existence. But by 1920 he had consumed his wife's money, had sold her estate, and faced a charge of theft. At a sensational 1921 trial he defended his crime by arguing that the artist should be immune from the common cares of life. Following a one-year prison sentence, he led a withdrawn existence until 1938 in the Berlin* suburb of Grünheide.

Kaiser wrote over sixty dramas and was among the favored stage authors of the Weimar era. He began his career shortly after returning from South America, completing *Rektor Kleist* in 1903. His early work, mostly comedies, took the form of biting satires against a lower middle class consumed by dreams of fortune. In 1912, with publication of *Die Bürger von Calais* (Burghers of Calais)—an account of self-sacrifice for a wider community—he established his reputation as a leading Expressionist. The same year's *Von Morgens bis Mitternachts* (From morn to midnight) is still deemed a classic; with *Die Koralle* or the *Gas* trilogy (1917–1920), it is among his finest writing. By the early 1920s, with the emergence of *Neue Sachlichkeit*,* his work exhibited a new coolness. But he also wrote a lighthearted comedy entitled *Zwei Krawatten* (Two neckties) and collaborated with Kurt Weill* on two one-act operas, *Der Protagonist* (1925) and *Der Zar lässt sich photographieren* (The tsar has his picture taken, 1927). His *Silbersee* (1932), for which Weill composed the music,* incited a small riot when it opened in Leipzig.

The NSDAP banned the production of Kaiser's plays and burned his books in May 1933. Although he signed a declaration of loyalty to the Third Reich, he was expelled from the Prussian Academy of Arts. He remained in Germany until 1938, but finally fled to Switzerland. Of the works secretly written in the

1930s, the most notable is *Der Soldat Tanaka*, a play about a Japanese soldier who, upon becoming a pacifist, is executed.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 11; Patterson, *Revolution in German Theatre*; Sanders, *Days Grow Short*; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

KAISER FRIEDRICH DER ZWEITE. *See* Ernst Kantorowicz.

KAISER WILHELM II. *See* Monarchism.

KAISER WILHELM SOCIETY (*Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft*, KWG). Founded in 1911 as part of a centennial celebration for the University of Berlin,* the KWG was sponsored by the German Emperor. Its goal was to create institutes in which scholars pursued pure and applied research beyond the scope of universities dedicated primarily to teaching. Its leading voice and its president until 1930 was the theologian Adolf von Harnack.* Under Harnack's leadership KWG soon established several institutes, chiefly in the natural and medical sciences. Its approximately two hundred members, often bankers and industrialists, were each levied a minimum contribution of twenty thousand Reichsmarks. Governance began with a senate, numbering thirty individuals in the Weimar era, that fashioned policy. The senate was in turn led by a seven-member executive; as president, Harnack led the executive. Of its several institutes, Ernst Beckmann directed the one for chemistry (the original institute) from 1912 until 1923 (Otto Hahn* became director in 1928); Fritz Haber* directed the Institute for Physical Chemistry and Electrochemistry during 1912–1933; the Institute for Coal Research, established in 1914, was directed by Franz Fischer; the Biology Institute, formed in 1915, was directed until 1933 by Carl Correns; Max Rubner, a physiologist, led the Physiology Institute during 1913–1932; and August von Wassermann directed the Institute for Experimental Therapy. Although German physics was destined for international distinction, the Physics Institute, tentatively founded in 1917, remained but a mechanism for dispensing grants until 1938.

After attending to the demands associated with the war, KWG preserved its name during the Weimar era at the urging of Max Planck.* Guiding its precarious life through the inflation,* Harnack shifted its focus from pure to applied science, and the KWG fell increasingly under the influence of industry. By 1926 Krupp,* IG Farben,* and the steel cartel* held five of seven executive seats.

When Harnack died in July 1930, Planck succeeded him. His seven-year term began with efforts to mitigate the depression's* impact on the society; it ended with the nearly impossible task of protecting the KWG's autonomy from Nazi ideology. Planck gave way to IG Farben's Carl Bosch.* While Bosch was not a Nazi, he sympathized with the view that the society had been a tool of Jewish science under Planck. Nobel laureate Otto Hahn* assumed direction of the postwar organization, renamed the Max Planck Society in 1946.

REFERENCES: Beyerchen, *Scientists under Hitler*; Heilbron, *Dilemmas of an Upright Man*; Johnson, *Kaiser's Chemists*; Macrakis, *Surviving the Swastika*; Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, *50 Jahre*; Pauck, *Harnack and Troeltsch*.

KAMPFBÜNDE. *See* Freikorps.

KANDINSKY, WASSILY (1866–1944), painter and writer; László Moholy-Nagy* called him ''the great initiator of abstract painting, whose theoretical work represents the beginning of a new art history'' (Selz). Born in Moscow, he received a solid education in music* and jurisprudence. After he completed formal studies in 1893, he began a legal apprenticeship; indeed, until age thirty he never studied art. But in 1896 he terminated his legal career, rejected a professorship, and, relocating to Munich, turned his attention to painting.

Studying first in a private studio, then at the *Kunstakademie* under Franz von Stuck, Kandinsky soon formed friendships with Marianne von Werefkin, Paul Klee,* and Alexej von Jawlensky. In 1901 he helped found *Phalanx*, a group designed ''to further common interest by close cooperation.'' He sponsored eleven exhibitions during *Phalanx*'s three-year history and was also active in the *Münchner Sezession* and the *Berliner Sezession* and in the German Artists' Association. His technique began incorporating abstract elements around 1907. ''One thing became clear,'' he later wrote; ''objectiveness, the depiction of objects, needed no place in my paintings, and was indeed harmful to them.'' Late in 1908 he led a group of painters out of the *Münchner Sezession*; these formed the New Artists' Association. Finally, in 1911 he and Franz Marc established *Der Blaue Reiter* (The blue rider), a group identified by the title of a 1903 Kandinsky painting. Focused by Kandinsky's two essays of 1912, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (Concerning the spiritual in art) and ''Über die Formfrage'' (Concerning the question of form), *Blaue Reiter* was soon the vanguard of Expressionism.*

War forced Kandinsky back to Russia and ended his most productive period (he painted about one hundred canvases during 1910–1914). In Moscow the Revolution brought appointment to the People's Commissariat for Popular Culture and to a professorship at the Fine Arts Academy. He was named director of the Museum of Pictorial Culture in 1919 and became founder and vice president of the Academy of Artistic Sciences in 1921. His interest in synthesizing the arts and sciences helped stimulate Constructivism. But growing conservatism and the Bolsheviks' cool response to his color and form prompted his return to Germany before 1922. Walter Gropius* soon invited him to teach mural painting at the Bauhaus.* In 1924 he joined Klee, Jawlensky, and Lyonel Feininger*—all Bauhaus colleagues—in the exhibition group *Blaue Vier*.

Kandinsky took German citizenship in 1928. In December 1933 he moved to Paris. His work, reverting to a style freer than that practiced since 1918, again emphasized color. Not until the NSDAP exhibited fourteen of his works in the

1937 show *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) did he begin criticizing the Third Reich. He became a French citizen in 1939.

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; Lenman, ''Community in Transition''; Roskill, *Klee*; Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*; Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich.*

KANTOROWICZ, ERNST (1895–1963), historian; among the century's premier medievalists. Born to an affluent middle-class family in Posen (now Poznan), he was studying philosophy at Berlin* when World War I erupted. He volunteered for the army and served first in France (he was wounded at Verdun) and then in Turkey. While working on the Baghdad Railway, he learned Arabic and formed an interest in the Islamic world. After Germany's defeat he resumed his studies, this time in economics. Concurrently, he joined the Freikorps* and participated in actions against the Spartacus League* in Berlin, the Poles in Posen, and Munich's *Räterepublik*. He enrolled at Heidelberg late in 1919 and took a doctorate in 1921 with a dissertation on the Muslim artisan guilds; he was self-educated as a medievalist.

While at Heidelberg, Kantorowicz belatedly joined Stefan George's* circle (*George-Kreis*) and formed a friendship with the poet himself. His first book, the idealized biography *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (Emperor Frederick the Second), was written under George's influence and was published in 1927 to considerable acclaim. Not only did it establish Kantorowicz, while raising a storm of protest among academics who claimed that its literary qualities were superior to its accuracy, but it spawned an academic career. Frankfurt's new university gave him an honorary professorship in 1930 and promoted him to full professor in 1932. But the academy remained uneasy with someone who cared more about style than historical technique. His fidelity to a mystical German *Reich* led him to reject the egalitarianism of the Republic. Later, however, he regretted the role his biography played in aiding the NSDAP (Hitler* claimed to have read the book twice).

An assimilated Jew,* Kantorowicz was forced to resign his professorship late in 1933. Awarded emeritus status in 1934, he relocated to Berlin and taught occasionally at Oxford. In November 1938, the month of *Kristallnacht*, he emigrated, going first to England and then to America. He taught at Berkeley until California's loyalty oath led him to accept appointment at Princeton in 1950. Much of his best scholarship was completed in the United States.

REFERENCES: Cannon, *Blackwell Dictionary of Historians*; Landauer, ''Ernst Kantorowicz''; Lehmann and Sheehan, *Interrupted Past*; Malkiel, ''Ernst H. Kantorowicz''; *NDB*, vol. 11.

KANTOROWICZ, HERMANN (1877–1940), jurist and professor; an early proponent of the ''doctrine of free law'' (*freie Recht*), which espouses the relativism of values and links jurisprudence with sociology. Born in Posen (now Poznan), he attended Gymnasium in Berlin* and took a doctorate at Heidelberg in 1900 with a thesis on the history of criminal law. After extended study abroad,

he completed his *Habilitation* in 1907 at Freiburg. Freiburg appointed him *Privatdozent* in 1908; he was promoted to full professor in 1923.

Kantorowicz, who volunteered for the army during the war, became a pacifist after Germany's defeat. An advocate for the League of Nations, he joined both the DDP and the republican *Richterbund* (Judicial Alliance). Upon criticizing Bismarck's policies in 1921, he became embroiled in a feud with colleague Georg von Below* that threatened his career. In 1923, at the behest of the Reichstag's* Investigating Committee on World War I, he wrote *Gutachten zur Kreigsschuldfrage 1914* (Expert opinion on the war-guilt question of 1914). His thesis, that Austria* and Germany warranted major blame for the war, so conflicted with national sentiment that the Foreign Office forbade publication (it finally appeared in 1967). But other controversial opinions did appear. In *Germany and the League of Nations* (1924) and *Der Geist englischen Politik und das Gespenst der Einkreisung Deutschlands* (*The Spirit of British Policy and the Myth of the Encirclement of Germany*, 1929) he featured an interest in foreign policy, an attraction to Britain, and a commitment to world peace. In 1928 he succeeded Gustav Radbruch* at Kiel as Professor of Criminal Law. He was dismissed in 1933 and joined New York's New School for Social Research. In 1937 he became Assistant Director for Legal Research at Cambridge.

Although Kantorowicz maintained that as a constitutional guarantee of justice* to the individual, judges must be committed to written statutes, he also championed judicial creativity. Opposed to positivist legal theory, he held the view that legal decisions should account for the emotions.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *IESS*; *NDB*, vol. 11.

KAPP, WOLFGANG (1858–1922), bureaucrat and politician; famous for his role in the Kapp Putsch of March 1920. He was born in New York. His father was a journalist and historian who, after participating in the 1848 revolution, emigrated to America. Returning to Germany when Wolfgang was thirteen, Friedrich Kapp served as a liberal member of the Reichstag.* After Wolfgang earned his doctorate in law, he completed state exams and was appointed to the Finance Ministry. Proprietor of an estate near Königsberg, and *Landrat* in Guben from 1891 to 1900, he became counselor in 1900 with Prussia's* Agriculture Ministry. Upon election in 1906 as *Generaldirektor* of the East Prussian Chamber (*Landschaft*), he left the civil service.

Politically, Kapp was his father's opposite. Before and during World War I he opposed the foreign and agricultural policies of Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg. A rabid nationalist, he responded to the Reichstag's Peace Resolution of 1917 by founding, with Alfred von Tirpitz,* the Fatherland Party. While serving as the Party's cochairman, he held a Conservative seat in the Reichstag.

Prompted by the Kaiserreich's collapse and the Polish threat to eastern Germany, Kapp joined the DNVP and, with like-minded individuals (e.g., Erich Ludendorff,* Colonel Max Bauer, and Waldemar Pabst*), formed the *Nationale*

Vereinigung (National Union) in October 1919. He was dedicated to removal of the Republic and creation of a conservative dictatorship, but his groundwork was far from complete when on 13 March 1920 Walther von Lüttwitz* personally activated a putsch, ordered Freikorps* units into Berlin,* and designated Kapp the new Chancellor. The legal government fled to Stuttgart.

Because of insufficient preparations, the putschists failed to secure the support of Berlin's bureaucracy, including the Reichsbank, and were greeted on 14 March by a general strike that doomed the action. Kapp resigned on 17 March and, with imprisonment threatening, fled to Sweden. When the 1922 trial of Traugott von Jagow, Kapp's Interior Minister, fostered the view that the putschists had acted only as patriotic Germans, Kapp came home. Seriously ill with cancer, he surrendered to the Supreme Court and died before his case was decided.

As aftermath to the foiled putsch, Germany's internal politics were polarized: the Right became more adamant in its disapproval of the Republic, while the Left demanded resumption of the November Revolution.* The uprising in the Ruhr of a so-called Red Army, a by-product of the putsch, compelled the hapless government to rely on the same Freikorps units that had just tried to displace it. German voters discerned the impairment of purpose. When elections were held in June 1920, the Weimar Coalition* lost its majority; it would never regain it.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Feldman, ''Big Business''; *NDB*, vol. 11.

KAPP PUTSCH. *See* Wolfgang Kapp.

KARDORFF, SIEGFRIED VON (1873–1945), politician; a conservative supporter of the Republic. Born in Berlin,* he studied law and began a civil-service* career in 1901. He was assigned in 1904 to Prussia's* Agriculture Ministry and became a *Landrat* in Posen in 1908. The next year he entered the Prussian *Abgeordnetenhaus* as a Free Conservative, but left his faction in May 1918 in opposition to the three-class electoral system.

Kardorff joined the DNVP in November 1918. He was elected to the Reichstag* in 1920 (he retained his seat until 1932) and sat simultaneously during 1919–1925 in the Prussian assembly, serving as chairman of the latter's constitutional committee in 1919. He was soon uncomfortable with the DNVP, disdained the *Dolchstosslegende*,* and was increasingly opposed to the domination of Kuno von Westarp.* The DNVP's ambivalence to the Kapp* Putsch led him to join the DVP in April 1920. Inclined to work with the SPD, he proposed a new party in 1920 uniting prorepublican elements across the spectrum. His vocal support in August 1923 for Gustav Stresemann's* Great Coalition* encouraged President Ebert* to ask him to form a new government in November 1923, but any Kardorff-led coalition miscarried on opposition from the DNVP and the DVP.

Representing the left wing of the DVP, Kardorff served as Reichstag Vice President during 1928–1932. In February 1932, with Party colleague Julius Curtius*—and in union with the SPD and the Center Party*—he blocked a no-confidence vote against Heinrich Brüning.* Since a majority of his Party supported the vote, he was expelled from his faction. He retired in 1933 and lived privately thereafter in Berlin.

REFERENCES: Hertzman, *DNVP*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; *NDB*, vol. 11.

KASTL, LUDWIG (1878–1969), economics expert; participated in negotiations for both the Dawes and Young plans.* Born near the Rhineland village of Altenbamberg, he was raised in Bad Münster am Stein. He studied law and political science before taking state exams and accepting appointment with the provincial government of Upper Bavaria. In 1906, recently assigned to the colonial section of the Foreign Office, he went to German Southwest Africa (now Namibia). Thereafter, he served successively as a judge in Windhuk (1906–1910), a reporter for internal administration (1910–1912), leader of the finance department (1912–1915), and Commissioner for Civil Administration (1915–1920).

With the Versailles Treaty* stipulating loss of Germany's colonies, Kastl returned to Berlin* and joined the Finance Ministry. Leading the reparations* department, he assisted with the 1924 Dawes negotiations. In 1925 he resigned from the civil service* to become executive director of the RdI; however, he preserved his autonomy when, during 1929–1932, he served with the League of Nations' Mandate Commission. In 1929 he belatedly assumed an assignment with the Conference of Experts; the resulting report was the Young Plan.

In contrast to many of his colleagues, Kastl supported the cabinet of Heinrich Brüning.* Worried lest either Alfred Hugenberg* or Hitler* form a government, he worked in late 1932 to sustain Franz von Papen* and was also belatedly supportive of Kurt von Schleicher.* On orders from Otto Wagener, head of the NSDAP's economic policies section, he was dismissed from his office in April 1933; the RdI disbanded in May. Kastl thereafter practiced law within the Berlin court system. He resumed his activity as an economics expert after World War II.

REFERENCES: Bonn, *Wandering Scholar*; *NDB*, vol. 11; Turner, *German Big Business*.

KÄSTNER, ERICH (1899–1974), writer; among the Republic's popular humorists. Born into lower-middle-class circumstances in Dresden (his father was a saddlemaker and his mother a seamstress), he became a soldier in 1917 but was released early the next year with a heart disorder. After working briefly in a bank, he became an editor with the *Neue Leipziger Zeitung*. Meanwhile, studies in German language and literature led to a doctorate in 1925. When the newspaper* fired him in 1927 for publishing an erotic poem, he moved to Berlin* and launched a freelance career.

Kästner belonged to a small circle of liberal, middle-class intellectuals who,

while skeptical of the Republic, were decidedly democratic. Publishing prose and poetry in rapid succession, he became a celebrated writer for *Die Weltbühne*.* His verse, a collection of which was published in 1928 as *Herz auf Taille*, exhibits the brisk and mocking tone that marked satire in the 1920s. Subtly combining sarcasm and compassion, his poetry targeted militarism, social injustice, political reaction, and the double standards and narrow-mindedness of the middle class. He was also esteemed for witty novels and children's books (e.g., *Lärm in Spiegel*, *Emil und die Detektiv*, and *Das fliegende Klassenzimmer*). His unusually pessimistic *Fabian* (1931) exposed the collapse of traditional morality under the pressure of life in modern cities.

Although his work was burned in May 1933, and the NSDAP prohibited him from writing, Kästner was among the few *Weltbühne* writers to remain in Germany. Writing innocuous filmscripts, he secretly sustained his prolific output, smuggling manuscripts out of Germany to await publication at a later date. After the war he was both an editor for *Neue Zeitung* and a freelance writer.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Garland and Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature*; Kästner, *When I Was a Little Boy*.

KAUTSKY, KARL. *See* Socialization Commission.

KAYSER, RUDOLF. *See Die neue Rundschau*.

KEHR, ECKART (1902–1933), historian; deemed the *enfant terrible* of the German historical community. Born in Brandenburg to a respected family of academics, he matured into a democrat with strong socialist leanings. While studying at Berlin,* he served as *Assistent* to Friedrich Meinecke.* Kehr was unique at challenging the academy's political history by giving it a systematic socioeconomic basis. Taking inspiration from Max Weber,* he assailed the ''primacy of foreign politics,'' the Rankean paradigm, through his use of sociological models. His doctoral thesis, *Schlachtflottenbau und Parteipolitik, 1894–1901* (Battleship building and party politics), written for Meinecke in 1927 and published in 1930, infuriated naval enthusiasts by exposing the political and economic motivations underlying Alfred von Tirpitz's* naval program. Hans Rothfels of Königsberg, embittered by the thesis, refused to accept Kehr's *Habilitation*. When Kehr offered the work in competition for the 1931 Stein Prize, Germany's historical commission also rebuffed it. He then chose to pursue his career in the United States. He received a Rockefeller grant in 1932 and arrived in America in January 1933. Chronically ill, he died in May of a heart defect. His challenge to the traditional representation of foreign policy was forgotten until, with mixed reaction, his writings were reintroduced in the mid-1960s by Hans-Ulrich Wehler.

REFERENCES: Lehmann and Sheehan, *Interrupted Past*; Sheehan, ''Primacy of Domestic Politics''; Wehler, *Primat der Innenpolitik*.

KERR, ALFRED, born Kempner (1867–1948), poet and critic; among the most influential drama critics during 1895–1920. Born in Breslau (now Wroclaw), he moved to Berlin* in 1887 and began writing for *Tägliche Rundschau*. A student of philosophy and German literature, he wrote his doctoral thesis in 1894 on the poetry of Clemens Brentano and thereafter returned to his work as critic and freelance writer. His early success was partially owed to the friendship of Theodor Fontane, who helped him get published in the magazine *Nation*. Noted for elegance and wit, he already drew large fees for his journalism during his student days. By 1900 his criticism was appearing in *Tag*, *Neue Rundschau*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and *Berliner Tageblatt*—Germany's most prestigious newspapers*—and he was able to live and travel without financial worry. In 1911 he took the name Kerr.

A romantic in style and form, Kerr treasured the work of Ibsen and Shaw, promoted that of Wedekind and Gerhart Hauptmann,* and misunderstood that of Bertolt Brecht.* While his poisoned-penned criticism was feared, he became Ernst Toller's* champion after seeing *Die Wandlung* (The transformation) in 1919. But when *Kreuzweg* (Crossroad) was staged in 1920, he announced that Carl Zuckmayer* would ''never engender a sentence that can be spoken on the stage''; respecting Iwan Goll, he reviled Arnolt Bronnen's* *Exzesse* as ''incoherent and decked out with obscenities.'' Belatedly warming to Max Reinhardt,* he embraced the political theater* of Erwin Piscator,* due in part to his own ill-defined socialism. Equal to his criticism were his furious disputes, carried on in *Berliner Tageblatt*, with fellow critics Herbert Ihering* and Karl Kraus. Although enmity existed between Kerr and Maximilian Harden,* the latter refused to be drawn into battle with someone ''who made his living by splattering me with mud.'' In any case, by the mid-1920s Kerr's influence was waning.

Of Jewish heritage, Kerr fled Germany on 15 February 1933. He was in London by late 1935 and eventually assisted the BBC with its anti-Nazi broadcasts. At the behest of Britain's Foreign Office, the eighty-one-year-old Kerr returned to Germany in 1948 as part of a lecture tour; he died in Berlin.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 11; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*; Young, *Maximilian Harden*.

KESSLER, HARRY GRAF (1868–1937), writer and diplomat; best known for his perceptive diaries. He was born in Paris; his father was a Hamburg banker ennobled by Kaiser Wilhelm I. After receiving an international education, he studied law and art history during 1888–1891 in preparation for a diplomatic career. Meanwhile, he endeavored to establish himself in Berlin* society. Among the *au courant* of the capital's elite, he led the German Artists' Association (*Deutsche Künstlerbund*) and helped organize numerous exhibits highlighting modern and international art. He was friendly with the royal family, and it was said that he knew everyone worth knowing in the Old World and the New. His prewar friends included Elisabeth Forster-Nietzsche (Friedrich's sister), Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Rainer Maria Rilke, Gerhart Hauptmann,* Max

Liebermann*, Edvard Munch, and Walther Rathenau.* Combining artistic instinct and writing skill, he presented Richard Strauss* with the ballet scenario for the *Josephslegende*.

Kessler was a cavalry captain and ordinance officer in World War I. In 1916, while he was assigned as cultural attaché in Bern, he unofficially probed for peace conditions with France. Shortly before the Armistice* he procured the release of Józef Pilsudski, Poland's* future leader, and was accredited Ambassador to a reborn Poland in November 1918. Although he succeeded in regulating the return of troops stationed in the East, his mission ended with a break in diplomatic relations.

Never fully engaged as a diplomat, Kessler increasingly espoused democracy and socialism through a budding journalistic career. Supportive of the German Peace Society* (he served on its Presidium) and the *Reichsbanner*,* he was dubbed ''the Red Count''—a naïve appellation (he was never a Communist) resulting from his support of the Republic. No doubt his circle of friends—including Albert Einstein,* the poet Theodor Däubler, George Grosz,* Wieland Herzfelde, Carl von Ossietzky,* Ludwig Quidde,* and Kurt Weill*—encouraged the epithet. A founder of the DDP, he ran unsuccessfully for office in 1924. Kessler served at the 1922 Genoa Conference,* was a member of the London embassy staff in 1923, and acted in 1924 as Germany's observer at the League of Nations. But he is remembered most for his superb biography of Rathenau (1928) and his diaries, *Harry Graf Kessler, Tagebücher 1918–1937* (published in 1961, they were translated as *In the Twenties*).

Kessler was in Berlin when Hitler* seized power. Warned to leave Germany, he fled to Paris on 24 March 1933, a day after the Reichstag* enacted Hitler's Enabling Act.*

REFERENCES: Andrews, *Siegfried's Curse*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 11.

KEUDELL, WALTER VON (1884–1973), politician; as Interior Minister, sponsored the controversial School Bill* of 1927. He was born in Königsberg to a family known for its diplomats and military officers; his grandfather originated the idea for the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Keudell, who completed a doctorate, was a forestry expert and, until his dismissal in 1920, the *Landrat* in Königsberg/Neumark. A nationalist and devout Protestant,* he was prominent in the 1920 Kapp* Putsch. He served in the Reichstag* during 1924–1930, representing the DNVP until 1929, when he joined the *Landvolk und christlich-sozialistische Volksdienst* (Agrarian and Christian Socialist Party). With Alfred von Tirpitz,* he convinced Hindenburg* to run for the presidency in 1925. Wilhelm Marx* appointed him Interior Minister in January 1927, thereby sparking considerable alarm among republicans (''he was no more suited to be the principal guardian of the Weimar constitution* than is the proverbial wolf to guard the sheep,'' claimed Erich Eyck*). He retired the leading republicans in his ministry (including Arnold Brecht*)

and then focused on religious and educational affairs. Determined to enhance Germany's denominational school system, he cooperated with Center deputies in drafting a School Bill. But the measure, which offset the system encouraged by the Constitution,* was opposed by the DVP, a party crucial to Marx's coalition. The bill induced the cabinet's collapse in February 1928.

Keudell joined those who left the DNVP in 1929 in protest to Alfred Hugenberg's* mandates. After Hitler's* appointment he joined the NSDAP and became General Forestry Commissioner and *Staatssekretär*, positions he retained until 1937.

REFERENCES: Ellen Evans, ''Center Wages *Kulturpolitik*'' and *German Center Party*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; *NDB*, vol. 11.

KEYSERLING, HERMANN GRAF (1880–1946), philosopher; among Germany's conservative elitists. A ''Baltic Baron,'' he was born in Könno, Livonia, and grew up on the ancestral estate of Rayküll (now in Estonia) in a feudal atmosphere wherein the family exercised broad prerogatives over a non-German peasantry. A cultivated aristocrat, he was in his late thirties when the Russian Revolution compelled his emigration to Germany, where he married a granddaughter of Otto von Bismarck. Although geological studies brought a doctorate in 1902, he soon abandoned the sciences, spent three years in Paris, and came under the influence of Houston Stewart Chamberlain.* He claimed to reject the English expatriate's racism and pan-Germanism, but he was enchanted by his hostility to democracy and liberalism. A 1906 attempt to write his *Habilitation* at Berlin* met with failure, despite intercession by Wilhelm Dilthey. He returned to Rayküll; his growing aversion to the older man's pettiness led him to break with Chamberlain in 1910.

Keyserling's cosmopolitanism set him apart from the typical conservative. He advocated the rule of an elite that carefully included members of Germany's old aristocracy while being solicitous of the middle class and hopeful that the masses would discern their inferiority. His aim, he claimed, was creation of a conservative socialism, not to be confused with the ''muddled ideas'' of Karl Marx. Akin to Edgar Jung,* he was more enamored of the past than Oswald Spengler,* Ernst Jünger,* and Hans Zehrer.* His random reflections, *Reisetagebuch eines Philosophs* (Travel diary of a philosopher), written after a world tour in 1911, brought him immediate fame.

As a member of the Baltic nobility, Keyserling grew up with little interest in the nation-state. While he was committed to German culture, he prided himself on coming from a family lacking in military tradition (an idiosyncrasy that distinguished the Baltic Barons from their Prussian cousins, the Junkers*). In 1920, augmented by support from *Grossherzog* Ernst Ludwig, he founded the *Schule der Weisheit* (School of Wisdom) in Darmstadt. While the school spread his fame and helped sell his works, it failed to enhance his life; with its fuzzy program, it focused on annual scholarly convocations. His ideology, like that of Henri Bergson (a friend), stressed a ''life philosophy'' (*Lebensphilosophie*) that

valued ''becoming'' over ''being.'' He judged positivism and rational analysis inferior to intuition and the ''reality of the irrational.'' Taking inspiration from his travels, he championed a synthesis of Eastern and Western philosophies designed to temper Europe's materialism with the Orient's spiritualism, thus restoring balance between spirit and intellect.

Amid Germany's growing chauvinism, Keyserling's urbanity isolated both him and his school. His failure to focus on the Republic's political crisis made him, moreover, increasingly irrelevant. Supportive of Heinrich Brüning,* he advised the Chancellor to turn his cabinet into a nonpartisan directory that could prevent the NSDAP from coming to power. Having warned of the Nazis' lack of spirituality, he encountered problems once Hitler* became Chancellor; in July 1933, for example, he was temporarily stripped of his citizenship. Although he eventually endorsed the Third Reich, his support was based on a desire to secure freedom of movement; nevertheless, by 1937 he was a virtual prisoner in Darmstadt.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Keyserling, *World in the Making*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*.

KILLINGER, MANFRED VON. *See Organisation Consul.*

KIRCHNER, ERNST LUDWIG. *See* Expressionism.

KIRDORF, EMIL (1847–1938), industrialist; exemplar of the ''reactionary monopoly capitalist.'' He was born near Düsseldorf in the town of Mettmann; his father was a textile manufacturer. Upon the collapse of the family's business in 1871, he left textiles and, prodded by an older brother, joined the recently formed Gelsenkirchen Mining Company (GBAG) as trade director. Despite a lack of mining expertise, Kirdorf soon guided the firm's fortunes. He built GBAG into Germany's largest coal producer and became managing director in 1892. Known as ''the Bismarck of the coal industry,'' he competed with Hugo Stinnes* and August Thyssen and guided GBAG's vertical expansion in 1902–1903 into iron and steel.

Kirdorf was an outspoken reactionary before World War I. Condemning the Kaiser's lifting of the Anti-Socialist Law as dangerous (he so disliked Wilhelm that he rejected an offer of ennoblement), he joined and promoted imperialist organizations such as the Pan-German League. During the war he was an ardent annexationist.

When the Versailles Treaty* forced divestment of much of his plant (the loss of iron mines in Lorraine was a blow), Kirdorf belatedly embraced an October 1918 proposal of Stinnes and Albert Vögler* to form an *Interessengemeinschaft* among several of Germany's largest iron, steel, and finished-products concerns (including that of Carl von Siemens*); the resulting Siemens-Rheinelbe-Schuckert-Union, which lasted five years, was succeeded in 1926 by the mammoth United Steel combine. Not surprisingly, Kirdorf was a resolute opponent

of the Republic (he labeled the regime the ''rule of rabble''), a champion of the *Dolchstosslegende*,* and a supporter of the 1920 Kapp* Putsch. Although he was a member of the DNVP, the Party so alienated him by cooperating with the Republic that he switched to the NSDAP in 1927. Seeing in Hitler* a chance to triumph against democracy, socialism, and ultramontane Catholicism,* he distributed Hitler's pamphlet, *Der Weg zum Weideraufsteig* (The road to resurgence), to prominent industrialists. But the socialist rhetoric of the Party's left wing soon alienated him; in August 1928 he rejoined the DNVP.

Kirdorf's role in financing Hitler's rise remains a topic of debate; having celebrated his eightieth birthday in 1927, he had relinquished much of his financial power by the time he met the Nazi leader. Although he was not anti-Semitic, he retained a public friendship with Hitler even after his withdrawal from the NSDAP; this probably benefitted Hitler more than money. He returned to the NSDAP after Hitler's seizure of power.

REFERENCES: Feldman, *Great Disorder* and *Iron and Steel*; *NDB*, vol. 11; Turner, ''Emil Kirdorf'' and *German Big Business*.

KLAGES, LUDWIG (1872–1956), cultural theorist; a member of the George Circle for whom ''research into the unconscious became worship of the unconscious'' (Pachter). Born in Hanover, he studied physics and philosophy before taking a doctorate in 1901 in chemistry. Despite what he called a ''practical'' approach to education, his humanistic bent led him to coedit *Blätter für die Kunst* during 1892–1904 with Stefan George.* In 1903 he founded a ''Psychodiagnostic Seminar,'' an enterprise that relocated to Switzerland during World War I. He gradually became the leading figure in a psychological movement, sometimes called ''vitalism,'' in which pseudosciences were explored to gain insight into character types.

Klages exemplified the romantic intellectual dedicated to the repudiation of reason in the name of instinct. Impugning ''civilization'' in favor of ''*Kultur*,'' his ideology paralleled that of Oswald Spengler* and unintentionally provided part of the intellectual framework for Nazism. He argued that the ability to think and will distinguished humans from animals. This difference was the source of man's estrangement from the world and the cause of his psychic illnesses; by dissolving the individual ego and recapturing one's animal consciousness, a man's natural impulses would triumph. His magnum opus, the three-volume *Der Geist als Widersacher der Seele* (Intellect as antagonist of the soul), published during 1929–1931, denounced scientific rationality on behalf of the irrational. Although Klages lectured throughout Germany and was much honored in his homeland—he received the Nietzsche Prize in 1923 and the Goethe Medal in 1932 and was elected Senator of Munich's German Academy in 1933—he chose to remain in Switzerland.

REFERENCES: *EP*, vol. 4; Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*; *NDB*, vol. 11; Pachter, *Weimar Etudes*.

KLEE, PAUL (1879–1940), painter and graphic artist; least political of the Expressionist* school. He was born in Münchenbuchsee (near Bern) to a respected musicologist. His mastery of the violin allowed him to join the Bern City Orchestra in his early teens as an unpaid musician. After struggling with a career choice, he left for Munich to study art, becoming Franz von Stuck's student in 1900 at the *Kunstakademie* (where he met fellow student Wassily Kandinsky*). He returned to Bern in 1902 and spent four years dividing his time between drawing, mostly at Bern's *Kunstgewerbemuseum*, and performing with the Bern orchestra. He also reviewed music* performances for the *Berner Fremdenblatt*. After exhibiting several works in 1906 with the *Münchner Sezession*, he relocated to Munich.

Klee joined the *Blaue Reiter* in 1911. His concurrent attempts to gain appointment at Stuttgart's *Kunstakademie* foundered. In 1912 he participated in *Blaue Reiter*'s second exhibition, and in 1913 several of his works appeared in the periodical *Sturm*. It was a 1914 trip with August Macke to Tunis that convinced him to discard his graphic style in favor of work dominated by color. Having learned to fly before joining *Blaue Reiter*, Klee served during 1916–1918 in a Bavarian flying company; the war hardly impacted his work. After years of minor success, his prospects changed in 1919 with an exhibition of the *Neue Münchner Sezession*, a group he helped found in 1913; by this time his work was largely abstract.

After signing a three-year contract in 1920 with the art dealer Hans Goltz (the contract was later extended to 1925), Klee opened a solo exhibit at Goltz's *Galerie neue Kunst*. He also published two monographs, *Schöpferische Konfession* (Creative confession) and *Tribüne der Kunst der Zeit* (Tribune of the art of the time), and was invited by Walter Gropius* to join the Bauhaus* staff—all in 1920. He began teaching in 1921, first as master of the bookbindery and from 1922 in a seminar on glass-painting. But he chiefly taught art composition theory. Meanwhile, his art appeared in 1924 in both New York and Jena. In 1925, when the Bauhaus moved to Dessau, he opened a solo show in Paris and formed an exhibition group (*Blaue Vier*) with Kandinsky, Lyonel Feininger,* and Alexej von Jawlensky. When his contract with Goltz expired, he negotiated an agreement with Alfred Flechtheim's gallery in Berlin.*

Klee left the Bauhaus in 1930 and joined the faculty of the more traditional Düsseldorf *Kunstakademie* in 1931. But his tenure was brief. Although he concealed his political beliefs, the Nazis searched his home in March 1933 and suspended him from teaching in May 1933. When in September suspension matured into termination, Klee returned to Bern. Despite prior success in Switzerland, the label ''degenerate artist'' followed him home; he was unable to regain his citizenship before his death. In 1937 the NSDAP included seventeen of his works in the *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition.

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; *NDB*, vol. 11; Roskill, *Klee*; Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*; Werckmeister, *Making of Paul Klee's Career*.

KLEIBER, ERICH (1890–1956), conductor; led Berlin's* *Staatsoper* during 1923–1934. Born to a language teacher in Vienna, he was orphaned at age seven and raised first by his maternal grandparents in Prague and then by an aunt in Vienna. It was by way of performances of the Mahler-directed Court Opera (*Hofoper*) that he formed his love for music.* In 1908 he went to Prague, ostensibly to study philosophy and art history; in fact, he attended the music conservatory. In 1911 he won a prize for a symphonic poem and was appointed *Assistent* at Prague's German Theater. Lured to Darmstadt in 1912, he remained as third conductor for seven years. Further appointments, as first conductor, took him to several German cities. Soon after his Berlin début in August 1923, he became music director of the famed *Staatsoper* on Unter den Linden.

With a fanatical dedication to precision, Kleiber studied scores assiduously and rehearsed tirelessly; he premiered Alban Berg's *Wozzeck* in 1925 after 137 rehearsals. Although he was fond of promoting avant-garde composers (*Wozzeck* introduced modern opera to Berlin), he was most famous as the conductor of Beethoven, Mozart, Verdi, and Richard Strauss.* Nonsentimental, he refused to indulge romantic interpretation. Despite his strict demands, his vocal and instrumental musicians were devoted to him. The critic Walter Schrenk was representative when he wrote, ''What a valuable possession we have in Erich Kleiber. In view of the ignorant and incompetent attacks to which he has been subjected, it must be stressed once again that since the time of Gustav Mahler only a very few German opera conductors have emerged with anything approaching Kleiber's creative power'' (Russell). Worldwide recognition brought tours of Europe, the United States, and Latin America. In addition to the opera, he regularly conducted Berlin's *Staatskapelle* (State Choir).

Unwilling to compromise with the NSDAP, he resigned in December 1934 when the Nazis denounced Berg's *Lulu*; he had just conducted the premiere of the opera's suite. A nomadic period—including stints in Prague, London, Salzburg, Paris, Amsterdam, and Brussels but, revealingly, not Vienna—consumed his next few years. Attracted to Latin America—he already had a home in Buenos Aires—he renounced his Austrian nationality in 1938, became an Argentine citizen, and directed Argentina's *Deutsche Oper am Teatro Colón* from 1939 to 1949. He spent his last years in Europe.

REFERENCES: *NDB*, vol. 11; *New Grove*, vol. 10; Russell, *Erich Kleiber*.

KLEMPERER, OTTO (1885–1973), conductor; director of Berlin's* Kroll Opera. Born of Jewish parentage in Breslau (now Wroclaw), he grew up in Hamburg, where he studied piano. In 1901 he began formal training, first at Frankfurt's Hoch Conservatory and then, during 1902–1905, in Berlin. Engaged at the last moment in 1906, he made his début at the *Neues Theater* for Max Reinhardt's* production of Offenbach's *Orpheus in the Underworld*. On Mahler's recommendation he became chorus master in 1907 and later conductor of the German State Theater in Prague. He worked with the Hamburg Opera in

1910–1912 and was chorus master in Barmen and Strassburg (1914–1917). He was music director of the Cologne Opera for seven years and filled the same post in Wiesbaden during 1924–1927. Out of genuine conviction, he converted to Catholicism while in Cologne.

Despite a manic-depressive disorder that often strained his relationship with supporters, Klemperer emerged as one of Germany's leading conductors. Because of his sympathy for modern music,* he declined the post of music director at Berlin's conservative *Staatsoper* in 1923. But when Carl Becker,* Prussia's* Cultural Minister, created a branch of the *Staatsoper* to perform new and recent works, Klemperer's selection as director was natural. In 1927 he began his celebrated years as music director of the *Staatsoper am Platz der Republik*, commonly known as the *Krolloper*. Although he performed such contemporaries as Hindemith,* Stravinsky, and Schoenberg,* his renditions of Mozart operas were famous.

By emulating the Republic, the Kroll Opera was soon drawn into the controversies that destroyed the regime. Economic problems and pressure from the Right induced the opera's closure in July 1931 after only four seasons. When Klemperer conducted *Tannhäuser* on 13 February 1933 at the *Staatsoper*, a performance commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Wagner's death, it was his last appearance in Germany until after World War II. Although he naïvely believed that racial persecution in Nazi Germany could be ended by baptizing all the Jews,* he emigrated in April 1933 and eventually became conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra.

REFERENCES: Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer; NDB*, vol. 12; *New Grove*, vol. 10.

KNILLING, EUGEN RITTER VON (1865–1927), politician; Prime Minister of Bavaria* during Hitler's* Beerhall Putsch.* Born in Munich, he earned a doctorate in law and entered the Bavarian civil service.* In 1912–1918 he was Bavaria's Interior Minister for Church and School Affairs. Elected to the Landtag in 1920 as a member of the BVP, he became Prime Minister in November 1922. Plagued with mounting crisis, he retained office until May 1924. From 1924 until his death he led Bavaria's Liquidation Administration.

Sometimes characterized as vain and vacillating, Knilling was also devious. While he was dictatorial with cabinet members, he was adept at measuring an audience before presenting his position. Because he was a German nationalist, his ties to the BVP were at times strained. With respect to the NSDAP, he found Erich Ludendorff*—the ''priest-baiter''—repulsive; although he was initially impressed by Hitler, he came to distrust him. In any case, he provided Bavaria's nationalist groups—including, to a limited extent, the NSDAP—shelter in which to organize. In May 1923 he argued that the *Vaterländische Verbände* would be more dangerous to Bavaria if they were dissolved but continued to exist in secret. Sensing power slipping from his hands, he yielded to pressure in September by proclaiming a state of emergency and appointing Gustav von Kahr* to the semidictatorial post of State Commissioner. Kahr quickly placed Bavaria

under martial law and formed a cabinet that operated in parallel with the elected government. Knilling was thus partially to blame for the disarray existing in Bavaria on the eve of Hitler's putsch. That his cabinet survived the event and reinstated more cordial relations with Berlin* is often overlooked.

REFERENCES: Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Harold Gordon, *Hitler*; Kosch, *Biographisches Staatshandbuch*.

KOCH-WESER, ERICH (1875–1944), politician; served as Reichsminister and chairman of the DDP. Born in Bremerhaven, he studied law and political science, completing state exams and becoming *Bürgermeister* of Delmenhorst in 1901. Serving concurrently in the Oldenburg assembly, he was appointed Bremerhaven's city director in 1909 and then served Kassel during 1913–1919 as *Oberbürgermeister*. A left-wing National Liberal, he admired Friedrich Naumann* and championed abolition of Prussia's* three-class voting system.

In November 1918 Koch helped found the DDP, which he represented in the National Assembly* and during 1920–1930 in the Reichstag.* With exceptional intelligence and knowledge of municipal administration, he soon established a commanding position in the DDP. He was named Interior Minister in October 1919 and held office until May 1921, serving under Gustav Bauer,* Hermann Müller,* and Konstantin Fehrenbach* (he was also Müller's Vice Chancellor). While in office, he endeavored to abolish the duality between national and state governments, especially as it existed between Prussia and the Reich. Upon leaving office, he established a legal practice in Berlin.*

In 1924 Koch succeeded Carl Petersen* as DDP chairman. His demanding style and his inclination to sharp opinions earned him many opponents. Although he was within the DDP's right wing on most issues, he remained committed to compromise with the SPD. Yet when he ventured a Great Coalition* in December 1925, the effort was foiled by the SPD. Koch (to denote his voting district, he added Weser to his name in April 1925) became Justice Minister in June 1928 when Müller formed his own Great Coalition. Aiming at a comprehensive reform of criminal law, he was compelled to resign his portfolio in April 1929 when the Center Party* demanded a larger role in Müller's cabinet.

Koch was alarmed at his Party's failure to hold an electorate, and his anxiety increased from 1928 over general political developments. When efforts miscarried to merge with the DVP, he courted Artur Mahraun of the *Jungdo*.* In mid-1930 Koch and Mahraun announced the DStP, an amalgam of the DDP and the *Jungdo*'s political arm. The merger agreement revealed that Koch would be Reichstag faction leader while Mahraun became Party leader. But Koch had reconciled neither his colleagues nor the Party membership to the arrangement. The Reichstag elections of September 1930 brought the DStP a mere 3.8 percent of the vote and twenty deputies. In October the merger collapsed when old-line Democrats blocked Koch's election as faction leader while demanding a Party platform unacceptable to Mahraun. With *Jungdo*'s secession reducing the DStP faction to fourteen, Koch resigned as both Party leader and Reichstag deputy.

Deprived in 1933 of a thriving legal practice (Koch had Jewish ancestry), he emigrated to Brazil.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Chanady, ''Erich Koch-Weser''; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; *NDB*, vol. 12.

KÖHLER, HEINRICH (1878–1949), politician; Finance Minister in Wilhelm Marx's* fourth cabinet. Born in Karlsruhe, he joined the civil service,* beginning work in 1897 in Baden's Finance Office. He was elected in 1911 to Karlsruhe's city assembly and entered the Landtag in 1913 as a Center Party* deputy. In 1915–1918 he was a tariff commissioner in occupied Belgium.

Close to Joseph Wirth* and a member of the Center's left wing until the mid-1920s, Köhler promoted alliance with Baden's provisional government during the November Revolution.* After appointment in January 1919 as the state's cabinet chief, he succeeded Wirth as Baden's Finance Minister in 1920, holding office until 1927 and serving also as Prime Minister in 1923–1924 and 1926–1927.

Although Köhler was reinstated as Prime Minister in November 1926, he went to Berlin* two months later to join Marx's government (he served through June 1928). During Germany's unstable prosperity he framed a solid financial policy; yet he repeatedly blamed reparations* for forcing him to drive the economy at the verge of deficit. While he insisted that Germany could ill afford salary increases or the eight-hour day, he endorsed a bill granting massive raises to civil servants. Supported by Marx, the bill was condemned by labor leader and Party colleague Adam Stegerwald.* Köhler defended it by arguing that the indifference of bureaucrats in 1918 to the monarchy's collapse was owed to the blunder of a regime that had paid them so poorly; the Republic, he warned, ran the same risk. But the 1927 salary law alienated other elements of the population, especially the rural community. Three years later Heinrich Brüning,* faced with depression,* made the painful choice of reversing Köhler's pay raise.

During his time in the Reichstag* (May 1928 to July 1932), Köhler belonged to the chamber's budget committee. He thereafter reverted to private business and served as a financial advisor to the potash industry.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Caplan, *Government without Administration*; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; *NDB*, vol. 12.

KÖHLER, WOLFGANG (1887–1967), psychologist and physiologist; a founder of *Gestaltpsychologie*. Born in the Baltic city of Reval (now Tallinn in Estonia), he pursued studies in history, philosophy, psychology, and natural science. Upon taking his doctorate at Berlin in 1909, he became an assistant at the psychological institute of Frankfurt's new university. Working in 1912 with Max Wertheimer* and Kurt Koffka, he helped lay the foundation for Gestalt psychology. Upon completing his *Habilitation*, he was appointed in 1913 by the Prussian Academy of Sciences to direct research on Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands. Isolated during World War I—he remained until 1920—he used his

lengthy solitude to reflect on Gestalt psychology. In 1917 he published *Zur Psychologie der Schimpansen* (Mentality of apes) and in 1920 *Die physischen Gestalten in Ruhe und im stationären Zustand* (Physical being at rest and in a stationary condition).

Köhler became acting director of Berlin's psychological institute in 1920. He taught at Göttingen in 1921 and then returned to Berlin as director of the psychological institute; through 1929 he worked with Wertheimer. A critic of the so-called atomistic psychologies (structuralism and behaviorism), he sponsored the notion that presumed human experience is based on organized wholes and not on a sum of atomistic perceptions. In response to opponents, he argued that the human mental process is not greater than the sum of its parts; rather, it is different from the sum of its parts.

Köhler was an outspoken critic of the Nazis. Following a visiting appointment at Harvard (1934–1935), he resigned his Berlin positions to teach at Swarthmore. From 1958 until his death he was a research professor at Dartmouth.

REFERENCES: Ash, ''Gestalt Psychology''; *IEPPPN*; Wolfgang Köhler, *Task of Gestalt Psychology*; *NDB*, vol. 12; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*.

KOKOSCHKA, OSKAR (1886–1980), artist and writer; while he rejected the label Expressionist,* his work reflected the movement's spirit. Born in Pöchlarn an der Donau, Austria,* he passed a destitute childhood in Vienna before studying at the city's *Kunstgewerbeschule* in 1905–1909. As a student, he wrote his first drama and poetry while joining an artists' group centered on Gustav Klimt. In 1909 he became a freelance artist for Vienna's *Werkstätten*. From the 1908 *Kunstschau* exhibition of his first work, he encountered a public response more violent than that accorded fellow modernists: ''chief of the savages,'' the press claimed, ''a Gauguin gone mad.'' Such protest earned him rapid acceptance by Vienna's avant-garde, especially by architect Adolf Loos. The outrage at the 1909 performance of his play *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (Murderer, hope of women) was such that Loos sent him to Switzerland. In 1910 he met Herwarth Walden,* a Berliner who was then establishing both a journal and gallery named *Sturm*. Walden signed him to a contract as the journal's illustrator. Berlin,* more open to avant-garde art than Vienna, granted Kokoschka wide recognition. In 1911 he began exhibiting with the *Brücke*. Upon returning to Vienna as Walden's foreign editor, he initiated a passionate affair with Alma Mahler that lasted until 1914 and generated many of his best paintings.

Gravely wounded on the Eastern Front in 1916, Kokoschka spent more than a year recuperating in a Viennese hospital. A well-respected artist after the war, he returned to Germany and continued his work with *Sturm*. In 1920 he took a position with Dresden's *Kunstakademie*. He was equally successful as a writer; his plays were staged by Max Reinhardt* and set to music* by Paul Hindemith.* But Kokoschka was unable to lead a ''normal life'' with normal relationships (students called him ''mad Kokoschka''); in 1924 he suddenly resigned and set out to paint the cities of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. Back in

Vienna in 1931, he accepted appointment in 1934 at Prague's Art Academy. He fled to London in 1938 and resided from 1953 on Lake Geneva.

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Kokoschka, *My Life*; Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*; Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*.

KOLLWITZ, KÄTHE, née Schmidt (1867–1945), sculptor and graphic artist; her empathetic work made her one of the century's best-known women* artists. Born in Königsberg, she was inspired by a socialist-Christian upbringing. She moved to Berlin* in 1885 to study at Karl Stauffer-Bern's School for Women Artists and pursued similar studies in Munich during 1888–1889. After marrying the physician Karl Kollwitz in 1891, she and her husband settled in Berlin's Prenzlauer-Berg district. Her first print cycle *Der Weberaufstand* (The weavers' rebellion), based on Gerhart Hauptmann's* play, was completed during 1893–1898. Achieving a gold medal in 1899, the work ensconced a lasting vision that included recurrent images of death. A similar series, *Bauernkrieg* (Peasants' war), appeared in 1908. In 1903 she began an eight-year freelance connection with *Simplizissimus*. While her style resembled that of the *Brücke* artists, she never identified herself as an Expressionist.

World War I, in which she lost a son, led Kollwitz to internalize the pain of the widowed, orphaned, and bereaved. Daily contact with the proletariat, many of whom were treated in her husband's office, reinforced her commitment to the dignity of human life. In 1919 she was the first woman elected to the Prussian Academy of Arts, an honor that brought a studio and, from 1928, a salary as a Prussian civil servant. Encouraged by the sculptor Ernst Barlach,* she did *Krieg* (War) in 1922–1923 and *Proletariat* in 1925 as woodcuts. Her image memorializing Karl Liebknecht,* *Die Lebenden den Toten* (The living to the dead), was completed as both a lithograph and a woodcut. She helped found the *Gesellschaft der Künstlerinnen und Kunstfreunde* (Society for Women Artists and Friends of Art) in 1926, but spent much of the decade doing posters for left-wing, international relief groups. Some of these—*Deutschlands Kinder Hungern!* (Germany's children are starving!), *Brot!* (Bread!), and *Nie Wieder Krieg!* (Never again war!)—are among her best work.

The NSDAP expelled Kollwitz from the Prussian Academy in March 1933. Although she worked the remainder of her life in Germany, evacuating Berlin for Moritzburg (near Dresden) in 1944, the Nazis made her an ''unperson'' by ignoring her.

REFERENCES: *International Dictionary of Art and Artists*; Kearns, *Käthe Kollwitz*; Nagel, *Drawings*; *NDB*, vol. 12; Prelinger, Comini, and Bachert, *Käthe Kollwitz*.

KOMMUNISTISCHE PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS. *See* Communist Party of Germany.

KORSCH, KARL (1886–1961), political theorist; best known for a critique of Marxism that stressed the humanist side of class struggle. Born in the village

of Tostedt in the Prussian province of Hanover, he studied law and philosophy and earned a doctorate at Jena in 1910. After fulfilling his military commitment, he pursued further studies in London, where he joined the Fabian Society. Forced home by the outbreak of war, he was twice wounded as a frontline officer. He joined the USPD in 1917 and became an assistant with the Socialization Commission* in 1919. After completing his *Habilitation* in October 1919, he went to Jena as a *Privatdozent*. In 1920 he was among the USPD's leftist members who entered the KPD; he engaged in propaganda work and served as a supply director in the KPD's abortive uprising of 1921. In October 1923 he was appointed full professor at Jena and Justice Minister in Thuringia's* United Front* government. Both appointments were short-lived; he was forced to go underground when Berlin overturned Thuringia's socialist experiment. Gaining immunity in December 1924 when he was elected to the Reichstag,* he retained his mandate until 1928.

Korsch edited *Internationale*, the KPD's theoretical organ, but his ultraleftist activism prompted his expulsion from the KPD in 1926. Distancing himself from Moscow's ''state communism,'' he led a Communist splinter group until 1927; thereafter he focused on philosophy. Barred from any university appointment, he taught an unofficial course on Marxism by arrangement of the Communist Students' Club at Berlin. Often compared to Georg Lukács* and members of the Frankfurt School,* he published widely on Marxist theory. In *Marxismus und Philosophie*, an exegesis on Marxism written against the backdrop of its failure in Germany, he argued that the socialist parties had faltered because they had forsaken Hegel's dialectic method. In 1933 Korsch left Germany and settled in the United States in 1936.

REFERENCES: Korsch, *Marxism and Philosophy*; *NDB*, vol. 12; Pachter, *Weimar Etudes*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

KORTNER, FRITZ, born Nathan Kohn (1892–1970), actor, director, and writer; helped design Berlin's* *Tribüne Theater* in 1919. Born in Vienna, he attended that city's acting conservatory to study with Ferdinand Gregori. He was appointed stage manager at Mannheim's *Stadttheater* in 1910 and went to Berlin in 1911 to study under Max Reinhardt.* After he obtained contracts with several stages, Erich Zeigel engaged him in 1917 with the Hamburg Chamber Players; while in Hamburg he formed a lifelong friendship with director Erich Engel.* He returned to Berlin, where his breakthrough came in 1919 as the soldier in Ernst Toller's* Expressionist play *Die Wandlung* (The transformation). Opening at the *Tribüne Theater* in September, it ran for 115 performances and established Kortner's career. He thereafter acted under Leopold Jessner* at the *Staatstheater* and then joined Berthold Viertel's *Truppe* in 1923. Among his memorable early performances was a portrayal of the malicious Gessler in Jessner's 1919 production of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*.

Ranked with Werner Krauss* as Germany's preeminent Expressionist actor, Kortner broke with the movement around 1922 and gained a solid reputation

for performances spanning a repertoire from Shakespeare to Bertolt Brecht.* Already appearing in Brecht's plays by 1923, he made up for a braying voice and unattractive face with intelligence, an ability with dialects, and exceptional empathy for his characters. Engel cast him in title roles in his 1924 production of *Danton's Death* and his 1925 *Coriolanus*. He was a sympathetic Shylock in Jürgen Fehling's* *Kaufmann von Venedia* (*Merchant of Venice*, 1927); back at the *Staatstheater*, he appeared in Jessner's 1928 production of *Don Carlos*. Brecht counted him among his best actors. Having starred in Jessner's 1926 stage play *Lulu*, he had the same role in G. W. Pabst's* 1929 film* *Büchse der Pandora* (Pandora's box). His other films included *Brüder Karamosoff* (Brothers Karamazov, 1920), *Katherina die Grosse* (Catharine the Great, 1920), *Maria Stuart* (Mary Stuart, 1927), *Dreyfus* (1930), and *Danton* (1931).

Kortner emigrated in 1933, going first to England and then to the United States. Hollywood cast him in *Abdul the Damned* (1935), *The Hitler Gang* (1944), and *The Razor's Edge* (1946). When he returned to Munich after World War II, he acted and directed both on stage and for film and television.

REFERENCES: Kortner, *Aller Tage Abend*; *NDB*, vol. 12; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

KÖSTER, ADOLF. *See* Baltic Provinces.

KPD. *See* Communist Party of Germany.

KRACAUER, SIEGFRIED, born Krakauer (1889–1966), writer and sociologist; best known for a study posing German film* as a mirror of German society. Born in Frankfurt, he studied broadly before taking an engineering doctorate in 1915 at Berlin.* Although the philosopher Georg Simmel encouraged him to complete his *Habilitation*, finances forced him to abandon his studies. While working as an architect, he began his literary and philosophical writings. In 1921 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* hired him as a film and literary critic, a position he retained until 1933. His reviews introduced a sociological approach to film criticism. From about 1925 he began applying Marxism to his various analyses.

Kracauer's erudite essays, published in 1922 as *Soziologie als Wissenschaft* (Sociology as science) and in 1930 as *Die Angestellten* (The employees), are among the earliest criticism of modern mass culture. Despite connections with Theodor Adorno* and Walter Benjamin,* he was never part of the Frankfurt School.* His famous book *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film*, which appeared in 1947, contended that German film mirrored society's fantasies and gave evidence of Nazism's antecedents.

From 1930 Kracauer's analyses began finding less echo with fellow editors. He was assigned to Berlin, and his situation grew bleak as contributions were increasingly rejected. Finally, in January 1933 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* sent him to Paris; he was fired in February. Of Jewish ancestry, he never returned to Germany. He remained in Paris eight years, publishing little. With help from

friends at the Frankfurt School (relocated to New York), he was rescued in 1941. After arriving in New York, he worked as a film researcher at the Museum of Modern Art.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 10; *NDB*, vol. 12.

KRAUSS, WERNER (1884–1959), actor; with Fritz Kortner,* the premier performer on Germany's Expressionist* stage. Born in the Franconian village of Gestungshausen, he descended from a line of Lutheran pastors. While he was studying at a teachers' institute in Breslau, he was suspended for repeated appearances on a local stage. He acted from 1904 with traveling companies in Breslau, Aachen, and Nuremberg and then went to Berlin* in 1913 to study with Max Reinhardt.* Early stage work included plays by Shakespeare, Ibsen, Hofmannsthal, Wedekind, and Hauptmann*; his film* début came in 1914 with *Die Pagode*. Although he was on shaky terms with Reinhardt—the director assigned him roles he did not want—the *Deutsches Theater* transformed him into Berlin's best-known villain; he also toured Europe with Reinhardt's ensemble. During 1924–1926 he acted under Leopold Jessner* at the *Staatstheater*. He divided his time after 1929 between Berlin and Vienna's *Burgtheater*.

Krauss appeared in 104 silent movies. In addition to the title role in Robert Wiene's *Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*,* he played a series of miscreants, including Robespierre in *Danton* (1920), Iago in Buchowetzki's *Othello* (1922), Jack the Ripper in *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett* (Waxworks, 1924), and Count Muffat in Jean Renoir's *Nana* (1926). By 1926 he was, with Conrad Veidt* and Emil Jannings,* among Germany's leading film actors, having worked with F. W. Murnau,* G. W. Pabst,* Lupu Pick, Carl Froelich,* and Paul Leni. Often portraying a character bent, bowed, and walking as if bearing the world's burdens, he complained to Renoir in 1926 that he was being typecast. Eventually, he played heroes and comic characters in addition to villains and outcasts. Despite enormous success with film, he repeatedly returned to the stage.

Although numerous actors left Germany in 1933–1934, Krauss remained to star in several Nazi films. He was named Actor of the State and president of the *Reichstheaterkammer*; his most notorious work was the portrayal of several characters in a 1940 anti-Semitic rendering of *Jud Süss* (The Jew Süss). Years later Fritz Kortner* accused Krauss of underwriting ''Hitler's* anti-Semitism* with his own.'' Such work created problems for him in postwar Germany; he was forbidden to act until 1954.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *International Dictionary of Films and Filmmakers*; *NDB*, vol. 12; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

KRESS VON KRESSENSTEIN, FRIEDRICH FREIHERR. *See* Otto von Lossow.

KROLL OPERA. *See* Otto Klemperer.

KROSIGK, LUTZ SCHWERIN VON. *See* Schwerin von Krosigk, Lutz Graf.

KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH, GUSTAV (1870–1950), industrialist; secretly engaged in preparing Germany for rearmament before 1933. He was born in The Hague to a major industrialist (von Bohlen und Halbach). His studies in law and political science—he took a doctorate in 1893—were followed by entry into Baden's civil service.* He was appointed to the Foreign Office in 1897 and was soon legation secretary at the embassy in Washington. In 1904 he was appointed to Prussia's* mission at the Vatican. During the assignment he met Bertha Krupp, eldest daughter of Friedrich Alfred Krupp. After marriage to Bertha in 1906, when he assumed the Krupp name, he entered the board of directors of the Krupp Works. He was appointed chairman of the board in 1909 and retained the position until 1943.

By 1914 Gustav Krupp enjoyed the Kaiser's appellation as the ''nation's armorer.'' Employing 80,300 people, the Essen-based Krupp Works built U-boats, dreadnoughts, armor plate, artillery shells, and guns. Best known for guns, it produced the incredible ''Long Max,'' a weapon whose 112-foot-long barrel could fire a 200-pound shell 75 miles. Used in the war's waning months on Paris, and sometimes confused with a mobile mortar known as ''Big Bertha,'' this gun most identified Krupp with the inhumanity of modern warfare. Before the end of the war, the firm employed 168,000 people, produced 9 million shells and 3,000 field guns per month, supplied half of Germany's submarines, and was initiating tank designs.

Germany's defeat was a short-term disaster for Krupp. Although he was never tried, he was among 893 war criminals included in a list produced by the Allies at Versailles.* He was obliged to release most of his work force, forbidden to produce armaments, ordered to scrap one million pieces of equipment, and forced to cut steel-making capacity by half. But within a year he had rationalized production and had retooled a still-formidable enterprise for the construction of locomotives as well as cash registers, farm equipment, locks, surgical tools, and diesel motors. Perfecting the production of stainless steel, the firm also achieved success manufacturing false teeth. Krupp avoided the worst effects of the inflation* and even secured a contract to print Reichsmarks. As for weaponry, he later bragged that he was secretly preparing for rearmament as early as 1919. It is estimated that before Hitler's* appointment Krupp received more than 60 million marks from various governments, beginning with Joseph Wirth,* to maintain Germany's proficiency in armaments; much new weaponry was designed and built outside Germany, mainly in Holland and Sweden. In 1928 he joined the *Ruhrlade*, a secret industrial organization founded by Paul Reusch*; he became chairman of the RdI in 1931. Deemed among Germany's moderate industrialists, he favored a merger of the DNVP and DVP; indeed, he declined a 1932 invitation to meet with Hitler and refused to display the swastika at RdI headquarters.

Krupp entered the Prussian *Herrenhaus* in 1909 and served in 1921–1933 as a member of the Prussian *Staatsrat*. During the Ruhr occupation* he was prosecuted by the French military authorities for violence resulting in the death of thirteen workers. Sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, he was released a national hero after seven months. Despite the profit he accrued from several Weimar governments, he never accepted the Republic. Closest to the DVP in his politics, he stayed in touch with the deposed Kaiser. Ultimately, his politics were guided by the interests of the Krupp firm. He was uneasy with the 1924 Dawes Plan,* but was prepared to accept the 1929 Young Plan.* Although he seemed easy prey after 1929 for the demagoguery of Hitler, he disdained the brutality of the SA* and remained aloof from the NSDAP. Yet because he scorned the leadership of Alfred Hugenberg,* chairman of the DNVP and former managing-director at Krupp Works, and disapproved the appointment of the obscure Franz von Papen* as Chancellor, he found himself politically isolated in the Republic's waning months. As late as January 1933 he advised President Hindenburg* not to appoint Hitler Chancellor.

Once in power, Hitler received Krupp's increasingly warm support. Before the end of 1933 he directed the *Adolf-Hitler Spende*—the Hitler Donation—and was Hitler's chief fund-raiser. His acceptance of the Third Reich was such that the Gestapo established an office within his plant. What ensued was an unprecedented prosperity as the company played a key role in preparing for World War II. Much of its product was produced during the war by slave labor.

Krupp's name appeared in October 1945 on the list of war criminals to be tried at Nuremberg. The combined impact of senility and a stroke canceled his trial.

REFERENCES: Batty, *House of Krupp*; Manchester, *Arms of Krupp*; *NDB*, vol. 13; Turner, *German Big Business*.

KULTURBOLSCHEWISMUS. The term ''cultural Bolshevism'' is difficult to disengage from the extreme Right, especially Nazism. It is tied to an anti-Communist notion that cultural and political subversion are intrinsically linked. According to Alfred Rosenberg,* as Bolshevism was the revolt of racially inferior elements against the rule of old elites, *Kulturbolschewismus* was an equivalent revolt in the cultural sphere. But this was not strictly a Nazi notion. Soon after deposing the Prussian government in July 1932, Franz von Papen* abolished the Education Ministry's Cultural Department, firing the directors of theater* and music* and thereby nullifying arts administration as instituted with the November Revolution.* Whether the perpetrators were Nazis or members of the conservative Right, they were guilty of grossly misreading Bolshevism. Erroneously convinced that the art of George Grosz* or the sarcasm of Bertolt Brecht* embodied Communist culture, the Right refused to recognize that the Communist attitude toward the arts paralleled its own. The elasticity of the term was developed in 1931 by Carl von Ossietzky*:

> *Kulturbolschewismus* is when Conductor Klemperer* takes tempi different from his colleague Furtwängler*; when a painter sweeps a color into his sunset not seen in Lower Pomerania; when one favors birth control; when one builds a house with a flat roof; when a Caesarean birth is shown on the screen; when one admires the performance of Charlie Chaplin and the mathematical wizardry of Albert Einstein.* This is called cultural Bolshevism and a personal favor rendered to Herr Stalin. (Déak)

The Nazis' preoccupation with ''perverted'' art is well documented. As early as April 1933, four years before the *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition at Munich's *Haus der Deutschen Kunst*, the NSDAP staged its defamatory exhibit *Kulturbolschewistische Bilder* (Images of Cultural Bolshevism) at Mannheim's *Kunsthalle*. Featured, among others, were works by Grosz, Max Beckmann,* Otto Dix,* Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Oskar Kokoschka,* and Emil Nolde.* Ultimately, the Nazi display of art, while reflecting twisted pornographic sensibilities, was an effort to demonstrate to Germans that Hitler* had saved society from *Kulturbolschewismus*.

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Laqueur, *Weimar*; Willett, *Art and Politics*.

..
KÜLZ, WILHELM (1875–1948), politician; served as Reich Interior Minister. Born in Borna, a town near Leipzig, to a family rich in Evangelical pastors, he studied law (1894–1897) before entering Saxony's* municipal administration in 1899. In 1901 he took a doctorate at Tübingen in political science. Several municipal postings in Saxony brought appointment in 1904 as deputy *Bürgermeister* of Bückeburg, a position he held until 1912. He was concurrently *Reichskommissar* in German Southwest Africa in 1907–1908. After a futile bid for the Reichstag* in 1912, he became *Oberbürgermeister* of Zittau and retained this post until 1923. Having held a reserve officer's commission since 1899, he attained the rank of captain in World War I and was leading a battalion at war's end.

A member of Saxony's Landtag during 1904–1912, Külz joined the DDP in 1918, was elected to the National Assembly,* and served in the Reichstag during 1920–1932. He was concerned with retirees and housing shortages and became a voice for German cities. From 1923 until Hans Luther* made him Interior Minister in January 1926, he was Dresden's deputy *Bürgermeister*. As Interior Minister, an office he retained under Wilhelm Marx,* he faced a range of issues including the flag controversy* and the disposition of properties belonging to Germany's former princes. In November 1926 he endorsed the Law for the Protection of Youth against Trash and Filth,* a bill opposed by most of his Party. He also helped author an unsuccessful draft of a School Bill,* one that would have instituted the predominance of nondenominational schools. The bill helped trigger the collapse of Marx's third cabinet in December 1926 and ended Külz's cabinet activity.

Külz became Dresden's *Oberbürgermeister* in 1931. Dismissed in March

1933 after refusing to fly the swastika on the Rathaus, he settled in Berlin* and eventually founded a private consulting firm. In 1945 he helped establish the Liberal Democratic Party in the Soviet zone and served briefly with Theodor Heuss* as one of the Party's cochairmen.

REFERENCES: Bosl, Franz, and Hofmann, *Biographisches Wörterbuch*; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

KÜSTRIN PUTSCH. *See* Black Reichswehr *and* Bruno Ernst Buchrucker.

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LABOR. *See* Trade Unions.

LACHMANN-MOSSE, HANS. *See* Rudolf Mosse.

LAMMERS, HANS (1879–1962), bureaucrat; despite radical rightist views, he served in the Prussian Interior Ministry under Carl Severing,* a Social Democrat. Born in the Upper Silesian town of Lublinitz (now Lubliniec in Poland*), he studied law and political science before entering the civil service* in 1901. He earned a doctorate in 1904 and spent several years as an assistant judge before appointment in 1912 to Beuthen's provincial court. A reserve officer, he was activated in 1916 and served at the front until he lost an eye in 1917. Posted to the General Government in Warsaw, he was awarded two Iron Crosses for bravery.

Lammers was assigned to the Prussian Interior Ministry after the war. Blessed with energy and intelligence, he was appointed ministerial counselor in 1922. While he was characterized in the SPD press as ''of the extreme Right,'' his talent enabled him to retain key posts in Prussia's* bureaucracy. Moreover, he repeatedly represented the Reich government against the states (*Länder*) in proceedings before the Supreme Court. Yet Lammers struggled to preserve a nonpolitical demeanor; in late 1931, for example, he was reprimanded for attending the anti-Weimar meeting at Bad Harzburg (*see* Harzburg Front).

A monarchist, Lammers despised the November Revolution* and the Republic and refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution.* A member of the DNVP and the *Stahlhelm*,* he joined the NSDAP in February 1932. Hitler*

appointed him State Secretary in the Chancellery on 30 January 1933. But the Nazis suspected his monarchism,* while Lammers, an aging bureaucrat, never fully embraced the NSDAP. Although he was named Reichsminister and Chancellery Chief in 1937, his access to Hitler was gradually blocked by Martin Bormann.

For war crimes and crimes against humanity, Lammers was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment on 11 April 1949 in the Wilhelmstrasse Trial. In 1952 he was released.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Caplan, *Government without Administration*; Giles, *Students and National Socialism*; *NDB*, vol. 13; Peterson, *Limits of Hitler's Power*; Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*.

LANDAUER, GUSTAV (1870–1919), philosopher and politician; Cultural Minister in Munich's short-lived *Räterepublik*. Born in Karlsruhe to a middle-class Jewish family, he pursued university studies without completing a degree. In 1891 he joined several young socialists centered on Berlin's* newly founded *Freie Volksbühne* (Free People's Stage); when a feud arose over the Marxist program issued by the SPD, he entered a rival group of anti-Marxist socialists. He wrote concurrently for *Der Sozialist*, a paper founded by exiles from the SPD, and became editor in 1893. For twenty years, in and out of prison, he struggled to support himself. Attracted to anarchism, he was also increasingly steeped in pacifism and mysticism. His major work, *Aufruf zum Sozialismus* (Call to socialism, 1911), rejected scientific Marxism. By 1911 he was working with Erich Mühsam* and Martin Buber*; the latter's concept of man as God's agent working to perfect humanity was crucial to his thought. He emphasized struggle as essential to spiritual regeneration; his ideas were anathema to many colleagues. Because of his utopian anarchism and his distaste for structure, every Party affiliate refused him membership.

After several years as a critic and translator, Landauer returned to active politics in 1908 by founding the Socialist Bund and reintroducing a defunct *Sozialist*, but the outbreak of war isolated him from old friends. He continued publishing antiwar opinions until April 1915, when economic constraints forced closure of *Der Sozialist*. Powerless to control the present, he grew increasingly preoccupied with shaping the future. Declaring before the November Revolution* that the ''poet is the leader of the chorus,'' he likened his position to that of Goethe a century earlier. Landauer's wife, the former Hedwig Lachmann, a poet and translator, was his closest companion and often the only person to fathom his mystical notion of socialism. Her sudden death in February 1918 was a blow from which he never recovered.

Esteemed as a scholar and idealist, Landauer was invited to Bavaria* by Kurt Eisner* in November 1918 to assist ''in the reformation of *Geist*.'' Seeing within the council system a means for realizing his dreams, he opposed the formation of a National Assembly* and thereby fell out of favor with Eisner (Eisner was ambivalent). Drawn to Munich's more radical elements, he championed an au-

tonomous *Räterepublik*. From 7 April 1919, without KPD participation, he served six days as Commissar for Enlightenment in Munich's so-called pseudo-Soviet Republic. When the regime, which induced disorder and bewilderment, was replaced by hardline Communists, Landauer distanced himself from the new leaders but remained in Munich. The decision proved fatal; captured by Freikorps* troops, he was beaten and murdered on 2 May. His grave, in Munich's *Waldfriedhof*, was later destroyed by the NSDAP.

REFERENCES: Liptzin, *Germany's Stepchildren*; Lunn, *Prophet of Community*; Maurer, *Call to Revolution*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; *NDB*, vol. 13; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

LANDED ARISTOCRACY. *See* Junkers.

LANDSBERG, OTTO (1869–1957), lawyer and politician; represented Friedrich Ebert* in the President's slander trial. He was born in the Upper Silesian village of Rybnik; his father was a Jewish veterinarian. He studied law in Berlin* and completed state exams in 1890, the year he joined the SPD. He established a legal practice in 1895 in Magdeburg, became an accomplished defense attorney, and served on the city council during 1903–1909. He failed in a 1907 Reichstag* bid, but sat in the chamber during 1912–1918, earning esteem as a legal expert.

Landsberg was also respected for his courage and speaking ability. Sometimes breaching Party discipline, he nonetheless stood throughout the war with the SPD's reformist majority on key issues. While he opposed annexations, he voted regularly for war credits and favored retention of Alsace-Lorraine.* He frequently promoted democratization and abolition of Prussia's* three-class voting system. In October 1918 he was elected SPD faction leader.

The apex of Landsberg's career was his appointment on 10 November 1918 to the Council of People's Representatives.* In support of Ebert, he championed parliamentary democracy via election of a National Assembly.* Since he also upheld Ebert's alliance with General Wilhelm Groener,* he became anathema to leftist colleagues. Elected to the National Assembly, he recommended the government's transfer to Weimar and then became Philipp Scheidemann's* Justice Minister on 13 February 1919. He was among the delegation that traveled to France to sign the Versailles Treaty,* but was offended by its harshness and resigned rather than accept the terms.

Landsberg joined the diplomatic service after his Versailles ordeal. He was assigned to Belgium, and his career ended abruptly when Belgium and France occupied the Ruhr in 1923. Thereafter reestablishing a legal practice in Berlin, he reentered the Reichstag in December 1924 and served until 1933 as faction legal advisor. In December 1924 he represented Ebert in the latter's infamous slander trial and then sat in 1925 as a witness in Munich's so-called *Dolchstossprozess* (''stab-in-the-back trial''). Opposed to amnesty for those involved in

Feme murder (*see Femegericht*), he agonized over the social degeneration induced by the Republic's political battles.

Although Landsberg never actively practiced Judaism, he was a long-term member of the Society to Combat Anti-Semitism* (*Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*). In 1933 he fled to Holland. Friends concealed him during World War II.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 13; Ryder, *German Revolution of 1918*.

LANG, FRITZ (1890–1976), director; deemed the most ingenious filmmaker of the Weimar era. Born in Vienna, he studied architecture at the city's *Technische Hochschule*. But an interest in art led him to the *Kunstakademie* and then to Munich's *Kunstgewerbeschule*. He ended his studies in 1911 and traveled extensively before settling in Paris in 1913 and working as a painter, fashion designer, and cabaret performer.

The war forced Lang's return to Austria.* After enlisting, he was wounded at the front and thereafter acted for the troops during his convalescence. He also began writing about motion pictures. An interest in scriptwriting and acting led him in 1918 to Berlin,* where he became an editor at Decla for Eric Pommer. He eventually took German citizenship and in 1922 married the writer Thea von Harbou, who assisted him with several films.

Lang wrote and directed his first film,* *Halbblut* (Half caste) in 1919, completing production in five days. About a dozen films followed before the appearance in 1922 of *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (Dr. Mabuse, the gambler), his first hit. His two-part *Nibelungen* appeared in 1924, and his well-known *Metropolis* was made with a seven-million-mark budget in 1927. Fusing Expressionist, psychological, and realistic elements, he was among UFA's* leading directors by the mid-1920s and a member of Berlin's cultural elite. Judging film an art form and an extension of the theater,* he resented the claim that movies were simply commercial entertainment. Much of his early work was marked by shadows, moving light, and a use of imposing architecture. *M*, which appeared in 1931, was his first sound film and his final German triumph. Matching the success of *Metropolis*, *M* confronts the melodrama of a psychopathic murderer of little girls unable to control his actions; based on a true story, it was Lang's favorite film. *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse* (The last will of Dr. Mabuse), filmed in 1932, is an allegory on Nazi terrorism that the NSDAP banned.

Goebbels invited Lang to head Germany's film industry in 1933 but Lang, who had visited Hollywood in 1924, forfeited status and wealth and, after working briefly in Paris and London, returned to California. He also left Thea von Harbou, a committed Nazi. The decision was difficult chiefly because he viewed America as a cultural wasteland—a country devoted to greed rather than artistic quality. Nevertheless, he was attracted by America's technical superiority. His first major American film, *Fury*, appeared in 1936. After signing a contract with Paramount in 1940, he created his own company, Diana Productions, in 1945.

More interested in aesthetic issues than his American contemporaries, Lang was accused of unnecessary perfectionism and found himself repeatedly in conflict with studios and producers. His last American success was *Beyond a Reasonable Doubt*, filmed in 1956. He left Hollywood the same year and spent his final years in Germany.

REFERENCES: Bogdanovich, *Fritz Lang in America*; Lotte Eisner, *Fritz Lang*; Kreimeier, *Ufa Story*; *Masterworks of the German Cinema*; *NDB*, vol. 13; Ott, *Films of Fritz Lang*.

LASKER-SCHÜLER, ELSE, née Elisabeth Schüler (1869–1945), writer; widely considered Germany's best female poet. The great-granddaughter of a rabbi, she was born in Elberfeld (now in Wuppertal) to a banker. During childhood she had a nervous disease that required private education. Soon after marriage in 1894 to the physician Berthold Lasker, she renounced her middle-class roots. When her husband assumed a post in the late 1890s in Berlin,* the marriage collapsed, and Else surfaced in bohemian circles and began publishing poetry. Among her friends were Oskar Kokoschka,* Karl Kraus, and Gottfried Benn.* In 1902 she married the writer and composer Georg Levin, who, on Else's advice, took the name Herwarth Walden.* Walden soon became an authority on Expressionism,* founded *Der Sturm* in 1910, and published many of Else's poems. But Else led a reckless life, and in 1911 the marriage ended. Meanwhile, she published her first volumes of poetry, *Der Styz* (1902) and *Der siebente Tag* (The seventh day, 1905). Although some question the Expressionist connection, her poetry, deemed a reaction of the soul against material reality, clearly falls within the movement.

After her divorce from Walden, three individuals were influential in Lasker-Schüler's life: Benn, Kraus, and the painter Franz Marc. Her vast correspondence with Marc, who died at the front in 1916, was published in 1919. Benn, her lover (she dubbed him *Giselheer*), was her steadfast champion for the rest of his life. Kraus, with whom she corresponded until 1923, rescued her financially when she was in dire need. During this period three notable volumes of poetry—*Die gesammelten Gedichte* (The collected poetry, 1917), *Die Kuppel* (The dame, 1920), and *Theben* (1923)—were published. Despite the occasional performance of her dramas, she routinely suffered financial distress. In 1927 she lost her son, Paul, to tuberculosis; she assumed responsibility for his death for the remainder of her life.

In 1932 Lasker-Schüler received the Kleist Prize for her poetry. Her book of essays, *Konzert*, appeared the same year. Although *Arthur Aronymus*, dramatized in 1932, was scheduled for performance in 1933, the NSDAP forced its cancellation. In April 1933 she fled to Switzerland, where *Arthur Aronymus* was finally staged in 1936. She visited Palestine in 1940 and decided to settle in Jerusalem. She thereafter lived in poverty until her death.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Hans Cohn, *Else Lasker-Schüler*; *NDB*, vol. 13; Schwertfeger, *Else Lasker-Schüler*.

LATVIA. *See* Baltic Provinces.

LAUE, MAX VON, born Max Laue (1879–1960), physicist; founded the field of X-ray structural analysis (crystallography). Born in the village of Pfaffendorf bei Koblenz, he began studying physics in 1898 while fulfilling his military obligation. Specializing in theoretical physics, he developed a parallel interest in optics under the influence of Berlin's Otto Lummer. He took his doctorate in 1903 under Max Planck.*

Although Laue had intended to teach Gymnasium, Planck convinced him to return to Berlin* in 1905 as his *Assistent*. In 1906 Laue completed his *Habilitation*. While he initially doubted Einstein's* theory of relativity—''the transformation of space and time appeared strange to me''—he used optics to confirm its logic in 1907; thereafter he was among Einstein's champions. Appointed *Privatdozent* in 1909 at Munich's Institute for Theoretical Physics, Laue enjoyed several rewarding years of X-ray research. His structural analysis of copper sulfate through X-radiation earned him the Nobel Prize for physics in 1914. He was appointed *ausserordentlicher Professor* at Zürich in 1912 and became full professor at Frankfurt's new university in 1914. His father was ennobled the same year.

To improve army communications, Laue worked in the war on electronic amplifying tubes. Because he wished to return to Berlin, he exchanged teaching positions in 1919 with Max Born* and thus was able to be near Planck. In succeeding years he recast X-ray analysis as a subfield of chemistry and physics. Drawn primarily to theory, he rarely studied individual substances and did not participate in the unfolding of quantum mechanics. He joined the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1921 and represented theoretical physics from 1922 in the newly formed *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft* (Emergency Association of German Science), later heading the group's physics committee. In 1932 he received the Max Planck Medal.

Although Laue remained in Germany after the NSDAP assumed power—''I hate them so much I must be close to them''—he was hardly a supporter of the Third Reich. Comparing Einstein to Galileo and Fritz Haber* to Themistocles, he publicly rebuked the regime's slandering of relativity as a ''worldwide Jewish trick'' and persistently fought the debasement of science. Despite his involvement in efforts to oppose Germany's wartime uranium project, he was interned by the Allies in 1945. Settling at Göttingen with Otto Hahn,* he helped rebuild German science in the late 1940s and was instrumental in founding the Max Planck Society in 1946.

REFERENCES: Beyerchen, *Scientists under Hitler*; *DSB*, vol. 8; Heilbron, *Dilemmas of an Upright Man*; Hermann, *New Physics*; *NDB*, vol. 13.

LAUSANNE CONFERENCE (16 June–9 July 1932). In December 1931 the Special Advisory Committee of the Bank for International Settlements* recommended deferral of German reparations* as specified by the Young Plan's* payment schedule. The action upheld the Hoover Moratorium (President Hoover's proposed one-year deferral of international reparation and debt payments)

of June 1931. Since the committee, which included Germany's Carl Melchior,* urged an international meeting to formalize the action, France and Britain proposed a January 1932 conference at Lausanne. German domestic politics delayed the so-called Lausanne Conference on the Permanent Settlement of the Reparations Question until June 1932. Meanwhile, the Hoover Moratorium was extended for a second year.

Meeting under the chairmanship of British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, the conference included delegates from Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium. Franz von Papen* and Konstantin von Neurath,* who had recently displaced Heinrich Brüning* as Chancellor and Foreign Minister respectively (Brüning had held both offices), led a German contingent that included Finance Minister Lutz Schwerin* von Krosigk, Economics Minister Hermann Warmbold,* Foreign Office Secretary Bernhard von Bülow,* and Melchior. As Brüning enjoyed broad respect for his stringent domestic policies, the change in government was poorly received by the other delegations. Yet Papen made a good first impression by proposing to Premier Edouard Herriot, in impeccable French, an Eastern Locarno* and a Franco-German alliance against communism. When it became evident that Papen was maneuvering to link reparations with the disarmament* talks occurring concurrently in Geneva, his reputation waned. Although Germany's former enemies would not yield to Papen's plea for total annulment, they did agree to reduce Young Plan obligations to a final sum of three billion marks (only 20 percent more than the annuity paid in 1929). While this payment was required in the form of 5 percent bonds deliverable to the Bank for International Settlements, the bonds could not be sold for three years. German credit was thereby given three years to recover its strength.

The Lausanne Agreement, signed on 9 July 1932, was to replace the Young Plan upon ratification, but it was never ratified. Approval in Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium was tied to war-debt relief from the United States; however, as Hoover refused to admit a reparations-debt connection, such relief was not forthcoming. Most Germans, meanwhile, opposed paying any further reparations. Thus, while Lausanne marked an Allied consensus to renounce almost 90 percent of prior claims on Germany, Papen returned to Berlin a perceived failure: unable to gain compromise on rearmament, he had committed Germany to further reparations. In fact, Germany never made another payment.

REFERENCES: Bennett, *German Rearmament*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Helbich, ''Between Stresemann and Hitler''; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Schuker, *American ''Reparations''*; Wheeler-Bennett, *Wreck of Reparations*.

LAW. *See* Justice.

LAW FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE REPUBLIC. *See* Protection of the Republic, Law for the.

LAW FOR THE PROTECTION OF YOUTH AGAINST TRASH AND FILTH. *See* Protection of Youth against Trash and Filth, Law for the.

LEAGUE OF GERMAN WOMEN'S SOCIETIES. *See* Women.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS. *See* Foreign Policy *and* Gustav Stresemann.

LEDEBOUR, GEORG (1850–1947), politician; prominent figure in the Spartacist Uprising.* Born in Hanover, he lost his parents at an early age. Despite a crippling bone disease, he served in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. He joined the Progressive Party after a prolonged sojourn in England (1876–1882) and from 1884 worked as a journalist for the Party's *Demokratische Blätter*. But frustrated by the Party's inability to embrace social reform, he began writing for the socialists. In 1891 he switched to the SPD and became an editor for *Vorwärts*.* A fiery speaker and a sharp critic of German society, he held a Reichstag* mandate during 1900–1918 and 1920–1924. Despite his forceful voice on both foreign and domestic issues, he entered his faction's ruling committee only in 1913.

Ledebour, who championed disarmament and international reconciliation, opposed the SPD's 1914 vote for war credits. He was the leader of the *Sozialdemokratische Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (Social Democratic Alliance) from March 1916 and helped found the USPD in April 1917. Among the dissident socialists at Bern's Zimmerwald Conference in September 1915 and the Stockholm Conference of September 1917, he identified with the Revolutionary Shop Stewards* during the war's final year.

Because he preserved deep animosity toward the Majority Socialists, Ledebour resented their effort to ''smuggle themselves into the revolution'' and rejected Friedrich Ebert's* offer to join the Council of People's Representatives.* He sat, however, on the executive of Berlin's Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.* He chose not to join the KPD, but was nonetheless named to a revolutionary committee of three presidents during the Spartacist Uprising. Captured by the military—he barely escaped the fate of Rosa Luxemburg* and Karl Liebknecht*—he turned his treason trial into an impassioned defense of the right of revolution. Acquitted in June 1919, he remained with the USPD and became Party chairman in 1920. But while he opposed alliance with the KPD, he was equally unable to reenter the SPD. He was among a cluster of diehard Independents after 1922 and lost his Reichstag seat in May 1924. Thereafter he worked with various splinter groups, including the Socialist League and the Socialist Workers' Party. In 1933 he fled to Switzerland.

REFERENCES: Josephson, *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; *NDB*, vol. 14; Ratz, *Georg Ledebour*; Ryder, *German Revolution of 1918.*

LEGIEN, CARL (1861–1920), labor leader; organized the strike that thwarted the Kapp* Putsch. Born in Marienburg (now Malbork in Poland*), he was raised in an orphanage. He was apprenticed in 1875 to a lathe operator and remained with the man until 1881. After three years in the army, he worked as an itinerant journeyman before settling in Hamburg in 1886.

Legien joined the SPD in 1885. Engaged in trade-union* activities in Hamburg, he entered a local for lathe operators and gained a reputation as an agitator. When the Association of German Lathe Operators was founded in 1887, Legien was elected to its central committee. An organizational prodigy, he became chairman in 1890 of the new *Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands* (General Commission of German Trade Unions); he retained the office, first in Hamburg and then in Berlin,* for three decades. By 1920 he was leading an organization of 8.5 million members, and his success at coordinating the interests of diverse local unions had left a permanent mark on Germany.

Legien successfully combined politics with his weighty union activities. During 1893–1898 and 1903–1918 he served with the SPD's Reichstag* faction. Gaining the *Generalkommission* a strong voice in Party affairs, he advanced revisionism by crafting such measures as unemployment insurance. He also helped turn the labor movement into an extranational affair, developing an international secretariat in 1903 and becoming president of the International Trade-Union Federation in 1913. Legien, who aimed to reform Wilhelmine society, was a champion of Germany's war effort. In the war's revolutionary aftermath he held no sympathy for the council movement.

Legien's name is forever linked with that of Hugo Stinnes* in the pact that heralded the Central Working Association.* During the Armistice* the Stinnes-Legien pact of 15 November 1918 fostered compromise between the opposing interests of management and labor, ensuring that the masses would accommodate Berlin's new Republic during a difficult demobilization. At the Trade-Union Congress of July 1919 Legien became chairman of the new General German Trade-Union Federation (ADGB). His career climaxed in March 1920 when, combining prudence and courage, he called the general strike that foiled the Kapp Putsch and saved the Republic (he had earlier opposed general strikes). Although he was already quite ill, he participated in the November 1920 International Trade Union Congress in London. His death in December left a void in the German labor movement.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Braunthal, *Socialist Labor and Politics*; Feldman, ''German Business'' and ''Origins''; John Moses, *Trade Unionism*; *NDB*, vol. 14; Patch, *Christian Trade Unions*.

LEGISLATURE. *See* Constitution.

LEIPART, THEODOR (1867–1947), labor leader; chairman of the General German Trade-Union Federation (ADGB). Born to a tailor's family in Neubrandenburg, he apprenticed as a lathe operator and joined both the trade-union* movement and the SPD early in his career. In 1890 he became editor of *Fachzeitung für Drechsler* (the shop newspaper* for lathe operators) and then succeeded his friend Carl Legien* in 1891 as head of the lathe operators' union. Enlarged and reorganized in 1893, the new woodworkers' union appointed him vice chairman; he was chairman during 1908–1919. Secretary of the Interna-

tional League of Woodworkers Unions during 1904–1919, he combined politics with his union activity and served during 1894–1896 with the central committee of the SPD local in Stuttgart. After the November Revolution* he sat with the Mahlberg city council and from late 1919 was Württemberg's Labor Minister. But he was principally a labor leader. He was the chief confidant of Legien and became chairman of the ADGB in January 1921, shortly after Legien's death. The International Trade-Union Federation appointed him vice president the same year.

During the inflation* crisis of 1922–1923 ADGB membership, swollen in the aftermath of the war, dissipated as scores of workers joined the KPD. Meanwhile, the Central Working Association,* an experiment in organized capitalism fashioned during the Armistice,* began to unravel. With industrialists, especially in coal and steel, reasserting an irreconcilable position vis-à-vis the unions, Leipart found himself attacked from the Left by Communists seeking the removal of capitalism while he was ignored on the Right by reactionary employers.

As ADGB chairman, Leipart worked to integrate opposing groups and develop economic democracy (*Wirtschaftsdemokratie*). Unsuited to confrontation, he sought compromise in the turmoil of the 1920s. Although he was successful through 1923, he faced numerous obstacles after the inflation and failed entirely when faced with the depression* and the incendiary tactics of the NSDAP. He saw no alternative to tolerating the economic austerity of Heinrich Brüning* (a course encouraged by the SPD), but his analysis simply encouraged further loss in union membership. He finally clashed with SPD policy when, beginning in December 1931, he championed Fritz Tarnow's* call for public works projects. Surprisingly cautious when Franz von Papen* deposed the SPD government in Prussia,* he seemed beguiled by Kurt von Schleicher, a ''wise and decent'' fellow.

With Hitler,* Leipart proposed political neutrality with the maxim ''Organization, not demonstration, is the imperative of the hour.'' But Hitler was not appeased: on 2 May 1933 the NSDAP dissolved the ADGB, and Leipart was briefly imprisoned. A broken man who never established contact with the resistance, he spent most of the Third Reich undisturbed in his Berlin home. He lived in East Berlin after World War II.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Braunthal, *Socialist Labor and Politics*; John Moses, *Trade Unionism*; *NDB*, vol. 14; Skrzypczak, ''From Carl Legien.''

LERSNER, KURT FREIHERR VON (1883–1954), diplomat; Franz von Papen's* envoy to Bavaria* during 1932. Born to a Prussian officer in Saarburg (now Sarrebourg in France), he studied political science before taking a doctorate in law in 1905 at Heidelberg. He joined the foreign service in 1908 and was posted to the embassy in Washington in 1913, serving as second secretary until the outbreak of war. A reserve officer, he was recalled and assigned to the General Staff's political section. In October 1916, owing to a dispute with his section chief, he became liaison to the Foreign Office. Although he was dis-

charged in February 1917, he was reassigned to the Foreign Office, which in turn appointed him liaison to the Supreme Command. He soon faced the delicate task of cultivating cooperation between the Foreign Office and Erich Ludendorff.* His role was singularly critical during the Armistice* negotiations of late October 1918 when, reporting to Prinz Max* von Baden, he urged ''against granting credence to any possible promises of the Supreme Army Command''; Ludendorff was dismissed forthwith. From November 1918 he was assigned to Germany's Armistice Commission, a post he retained until March 1919. He then accompanied the team that went with Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau* to Versailles* and succeeded Rantzau in June 1919 as the team's chairman. In February 1920, after managing to coax some concessions from the Allies, he resigned in disgust over their list of war criminals.

Lersner held a Reichstag* mandate during 1920–1924 for the DVP and served on the chamber's foreign affairs committee. In mid-1921 he became chairman of the committee researching the causes of World War I; he resigned the post in 1925. He was uneasy with the Republic; his opposition to Gustav Stresemann* led him to resign from the DVP in 1924 in an abortive bid to reestablish the National Liberal Party. He thereafter served in Berlin as a legation counselor (*Legationsrat*); during 1929–1934 he was assigned to IG Farben.* On 20 July 1932 Papen briskly dispatched him to Bavaria to calm fears that his ''Prussian coup'' was the first step in a general crackdown on Germany's federal structure. Although Lersner remained in retirement during most of the Third Reich, he engaged in various diplomatic missions to Paris. While he was assigned during 1939–1945 to the embassy in Turkey, he helped Ambassador Papen draft a secret peace initiative to the Allies.

REFERENCES: *NDB*, vol. 14; Rudin, *Armistice 1918*.

LESSING, THEODOR (1872–1933), cultural philosopher; as pacifist, Jew,* and intellectual, epitomized the ''outsider'' in Weimar society. Born in Hanover, he passed a troubled youth in a conflict-ridden home. Since his father was a physician, he initially pursued studies in medicine, but after preliminary exams in 1894, he temporarily refocused on literature. He discovered a talent and published articles and poetry, establishing himself in 1895 with an introduction to Oskar Panizza's drama *Das Liebeskonzil*. Through Ludwig Klages* he formed a troubled relationship with the (Stefan) George* Circle. In 1899, after receiving assistance from his maternal grandfather, he took doctorates in philosophy and medicine. A brief conversion to Protestantism* expired in 1900 when the anti-Semitism* of some acquaintances provoked Lessing, himself an erstwhile anti-Semite, to reembrace Judaism. He taught from 1902 at a private school in Haubinda, where the school's anti-Jewish stipulations forced his resignation in 1904. Upon finding a position with a private school in Dresden, he joined the SPD and became engaged in trade-union* activities. In 1906 he went to Göttingen to study philosophy with Edmund Husserl.* After completing his *Habilitation*, he became *Privatdozent* in 1908 at Hanover's *Technische Hochschule*.

A physical disability forced Lessing's assignment to hospital duty during World War I; the ordeal made him a pacifist. Shortly after the November Revolution* he helped found a *Volkshochschule* (university extension) in Hanover, where in 1922 he became *ausserordentlicher Professor*. In 1925 he sparked bedlam by publishing a pamphlet critical of Hindenburg.* Denounced by the *Deutsche Studentenschaft** and threatened with violence, he swapped his professorship in 1926 for a research post and devoted himself to private inquiry. His probe into the roots of Germany's political problems immersed him in several controversies and established him among the Republic's most hated individuals. Increasingly drawn to Zionism, he published *Jüdische Selbsthass* (Jewish self-hate) in 1930; the book berated assimilation and rebuked Jews who aspired to ''kill the Jew within themselves.''

Lessing's early writings advanced positions akin to nineteenth-century idealism; he remained Schopenhauer's disciple throughout his life. But by 1910 the nature of his cultural criticism had changed. Attracted by social issues, he promoted temperance, international understanding, and women's* emancipation. His ideas, labeled ''need-philosophy,'' accentuated need as the cornerstone of all human activity.

Lessing fled to Czechoslovakia upon Hitler's seizure of power. Deemed an enemy by the NSDAP, he was tracked down and murdered in August 1933 by SD (security service) agents.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Josephson, *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders*; Liptzin, *Germany's Stepchildren*; Marwedel, *Theodor Lessing*; *NDB*, vol. 14.

LEVI, PAUL (1883–1930), politician; his short term as KPD chairman contrasts with his intellectual import to socialism. Born to a Jewish manufacturing family in Hechingen, he studied broadly (e.g., English statesmanship and Greek and Roman culture) before taking a doctorate in law in 1905. In 1906 he opened a legal practice in Frankfurt and gained a reputation as a solid attorney. Drawn to socialism as a youth, he joined the SPD in 1909. He became closely involved with Rosa Luxemburg* while serving as her attorney in a February 1914 trial; thereafter he remained within a circle of her closest adherents.

During the war Levi joined the radical group known as the *Gruppe Internationale* (*Spartakusgruppe* from 1916). He resigned from the SPD in 1917 to enter the new USPD. Relocating to Switzerland in 1916, he contributed to the *Spartakusbriefe* and became friends with Lenin. When the Spartacus League* was formed in November 1918, he entered its executive and became a *Rote Fahne* editor. Influential during the revolutionary period, he initially endorsed Lenin's model of socialism, but when the KPD was established in late December 1918 and he was elected a member of its *Zentrale*, he was in a minority calling for participation in the National Assembly* elections. The murders of Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht* in January 1919 and of Leo Jogiches in March propelled Levi to the Party chairmanship. After convincing reasonable cohorts

to embrace parliamentary rule and cooperation with the trade unions,* he was elected to the Reichstag* with Clara Zetkin* in June 1920. However, he accepted his mandate against strong opposition from Moscow. Although he was formally reelected KPD chairman in December 1920, differences with the Moscow-directed Comintern led him to resign the next month. He publicly criticized the new leadership, especially its ''March Action'' (attempted putsch) of 1921, and was soon expelled from the KPD altogether; fifteen of the twenty-six Communists in the Reichstag (most of whom had been elected with USPD mandates) joined him in the new *Kommunistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (Communist Alliance), a splinter group devoted to nonviolent change. Its adherents followed Levi into the USPD in the spring of 1922 and then into the SPD in October 1922.

Elected to the Reichstag's SPD faction in 1924, Levi was widely respected for his legal writings and for his journal *Sozialistische Politik und Wirtschaft* (Socialist politics and economics). Sponsoring socialist unity, but demanding a labor movement free from Moscow's dictates, he used his periodical to espouse a true democratic socialism while opposing the growing threat from militarism and the reactionary Right. In 1929, while defending the journalist Josef Bornstein in a well-publicized defamation case, he proved Bornstein's innocence while uncovering key information about the public prosecutor's coverup of the murders of Luxemburg and Liebknecht. Whether by suicide or in a state of delirium, he died on 9 February 1930 by jumping from his apartment window. REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Ettinger, *Rosa Luxemburg*; *NDB*, vol. 14; Waldman, *Spartacist Uprising*.

LEVIEN, MAX (1885–1937), Communist official; guided Bavaria's* council movement in the early months of 1919. Born in Moscow to a Jewish businessman, he was arrested during Russia's 1905 revolution. He escaped to Zürich, where his university studies brought him into contact with Lenin. He relocated to Germany before World War I, became a citizen, and was drafted into the army. He was not in Bavaria when Kurt Eisner* ousted the monarchy (November 1918), but was dispatched to Munich by the Spartacus League* and arrived on 11 December to organize a Bavarian chapter of the League. He initially supported Rosa Luxemburg's* belief that further revolution in Germany should result only from a spontaneous action of the masses, and shared her conviction that such a moment would only arrive when the workers were enlightened.

Appointed head of Bavaria's KPD in January 1919, Levien was soon Munich's most prominent radical. On 11 January he published a three-point platform: the unrestricted right of radical agitation, the replacement of the current German government with a leftist one, and the transformation of Bavaria's councils into the state's governing authority. He thereby censured the new Landtag as a usurpation of power properly belonging to the Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Councils.* With Erich Mühsam,* cochairman of Bavaria's KPD, he promoted Lenin's notion of a ''dictatorship of the proletariat'' (Luxemburg, by

then dead, would likely have disapproved); it was a position that neither Eisner nor his successors would disparage for fear of alienating worker support. His three arrests (7 January, 8 February, and 28 February, respectively), badly handled by the authorities, were interpreted by many as attacks on the council system and thus redounded to Levien's advantage by making it appear that he was being persecuted (the government failed to call him to account for any illegality). From the end of January until his March displacement by Eugen Leviné,* Levien controlled a Munich Workers' Council forsaken by more moderate socialists. During Munich's short-lived *Räterepublik* (14–27 April) he was part of Leviné's four-member *Vollzugsrat* (executive council). The only KPD leader to escape the White terror of May 1919, he took asylum in Moscow. According to Ruth Fischer,* he was later executed for having befriended Grigori Zinoviev.

REFERENCES: Borkenau, *European Communism*; Ruth Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria.*

LEVINÉ, EUGEN, alias Niessen (1883–1919), Communist activist; led Munich's second *Räterepublik*. He was born in St. Petersburg to a rich Jewish businessman; his family settled in Germany in 1897, and he was raised in Wiesbaden. After beginning legal studies in 1903, he went to Russia to support the Social Revolutionaries when revolution erupted in 1905. After sundry imprisonments he escaped to Germany in 1909, completed a doctorate in economics, joined the local SPD in Mannheim, and wrote for the Party's radical press under the pseudonym Goldberg (his mother's maiden name). Rejected for frontline duty in 1915, he became an interpreter at a prisoner-of-war camp. Upon discharge in 1916 he worked with the *Gruppe Internationale* and then entered the USPD in 1917. After working in 1918 for the Soviet press agency's Berlin* office, he joined a Rhineland* branch of the Spartacus League* during the November Revolution.* Essen chose him to represent the city at the December Congress* of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. He was a founding member of the KPD in late December.

Leviné participated in the Spartacist Uprising* of January 1919 and then engaged in leftist actions in the Ruhr and Braunschweig. Shortly before her murder Rosa Luxemburg* asked him to represent the KPD at Moscow's first Comintern congress in February. Deterred at the border, he returned to Berlin, where Paul Levi,* the KPD's acting chairman, asked him to assume direction of Bavaria's Communist movement. Upon arriving in Munich on 5 March, he restructured policy and purged the local central committee; of seven members, only Max Levien* and Hans Kain remained in late March. Establishing KPD cells within the council system, he supplanted Levien as Party strategist and terminated the latter's cooperation with the USPD. While he was apparently not a Russian agent, he shared the Bolsheviks' commitment to discipline and action.

Although Leviné was ordered by the KPD's *Zentrale* to avoid operations that might draw a Freikorps* response, his impatience with Bavaria's ''pseudo-

Soviet Republic'' (*Scheinräterepublik*) led him to disobey and invoke a ''real'' *Räterepublik* in April 1919. With Levien in charge of oratory, Leviné organized a seizure of power. By authority of newly formed Factory and Soldiers' Councils, he took charge of a four-man executive council (*Vollzugsrat*) on 14 April 1919; theoretically, he served as Bavaria's chief executive. But since legal authority still rested with Johannes Hoffmann* in Bamberg, Leviné's influence effectively ended at Munich's borders. Moreover, he was fully aware that this limitation would spell disaster. With the remainder of Germany secured by Freikorps units, Leviné's action was a quixotic attempt to erect, if briefly, a ''dictatorship of the proletariat'' on German soil. Despite local appeals for moderation, he dismissed the risks his actions were producing. Amidst accusations from erstwhile accomplices of being Russian agents, both Leviné and Levien resigned on 27 April following a vote of no confidence. The ''real'' *Räterepublik* collapsed on 3 May.

Leviné's removal did not preclude carnage. On 30 April the leader of Bavaria's so-called Red Army unwisely executed 10 hostages. Retribution was swift. During 1–7 May an estimated 1,000–1,200 people were killed in Munich by Freikorps units. Leviné, arrested on 13 May, was soon tried. Notwithstanding an eloquent self-defense, he was convicted of treason and executed on 5 June 1919.

REFERENCES: Bosl, Franz, and Hofmann, *Biographisches Wörterbuch*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; *NDB*, vol. 14; Phelps, '' 'Before Hitler Came.' ''

LIBERAL ASSOCIATION. *See* Eugen Schiffer.

LIBERALS. *See* German Democratic Party.

LIEBERMANN, MAX (1847–1935), artist; premier representative of German Impressionism. Born to a well-established Jewish family in Berlin* (he was related to both Walther Rathenau* and Hugo Preuss*), he grew up cognizant of his varied roots. He was attracted early to literature; his interests included the Bible, Kant, Goethe, the classical Greeks, Spinoza, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. But he was soon captivated by painting; at the time of his death his portraiture ranged from an elderly Theodor Fontane to Thomas Mann* and Paul von Hindenburg.*

Liebermann's studio training began in 1863. During 1868–1873, while studying at Weimar's *Kunstakademie*, he traveled to Holland and came under the influence of Josef Israels, a Dutch landscape artist whom he considered his foremost teacher. He was drawn to the Naturalism of the Barbizon School (Millet, Daubigny, Corot, and Troyon) while residing during 1873–1878 in Paris. Wilhelm Leibl, a German realist, further shaped his style when Liebermann moved to Munich. During his Munich years, which ended in 1884, his work dissented from the Reich's pompous court painting while highlighting such subjects as an orphanage and a retirement home.

In 1884 Liebermann took up residence in Berlin. From 1891, with his first solo exhibition by Munich's *Kunstverein*, he was widely recognized throughout Germany. His bright painting was clearly influenced by the French Impressionists, especially Manet and Degas. In 1892 he led several like-minded artists out of Berlin's *Verein Berliner Kunstler* in protest to the closing of an Edvard Munch exhibit. The dissenters formed a nucleus for the *Berliner Sezession*, the famous artists' society founded in 1898 by Liebermann and Walter Leistikow. Already the recipient of numerous awards, Liebermann became a member of the Royal Academy of Art in 1898. Through the *Sezession*, for which he served as first president (1899–1911), he won recognition for Impressionism. Under his direction and with help from such art dealers as Bruno and Paul Cassirer, the *Sezession* staged several exhibits and became a commanding artistic force. Liebermann, who initially opposed Expressionism,* was determined to keep the group wedded to Impressionism. Angered by the *Sezession*'s refusal to show their work, several Expressionists founded the *Neue Sezession* in 1910. A lengthy struggle ensued, centered on Liebermann and Emil Nolde,* which bred such bitterness that Liebermann resigned his presidency. But his successor, Louis Corinth, was so reactionary that Liebermann induced a schism in 1913 and formed the more progressive *Freie Sezession*. The new group included the Expressionists Ernst Barlach,* Max Pechstein, and Max Beckmann* as board members.

In recognition of his honored position, Liebermann was elected president in 1920 of the Prussian Academy of Arts. He used the office as a platform to reform art education and, in parallel with the Bauhaus,* to foster unity within the arts. From the beginning of his presidency, however, he endured attacks from anti-Semitic* circles for whom he epitomized the application of Jewish principles to German art. Retaining his office throughout the Weimar era, he became honorary president in 1932. In May 1933 he resigned both office and membership in protest to Nazi cultural policies. His funeral, monitored by the Gestapo, was attended by only four artists (one of whom was Käthe Kollwitz*). When his widow learned in 1943 that she was to be sent to a concentration camp, she committed suicide.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *NDB*, vol. 14; Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*; Heinrich Strauss, ''On Jews and German Art.''

LIEBKNECHT, KARL (1871–1919), political activist; a founder of the Spartacus League* and the KPD. Born in Leipzig, he was, as the son of an SPD founder, steeped in socialist ideology. During 1890–1893 he studied law and economics. In 1897 he took a doctorate and launched a legal practice in Berlin* with his older brother, Theodor, in which he chiefly represented workers and socialists. He joined the SPD in 1900 and was elected to the city assembly in 1901; he retained his seat until 1913. He was first elected to the Prussian *Abgeordnetenhaus* in 1908 and entered the Reichstag* in 1912.

Liebknecht was among the SPD's outspoken radicals and was also a pacifist

who organized and presided over the Socialist Youth International in 1907–1910. His book *Militarismus und Antimilitarismus* (Militarism and antimilitarism) brought arrest and incarceration during 1907–1909. Once he was in the Reichstag, he assailed the armaments industry while advocating disarmament and international conciliation. Unsuccessful in August 1914 at convincing his faction to vote against war credits—he submitted to SPD discipline when the vote was taken—he broke ranks in December 1914 by casting the lone vote against a second round of credits.

Before the war Liebknecht was not in the circle centered on Rosa Luxemburg*; this changed after his December 1914 vote. A symbol for those opposed to the war, he was the bane of militarists. An attempt to draft him in February 1915 failed due to his parliamentary status. Despite a gag order, he published the provocative *Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land* (The main enemy is at home) in May 1915 and then helped organize the *Gruppe Internationale*. Composed of radical socialists who took the name *Spartakusgruppe* in 1916, *Gruppe Internationale* soon initiated *Die Spartakusbriefe* (Spartacus letters).

In April 1916 Liebknecht attended an illegal assembly in Jena and then organized a May Day demonstration on Potsdamer Platz. Arrested, he was convicted of high treason in June and sentenced to thirty months' hard labor (the sentence was increased by a higher court to four years). The SPD expelled him first from its Reichstag delegation and then, late in 1916, from the Party. Liebknecht used imprisonment to refine his philosophy. Wishing to retain Marxism as the basis for socialism, he nonetheless rejected its rigid linkage to economics and historical laws.

On 23 October 1918 Liebknecht profited from a general political amnesty. Joining Luxemburg in the thick of Berlin's revolutionary ferment, he heralded a ''free socialist Republic'' from the Imperial Palace on 9 November (Philipp Scheidemann* had already proclaimed ''the German Republic'') and two days later helped found the Spartacus League. Declining Friedrich Ebert's* invitation to join the Council of People's Representatives,* he mobilized the masses against Ebert and in support of a *Räterepublik*. At what became the KPD's founding convention in late December, he demanded—against Luxemburg's advice—separation from the USPD and formation of a new party. With Luxemburg, he became cochairman.

Ever impatient, Liebknecht refused to admit that the masses sought little more than peace and order. On 5 January he proclaimed Ebert's ouster and launched the Spartacist Uprising.* But he was unequal to the event he helped generate. Facing a coalition of Freikorps* and army troops, the revolt collapsed on 12 January. Arrested with Luxemburg, Liebknecht was brutally murdered on 15 January.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Bassler, ''Communist Movement''; Trotnow, *Karl Liebknecht*; Waldman, *Spartacist Uprising*.

DIE LINKSKURVE; the KPD's leading literary journal. It was founded in August 1929 by the Hungarian journalist and émigré Andor Gábor, the poet

Johannes Becher (the son of a judicial official and a one-time Expressionist,* he had written before the war for *Die Aktion**), the writer Kurt Kläber, the satirist Erich Weinert, and the former army captain Ludwig Renn (of Saxon nobility; his real name was Arnold Friedrich von Golssenau). The journal's editors—collectively, the League of German Proletarian-Revolutionary Writers—contended that only authors of proletarian origin could produce authentic literature, a rule from which at least three founders (Gábor, Becher, and Renn) excluded themselves. In its three years of publication, *Linkskurve* vigorously pursued all signs of revisionism in the writings of those claiming Communist sympathies. Since its prominence coincided with Moscow's policy of castigating Social Democracy, *Linkskurve* ignored the mortal threat posed by Nazism and aimed its harshest rebuke at the SPD and writers for *Die Weltbühne*,* both deemed ''social Fascistic.'' At best, it treated non-Communist leftists with condescension. Among those insulted by its editorials were Erwin Piscator,* Alfred Döblin,* Ernst Toller,* Erich Maria Remarque,* Heinrich Mann* (from whom ''the world of progress can no longer expect anything''), Kurt Tucholsky* (a fashionable snob), and the Bauhaus* (among the ''hidden props of the ruling class''); the NSDAP was comforted by its targets. In December 1932, burdened by financial difficulties, it quietly vanished.

REFERENCES: Angress, ''Pegasus and Insurrection''; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Koestler, *Invisible Writing*; Laqueur, *Weimar*.

LITHUANIA. *See* Baltic Provinces.

LIVONIA. *See* Baltic Provinces.

LÖBE, PAUL (1875–1967), politician; with a brief interruption, served continuously as Reichstag* President for twelve years. Born to the large family of a poor cabinetmaker in Liegnitz (now Legnica), he was early interested in politics. At age fourteen he took part in the Reichstag campaign of 1890 by distributing socialist flyers. When family finances precluded hopes of becoming a teacher, he apprenticed as a typesetter and in 1892 published his first piece in Breslau's *Volkswacht*, an SPD newspaper.* Having joined the SPD in 1893, he became editor for *Volkswacht* in 1899, a position he retained until 1920. Although his criticisms of the Kaiserreich brought several arrests, he began his political career in 1904 with election to Breslau's city council.

A Party revisionist, Löbe campaigned before the war for Eduard Bernstein. Although he steadily endorsed the war effort, the *Volkswacht* was one of two newspapers that called for the Kaiser's abdication in the summer of 1918. Löbe sat in Silesia's provincial assembly during 1915–1918. Late in 1918 he claimed a lack of preparation when he declined an invitation to join the Council of People's Representatives.* But he was soon elected to the National Assembly* and then sat continually in the Reichstag during 1920–1933. In 1921, the year he joined Prussia's* *Staatsrat*, he vigorously opposed the division of Upper Silesia.* Rejecting the SPD's petition that he run for President following Fried-

rich Ebert's* death, he claimed that the position required someone made ''of harder wood'' than himself. In fact, he was indecisive and on more than one occasion stirred controversy with an injudicious remark. Yet he was respected for his nonpartisanship. In 1932 he saw himself forced to support Hindenburg's* presidential campaign and he labeled the circumstances ''a tragedy'' for the SPD.

As President of the Interparliamentary Congress, Löbe led several international conferences and helped found a movement aimed at European cooperation (he was vice president of the Pan-Europa Union during 1924–1933). Throughout the Weimar era he wrote for *Vorwärts** (he was editor in 1932–1933), and, as chairman of the German-Austrian People's League, a Berlin-based group founded in 1918, he championed *Anschluss*.

Convinced that Nazi radicalism would be checked, Löbe was among the few leading socialists to remain in Germany in 1933. Selected provisional SPD chairman in June 1933, he was soon arrested and interned in a concentration camp. After his December 1933 release he was unemployed until Walter de Gruyter hired him in 1935 as a copy editor. Negligibly involved with Carl Goerdeler's* resistance circle, he was arrested after the July 1944 attempt on Hitler's* life. He helped reestablish the SPD after the war.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; *NDB*, vol. 15; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

LOCARNO TREATIES. On 5 October 1925, in Switzerland's Locarno, Chancellor Hans Luther* and Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann* opened a meeting with the foreign ministers of France and Britain, Aristide Briand and Austen Chamberlain. The historic gathering, which recast interwar European relationships, consummated nine months of delicate negotiations. Also in attendance were Belgium and Italy. Although the foreign ministers of Poland* and Czechoslovakia were in Locarno, they were not invited to the talks. The overall impact of the resulting treaties, signed 16 October, was détente. With reason, historian A.J.P. Taylor argued that Locarno ''ended the first World war; its repudiation eleven years later marked the prelude to the second.''

The Locarno Treaties comprised five separate documents, four of which were arbitration conventions between Germany and its neighbors: France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The fifth, a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee (the ''Rhineland Pact''), was a multilateral accord consisting of two basic parts: first, through a reciprocal treaty of nonaggression, the powers situated on the Rhine—Germany, France, and Belgium—agreed not to attack, invade, or resort to war against one another; second, via a treaty of mutual assistance, the Western European countries—Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy—promised to observe the demilitarization of the Rhineland,* to defend the existing borders between Germany and France as well as between Germany and Belgium, and to render military assistance to any signatory power falling victim to the treaty's violation.

Jon Jacobson dubbed Locarno ''the hinge on which the relations between Germany and the West turned between the wars.'' As evidenced by the September 1926 Thoiry Conference, it briefly spawned the concept of one-on-one diplomacy. During the Republic's remaining years, it fostered some key settlements: German membership in the League of Nations, equality in disarmament,* a reparations* agreement (the Young Plan*), and the end of Rhineland occupation. By giving its western neighbors assurance that its aims were pacific, Germany recovered the maneuverability needed to challenge its eastern boundaries. But if Stresemann negotiated Locarno with Poland in mind, he did not seek détente solely for this reason; the eastern borders were but one issue among several. Yet in every instance the achievements issuing from Locarno never quite met German desires and never quite assuaged French fears. By generating an illusion of goodwill, the so-called ''spirit of Locarno'' helped engender the next decade's blind appeasement. Ultimately, the objectives driving the conference's principal participants—Germany, France, and Britain—proved too dissimilar for genuine rapprochement.

REFERENCES: Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Kimmich, *Germany and the League of Nations*; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*; Stambrook, '' 'Kind' ''; A.J.P. Taylor, *Origins of the Second World War*; Thimme, ''Stresemann and Locarno.''

LOEWENTHAL, LEO. *See* Frankfurt School.

LONDON ACCORD. *See* London Conferences.

LONDON CONFERENCES (1921, 1924, 1931). Of the several meetings held in London during the Weimar era, three were of special import to Germany. The first, held 1–8 March 1921, was, claimed Moritz Julius Bonn,* ''a gigantic failure.'' The conferees aimed to formulate a means whereby Germany might fulfill the Versailles Treaty.* The four issues falling under the rubric of fulfillment* consisted of the trial and punishment of Germans charged with war crimes, the surrender of territory, the reduction of armaments, and the payment of reparations.* Although reasonable progress was achieved on the first two issues, disarmament* was untenable due to defiance from Bavaria.* Reparations, however, paralyzed the proceedings. Represented awkwardly by Foreign Minister Walter Simons,* Germany proposed to pay thirty billion marks—an offer that exasperated the Western conferees, who estimated a bill of damages at more than two hundred billion marks. Unable to gain satisfaction on reparations, the Allies, led by England's David Lloyd George and Aristide Briand of France, announced on 7 March that (1) Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort would be occupied; (2) a portion of the purchase price of German goods exported to the West would be confiscated; and (3) German customs receipts in the occupied areas would be seized. The Germans protested by abandoning London the next day.

The London Conference of 1924, held 16 July through 15 August, aimed at

formalizing the Dawes Plan.* Bolstered by American participation, it was hosted by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald and was in session for more than two weeks before Germany was invited. Arriving on 5 August, the Germans were led by Chancellor Wilhelm Marx,* Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann,* and Finance Minister Hans Luther.* To the annoyance of France's Edouard Herriot, Stresemann came bent on linking any resumption of reparations to a promise of Ruhr evacuation. His stand deadlocked the meeting for several days. Although Herriot wished to avoid discussion of the Ruhr, Stresemann knew that Reichstag* passage of Dawes hinged on such linkage. MacDonald's sympathies favored the Germans. Only after a whirlwind trip to consult his cabinet did Herriot agree to Stresemann's request: the French promised evacuation by 15 August 1925. Despite determined opposition from the DNVP, the Reichstag accepted the Dawes Plan on 29 August. The London Accord, formalizing both acceptance of Dawes and, in several annexes, Ruhr evacuation, was signed on 30 August.

The London Conference of 1931 (the ''Seven Powers Conference'') met to remedy an acute credit crisis in Germany. Representing Berlin in conversations with France, Britain, Italy, Belgium, Japan, and the United States were Chancellor Heinrich Brüning,* Foreign Minister Julius Curtius,* State Secretary Bernhard von Bülow,* and financial advisor Carl Melchior.* In the thickening financial emergency, the steady withdrawal from Germany of gold and foreign credits had risen to between three and four billion marks; early in July 1931 Germany's Darmstädter Bank verged on collapse. Meeting on 20–23 July, the attendees labored to end the emergency. That they were largely unsuccessful—Brüning sought promise of a foreign loan as well as assurance that further withdrawal of credits would cease—derived from France's resolve to couple a loan with political issues. Because the Germans would neither scuttle their customs-union project with Austria* nor accede to demands that warship construction be curtailed, the talks deadlocked. But a partial resolution, the *Stillhalte-Abkommen* (Standstill Agreement) of 18 August, delayed the removal of credits for six months and invoked a committee to inquire into Germany's credit problems (*see* Lausanne Conference).

REFERENCES: Bennett, *Germany and the Diplomacy of the Financial Crisis*; Felix, *Walther Rathenau*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Maehl, ''German Socialists''; Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe*; Schuker, *End of French Predominance*.

LONDON SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS. *See* Reparations.

LONDON ULTIMATUM. *See* Fulfillment Policy.

LOSSOW, OTTO VON (1868–1938), general; a member of Bavaria's* ruling ''triumvirate'' at the time of the Beerhall Putsch.* Born in Hof in Upper Franconia, he joined a cadet corps and participated in the 1900–1901 China Expedition. After serving as Bavaria's liaison to the Prussian General Staff, he went to Turkey as an instructor in 1910. Assigned to the War Academy, he took

part in Turkey's losing effort in the Balkan War of 1912–1913. Although he was posted to the Western Front in August 1914, he was reassigned to Constantinople in July 1915. As German military attaché, he worked with War Minister Enver Pasha, advised Berlin* on Turkey's military situation, and coordinated weapons contracts for German industry.

Already weakened by malaria, Lossow was emotionally devastated by Germany's defeat. He was attached to the Bavarian reserves and was briefly chief of the engineer corps; he became commander of Munich's infantry school in October 1919. Promoted to major-general, he was appointed chief-of-staff of the Reichswehr's* Seventh Division—the Bavarian division—in 1921. Late in 1922 the Army Command made him district commander of Bavaria.

Until this point Lossow was a trusted subaltern of Hans von Seeckt,* Chief of the *Heeresleitung*. But his new duties made him accountable to both the Defense Ministry and the Bavarian Prime Minister, Eugen von Knilling*; from September 1923 he was also Gustav von Kahr's* subordinate. Since numerous Bavarians looked with disdain on ''Red Berlin,'' Lossow fell under the sway of voices not guided by the Republic's best interests. (As a matter of context, Seeckt's own loyalty was suspect at the time.) A proponent of resisting the Ruhr occupation,* he procured illegal weaponry and appealed to Bavaria's *Vaterländische Verbände* for assistance. He was initially impressed by Hitler,* but grew wary upon realizing the extent of his desire for confrontation with Berlin. Yet the Nazis' allure led him to defy Seeckt's order that the *Völkischer Beobachter** be banned. Unable to displace Lossow, Seeckt watched helplessly as Kahr made him military commander-in-chief and thus a member of Bavaria's triumvirate with Kahr and Hans von Seisser,* chief of the Bavarian police. With his cohorts at Munich's *Bürgerbräukeller* on the evening of 8 November, Lossow was the first to cooperate with Hitler. He soon reversed himself, and his appeal for outside reinforcements helped secure Hitler's defeat.

Compromised by the putsch, Lossow could no longer hold his Bavarian command. To smooth negotiations with Berlin, Bavaria quickly replaced Lossow's chief-of-staff with an officer loyal to Seeckt. On 29 February 1924 Defense Minister Otto Gessler* dismissed Lossow as *Landeskommandant* and then discharged him. He was replaced by Friedrich Kress von Kressenstein; the only Bavarian general loyal to Berlin during Hitler's putsch, Kress had served with Lossow in Turkey. After interrogation at Hitler's trial, Lossow lived in seclusion.
REFERENCES: Carsten, *Reichswehr and Politics*; Harold Gordon, *Hitler*; *NDB*, vol. 15.

LUBITSCH, ERNST (1892–1947), actor, director, and film* producer; equally skilled at comedy, epic drama, and delicate vignette, he was the early Republic's most successful director. Born in Berlin* to a prosperous Jewish tailor, he began assisting his father as a bookkeeper after Gymnasium. But lacking business acumen—''my son is a real *schlemiel*. When he hangs up a suit on the rack, five other suits fall down''—he became a full-time actor by age nineteen without completing Gymnasium (Weinberg). From cabaret* he was

hired in 1911 by Max Reinhardt.* In 1913 he joined the Union-Film Company of Paul Davidson, one of Germany's earliest producers. His first film role, also in 1913, was as the lead in *Meyer auf der Alm* (Meyer in the Alps). After appearing in several short comedies, generally as a buffoon, he began doing his own work when Union ran low on ideas. His first effort as director and actor was *Fräulein Seifenschaum* (Miss Soapsuds), a slapstick 1914 film about a lady barber. By 1915 he was directing most of the comedies in which he acted. Davidson and Pola Negri persuaded him in 1918 to direct a drama, *Die Augen der Mumie Ma* (Eyes of the Mummy Ma), starring Negri and Emil Jannings.* *Carmen*, which appeared during the Armistice,* catapulted Negri to stardom and was Germany's picture of the year.

In 1919 Davidson received funds from UFA* to embark upon *Madame du Barry*. With Jannings as Louis XV, Lubitsch directed the monumental production with two thousand extras, a studio-built Paris, and a full orchestra. A brilliant success, *Madame du Barry* placed Germany at the forefront of film production. Lubitsch followed with *Anna Boleyn*, *Die Puppe* (The doll), *Köhlhiesels Töchter* (Köhlhiesel's daughter), and *Sumurun*; all demonstrated his genius with ''escapist'' drama. The quasi-impressionistic *Die Flamme* (The flame, 1922) closed his German career.

In October 1922, at Mary Pickford's urging—she aimed to work for ''the greatest director in Europe''—Lubitsch joined Warner Brothers in California (Negri soon followed, initiating the German ''invasion'' of Hollywood). His first film, *Rosita*, premiered in 1923 and was an unqualified success. He moved easily to sound. *Trouble in Paradise* (1932) is judged his first classic. In 1937 he cast Marlene Dietrich* in *Angel*; Claudette Colbert appeared in *Bluebeard's Eighth Wife* (1938) and Greta Garbo in *Ninotchka* (1939). In 1942 he directed and starred in the anti-Nazi satire *To Be or Not to Be*. Combining wit and ingenuity, his films are still valued for both advanced aesthetic qualities and entertainment appeal.

REFERENCES: Steven Bach, *Marlene Dietrich*; Hake, *Passions and Deceptions*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*; Wakeman, *World Film Directors*; Herman Weinberg, *Lubitsch Touch.*

LUDENDORFF, ERICH (1865–1937), general and politician; an early Hitler cohort known for ruthless ambition and organizational genius. Born to a landlord in the village of Kruszewnia near Posen, he followed two brothers into the army. First assigned to the General Staff in 1895, he took charge of mobilization in 1908 and was accountable for the Schlieffen Plan's matériel preparations.

Beginning World War I as deputy chief-of-staff to General Karl von Bülow's Second Army, Ludendorff soon won fame and the *Pour le Mérite* (Germany's highest honor) for his seizure of the Belgian fortress at Liège. On 22 August 1914, to preclude disaster in East Prussia,* he was appointed chief-of-staff to Paul von Hindenburg.* Using plans drafted by Colonel Max Hoffmann, the

duumvirate of Hindenburg and Ludendorff won two colossal victories over Russian armies, thereby saving East Prussia from defeat and creating a myth of invincibility. A further victory in November brought promotion to lieutenant-general and appointment as chief-of-staff in Hindenburg's new Supreme Eastern Command.

Arrogant to a fault, Ludendorff was soon at loggerheads with Erich von Falkenhayn, Chief of the General Staff, over war strategy. In August 1916, after the Verdun fiasco, Falkenhayn was replaced by Hindenburg. Ludendorff, promoted to general of infantry, joined Hindenburg as first quartermaster general (deputy commander). By 1917 he was virtual dictator. After Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg's chancellorship collapsed in July 1917, neither the Kaiser nor Bethmann's two successors could check Ludendorff's influence. Having forced the ruinous declaration of submarine war in January 1917, he imposed a peace on Soviet Russia (Brest-Litovsk in March 1918) of such brutality that it compelled Germany to keep over a million troops on the Eastern Front—soldiers crucial to the western campaign. His western offensive of March 1918, initially spectacular, stalled in May and was rolled back by a counteroffensive in July and August. The Allied operation broke the morale of Germany's army. On 29 September 1918, nearing nervous collapse, Ludendorff informed Germany's bewildered government that an immediate armistice* was imperative. Yet the government of Prinz Max* von Baden, after instituting contact with the Allies, was confronted by a Ludendorff who, with renewed courage, demanded an end to talks with the enemy. Too much for Max, Ludendorff was dismissed on 26 October.

Briefly relocating to Sweden, Ludendorff returned to Berlin* in February 1919. When he was asked to appear before the National Assembly's* committee investigating Germany's military collapse, he launched a vehement campaign against the new Republic. Contacting disgruntled nationalists, he helped establish the *Nationale Vereinigung* (National Union) with Wolfgang Kapp* and Waldemar Pabst.* Although the brief life of the March 1920 Kapp Putsch prevented his entry into that ill-fated regime, he avoided subsequent criminal proceedings by moving to Bavaria.* Living in a Munich villa, he turned to writing in hopes of presenting himself as a modern Clausewitz. Above all, the writings reveal his total commitment to social Darwinism and a belief in war as intrinsic to nature.

During the Weimar era Ludendorff is chiefly known for his 1922–1924 collaboration with Hitler.* Motivated by his own anti-Semitic* nationalism, he envisioned himself the leader of Hitler's proposed ''march on Berlin,'' but the collapse of the Beerhall Putsch* ended the dream. He served ineffectually in the Reichstag* during 1924–1928, first with the *Völkischer-Block* (an anti-Semitic umbrella group) and then without affiliation. His pitiful 1925 campaign for President, waged in opposition to Hindenburg, induced his isolation. He was thereafter banished to the political fringes; his ugly diatribes appeared regularly in the pages of *Volkswarte*, a journal he founded with his second wife, Mathilde

Spiess. Despite a guise of comradeship, the relationship between Ludendorff and Hitler was quite strained. Yet upon the general's death, the Nazis' bombastic memorial celebration helped establish a short-lived Ludendorff cult.

REFERENCES: Jablonsky, *Nazi Party in Dissolution*; Kitchen, *Silent Dictatorship*; *NDB*, vol. 15; Roger Parkinson, *Tormented Warrior*; Speier, ''Ludendorff.''

LUKÁCS, GEORG, born György Szegedy von Lukács (1885–1971), philosopher; a brilliant Marxist theorist, known for his critique of Marxism. Although he was a Hungarian, born to a Jewish family in Budapest (his father, Hungarian state counselor József Löwinger, changed his name to Lukács in 1890), he was raised in a German milieu. He studied economics and law and earned a doctorate at a provincial university, but he retained a youthful commitment to modern drama; he founded a theater* group, the *Thaliabühne*, in 1904. From 1906 he wrote for *Huszadik Század* (also known as *20. Jahrhundert* [20th Century]), the journal of Budapest's Social Sciences Society.

Drawn to philosophy, Lukács settled from 1906 for brief periods in Berlin* and, after meeting Georg Simmel, attended the philosopher's lectures and seminars. His first serious essays, which appeared in *Nyugat* (Western), reflected Simmel's theories. In 1908 his two-volume *Entwicklungsgeschichte des modernen Dramas* (History of the development of modern drama) won him the Kisfaludy Társaság prize. Using part of the work as a dissertation, he returned to Budapest in 1909 to win a second doctorate (he failed to convince Simmel to accept the work at Berlin). In 1912 he went to Heidelberg to study with Max Weber.* But while he was active in Heidelberg's Weber Circle, he was drawn to the neo-Kantianism of Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert,* an interest he later abandoned in favor of Hegel. Back in Budapest in 1915, he founded the Sunday Circle (*Sonntagskreis*), an eclectic collection of idealists whose members included Karl Mannheim* and the poet Béla Balázs. In 1917 the group spawned the *Freie Schule für Geisteswissenschaften* (Free School for Humanities). A counteruniversity offering lectures for two semesters, the *Freie Schule* opposed positivism and materialism (providing a key to Lukács's later disquiet with Marxism).

In 1918 Lukács joined the Hungarian Communist Party and began editing the theoretical journal *Die Internationale*. A member of the Party's central committee, he became Cultural Minister and political commissar in Béla Kun's short-lived Soviet Republic. After Kun's collapse in 1919, Lukács performed Party work in Budapest and Vienna while contributing to such periodicals as *Rote Fahne*. Mirroring the ideas of Karl Korsch,* his writings, the best-known being *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein* (History and class consciousness, 1923), accused the Marxist parties of abandoning the Hegelian method inherent in Marx's ideas. Only by wedding itself to a holistic dialectical method could German socialism blend theory and practice. Moscow condemned his ideas.

Expelled from Austria* in 1930, Lukács worked in Moscow at the Marx-

Engels Institute, but returned to Berlin in 1932. He joined several Marxist groups and wrote regularly for *Die Linkskurve** and *Internationale Literatur*. Upon Hitler's* seizure of power, he fled to Moscow, where, as a member of the Academy of Science of the USSR, he worked with other Hungarian émigrés. The Soviets never trusted Lukács; fearing for his survival, he felt compelled to renounce *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein* on three separate occasions. With the collapse of Hungary's fascist regime in 1944, he returned to Budapest and soon became Professor for Aesthetics and Cultural Philosophy at the university. Elected to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he sat in the Hungarian parliament during 1949–1956. After serving with Imre Nagy's cabinet during the uprising of 1956, he was briefly deported to Rumania. He thereafter devoted his life to intellectual endeavors.

REFERENCES: Gluck, *Georg Lukács*; Kadarkay, *Georg Lukács*; Lunn, *Marxism and Modernism*; George Parkinson, *Georg Lukács*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

LUTHER, HANS (1879–1962), Chancellor and Reichsbank President; was Finance Minister during the months of 1923–1924 when a currency reform ended Germany's hyperinflation. Born to a Berlin* businessman, he studied law and took his doctorate in 1904. After working in the magistrate's office in Charlottenburg, he joined Magdeburg's city council in 1907. His municipal achievements, largely social, included a tenfold increase in Magdeburg's garden allotments and a successful legal case brought against the potash industry for contaminating the drinking water. He functioned as executive secretary of the Prussian *Städtetag* (city assembly) between 1913 and 1918. In July 1918 he became *Oberbürgermeister* of Essen, an office he held until Wilhelm Cuno* asked him to become Agriculture Minister in 1922. During the November Revolution* he persuaded Essen's Workers' and Soldiers' Council* to recognize his authority. In 1920 he joined Germany's provisional Economic Council.

Luther's shift to national office ended a brilliant municipal career. A member of no party, but closest to the DVP (he joined in 1927), he had ties with heavy industry. After rejecting the Economic and Interior portfolios, he assumed the Agriculture Ministry when Karl Müller was forced to resign. Retaining office in Gustav Stresemann's* first cabinet, he focused on feeding those hardest hit by the inflation.* On 6 October 1923 he succeeded Rudolf Hilferding* as Finance Minister, an office he retained through Wilhelm Marx's* first two cabinets (30 November 1923 to 15 January 1925). Implementing harsh reforms to halt the inflation, he drafted a currency act that fused the monetary theories of former State Secretary Karl Helfferich* with Hilferding's implementation plan. In league with Currency Commissioner Hjalmar Schacht,* he took advantage of the December 1923 Enabling Act* to enact emergency taxes needed to balance Germany's budget.

Since the Reichstag* elections of December 1924 left Marx's cabinet unable to maintain itself, Marx resigned in January 1925, and Luther, still without a party, formed a new government. His cabinet combined professional bureaucrats

with members of the Center,* the DDP, the DVP, the BVP, and the DNVP. But the union was soon threatened by the February death of President Ebert*; while the DVP and DNVP chose to support the candidacy of Hindenburg,* the Center joined the SPD and DDP in support of Marx. With patience and diplomacy, Luther survived the crisis. He applied the same attributes to international trade practices. A protective policy for industry and agriculture was created by the tariff law of 12 August 1925. Thereafter his government negotiated trade treaties with France, Britain, the Soviet Union,* Spain, and Italy. But his cabinet's paramount achievement was the 1925 Locarno Treaties*—accords that presaged German entry into the League of Nations in September 1926. Although Locarno led the DNVP to leave his cabinet on 26 October 1925, Luther managed, after a lengthy delay, to form a new government in January 1926. Soon after he negotiated the April 1926 treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, his second cabinet collapsed when he naïvely signed President Hindenburg's flag decree. The ensuing flag controversy* outraged republicans and forced his resignation on 12 May.

Luther was elected to the council of the national railway company (*Reichsbahngesellschaft*) in 1926. During 1928–1929 he founded and presided over the League for the Regeneration of the Reich (*Bund zur Erneuerung des Reiches*), an alliance aimed at reorganizing Germany's federal structure; the endeavor foundered on opposition from Prussia* and Bavaria.* In March 1930 he succeeded Schacht as Reichsbank President; as such, he joined the governing board of the Bank for International Settlements.* A supporter of the deflationary course set by Heinrich Brüning,* he found his own rigid financial policies attacked by Schacht. In the banking crisis of 1931 he went to the legal limits of the Reichsbank's assets to assist banks forced to repay short-term, high-interest foreign loans.

On 16 March 1933, at Hitler's* request, Luther submitted his resignation. Although he never joined the NSDAP, his aversion to parliamentary democracy allowed him to serve during 1933–1937 as Nazi Germany's well-regarded Ambassador to Washington. After World War II he was a trustee for a private Munich bank and from 1952 served as an honorary professor at Munich's *Hochschule für politische Wissenschaften*.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; James, *Reichsbank*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; *NDB*, vol. 15.

LÜTTWITZ, WALTHER FREIHERR VON (1859–1942), general; a central participant in the March 1920 Kapp* Putsch. Born in Silesia, where his father was a Prussian *Oberförster* (chief forester), he was commissioned in 1878. After the customary transition between General Staff service and troop command, he was chief quartermaster with the General Staff when war erupted. He had an eventful and heroic wartime experience. Serving as chief-of-staff to Crown Prince Wilhelm and as a corps commander in his own right, he was active at Verdun and in the Champagne region in late 1916. His *Pour le Mérite*

(Germany's highest honor), bestowed in 1916, was adorned with an oak-leaf cluster after Erich Ludendorff's* March 1918 offensive.

Following the war, Lüttwitz chose to stay with the army until the leftist threat had been broken. In December 1918 he received command of the Mark Brandenburg (the First Army District), which included troops in and around Berlin.* Initially commanding few reliable troops, he gradually erased the Communist threat with assistance from Defense Minister Gustav Noske.* Erroneously stylized ''Savior of the Fatherland,'' he received special status from President Friedrich Ebert*—one of several republicans to misjudge his politics. The Versailles Treaty* fed his anxiety over reorganizing Germany's army, and he was angered by the Allied resolution that war criminals be tried and that Germany be held responsible for the war.

Pressing in early 1920 for new elections, Lüttwitz discredited himself with Noske and was relieved of his command on 11 March 1920. Turning to Hans von Seeckt,* Chief of the *Truppenamt*, for help, he was frustrated by the latter's veto. While their ideas were not in total harmony, his association with Wolfgang Kapp led him to press the latter into an ill-advised putsch on 13 March. Poorly planned and with limited support, the event was an initial success but a long-term fiasco. Although the brigade of Hermann Ehrhardt* came to his assistance, a general strike and the passive resistance of Berlin's bureaucracy induced the putsch's collapse. Using false passports, Lüttwitz and Kapp fled to Sweden on 17 March.

The Kapp Putsch was the most serious instance of treason in the Republic's fourteen-year history. Nonetheless, legal proceedings against Lüttwitz were dropped on the ground that he and his cohorts had acted ''under the banner of selfless love for the fatherland.'' Soon back in Germany, he was dismissed from the army but was granted his pension retroactive to the putsch itself. He played no further public role.

REFERENCES: Carsten, *Reichswehr and Politics*; Feldman, ''Big Business''; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; *NDB*, vol. 15; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism.*

LUXEMBURG, ROSA (1870–1919), socialist politician and theorist; the only woman in pre–World War I socialist politics to attain a stature comparable to that of Jean Jaurès, Viktor Adler, August Bebel, and Karl Kautsky. She was born in the Polish village of Zamość near Lublin (within tsarist Russia); her father was a wealthy Jewish businessman. When she was three, the family moved to Warsaw to escape the Jewish influence in Zamość. While attending a Russian-language school, she joined a proscribed political group. She became a socialist at seventeen, and fled to Switzerland in 1889. From 1890 she pursued studies at Zürich that included law, philosophy, economics, political science, medieval history, and zoology. She was a brilliant student, but her political activities interrupted her studies (she helped found Poland's Social Democratic Workers' Party in 1894); however, she took a doctorate in 1897 with a thesis on Polish industrial development.

Luxemburg cultivated friendships with leading Polish and Russian socialists in Zürich, including long-time colleague Leo Jogiches. To take part in Germany's socialist movement, she contracted a pro forma marriage in 1898 with a German citizen and moved to Berlin* in 1899. She soon became a member of the SPD's left wing; she opposed Eduard Bernstein's ''revisionism'' and published *Sozialreform oder Revolution?* (1900) to introduce her views and demand the removal of reformist ideas. Her devastating critique of militarism and nationalism was developed in numerous articles and speeches. She formed her closest connections with Franz Mehring and Kautsky and was arrested in 1904 for *Majestätsbeleidigung*. She participated in Poland's 1905 revolt against Russian rule; her arrest by Russian officials led to her first brief imprisonment. An instructor from 1907 at Berlin's Party School, she developed her ideas in two works on economics, *Einführung in die Nationalökonomie* (Introduction to political economy) and *Akkumulation des Kapitals* (Accumulation of capital), key contributions to the study of imperialism and capitalism. Her ideas of spontaneous revolution and general strike alienated Kautsky, who feared a renewal of Bismarck's old antisocialist legislation.

Luxemburg's attack on militarism, which appeared in 1913 in *Sozialdemokratische Korrespondenz* (*Spartakusbriefe* from 1916), induced a one-year prison sentence, served from March 1915 to February 1916. Meanwhile, not a member of the Reichstag,* she was mortified in August 1914 by a ''world historical catastrophe'': the SPD had voted for war credits. In reply, she anonymously wrote the *Junius-Broschüre* in 1916 as a protest against socialist submission to the Kaiser's *Burgfrieden*. She argued that the SPD's newfound patriotism was a betrayal of the working classes. Liberated long enough to help found the *Spartakusgruppe*, she was arrested again in July 1916 on ''grounds of security''; she remained imprisoned until 9 November 1918. The lengthy incarceration was used to write scores of letters and articles for *Spartakusbriefe*.

Upon her release Luxemburg rushed to Berlin to found the Spartacus League* and the newspaper* *Rote Fahne*. On 29 December, vainly trying to prevent separation from the USPD, she expounded her vision of a unified socialist republic. The KPD was established the next day. Although she argued that the Spartacist Uprising* of January 1919 was foolhardy, she joined the KPD majority when it voted to overthrow Germany's interim regime. When the uprising was crushed, she was arrested with Karl Liebknecht* on 15 January and taken to Berlin's Eden Hotel. Dragged from the rear entrance, she was murdered and her body was thrown into Berlin's Landwehr Canal. Liebknecht was shot the same day.

Luxemburg's writings aimed at working-class emancipation. Her key positions were as follows: (1) the concepts of reformism and revisionism must be removed from socialist dogma; (2) militarism must be combatted; (3) imperialism is fundamental to capitalism; (4) Lenin's notion of the dictatorship of the Party must be rejected. The final point is crucial. Since 1902 she had quarreled with Lenin over the latter's belief that the masses must be controlled and ma-

nipulated. Her faith that the masses would spontaneously rise and overthrow autocracy never wavered. Arguing in 1918 that Germany should learn from Russian mistakes, she wrote a critique of Lenin's repression of democracy; Paul Levi* persuaded her not to publish it. Her tragedy—perhaps Germany's—was that the *Spartakusbund*, whose leader she was, was torn in the weeks after Germany's collapse between Lenin's example and her vision. Her wish not to achieve power without mass support was overruled by colleagues determined to fan the revolutionary flame when conditions were unfavorable.

REFERENCES: Arendt, ''Rosa Luxemburg''; Bassler, ''Communist Movement''; Ettinger, *Rosa Luxemburg*; Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg*; Schorske, *German Social Democracy*; Waldman, *Spartacist Uprising*.

M

M (film). *See* Fritz Lang.

MACKE, AUGUST. *See* Expressionism.

MAERCKER, GEORG (1865–1924), general; organized the first Freikorps* unit. Born to the family of a circuit judge in the West Prussian town of Baldenburg, he attended cadet academies in Kulm and Gross-Lichterfelde. In 1888 he accompanied a German plantation concern to East Africa. After leading a commando unit in 1890 to German Southwest Africa, he entered the War Academy, graduated in 1894, and assumed duties with the Anatolian railway in Asia Minor. Following brief duty in China and two years in Tilsit, he returned to Southwest Africa in 1904 as a General Staff officer; in 1907 he was severely wounded in Hereroland. His diverse overseas experience made Maercker both an advocate of German colonialism (he helped found and was president of the German Colonial League) and an engaging personality.

Maercker was promoted to colonel in April 1914 and was assigned to Borkum upon the outbreak of war. He was transferred to the Western Front in January 1916 and was severely wounded that summer. Upon recovery, he was promoted to major-general in August 1917 and was assigned command of a brigade in Flanders. His skill and bravery earned him the *Pour le Mérite*, Germany's highest honor. In January 1918 he became commander of the 214th Infantry Division; his behavior in the Armentières offensive earned him an oak-leaf cluster for his *Pour le Mérite*.

On 12 December 1918 Maercker submitted a memorandum to the Supreme

Command outlining a plan for creation of a volunteer rifle corps. After quick approval, he drafted the ''First Constructive Order of the Volunteer Rifle Corps'' (*Freiwilligen Landesjägerkorps*); it became a model for the law establishing the provisional Reichswehr.* Although his rifle corps was a prototype for other Freikorps units, Maercker and his men were atypical. Well disciplined, the Maercker Volunteers was among the Republic's most trusted formations. A convinced monarchist, Maercker was nevertheless loyal to Defense Minister Gustav Noske* and supported the Republic as a hedge against anarchy. He dismissed undisciplined troops (Ernst von Salomon* later chided Maercker's corps as lacking the ''true Freikorps spirit''); yet by January 1919 he possessed a reliable unit of four thousand men. On 14 January his men were among the units that quelled Berlin's* Spartacist Uprising.* Ordered to Weimar on 30 January 1919, his unit protected the newly elected National Assembly.* In the following months he participated in actions aimed at subduing leftist unrest throughout central Germany. His procedure was simple: occupy a city with an intimidating march, proclaim martial law, dissolve the revolutionary councils, organize new civil guard units, and withdraw. The process was often accomplished without firing a shot. In May 1919 Maercker's unit was integrated into the provisional Reichswehr, and in November he became commander of the Defense District (*Wehrkreis IV*) in Dresden.

Maercker opposed the conspiracy of Wolfgang Kapp* and Walther von Lüttwitz* from its inception. He told Lüttwitz in July 1919 that he would not support an action that lacked Noske's backing. Lüttwitz ignored him. Ordered to arrest the republican government when it fled to Dresden on 13 March 1920, Maercker let it escape to Stuttgart and thus contributed to the failure of the Kapp Putsch. Unfortunately, by mediating between President Ebert* and the putschists, he called into question his loyalty to the regime. His dismissal in the wake of the putsch ended a long and honorable military career.

REFERENCES: Carsten, *Reichswehr and Politics*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; *NDB*, vol. 15; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

THE MAGIC MOUNTAIN. *See* Thomas Mann.

MAHRAUN, ARTUR. *See Jungdo.*

MAJORITY SOCIALISTS. *See* Social Democratic Party.

MALIK VERLAG (Malik Press). *See* John Heartfield.

MALTZAN, "AGO" (ADOLF GEORG OTTO) FREIHERR ZU WARTENBERG UND PENZLIN VON (1877–1927), diplomat; State Secretary at the Foreign Office, he helped draft the Russo-German Trade Treaty of 1921 and the Rapallo Treaty.* Born to an old Mecklenburg Junker* family, he studied law and was active in the Prussian judicial service. In 1906 he moved

to the diplomatic corps and served in Oslo and Rio de Janeiro before receiving a pivotal assignment in 1911 in St. Petersburg. During 1912–1917 he was *chargé d'affaires* in Peking. When China declared war on Germany, he was reassigned to The Hague. He remained in Holland during the Armistice* as the Foreign Office's special representative. In early 1920, after brief service as *chargé* to Estonia and Latvia, he joined a reorganized Foreign Office as counselor in charge of the Russian desk. He was promoted to ministerial director and head of the Eastern Department in November 1921 and became State Secretary a year later.

Although Maltzan initially favored the White Russians in the Russian Civil War, when the Reds' fortunes improved, he endorsed Hans von Seeckt's* view that Germany should seek a modus vivendi with the Bolsheviks. He soon became the Foreign Office's chief advocate for an ''eastern'' orientation. In 1920 he advised taking the initiative in a reciprocal repatriation of prisoners of war with the Soviets. Acknowledging the need for renewed economic relations, he spearheaded negotiations leading to the Russo-German Trade Treaty of 6 May 1921. When Joseph Wirth's* first cabinet collapsed in October 1921, his influence was endangered; however, a scheme to send him to Athens was foiled when Wirth formed a second cabinet. With enhanced independence, Maltzan endeavored to add a political dimension to relations with Russia, a plan that possessed Wirth's support. He was opposed to the fulfillment policy* with the West and argued that Germany could escape its isolation only through Moscow. Although the western-directed Walther Rathenau* became Foreign Minister in January 1922, Maltzan initiated a dialog the same month with Karl Radek, the Soviet Comintern secretary. Discussions remained hidden and informal throughout the winter of 1922, but the secrecy was cast off during April's Genoa Conference* when the Germans mediated the Rapallo Treaty with the Soviets. Maltzan's role was integral to the accord.

Maltzan may have been the most powerful professional in the postwar Foreign Office. Independently wealthy, he made his Berlin* home a gathering point for diplomats and diverse political leaders. A consummate bureaucrat, he had no platform other than the improvement of Germany's international position. But his tactics did not always mirror those of his Foreign Minister. Named State Secretary in December 1922, he was exiled to Washington in 1924 when Gustav Stresemann,* committed to the western policy that bore fruit at Locarno,* replaced him with Carl von Schubert.* Yet he served as Ambassador to the United States until his death and helped transform American attitudes toward Germany; he even advised a U.S. alliance as an alternative to joining the League of Nations.

Lord d'Abernon, British Ambassador to Berlin, claimed that Maltzan was ''perhaps the cleverest'' of the men in the postwar Foreign Office. Some Germans labeled him the ''red Baron.'' In fact, he was a *Realpolitiker* whose eastern orientation was devoid of ideological significance.

REFERENCES: D'Abernon, *Diary*; Dirksen, *Moscow, Tokyo, London*; Holborn, ''Diplo-

mats and Diplomacy''; *NDB*, vol. 15; Pogge von Strandmann, ''Rapallo''; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*.

MANN, HEINRICH (1871–1950), writer; ruthlessly debunked the Kaiserreich's rigid social structure. Born in Lübeck to a city senator and prosperous businessman, he abandoned Gymnasium studies in 1889. Although he was determined not to follow a business career, he appeased his father by apprenticing as a bookseller in Dresden. But after he published stories in the *Lübecker Zeitung*, he resolved to become a writer. In 1891, just before his father's death, he forsook the apprenticeship to join the publishing house of Samuel Fischer.* Contracting tuberculosis, he convalesced in Switzerland in 1892 and, after some time in Italy, relocated to Munich in 1894.

Before World War I Mann published dramas, essays, short stories, and novels. His 1905 novel *Professor Unrat* went largely unnoticed until it was filmed in 1930 as *Der blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*); starring Emil Jannings* and Marlene Dietrich,* the story emphasized the vices and hypocrisy of middle-class society. A serialization of *Der Untertan* (*Man of Straw*), a devastating critique subtitled *A History of the Public Soul under Wilhelm II*, was suspended upon the outbreak of war; it was finally released in 1918. A 1915 essay on Émile Zola that extolled democratic France and the Enlightenment was not only censored but provoked a painful rupture with his brother, Thomas Mann.* Underscoring the tradition of political engagement among French intellectuals, Heinrich argued that Germany was marked by a passivity that viewed intellect (*Geist*) and action as contradictory entities.

The brothers' estrangement persisted until 1922, when Heinrich suffered acute appendicitis and his anticipated death brought reconciliation. Since Walther Rathenau's* murder also reconciled Thomas to the Republic, the sibling rapprochement was melded by parallel political convictions. Thereafter the brothers increasingly represented the political and moral conscience of Germany. Heinrich was, meanwhile, forced to accustom himself to his younger brother's greater fame; although he was prolific throughout the 1920s—he published fiction, social criticism, and topical essays—Heinrich's writing failed to gain wide acclaim. He served as President of the Prussian Academy of Arts during 1931–1933, but it was Thomas who became the Nobel laureate.

An exponent of middle-class social democracy, Heinrich Mann fled to France—his spiritual home—in February 1933. He was subsequently tireless on both literary and political fronts. World War II forced flight to America, where he struggled in Hollywood to maintain a career; his second wife, Nellie, committed suicide in 1944. Although he was invited in 1947 to return to East Berlin as President of the new East German Academy of Arts, his failing health kept him in California.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; David Gross, *Writer and Society*; Hamilton, *Brothers Mann*; König, *Heinrich Mann*.

MANN, THOMAS (1875–1955), writer; the premier literary figure of the Weimar era. Born in Lübeck to a prosperous businessman and city senator, he began writing small prose works as a youngster. Although he was a mediocre student—he repeated two classes in Gymnasium—his was nonetheless a disciplined intellect that, with superb literary skill, merged profound ideas and humor into loosely autobiographical writings. Abandoning Gymnasium in 1893, he moved to Munich, where, upon forming a tie with his brother Heinrich (*see* Heinrich Mann), he began writing. *Buddenbrooks*, a novel portraying the disintegration of a prosperous family, appeared in 1901. Through his 1905 marriage to Katia Pringsheim, he gained financial independence and entered Munich's affluent society.

Stimulated by Schopenhauer, Wagner, and Nietzsche, Mann was intrigued by decadence, decay, and death (all central to *Buddenbrooks*, *Death in Venice*, *The Magic Mountain*, and *Doctor Faustus*). But while he formulated a German vision of culture, his aesthetic speculation remained unpolitical. World War I infused his writing with politics. Imbued with a conservative patriotism common in prewar Germany, he was converted to extreme nationalism; the change shattered his relationship with his Francophile brother. His wartime *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Reflections of a nonpolitical man), while confused and repetitious, highlights the theme of *Kultur* versus civilization that reappears in a more sophisticated form in *Der Zauberberg* (*The Magic Mountain*).

Mann's resolve to support the new Republic was first kindled by Oswald Spengler's* *Decline of the West*, a book that repelled him and then blossomed after the 1922 assassination* of Walther Rathenau.* *Der Zauberberg*, his 1924 novel symbolizing the varied appeal of sickness and decadence, marked his break with the suppositions held through the war. (Upon awarding the Nobel Prize in 1929, the committee conspicuously ignored *Der Zauberberg* in favor of *Buddenbrooks*.) After the September 1930 elections he began lecturing on the necessity of the middle-class parties to ally themselves with the SPD; this was, he implored, the one means of defeating Hitler.*

Mann's outspoken rejection of the NSDAP cost him long-held friendships and generated physical danger. While he was lecturing abroad in February 1933, he was warned not to return to Germany. From southern France and then Switzerland he joined the protest against the Third Reich. In 1937 he helped found *Mass und Wert*, a journal that published some of the best political opinion in the late 1930s. He was stripped in 1936 of his citizenship and emigrated to the United States in 1939. While he maintained his literary activity—the tetralogy that comprises *Joseph und seine Brüder* (Joseph and his brothers) appeared between 1933 and 1942—he lectured tirelessly on the need to resist Nazi Germany. His last major work, *Doktor Faustus*, which appeared in 1947, evoked all the anger, agony, and frustrated love that Germany had aroused in him since 1933.

REFERENCES: Hatfield, *From "The Magic Mountain"*; Hayman, *Thomas Mann*; Kahler,

Orbit of Thomas Mann; Katia Mann, *Unwritten Memories*; Prater, *Thomas Mann*; J. Peter Stern, *Thomas Mann*.

MANNHEIM, KARL (1893–1947), sociologist; helped establish sociology as an academic discipline. Born in Budapest to a Hungarian father and a German mother, he studied philosophy, pedagogy, and German literary history before taking a doctorate at Budapest in 1918 with a thesis analyzing the theory of knowledge (*Die Strukturanalyse der Erkenntnistheorie*). In 1915–1919 he belonged to the Sunday Circle, a group of intellectuals that included Georg Lukács.* He taught cultural philosophy at Budapest during the brief period of Béla Kun's Soviet Republic (May–June 1919). But Kun's demise forced him to flee to Germany, where he worked as a private teacher and tutor. In 1922, having resumed his studies, he completed a second doctorate at Heidelberg and then wrote his *Habilitation* in 1926.

Mannheim obtained German citizenship in 1925 and taught sociology at Heidelberg during 1926–1930 as a *Privatdozent*. In 1930 he succeeded Franz Oppenheimer at Frankfurt as professor of sociology and economics. But success was short-lived; of Jewish ancestry, he was dismissed in April 1933. Forced a second time to flee his home, he gained appointment as a lecturer in October 1933 at the London School of Economics. He retained this position until 1944 and taught also at the University of London's Institute of Education; the institute appointed him Professor for the Sociology of Education in 1945.

Mannheim's intellectual evolution is often divided into a ''Hungarian phase,'' a ''German phase,'' and an ''English phase.'' His Hungarian work, focused on a structural analysis of knowledge, was driven by a relativistic cultural-philosophical line of reasoning. During his German period—influenced by the thought of Karl Marx, Wilhelm Dilthey, Max Weber,* and Max Scheler*—he generated a science of sociology reflected in his 1929 work *Ideologie und Utopie*. By merging positivism and relativism, *Ideologie und Utopie* achieved a dialectic that he called ''relationism''; in essence, he argued that there is no certainty in the study of society. His English years were influenced by pragmatism, behaviorism, and the application of psychoanalysis to sociology. Throughout his career he retained an attachment to the utopian aspects of Marxism.

REFERENCES: H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*; Loader, *Intellectual Development of Karl Mannheim*; *NDB*, vol. 16; Raison, *Founding Fathers*; W.A.C. Stewart, *Karl Mannheim*.

MARC, FRANZ. *See* Expressionism.

MARCKS, ERICH (1861–1938), historian; monarchist and neo-Rankean who championed the dominance of foreign policy (*Primat der Aussenpolitik*) in European history. Born in Magdeburg to a prosperous architect and a mother de-

scended from Huguenots, he studied ancient history at Strassburg under Heinrich Nissen. He took his doctorate in 1884 and completed his *Habilitation* at Berlin,* where, inspired by Heinrich von Treitschke, he turned to modern history and focused on the Reformation and French religious wars. With Treitschke's recommendation, he gained appointment at Freiburg in 1892; positions followed at Leipzig, Heidelberg, and Hamburg. In 1913, after serving as guest professor at Cornell, he returned to a professorship at Munich. He finally joined Berlin's faculty in 1922 and became emeritus in 1928.

Marcks, an emissary of the ''Ranke Renaissance,'' was an esteemed writer, ''a master of a rich and flowing style'' (Stewart). His first major monograph, *Zusammenkunft von Bayonne* (Conference of Bayonne, a study of Franco-Spanish diplomacy in the sixteenth century), appeared in 1889. The initial volume of a biography of Gaspard de Coligny, a Huguenot hero, appeared in 1893 and was a centerpiece for much of his instruction on the Reformation. Upon the death of Heinrich von Sybel, the editors of *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* chose him to write an entry on Kaiser Wilhelm I. Sensitive and clear, the entry was a springboard for much of his later work. Otto von Bismarck's son Herbert gave him access to the family archives in 1901. Although he planned a multivolume Bismarck biography, only two volumes (taking Bismarck's life to 1851) were ever published. Numerous essays covered John Calvin, Philip II, the Younger Pitt, Albrecht von Roon, and the historians Sybel and Treitschke. Two popular compilations of essays, which underscore his emphasis on the role of great men in history, are entitled *Männer und Zeiten* (Men and times, 1911) and *Geschichte und Gegenwart* (History and the present, 1925).

Marcks favored the National Liberal Party during the Kaiserreich. Convinced of the preeminence of foreign policy, he championed Germany's aim to become a world power, longed for the day when all of central Europe would fall under German influence, and deemed England Germany's chief enemy. Viewing World War I as the last stage in Germany's evolution, he was among those academics who publicly endorsed annexationism. His Weimar-era writings, especially *Die Versklavung des deutschen Volkes* (Enslavement of the German people), advocated revision of the Versailles Treaty* and a special course (*Sonderweg*) for German politics. Old friendships, notably those with Friedrich Meinecke* and Hans Delbrück,* cooled when the latter became *Vernunftrepublikaner*.* Nevertheless, he was among the most honored historians of the period. He was the secretary from 1916 and the president from 1923 of the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, and he helped found the *Historische Reichskommission* in 1928.

Marcks called the age of Bismarck the ''brightest height in the ups and downs of Germany's fate'' and referred to the revolutionary era of 1918 as a ''monstrous fall from the brightest height to the darkest depth.'' Not surprisingly, he supported Paul von Hindenburg* and followed the old President into the Third Reich. Coeditor since 1910 of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, Germany's premier

historical journal, he joined Heinrich von Srbik and Karl Alexander von Müller as honorary members of the Third Reich's *Reichsinstitut für Geschichte*.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Iggers, *German Conception of History*; *NDB*, vol. 16; Gordon Stewart, ''Erich Marcks.''

MARCKS, GERHARD (1889–1981), sculptor and graphic artist; directed the ceramics studio at the Bauhaus.* He was born to a Berlin* grain merchant. His romantic bent led him into an antitechnology movement. Judging Wilhelmine culture shallow and pathetic, he aligned himself with the *Neue Sezession* artistic group. After studying with August Gaul and Georg Kolbe, opponents of the Kaiserreich's monumental style, he began sculpting animals. His circle of friends included the sculptor Richard Scheibe (with whom he served an apprenticeship), Lyonel Feininger,* and Walter Gropius.* His porcelain models were used by several firms, including Meissen and Schwarzburg, and in 1914 he provided figurative reliefs for buildings constructed by Gropius in his Cologne *Werkbund* exhibition.

Already a war casualty in 1914, Marcks was assigned to East Prussia* to care for war cemeteries. Upon his return to Berlin in 1918, he joined the *Novembergruppe** and participated in utopian efforts to build a new world through an *Ethos der Form*. His work began combining elements from Expressionism* and gothic style. Lured to the new Bauhaus by Gropius, he rejected Bruno Taut's* offer of a position at Berlin's *Kunstgewerbeschule*. He was among the Bauhaus's first instructors and directed the ceramics program until, disenchanted by a growing emphasis on the interdependence of art and technology, he resigned in 1925. He then accepted a post with a *Kunstgewerbeschule* near Halle and became the school's director in 1930.

Although Marcks created an abundance of sculptures in wood and clay, he turned, on the recommendation of Feininger, to realistic woodcut. Numbered with Käthe Kollwitz* and Ernst Barlach* among the Republic's premier sculptors, he was nonetheless dismissed in 1933. The NSDAP destroyed many of his works, and he was forbidden to exhibit those that remained (he was, however, allowed to work, and he won the Villa Massimo prize in 1934). Two of his pieces were included in the 1937 exhibition *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art). Upon resettling in Berlin, he built his own studio in 1939; when it was destroyed by bombs in 1943, he lost much of his early work. After World War II he taught at Hamburg's *Landeskunstschule* and in 1947 finished a project begun by Barlach before 1933: six large figurines in the facade of the Katharinen Church in Lübeck. The work is judged his outstanding achievement. In 1952 he was awarded the *Pour le Mérite* (Peace Class).
REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; *NDB*, vol. 16; Neumann, *Bauhaus*; UCLA Art Galleries, *Gerhard Marcks*; Klaus Weber, *Keramik und Bauhaus*.

MARCUSE, HERBERT. *See* Frankfurt School.

MARETZKI, OSKAR (1881–?), politician; broke in 1924 with the German People's Party* (DVP) in a vain attempt to reorganize the National Liberal Party (NLP). He was born in Breslau. His studies resulted in a doctorate in law. In 1909 he entered the municipal civil service* and advanced in 1918 to *Bürgermeister* of Berlin-Lichtenberg. Representing the DVP, he was elected to the National Assembly* in 1919 and the Reichstag* in 1920. With Kurt von Lersner,* who shared his enmity toward Gustav Stresemann,* he sponsored an abortive campaign in 1924 to drop the Foreign Minister as Party chairman. When this failed, he attempted to reestablish the NLP. He soon switched to the DNVP and held a seat in the Prussian Landtag during 1925–1928. In 1937 he joined the NSDAP.

REFERENCES: Max Schwarz, *MdR*.

MARX, WILHELM (1863–1946), politician; chairman of the Center Party* (1922–1928) and Chancellor during the Republic's *goldene zwanziger Jahre* (the Golden Twenties). Born in Cologne to a parish school rector, he was a devout Catholic* throughout his life. After attending his father's school, he studied law and completed judicial examinations in 1888. He was appointed in 1894 to a district judgeship in Elberfeld and was serving as district court president (*Landgerichtspräsident*) in Limburg in 1921, the year he became chairman of his Party's Reichstag* faction. On 27 September 1921 he was appointed senate president of Berlin's *Kammergericht*.

Befriended as a student by Karl Trimborn—a Party leader during the late Kaiserreich—Marx was elected to the Prussian *Abgeordnetenhaus* in 1899 and retained his seat until 1921. During 1900–1902 he led the *Windthorstbund*, the Party's youth organization; he entered the Reichstag via special election in March 1910. Although he served as deputy chairman of the Party's Rhineland* branch in 1906–1919 (Trimborn was chairman), his court duties tended to hinder his political ambitions. But the deaths of Trimborn (1921) and Matthias Erzberger* thrust him into the Party leadership. An expert mediator, associated with neither of the Center's political wings, he was the ''man of the middle in the party of the middle.'' He supported both the fulfillment policy* of Joseph Wirth* and the passive resistance mobilized in 1923 against the Ruhr occupation.* His leverage was vital when Gustav Stresemann* formed his Great Coalition* in August 1923. When that unravelled in November 1923, President Ebert* turned to Marx, who, on 30 November, formed a minority cabinet. The Enabling Act* of 8 December 1923, operative until February 1924, gave him the power to implement the controversial currency reforms devised by Stresemann in mid-November. His government also enacted changes in criminal and civil court procedure, including the abolition of all-lay juries.

The first of Marx's four cabinets collapsed on 26 May 1924 over the Reichstag's refusal to extend the Enabling Act. After minor changes, he introduced a second cabinet on 3 June 1924. In both instances he profited from the expertise of Stresemann at the Foreign Office and Hans Luther* at the Finance Ministry—

the men who led the German team to the second London Conference* of July–August 1924. London generated the Dawes Plan,* thereby introducing some clarity to reparations.* But when the Dawes Plan provoked new Reichstag elections on 7 December 1924, Marx lost the basis on which to maintain his cabinet; he resigned on 15 December.

Marx served briefly in February–March 1925 as Prussian Prime Minister. On 18 March, after Ebert's death, his Party nominated him for President. Although he received only 4 million votes on the first ballot, he gained 13.7 million in the runoff as the representative of the Weimar Coalition.* But a so-called *Reichsblock*, a rightist coalition that persuaded Paul von Hindenburg* to run, gained the support of the DVP and the BVP; Hindenburg was elected with 14.6 million votes.

Marx almost retired to private life after the campaign; however, he accepted the Justice portfolio when Luther formed his second cabinet on 26 January 1926. When this government fell four months later, Hindenburg turned to Marx. Although his third cabinet secured German entry into the League of Nations, it collapsed on 17 December when Philipp Scheidemann* exposed the Reichswehr's* secret dealings with the Soviet Union.* After weeks of Party infighting, Marx introduced his fourth and final cabinet on 29 January 1927. Yielding to Hindenburg's request, he asked the DNVP for support. The resulting *Bürgerblock* included three Nationalists and received reluctant support from the Center; indeed, the Party's left wing, led by Wirth, openly opposed Marx. Yet the cabinet designed a major piece of social legislation: Heinrich Brauns,* Labor Minister since 1920, fashioned an unemployment insurance law in July 1927 that granted relief to any citizen who was able and willing to work but could find no job. However, Marx's fourth cabinet is infamous for the bill of Finance Minister Heinrich Köhler* that raised civil-service* salaries by 21–25 percent; the measure, which reversed the frugality initiated in 1923–1924, was impossible to sustain after 1929. Whereas discord over foreign policy weakened Marx's last cabinet, it was the uproar over the School Bill* that destroyed it in February 1928; under an emergency decree he continued as Chancellor until June.

When the elections of May 1928 brought the Center its smallest Reichstag faction since 1870, Marx decided to resign as Party chairman, effective 8 December 1928. He remained in the Reichstag until July 1932, but played only a passive role. In March 1933 he moved to Bonn. The most successful Center leader of the Weimar era, he was denied the pension due him as a former Chancellor in July 1933.

REFERENCES: Childers, ''Inflation''; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vols. 1–2; Hehl, *Wilhelm Marx*; *NDB*, vol. 16; Stehkämper ''Wilhelm Marx.''

MARXISM. *See* Communist Party of Germany *and* Social Democratic Party of Germany.

MASLOW, ARKADI. *See* Communist Party of Germany *and* Ruth Fischer.

MAX (MAXIMILIAN), PRINZ VON BADEN (1867–1929), Chancellor; introduced the Kaiserreich's short-lived experiment with parliamentary monarchy. He was born to Wilhelm von Baden in Baden-Baden. His father, descended from the house of Zähringen, was a Prussian general; his mother, a Leuchtenberg-Romanowsky, was a granddaughter of Tsar Nicholas I. In 1907, upon the death of Grossherzog Friedrich von Baden, he became heir to his childless cousin Friedrich II. Gaining a broadly humanistic education, plus a doctorate in jurisprudence, he cultivated intellectual and artistic interests and was a friend of the religious writer Johannes Müller. He was a Prussian officer and retired from the army as a major-general in 1911.

Upon the outbreak of war in 1914, ''Bademax,'' as his friends called him, was posted to the Fourteenth Army Corps, to which Baden's troops were subordinate. But beset with a weak constitution, he soon came home. In October 1914 he became honorary chairman of Baden's Red Cross. Viewing the position as more than honorific, he dedicated himself to prisoners of war, both within and outside of Germany. He used numerous international connections (Prince von Bülow dubbed him ''the ideal diplomat''), especially in Switzerland and with the YMCA, to advance his efforts. He was known for his dignity; the work earned him a degree of respect enjoyed by few Germans. But his esteem had an international, not a domestic, basis. Aloof from the official war policies of Germany, he was an unlikely candidate for Chancellor; indeed, he was little known in Germany. His selection was owed chiefly to Kurt Hahn, a military advisor at the Foreign Office. When Erich Ludendorff* suffered nervous collapse on 29 September 1918, Chancellor Georg von Hertling went to the Kaiser and recommended Max as his successor.

Not entirely to the liking of any party, Prinz Max became Chancellor on 3 October 1918 and led a country on the brink of revolutionary ferment. Yet his approximately five weeks in office were marked by two milestones: first, facing impending defeat, he negotiated a prearmistice agreement with Woodrow Wilson; second, because of the fragile domestic situation, he gained the Kaiser's consent for systemic changes leading to parliamentary monarchy. Both developments, part of a ''revolution from above,'' were deemed essential to the maintenance of Germany's monarchy.

Although Max's accomplishments addressed key concerns among the masses—peace negotiations were opened, the SPD entered a coalition government, and the constitution of 28 October removed most of the Kaiser's powers—further revolution was not averted. His lack of political instinct was largely to blame: with a prince as Chancellor and a general as War Minister, and with the prohibition of assembly still in effect, he should have energetically publicized his actions. But it was the Naval Command that triggered further change. While Max deliberated with the enemy, the admirals prepared a major operation against the British. When sailors unwilling to abide the admirals' plan revolted in Kiel on 4 November, the November Revolution* was under way. Within hours Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* assumed control of German cities. Doubting their

right to govern, the authorities simply dissolved. Revolt became revolution when it spread to Berlin* on 9 November, forced the Kaiser's abdication, and led a shaken Max to deliver his office to Friedrich Ebert.

After his resignation Max left Berlin and, with Hahn, founded *Schlossschule Salem*, a ''prep school'' near Lake Constance. Dedicated to the ideals of both men, Salem School sought to educate a new German elite conspicuous for self-control, honesty, and a cosmopolitanism that admitted the good in all human beings. Closed by the Nazis (Hahn was of Jewish ancestry), Salem was reopened in 1946.

REFERENCES: Bülow, *Memoirs*; Klaus Epstein, ''Wrong Man''; Golo Mann, *Reminiscences and Reflections*; Matthias and Morsey, *Regierung*; Maximilian, *Memoirs*; *NDB*, vol. 16.

MAYER, CARL. *See The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari and* Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau.

MEHRING, FRANZ. *See* Spartacus League.

MEHRING, WALTER (1896–1981), poet and lyricist; among the Weimar era's most celebrated cabaret* writers. He was born to a Jewish family in Berlin.* His father was an editor for *Ulk*, the satirical supplement of the *Berliner Tageblatt*; his mother was an opera singer. As his home was frequented by such artists as Heinrich Zille and Lyonel Feininger,* Mehring chose to defer university in 1914 and join the Expressionist* movement. He entered bohemian society, frequented *Cafe des Westens*, and published his first poetry in Herwarth Walden's* *Sturm*. While studying art history, he was drafted in December 1916; he was released early when the army despaired at his unreliability. Introduced to George Grosz,* he broke with the *Sturm* circle in favor of the Berlin Dada* movement (Grosz and Mehring staged a race between a sewing machine and a typewriter). Although he hoped to draw, he was soon writing political chansons for cabaret shows. His work was used by Max Reinhardt's* *Schall und Rauch*, Rosa Valetti's *Grossenwahn*, and Trude Hesterberg's *Wilde Bühne*. He was soon well known in Berlin; his irreverent lyrics—including iconoclastic jabs at militarism, the SPD, and the NSDAP—merged Berlin dialect with jazz rhythm. They were so offensive that proceedings were brought against him in 1920. Much of his witty and often-savage poetry is included in *Ketzerbrevier* (1921) and *Arche Noah SOS* (1931).

Mehring fused pacifism with a proclivity for anarchism. Residing in Paris during 1922–1928, he worked as a correspondent for *Die Weltbühne** in 1922–1924 and for Stefan Grossmann's *Tage-Buch** in 1925–1928. Following several short stories and translations, his satirical history of the press, *Paris in Brand* (Paris on fire) appeared in 1927. In 1928 he returned to Berlin and soon formed an association with Erwin Piscator.* His comedy *Der Kaufmann von Berlin* (The merchant of Berlin) produced by Piscator in 1929, generated a storm with its allegedly anti-Semitic portrayal of *Ostjuden** speculating on Germany's infla-

tion.* One of his best volumes of verse, *Und Euch zum Trotz* (To you in defiance), appeared in 1934.

Mehring fled Berlin on 27 February 1933. During 1934–1938, living primarily in Vienna, he wrote for the *Neue Tage-Buch* and satirized Nazi Germany in his 1935 novel *Müller*; the NSDAP revoked his citizenship the same year. When German troops marched into Austria,* he fled to Paris. With the actress Hertha Pauli (sister of Wolfgang Pauli*) and Ödön von Horváth, he lived in a small hotel in the Latin quarter. The outbreak of war brought internment as an alien. Taken to Paris in February 1940, he and Pauli escaped in June, but were recaptured by French police in Marseilles. With help from Varian Fry of the American Emergency Rescue Committee, he was released to emigrate to the United States in early 1941. He returned to Germany after the war.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Fry, *Surrender on Demand*; Hellberg, *Walter Mehring*; Mehring, *Lost Library*; *NDB*, vol. 16; Pauli, *Break of Time*.

MEIN KAMPF (My struggle). Part autobiography, part political theory, *Mein Kampf* was chiefly Hitler's* endeavor to outline his aspirations, or *Weltanschauung*, for Germany. ''I believe today,'' he wrote, ''that I am acting in the sense of the Almighty Creator: by warding off the Jews,* I am fighting for the Lord's work.'' Edited and typed during Hitler's 1924 imprisonment by Rudolf Hess,* the first volume was published in April 1925 by Max Amann's* Eher Verlag. A second volume, appearing in December 1926, was followed by a cheap revised edition in 1929. Total sales rose to 50,000 in 1930, 90,000 in 1932, and over 1 million in 1933. Even before Hitler achieved power, the royalties from *Mein Kampf* had brought him (and Amann) considerable wealth.

Although it is bombastic and crude, *Mein Kampf* sets forth Hitler's clever propaganda techniques and provides entry into the belief system that remained valid until Hitler lay dead. Central is the superiority of an Aryan race—pivotal to all that is valuable in civilization. But racial purity is threatened, Hitler argued, by a Jewish conspiracy to despoil the Aryans through cross-breeding. The book portrays France as a stronghold of Judaism and World War I as a Jewish scheme to destroy Aryan power. Bolshevism, democracy, Freemasonry, and socialism are lumped together as Jewish tricks to gain world domination. In response, *Mein Kampf* calls for the expulsion of Jews and a uniting of Germanic peoples into a single nation-state. Rather than looking abroad in the manner of prewar imperialists, *Mein Kampf* demands the conquest of Slavic lands to the east—a *Drang nach Osten*—with vassaldom for the *Untermenschen* (lesser humans) of Poland,* the Ukraine, and Russia. But first France must be crushed.

Few read *Mein Kampf* or took it seriously. Yet it provided a three-part blueprint for the Third Reich: unify the Greater German *Volk*; gain vast new *Lebensraum* in the East; and eliminate the Jews. Although Hitler's regime functioned in a strangely erratic fashion, it was faithful to the *Weltanschauung* expounded in *Mein Kampf*. In the second volume (not to be confused with

Hitlers Zweites Buch, published only in 1961), Hitler stated that he knew ''exactly where I am going and nothing is going to prevent me getting there.''
REFERENCES: Bracher, *German Dictatorship*; Haffner, *Meaning of Hitler*; Jäckel, *Hitler's World View*; Waite, *Psychopathic God*.

MEINECKE, FRIEDRICH (1862–1954), historian; a brilliant twentieth-century spokesman for German historicism. He was born to a Prussian official in the Altmark town of Salzwedel; his youth was steeped in conservative Protestantism. He was a student of history, philosophy, and German languages; his mentors included Wilhelm Dilthey, Gustav Droysen, Heinrich von Treitschke, and Karl Lamprecht. He took his doctorate in 1886 and gained appointment in April 1887 with the Prussian State Archives; a permanent archival position followed in 1892. He was befriended by the famous scholar Heinrich von Sybel, who soon appointed him to the editorial board of *Historische Zeitschrift* (*HZ*); Sybel then encouraged Meinecke to write a biography of Hermann von Boyen (published in two volumes, 1896/1899). With the deaths of Sybel and Treitschke, Meinecke became chief editor of *HZ* in 1896, a position he retained until 1935.

When Meinecke's first Boyen volume appeared in 1896, Berlin's faculty waived its customary *Habilitation* requirement and made him a *Privatdozent*. He was named *ordentlicher Professor* at Strassburg in 1901 and spent five years at Freiburg before returning to Berlin in 1914. While he was at Freiburg—''the happiest years of my life''—he published his well-known *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (Cosmopolitanism and the national state, 1908). He soon became a member of Berlin's Prussian Academy of Sciences; his closest colleagues included Hans Delbrück,* Otto Hintze,* and Ernst Troeltsch.*

Although Meinecke was a committed Rankean and thus enamored of political history, he was convinced of the import of intellectual history (*der Primat der Geistesgeschichte*). He viewed history as more than a bundle of facts, as a discipline with existential meaning for politics and society. Thus, although his research emphasized the evolution of German nationalism in the eighteenth century, he was equally admired for his work on the history of philosophy and the philosophy of history. But by synthesizing an empirical approach to history with a Hegelian metaphysics that gave authority to *raison d'état* (*Staatsräson*), he unwittingly lent his intellect to an immutable growth of state power.

Raised as a conservative monarchist, Meinecke was nonetheless drawn to the liberalism of Friedrich Naumann,* even supporting a 1912 electoral alliance of the National Liberals and the SPD. During World War I he quickly shifted from a nationalistic posture (a victorious peace including expansion of Germany's colonial empire) to a call in 1915 for a ''peace of understanding'' based on the status quo ante. Upon Germany's collapse he soon became a *Vernunftrepublikaner**; in an October 1918 letter to his wife, he wrote that ''to preserve the Reich and national unity, there is nothing left for us to do than to become democrats.'' A 1919 article, ''Nach der Revolution'' (After the revolution),

stressed his opposition to communism, while a 1930 article underscored an equivalent opposition to the radical Right. Memoranda from 1919 reveal a commitment to constitutional government (albeit an *Ersatzkaisertum*) and a belief in Germany's legal claim to the left bank of the Rhine. When Hitler* seized power, the seventy-year-old Meinecke rejected the Third Reich and established contact, without becoming actively involved, with those opposed to the regime. *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (The German catastrophe), published in 1946, sought to account for the roots of Nazi Germany. Although he retired in 1929, he remained active and in 1948 was named the first rector of the Free University of Berlin. On his ninetieth birthday Meinecke was awarded the *Pour le Mérite* (Peace Class), Germany's highest honor.

REFERENCES: Felix Gilbert, *History*; Masur, ''Friedrich Meinecke''; Pois, *Friedrich Meinecke*; Sterling, *Ethics*.

MEISSNER, OTTO (1880–1953), bureaucrat; served as State Secretary in the President's office from 1923 to 1945. Born in the town of Bischweiler (near Strassburg) to a German father and an Alsatian mother, he studied law before taking a civil-service* post in 1908 with the Alsatian railroad. During World War I he rose to captain and commanded a regiment in Rumania. Assigned in early 1918 to the Foreign Office, he was sent to Germany's legation in the Ukraine. In January 1919 he became *chargé d'affaires* in Kiev. When his superior, Rudolf Nadolny, was recalled in April to become Friedrich Ebert's* secretary, Meissner, esteemed by Nadolny, became his assistant. Nadolny then went to Angora in 1920 as German Ambassador.

The next quarter-century of Meissner's life is intriguing largely because he was *Staatssekretär* to Ebert, Hindenburg,* and Hitler.* He was a consummate pragmatist, and his ability to survive and wield influence at the highest levels—John Wheeler-Bennett cast him as a ''shadow-figure'' or ''*eminence grise*''—was exceptional in the 1920s and 1930s. After serving briefly on Ebert's lecture committee, he assumed Nadolny's role in April 1920. In 1923 he was reclassified as *Staatssekretär des Reichspräsidenten*. Lacking profound convictions (he did join the DDP in 1919), he helped interpret and define the presidency's constitutional powers. Twice, in 1925 and in 1934, his dismissal as an agent of Weimar's hated ''system'' seemed imminent; he survived as the ideal bureaucrat, possessed of vast knowledge and experience. Although Wheeler-Bennett's characterization of Meissner as Hindenburg's second Erich Ludendorff* is inflated, the old President certainly found him a valuable advisor and a pleasing companion (Meissner's family lived in the Presidential Palace during 1920–1939). Meissner, in turn, was determined to ease the old Field Marshal's burden and protect his rights.

Hindenburg's toleration of Gustav Stresemann's* foreign policy* rested largely on Meissner's counsel. But the latter's positive impact was offset by his damaging admonitions. By the end of Hermann Müller's* second term as Chancellor (1928–1930) and throughout the Brüning* era (1930–1932), he employed

an antidemocratic leverage on an increasingly feeble President. Acting as a conduit to Hindenburg, he also provided legal advice in support of Franz von Papen's* coup against the Prussian government of Otto Braun.*

Despite Meissner's early aversion to Hitler, his role in urging the latter's appointment in January 1933 was important. He then secured his position when, during 1933–1934, he ensured that Hindenburg was not privy to many of Hitler's abuses. Although he adapted to the new circumstances (as he had in 1919), he never joined the NSDAP. By his own testimony, he thwarted many of the Nazis' more heinous measures and was unaware of the mass murder of the Jews.* It is certain that his influence declined as the years progressed. Arrested by the Allies, he was acquitted of any crimes in 1949. While he was incarcerated, he wrote *Staatssekretär unter Ebert, Hindenburg, Hitler*; primarily a self-justification, it was published in 1950.

REFERENCES: Bosl, Franz, and Hofmann, *Biographisches Wörterbuch*; Bracher, *Auflösung*; Dorpalen, *Hindenburg*; *NDB*, vol. 16; Wheeler-Bennett, *Hindenburg*.

MEITNER, LISE (1878–1968), physicist; Albert Einstein* dubbed her ''the German Madame Curie.'' Born to a Jewish lawyer in Vienna, she was drawn to science as a child. Ignoring her father's counsel against following physics, she began studies in 1901 at Vienna's Institute for Theoretical Physics. Mentored by Ludwig Boltzmann, she became the second woman to receive a doctorate in science (1906) from the university. In 1907 she went to Berlin* to study under Max Planck.* She worked from 1908—when she converted to Protestantism—at the Chemical Institute of Emil Fischer and became Planck's assistant in 1912, both at the university and at the new Kaiser Wilhelm Institute (KWI) for Chemistry; two years later she declined an offer to teach in Prague. By this time she was engrossed in her thirty-year collaboration with the chemist Otto Hahn.*

Meitner, whose early curiosity was theoretical, found herself drawn increasingly to radioactive substances. Although war disrupted their collaboration (Meitner joined the Austrian forces as an X-ray technician), Meitner and Hahn fitfully continued inquiries leading to the discovery of protactinium in early 1918, the year she was appointed head of a new physics department at the KWI. She remained at the university as a lecturer and became the first woman to complete her *Habilitation* while playing a key role in a weekly physics colloquium comprised of Planck, Albert Einstein,* and Gustav Hertz.* Meanwhile, she continued her work with Hahn.

Meitner's important achievements in nuclear fission came after James Chadwick discovered the neutron in 1932. By the mid-1930s she and Hahn were isolating a series of isotopes generated by Enrico Fermi through neutron bombardment. Troubled by findings that could not be squared with prevailing theory, she failed to comprehend how close she was to formulating the concept of nuclear fission. Before she and Hahn completed their work, the March 1938 *Anschluss* nullified her Austrian citizenship and forced her to flee Germany. Already sixty years old, she accepted appointment with the Nobel Institute in

Stockholm (she had been nominated three times for a Nobel Prize). Working with her nephew, Otto Frisch, and maintaining a correspondence with Hahn, she eventually concluded that fission takes place, with the release of extraordinary energy, when the uranium nucleus is bombarded; it was her foremost contribution to science.

When Meitner was invited to join the American team that developed the atomic bomb, she refused; hoping that the project would fail, she had given up work on fission. In 1947 she retired from the Nobel Institute. Meitner was honored with the Max Planck Medal in 1949, the Otto Hahn Prize in 1954, and the Enrico Fermi Prize in 1966. In 1957 she received the *Pour le Mérite*, Germany's highest honor.

REFERENCES: Frisch, ''Lise Meitner''; Hermann, *New Physics*; Shea, *Otto Hahn*; Sime, *Lise Meitner*.

MELCHIOR, CARL (1871–1933), banker and financial expert; partner in the Hamburg banking firm of M. M. Warburg. Born in Hamburg, he established his reputation before World War I by founding the *Hamburg-Marokko Gesellschaft*, a firm that coordinated German industrial interests in Morocco. He was wounded in the war's opening days and thereafter reorganized Germany's unwieldy government purchasing apparatus, smoothing the way for the importation of crucial foodstuffs.

From 1918 Melchior steadily accumulated an impressive diplomatic record. During the Armistice* he participated in complex talks aimed at ending the Allied blockade.* Via these negotiations he became friends with John Maynard Keynes, his British counterpart. With banking partner Max Warburg,* he was a financial advisor at Versailles in April 1919; he was among those who resigned rather than become party to the treaty. Later in 1919 he declined offers to become Finance Minister in favor of returning to banking (he had refused the same office in 1918). But in 1925, before Germany joined the League of Nations, he became the first German to serve with the League's finance committee. In 1929 he sat with the delegation that negotiated revision of the Dawes Plan*; when the new Young Plan* established its Bank for International Settlements* (BIS), he was attached to the organization.

Melchior's most difficult assignment came in July 1931 when, with the collapse of a giant textile concern, a banking crisis was triggered by massive withdrawals from the Darmstadt National Bank (''Danatbank'' was among Germany's four largest depositories). Mediating between banking emissaries, the government of Heinrich Brüning,* and the Reichsbank, Melchior arbitrated a settlement guaranteeing Danatbank's deposits and salvaging Germany's financial structure. His concurrent talks with bankers at the 1931 London Conference* temporarily halted the withdrawal of foreign credits from Germany. When the BIS invoked its Special Advisory Committee at the London Conference to explore the option of converting a portion of Germany's short-term loans into long-term loans, Melchior was assigned to its membership. The committee pre-

sented a report (the Layton-Wiggin Report) skillfully describing the vicious circle of Allied war debts, reparations,* and indebtedness that had provoked Germany's emergency. Late in 1931 the BIS asked Melchior to serve once again on its Special Advisory Committee; this time its recommendations led to the Lausanne Conference,* another gathering at which Melchior participated.

Melchior's position with the largely moribund BIS was revoked soon after Hitler* seized power. His death in November 1933 saved him from witnessing the liquidation of the Warburg Bank.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Keynes, ''Dr. Melchior''; Werner Mosse, *German-Jewish Economic Élite*.

MEMEL. *See* Baltic Provinces.

MENDELSOHN, ERICH (1887–1953), architect; a leading exponent of functionalism. Born to a businessman of Russo-Polish heritage in Allenstein, East Prussia, he studied architecture during 1908–1912. He took his doctorate in 1912 and came under the influence of Expressionism* by attaching himself to Munich's *Blaue Reiter* group. He enlisted in 1915 and sketched his first visionary designs while serving in the army. Upon opening an office in Berlin,* he helped found the *Novembergruppe** in 1919 and organized an exhibition of his drawings. The first of his major buildings was a reinforced-concrete research laboratory in Potsdam: the Einstein Tower (completed in 1921), it is judged the best application of Expressionism to architecture. It also established Mendelsohn's career.

Utilizing a commission from the Mosse* publishing house, whose headquarters he had redesigned, Mendelsohn financed a 1924 research trip to the United States. *Amerika, Bilderbuch eines Architekten* (America: Picturebook of an architect), his 1926 publication in praise of the American metropolis, was one of the most successful architectural publications of the period. After a sojourn in the Soviet Union* he compiled a book of photographs that provided a comparative cross-section of design in the United States, Russia, and Europe. Of the several important modern architects of his era, he was the one who best combined elegance with strong construction. In 1924, with such luminaries as Walter Gropius,* Bruno Taut,* and Ludwig Mies,* he founded the *Ring*, an association of the Republic's leading modernist architects.

The high point of Mendelsohn's work came in 1926–1932. His several buildings included department stores for Salman Schocken* in Nuremberg, Stuttgart, and Chemnitz. In Berlin he designed the Woga Complex on Kurfürstendamm and the Columbushaus on Potsdamer Platz. Employing horizontal line, his personal style incorporated curved facades with ribbons of long windows.

Of Jewish ancestry, Mendelsohn typically received his commissions from Jewish firms. Threatened early in 1933 with arrest, he fled to London. During 1936–1941 he resided in Palestine, where his designs included numerous public buildings and the home of Chaim Weizmann, Zionist leader and first Israeli

President. He moved in 1941 to the United States, where his final years were devoted to designing Jewish community centers.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Eckardt, *Eric Mendelsohn*; Pehnt, *Expressionist Architecture*; Dennis Sharp, *Modern Architecture and Expressionism*.

MEYER, HANNES. *See* Bauhaus.

MIES VAN DER ROHE, LUDWIG, born Ludwig Mies (1886–1969), architect; deemed the best builder of his generation. Born to a master mason in Aachen, he added his mother's family name, ''van der Rohe,'' to his own when he began his career. Combining a rudimentary education with his father's training in building materials, he assisted on construction projects and thereafter counseled that ''education must begin with the practical side of life.'' At fifteen he attached himself to some architects in Aachen and in 1905 took an apprenticeship with Berlin's* Bruno Paul, a furniture designer influenced by *Jugendstil*. When Peter Behrens* hired him in 1908, he polished his education under Germany's foremost modern architect. While Miles was lured by his employer's monumental, neoclassical style, he was especially inspired by Behren's ideas on industrial design. Although Behrens assigned him to supervise one of his better-known projects—the German embassy in St. Petersburg—Mies opened his own Berlin office in 1912. Before World War I he designed a palatial home near The Hague in Holland and several neoclassical villas around Berlin. As an enlisted man, he spent the war building bridges and roads in the Balkans.

At war's end Mies returned to Berlin and joined the *Novembergruppe*.* Leading its architectural section, he arranged exhibits of advanced architectural concepts that included his own skyscraper ideas. He discarded neoclassicism and was soon designing the glass, steel, and reinforced-concrete structures for which he became famous. His shift to towers of glass laid the basis for the skyscrapers built over the next several decades. What distinguished his work from that of contemporaries was an ability to produce giant architectural designs of overwhelming precision and simplicity. Long before it became a motto, he coined his saying ''less is more.'' Yet because of Germany's precarious economic situation, he was unable to design a single important building by the mid-1920s.

From 1925 Mies joined several well-publicized projects, including brick villas and low-cost housing projects. His 1926 monument to Karl Liebknecht* and Rosa Luxemburg* triggered appointment as vice president of the German *Werkbund*, an organization devoted since 1907 to integrating art and industry. As director of the *Werkbund*'s 1927 Stuttgart exhibition, he oversaw the Weissenhof development, a project that included several blocks of buildings by Mies, Behrens, Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius,* J.J.P. Oud (a leading Dutch architect), Bruno Taut,* and Victor Bourgeois (a Belgian modernist). In contrast to his colleagues, Mies was less focused on social questions than on aesthetic issues. His Stuttgart success led the Republic to hire him to design the German pavilion

for the 1929 International Exposition at Barcelona. A glass-tower project, the pavilion was praised for its purity and perfection; many still esteem it the most beautiful modern building ever constructed. In 1930 he became director of the Bauhaus.* He found a school plagued by chaos; his iron-handed authority soon reestablished a respected *Kunstgewerbeschule*. Threatened in 1932 by a growing NSDAP presence, he moved the school from Dessau to Berlin. After Hitler's* seizure of power, Mies struggled to maintain the Bauhaus, but finally closed it in July 1933.

Mies worked in Berlin until 1937, designing homes and projects that rarely went beyond his remarkable sketches; his flat-roofed buildings were anathema to the Nazis. In 1937 he went to Chicago to lead the Illinois Institute of Technology's architecture school (then the Armour Institute). Remaining until his death, he trained many of America's best architects. Despite his time with the *Novembergruppe*, he was quite unpolitical. After World War II, when he was told that an architect of some repute had remained in Nazi Germany, Mies retorted that he could give a damn about the man's politics; what concerned him was the fact that he was a rotten architect!

REFERENCES: Blake, *Master Builders*; Blaser, *Mies van der Rohe*; Drexler, *Ludwig Mies van der Rohe*; Schulze, *Mies van der Rohe*.

MILITARY ASSOCIATIONS. *See* Freikorps.

MITTELSTAND (middle estate); an elusive medieval term, sometimes inadequately translated ''middle class,'' that requires definition if one is to appreciate much of the social and intellectual complexity that served as a backdrop to the Republic. A diverse combination of modern and preindustrial elements, the *Mittelstand* lumped together artisans and shopkeepers, small- and medium-sized farmers,* lower-level white-collar employees in industry and government, and professionals—that is, doctors, lawyers, professors, and high-grade bureaucrats. By 1900 the term, which implies the preindustrial division of society into corporate estates (*Stände*), depicted less an economic or social relationship than fear of a future marked by capital concentration on the one hand and worker solidarity on the other; members of this diverse aggregate believed themselves faced with economic irrelevance and social eclipse.

The distress perceived by the *Mittelstand* had grown acute by the 1920s. Unlike big agriculture, big business, and big labor—all organized for political and economic power—the disparate *Mittelstand* was powerless to form cartels and was consistently hardest hit by each phase of the adversity that plagued the Weimar era. Its acutely patriotic membership lost large chunks of its savings during the war by investing in bonds that the Republic could not honor; thereafter many artisans, shopkeepers, and professionals lost their remaining savings through the inflation*; next, small farmers were driven into debt by the government's tight monetary policies while scores of bureaucrats and other white-collar employees were forced from their jobs by the rationalization that

helped end the inflation; finally, during the depression* many throughout the entire *Mittelstand* spectrum faced bankruptcy and unemployment. Thus at some stage in the Weimar era every segment of the *Mittelstand* required state aid to survive. Yet successive governments were remarkably indifferent to these crises. When aid was not forthcoming—indeed, draconian measures further weakened the socioeconomic position of the middle classes—the *Mittelstand* defected in large numbers from Germany's middle-class parties (e.g., the DDP and the DVP), going first to single-issue parties and finally to the NSDAP.

Mittelstand members rarely found comfort in the self-interested ideology that underpinned either organized labor or big business. Rejecting ''proletarianization'' and feeling estranged from both big agriculture and industrial management, many disdained the notion that society was nothing more than a composite of economic groupings in which they were destined to disappear. As only the NSDAP seemed to speak to this conviction, the *Mittelstand* served as the primary social basis for Hitler's* success.

REFERENCES: Bowen, *German Theories of the Corporative State*; Fritzsche, *Rehearsals for Fascism*; Gerschenkron, *Bread and Democracy*; Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*; Lebovics, *Social Conservatism*.

MOELLENDORFF, WICHARD VON (1881–1937), engineer and political economist; worked to restructure the German economy along corporatist lines. The son of a Prussian aristocrat and consul, he was born in Hong Kong while his father was on assignment. He studied mechanical engineering at Berlin's* *Technische Hochschule* and then worked during 1906–1914 in the metals division of German General Electric (AEG), where he became an associate of Walther Rathenau.* It was during this period that he evolved his ideas for a radical restructuring of industry. Early in the war Rathenau invited him to join the new *Kriegsrohstoffabteilung* (War Materials Department or KRA); the idea for the KRA, which was intended to centralize control of raw materials, originated with Moellendorff. The KRA saved Germany during the first year of the war. Moellendorff served thereafter as an economics expert in the War Office and devised the framework for the Hindenburg Program, an effort at centralized planning that he later repudiated. His economic ideas, which appeared in 1916 in *Deutsche Gemeinwirtschaft* (German social economy), were so original that in 1918 he was offered a full professorship at Hanover's *Technische Hochschule*.

Moellendorff's controlled economy, blending Prussian authoritarianism and socialism in a society reorganized on semicorporatist lines, aimed at a pyramid-style economic structure crowned by a National Economic Council.* Mirroring ideas on the Right of the SPD, he became a director in the Economics Office (renamed ''Ministry'' in February 1919) in December 1918. Serving with Economics Minister Rudolf Wissell,* he resigned in disgust in July 1919 when his plans were rejected by the new cabinet of Gustav Bauer*; thereafter he expressed only contempt for the Republic. While his ideas were anathema to most of the business community, leaders in the metal and chemical industries embraced him.

A member of the *Juni-Klub* (*see Herrenklub*), he served during 1923–1937 as president of the Material Testing Office (*Materialprüfungsamt*) and sat on the supervisory board of IG Farben.* From 1926 he worked for the League of Nations and was involved in 1932 with several economists associated with Economics Minister Hermann Warmbold,* who sought to spur recovery from the depression* by developing plans for countercyclical monetary policies.

Although Moellendorff was convinced that parliamentary democracy and free-market capitalism were antiquated, he rebuffed the NSDAP. Commenting later on Germany's Nazi leaders, he equated himself with a trained surgeon forced to watch butchers demanding the right to perform surgery.

REFERENCES: Barclay, ''A Prussian Socialism?''; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Klaus Braun, *Konservatismus und Gemeinwirtschaft*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Hayes, *Industry and Ideology*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism.*

MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK, ARTHUR (1876–1925), publicist; an ideological precursor of National Socialism. He was born to a prosperous home in Solingen; his father (Moeller) was a royal architectural advisor, while his mother (van den Bruck) was Spanish and Dutch by descent. Expelled from Gymnasium and thus barred from university, he was disowned by his family (yet he inherited a small fortune). He was thereafter a determined student of history and art and a cultural opponent of the Kaiserreich. Unpolitical, but passionate about German culture, he led a bohemian existence in the years before 1914, traveling widely and devoting considerable time to editing and translating modern literature. During 1904–1910 he wrote an eight-volume history, *Die Deutschen*; however, his focus was a twenty-two-volume edition of Dostoyevsky's collected writings, translated between 1905 and 1914. The Russian's attack on Western rationalism appealed to Moeller.

World War I politicized Moeller. Aged thirty-eight when war erupted, he volunteered for the army in 1916 and served briefly on the Eastern Front (in 1902 he had eluded the army by moving to Paris, deserting a pregnant wife in the process). Assigned to the army's propaganda department, he was given free rein to write, albeit with a twist. His 1916 *Der preussische Stil* (The Prussian style), while theoretically treating architecture, was a tract in praise of Prussian austerity and obedience.

From 1916 Moeller wrote incessantly on political theory. Two pivotal works, the article ''Das Recht der jungen Völker'' (The right of young peoples) in November 1918 and *Das dritte Reich* (The Third Reich) in 1923, underscored his rejection of Western liberalism and his espousal of a mixture of Prussian conservatism and an ill-defined socialism—a relationship advanced also by Oswald Spengler.* What Germany needed was ''a third way'' between Western liberalism and the Bolshevism of Russia. Although he argued that Germany commanded a key position in central Europe, its orientation should be toward the East (his thought was crucial to the curious movement called National Bol-

shevism*). Vague on how his vision might be achieved, he was not averse to suggesting that there was power in contradiction.

With Spengler, Moeller is deemed the key force behind Germany's neoconservative movement. After the war he published *Gewissen* (Conscience), a Berlin* journal in which he eloquently critiqued the Weimar system. When Germany signed the Versailles Treaty,* he helped found a neoconservative group, the *Juni-Klub* (*see Herrenklub*). His prolific writings championed a ''conservative revolution'' that blended nationalism, anti-Marxism, antiliberalism, and corporative socialism. Late in 1924 he suffered a severe breakdown; a few months later he committed suicide. Although his ideas found an echo in Hitler's* movement, the Nazis later distanced themselves from an ideology not grounded in racist principle.

REFERENCES: Pulzer, *Rise of Political Anti-Semitism*; Fritz Stern, *Politics of Cultural Despair*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism.*

MOHOLY-NAGY, LÁSZLÓ (1895–1946), painter and designer; championed Russian Constructivism at the Bauhaus.* Born in Bácsborsod, Hungary, he was studying law at Budapest when World War I brought an officer's commission. Severely wounded in 1917, he became enamored of Expressionism* and the Russian avant-garde while convalescing and thereafter forsook a legal career in favor of painting. With several social-revolutionary artists centered on the Budapest periodical *Ma* (Today), he gained immediate respect with his first exhibition in 1918.

Moholy left Hungary when its Soviet regime collapsed. Settling in Berlin* in 1921, he championed Russian culture (he was indebted to Vladimir Tatlin) and signed the Constructivist manifesto opposing individualism while favoring ''Elementarist Art.'' He participated in a 1922 Constructivist Congress in Weimar and worked until 1923 as both writer and artist for several journals (including *De Stijl* and *Cahiers d'art*). In 1922 Herwarth Walden* sponsored his first Berlin exhibition. Intrigued by Moholy's work, Walter Gropius* invited him to the Bauhaus. For five years (1923–1928) he coedited the school's publications, directed its metal workshop, and, when Johannes Itten* departed, taught its preparatory course. When the Bauhaus relocated to Dessau in 1925, he helped design its new facilities. While continuing his artistic experiments, Moholy reformed the school's instructional methods. His publication *Kunst und Technik—eine Einheit* (Art and technology: A unity) reflects his Bauhaus philosophy.

Local politics forced Moholy's move to Berlin. While he was extending his ideas to film* and typography, he participated in several exhibitions. A successful stage designer—he worked for the Kroll Opera and Erwin Piscator*—he began adding aluminum and synthetic materials to his painting. His lengthy fixation on a *Licht-Raum-Modulator* (light display machine), an early kinetic-energy design, was consummated with his film *Lichtspiel Schwarz-Weiss-Grau* (light display, black and white and gray) and the object's 1930 exhibition in

Paris. In 1934 he left Germany and, after working in industrial design in Holland and England, moved to the United States in 1937. He was named president of the Institute of Design at the Illinois Institute of Technology. An applicant in 1945 for American citizenship, he came under suspicion for his revolutionary activities in Budapest. In 1946, just before dying of leukemia, he published *Vision in Motion*.

REFERENCES: Kostelanetz, *Moholy-Nagy*; Moholy-Nagy, *Moholy-Nagy*; Passuth, *Moholy-Nagy*.

MOLDENHAUER, PAUL (1876–1946), industrial leader and politician; served as Economics and Finance Minister in the last cabinet of Hermann Müller.* Born to a middle-class family in Cologne, he studied political science before taking a doctorate in law in 1899. After he wrote his *Habilitation* in 1901 at Cologne's *Handelshochschule*, he joined the institution's faculty. In 1920 he moved to the University of Cologne. Wartime service as an officer stimulated a political interest that led him to the DVP at war's end. He represented the DVP's right wing in Prussia's* assembly during 1919–1921 and held a Reichstag* mandate during 1920–1932. He was a member of IG Farben's* supervisory board and was petitioned by the chemical industry in 1923 to serve on the Reichstag's so-called Kalle Committee; named for DVP deputy Wilhelm Kalle, it promoted Gustav Stresemann's* foreign policy.* Moldenhauer's later proposal for an indigenous directory to govern the Rhineland* was rejected in both Berlin* and Paris.

Due to Stresemann's death in October 1929, Moldenhauer became Economics Minister when Julius Curtius* assumed the Foreign Office; two months later he added the Finance portfolio, which permitted him to represent fiscal policy at the Hague Conference* of January 1930. In March 1930, during the final days of Müller's government, he proposed a tax on all adult citizens in an effort to meet unemployment insurance costs in the deepening depression.* Although the DVP's industrial wing induced him to drop his proposal (with the consequent collapse of Müller's government), the steadily deteriorating crisis led him to reintroduce it in June 1930 as Heinrich Brüning's* Finance Minister. When the DVP repudiated the proposal, Moldenhauer resigned; he had served Brüning for three months.

Moldenhauer opposed efforts to unite the DVP with the DDP. Antisocialist and privately anti-Semitic,* he briefly favored the NSDAP in early 1932 due to his hatred of the DNVP, ''the eternal men of yesterday.'' After defeat on 5 March 1933 in his final run for the Reichstag, he advised the DVP to disband. He then accepted appointment in July to the World Disarmament Conference.* During 1931–1943 he was an honorary professor at both Berlin's *Technische Hochschule* and the University of Berlin. After World War II he adjusted employee pension accounts upon the liquidation of IG Farben.

REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Hayes, *Industry and Ideology*; James, *Reichsbank*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Taddey, *Lexikon*.

MONARCHISM. Writing in 1928 about the November Revolution,* August Winnig* stated that ''when the Republic took the place of the Monarchy, nobody opposed the Republic in order to die for the Monarchy'' (Von Klemperer). Despite a mythology regarding the strength of monarchism during the Republic, there were few occasions, outside Bavaria,* when officials needed to fear an attempted restoration. This weakness is surprising given the widespread attachment to the Hohenzollerns—even within the SPD—that preceded the end of the war. But defeat, revolution, and inflation* conspired to undermine monarchism and other traditional institutions (e.g., organized religion, family, and aristocracy). Before the war the key date in Germany's social calendar had been 27 January, the Kaiser's birthday, but the fiftieth-anniversary celebrations in commemoration of Sedan in September 1920 and the founding of the Second Reich in January 1921 precluded reference to the Hohenzollerns. Bismarck's birthday attracted more attention than Wilhelm's.

Aside from splinter groups, only the DNVP was closely identified with monarchism. Yet plots aimed at restoration, often hatched beyond Germany's borders, confronted insoluble dilemmas within the DNVP. What form of monarchy should be restored? Should all of Germany's more than twenty royal houses be restored? Tactical and ideological disunity invariably undermined the plots. As the 1920s wore on, it became clear that the DNVP gave only lip service to the cause; its fanfare consistently embraced nationalist tradition above an overdrawn sentimentality for the Kaiser. Siegfried von Kardorff,* among the Party's more moderate figures, claimed in a letter to Kuno von Westarp* that the Kaiser's loss of legitimacy was due to his family's ''unusually ignominious'' collapse. Yet even in Bavaria, where monarchists generally delighted in the ruin of the Protestant* Hohenzollerns, those who favored restoration of the Wittelsbachs collapsed in disarray during the crisis year of 1923. From 1924 hard-core monarchists, more attached to nationalism than legitimism, drifted toward fascism, while moderate monarchists accommodated themselves to the Republic. Ultimately, nothing undermined monarchism more than Hindenburg's* election as President.

Peter Fritzsche has argued that the ''deficiencies of monarchism did not compromise the past''; instead, the past was reworked to fit postwar conservatism. Monarchism's eclipse in Germany's tradition-bound society left a void and generated a new conservatism whose philosophic proponents included Oswald Spengler,* Arthur Moeller* van den Bruck, Edgar Jung,* and Ernst Jünger.* Disenchanted with hereditary monarchy, such neoconservatives championed a revolution from the Right that repudiated parliamentary democracy while embracing a non-Marxist ''national socialism'' founded on a new aristocracy of talent and charisma. Leading the new Germany would be an ersatz monarch, a necessary great man who served as *Führer*.

REFERENCES: Fritzsche, *Rehearsals for Fascism*; Garnett, *Lion, Eagle, and Swastika*; Hertzman, *DNVP*; Walter Kaufmann, *Monarchism*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

MOSSE, RUDOLF (1843–1920), publisher; founder of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, one of the Weimar era's premier newspapers.* One of fourteen children, he was born in Grätz, southwest of Posen, to a cultured and modestly prosperous Jewish family doctor. He left school at fifteen, apprenticed with a bookseller, and then followed two brothers to Berlin.* In 1865, upon his father's death, the entire Mosse family moved to Berlin. Meanwhile, Rudolf joined the Leipzig publishing firm of Robert Apitsch, where in 1866 he induced the owner to include an advertising section in his newspaper. The concept was so successful that he went to Berlin to form his own advertising agency, the *Zeitungs-Annoncen Expedition*, in 1867.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* was founded in 1871. A commercial as opposed to a political venture, *BT* only slowly reflected Mosse's progressive leanings, and then only after the 1881 addition of Artur Levysohn as editor. In 1889 Mosse launched the popular *Berliner Morgenzeitung*; he added the *Berliner Volkszeitung* in 1904. Embedded in his liberal politics was support for the free-trade imperialism of the 1880s and 1890s. But when Germany's colonial policy assumed an anti-British slant, he withdraw his support. Under Theodor Wolff,* Mosse's cousin and the paper's brilliant editor from 1906, *BT* evolved into one of Germany's leading liberal papers. Advocating free trade, political reform, and a balanced foreign policy, the paper was increasingly anathema to nationalists who favored a vigorous, naval-based expansionism. Paul Reusch,* managing director of the *Gutehoffnungshütte* steel concern, recorded his fear in a 1913 letter that Mosse might extend his influence by acquiring the troubled publishing empire of August Scherl.

Although Mosse was a demanding owner, he rarely interfered with the contents of his papers. Retaining his faith—he belonged to a reformed congregation—he rejected Zionism and despised baptized Jews.* In 1913 he was awarded an honorary doctorate at Heidelberg, and 302 individuals—including Walther Rathenau* and Oscar Tietz*—contributed to a special volume in celebration of his seventieth birthday. (While he accepted civic dignities, he declined the honor of ennoblement from the Kaiser.) During the war *BT*, which boasted a circulation of a quarter of a million, opposed annexationist policies and censured the declaration of submarine warfare. Occasionally banned, *BT* never wavered in its ideals. When the war was lost, its boardroom was used to found the new DDP. Thereafter, the newspaper was a principal support of the Republic.

Mosse passed most of the burden of his publishing empire to his son-in-law, Hans Lachmann-Mosse, who became principal business partner in 1910. Horrified by the November Revolution*—the Spartacists* used the Mosse villa as their headquarters in January 1919—he was unable to adapt to Germany's changed circumstances. By the end of his life, with his well-appointed palace on Leipziger Platz and a combined fortune (including extensive real estate) in excess of 45 million marks, he was among the wealthiest men in Prussia.*

Lachmann-Mosse was, meanwhile, a poor businessman. Bad investments led the firm into a financial morass that deepened with the depression.* Moreover,

bitter disputes with Wolff, who complained of the owner's want of political conviction, spawned tension in *BT*'s offices. By January 1933 the firm had an 8.8-million-mark debt, and influential writers had been fired by the owner. Living in Paris, Lachmann-Mosse released the family's shares in the firm in 1934. Joseph Goebbels* then purchased the Mosse Verlag from creditors.

REFERENCES: Eksteins, *Limits of Reason*; Werner Mosse, *German-Jewish Economic Élite* and ''Rudolf Mosse''; Runge and Stelbrink, *George Mosse*.

MÜHSAM, ERICH (1878–1934), revolutionary, anarchist, and writer; a ''communist anarchist'' committed to ''Struggle, Revolution, Equality, Freedom.'' Born in Berlin* to a pharmacist, he was attracted to socialism while in Gymnasium; indeed, ''socialist activities'' brought his expulsion. After apprenticing as a pharmacist, he began freelancing in 1901 and joined a bohemian group centered on the journal *Neue Gemeinschaft*. In the next decade he came under Frank Wedekind's influence and formed a pivotal friendship with Gustav Landauer.* Moving to Munich in 1909, he edited the periodical *Kain* and wrote satire and criticism for *Simplizissimus* and *Fackel*. But his socialism was increasingly tempered by a rebellious spirit; not only did he oppose militarism and capitalism, but his ideal world did not accommodate either the state or conventional morals.

Confined to Bavaria's Traunstein fortress for opposing World War I, Mühsam was active in 1918–1919 in Kurt Eisner's* Bavarian Revolution. Working with Landauer and Ernst Toller,* he soon turned against Eisner and was a leader in Munich's Workers' Council.* But Mühsam was motivated more by pacifism than by revolutionary Marxism. In March 1919 he became part of the executive that provided the framework for Munich's short-lived *Räterepublik*. Sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment in May 1919, he was pardoned in 1924. During incarceration he wrote several revolutionary songs, an account of the Bavarian Revolution published as *Von Eisner bis Leviné* (From Eisner to Leviné, 1929), and the play *Judas*. Once he was amnestied, he worked on behalf of prisoners and championed what he termed Communist anarchism. He edited the periodical *Fanal* in which his own writings often censured the KPD. From 1926 he increasingly used *Fanal* to call for a united front* of all antifascist constituencies.

Mühsam's politics were unconventional. Although he worked with Rosa Luxemburg,* he was rigorously independent and expressed qualified sympathy after 1930 for Otto Strasser.* Eugen Leviné,* who removed him from the central committee of Bavaria's* KPD, labeled him an anarchist; it remains the best description. On the night of the Reichstag fire (27 February 1933), he was arrested and sent to Oranienburg. After a severe beating, he died on 11 July 1934. His widow, who fled to the Soviet Union,* was deported to Siberia as a spy.

REFERENCES: Bosl, Franz, and Hofmann, *Biographisches Wörterbuch*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*.

MÜLLER, HERMANN (1876–1931), politician; led the Republic's long-lived Great Coalition.* He was born in Mannheim to a middle-class home; his father was a factory director. He studied business and then clerked for commercial firms in Frankfurt and Breslau. In 1893 he joined the SPD; he became editor in 1899 of the *Görlitzer Volkszeitung* and served on the Görlitz city council in 1903–1906. He relocated to Berlin* in 1906 to join the SPD's *Parteivorstand* and served in the Party's Press and Foreign Relations offices. A Party moderate, he reported from Paris when war erupted the considerable support among French workers in favor of war credits; thereafter he had no qualms over supporting SPD policy.

Müller entered the Reichstag* in 1916. During the revolution he represented the SPD on the Berlin executive of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.* He was elected to the National Assembly* and remained in the Reichstag from June 1920 until his death, serving as faction leader during 1920–1928. Clever and influential, he became Foreign Minister in June 1919 and, with Transportation Minister Johannes Bell of the Center Party,* assumed the burden of signing the Versailles Treaty.* As Chancellor during March–June 1920, he led the last Weimar Coalition.* A pragmatist, he believed that socialism was attainable only through compromise with the liberal, middle-class parties. But his reputation was damaged after the Kapp* Putsch when he was irresolute when faced with Communist insurrection in the Ruhr. Atypically, it was Müller who entered the motion of no confidence in November 1923 that toppled the cabinet of Gustav Stresemann.*

Müller returned as Chancellor in the Great Coalition of June 1928 to March 1930. Buffeted by several frustrating episodes, his government was perpetually spurned by at least one member of his broad-based coalition, including the SPD (Otto Wels,* cochairman of the faction, remarked in January 1930 that the Party and the government should not be confused with one another). The controversial issues that rocked his government included construction of a pocket battleship (permitted by Versailles), reform of reparations* via the Young Plan,* and funding of unemployment insurance in the wake of the depression.* Ultimately, it was the inability of the SPD and the DVP to compromise on a means to finance unemployment insurance that ruined his coalition. Some time before he resigned, Müller (already quite ill) accurately predicted that his cabinet's collapse would end parliamentary democracy in Germany. Hindenburg,* who otherwise loathed the SPD, later claimed that Müller was the best of his Chancellors.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Breitman, *German Socialism*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Maurer, *Reichsfinanzen*.

MÜLLER, RICHARD (1880–?), revolutionary leader; founder of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards.* Born in the Thuringian town of Weira, he apprenticed as a lathe operator and, upon settling in Berlin,* slowly acquired leadership in the metalworkers union. Head of the lathe operators' division, he publicly opposed the Kaiser's *Burgfrieden* (civic truce) upon the outbreak of World War I.

Müller commanded enormous authority with fellow workers. By late 1914 he was organizing shop-floor functionaries into the covert groupings eventually known as the Shop Stewards. When Karl Liebknecht* was imprisoned in 1916 for arousing the May Day strike, Müller fixed upon the need for revolution. The authorities observed him and inducted him into the army before a planned strike in April 1917. Soon released as unfit, he helped plan a strike for January 1918. When he was conscripted again in February 1918, leadership of the Stewards passed to Emil Barth.* In October 1918 he was discharged to campaign for the Reichstag* as an Independent Socialist. Elected cochairman in November of Berlin's twenty-four-member executive, Müller resumed his Shop Stewards role when Barth's authority was revoked in December by fellow workers. With Ernst Däumig,* he argued that the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* should govern the Council of People's Representatives.* He condemned the Central Working Association* as a betrayal of the revolution and opposed election of a National Assembly* (a spirit not shared by all Stewards). At December's Congress* of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils he vainly pleaded for formation of a *Räterepublik*.

Despite his radicalism, Müller was a cautious leader who, fearing precipitous action, often avoided collaboration with other radical groups. Although he looked to the Spartacists for support, he refused to join the new KPD. On 5 January 1919 he begged Liebknecht not to proceed with the Spartacist Uprising,* claiming that preparations were inadequate (most Stewards supported the uprising). Liebknecht rebuked him for sounding like ''an envoy of *Vorwärts**'' (the SPD newspaper*). When the revolt was suppressed and Liebknecht was murdered, Müller claimed that the event had broken the revolutionary movement. Remaining with the USPD, he joined the Party's left wing when it broke away and entered the KPD late in 1920. An ally of Paul Levi,* he struggled to dissuade Berlin's metalworkers in 1921 from supporting a general strike (the ''March Action'') called by the Comintern. The KPD expelled him in 1922.

REFERENCES: Mishark, *Road to Revolution*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Richard Müller, *Vom Kaiserreich zur Republik*; Ryder, *German Revolution of 1918*; Waldman, *Spartacist Uprising*.

MUNICH. *See* Bavaria.

MUNICH PUTSCH. *See* Beerhall Putsch.

MÜNZENBERG, WILHELM "WILLI" (1889–1940), publicist; organized and led Germany's most powerful Communist propaganda empire. Born in Erfurt, he passed a childhood marked by paternal brutality and poverty. In 1904, after a failed apprenticeship, he took a job in an Erfurt shoe factory. Joining a socialist youth club in 1906, he soon led the group and affiliated it in 1907 with Karl Liebknecht's* Free Youth Union. After a brief imprisonment for trying to organize Erfurt's apprentices, he traversed Germany as an itinerant worker. Set-

tling in Zürich in 1910 as a pharmacist's assistant, he avoided World War I and through his youth work formed a friendship with Lenin. A participant in the 1917 International Socialist Congress at Stockholm, he joined the Spartacus League* upon returning to Germany. He settled in Berlin* and helped form the Communist Youth International, but at Lenin's urging he abandoned youth work to organize the *Internationale Arbeiterhilfe* (International Workers' Aid, IAH) in August 1921. Elected in 1923 to the KPD's *Zentrale*, he represented the Party during 1924–1933 in the Reichstag.*

Münzenberg, often praised for his amiable disposition, directed so many Communist concerns—including publishing houses, newspapers,* and magazines—that people labeled him the ''Red Press Tsar.'' The IAH, founded initially to organize international relief for famine-stricken regions of the Soviet Union,* enlisted the aid of such personalities as Maximilian Harden,* Käthe Kollwitz,* Albert Einstein,* George Grosz,* and the pacifist author Leonard Frank. Impressive in its relief efforts, IAH mutated into an international propaganda network. Münzenberg reported that by 1930 the IAH sponsored over 5,000 activities and had a membership of more than 100,000 people organized into 930 local chapters. His key publications, printed by the *Neue deutsche Verlag* (managed by his wife, Babette Gross), were *Mahnruf* (a bimonthly), *Der rote Aufbau* (a monthly theoretical journal), and the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* (*AIZ*, a weekly with half a million readers). Münzenberg organized a League against Imperialism in 1927 and a League against War and Fascism in 1932. While he was faithful to Moscow's program, he retained an ambiguous editorial policy that set him apart from the austere rigidity of the KPD and helped him enlist collaborators not sympathetic to communism.

After the Reichstag fire (February 1933), Münzenberg emigrated to Paris and established an antifascist propaganda enterprise. During exile he staged a countertrial that discredited Germany's Reichstag-fire trial and indicted the NSDAP (incorrectly) for setting the fire. A trip to Moscow in 1936, amidst Stalin's show trials, led to his disillusionment. When Russia signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in August 1939, he accused Stalin of treason. Briefly interned by the French in May 1940, he fled to southern France. In October 1940 his body was found inexplicably hanging from a tree.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Babette Gross, *Willi Münzenberg*; Gruber, ''Willi Münzenberg's German Communist Propaganda Empire''; Koestler, *Invisible Writing*.

MURDER. *See* Assassination.

MURNAU, FRIEDRICH WILHELM, born Plumpe (1888–1931), film* director; with Fritz Lang,* Germany's finest maker of silent films. He was born to prosperous circumstances in Bielefeld; his father, owner of a thriving textile factory, moved the family to a country estate near Kassel when Murnau was seven. When business failure took the family's fortune, the estate was sold and

the family moved to Kassel. With sibling help, Murnau constructed a chamber theater* that staged Sunday performances. After Gymnasium he studied at Heidelberg. While acting locally, he was seen by Max Reinhardt,* who invited him to join his *Deutsches Theater* in Berlin.* Welcoming the offer, Murnau attempted to maintain his studies, but adopted the name Murnau in 1909 to preclude his father discovering what he was doing. The ploy failed when a family friend saw him on stage; disinherited, he relied thereafter upon his maternal grandfather for funding. After university he joined Reinhardt as an assistant director. Serving during the war in the flying corps, he was forced by a fog to land in Switzerland and in 1917 was interned for the war's duration. He was allowed, however, to direct stage productions while he compiled propaganda films for the German embassy in Bern. The propaganda work enticed Murnau to film.

After the war Murnau returned to Berlin and, with actor Conrad Veidt,* formed the *Murnau-Veidt Filmgesellschaft*. His first production was *Der Knabe in Blau* (The boy in blue), a 1919 melodrama inspired by Gainsborough's painting and Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray*. He rapidly produced twenty more films, nine of which have been lost. *Satanas*, another 1919 endeavor, was written by Robert Wiene (director of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari**) and featured Veidt as the devil. *Der Bucklige und die Tänzerin* (The hunchback and the dancer) followed in 1920 and initiated his collaboration with Carl Mayer. The first of his surviving films was *Der Gang in die Nacht* (Journey into the night, 1920), a tragic story, scripted by Mayer, of a doctor who loses his wife to a painter whom he cures of blindness. His best-known silent film was *Nosferatu* (1922), a chilly version of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*.

Murnau was unsurpassed in the use of evocative symbols. *Der letzte Mann* (in English, *Last Laugh*), released during the 1924 currency stabilization, established his international reputation and inspired his later departure for Hollywood. Making use of a steadily moving camera, the film, which features the social collapse of a uniformed hotel doorman (Emil Jannings*), was the first Murnau directed for UFA.* Erich Pommer, who headed UFA at the time, soon assigned Murnau two big-budget films: *Tartüff* (1925), an adaptation of Molière's satire on religious hypocrisy; and *Faust*, a controversial rendition of Goethe's classic. Both were enormous commercial successes.

Faust was Murnau's final German film. In 1926 he was in America working for William Fox on *Sunrise* (scripted by Mayer); the film won three Academy Awards in 1927 and was hailed as a masterpiece. Following two more films, Murnau broke his contract with Fox in 1929. In a collaborative effort with Robert Flaherty, he filmed *Tabu*, a tragedy of forbidden love between two native islanders in the South Pacific.

Murnau died in an automobile accident in March 1931, a week before the opening of *Tabu*. It is difficult to assess how his career might have progressed. Because he was consistently imposing European values on his work and, as critic Lotte Eisner remarked, struggling with ''a world in which he remained

despairingly alien,'' his disposition would have provoked constant problems in Hollywood (Wakeman). This aside, Eisner judged him ''the greatest film-director the Germans have ever known.''

REFERENCES: Lotte Eisner, *Haunted Screen* and *Murnau*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*; Wakeman, *World Film Directors*.

MUSIC. The Weimar era was especially rich in musical performance and experimentation. In chamber music, musical theater,* opera proper, music festivals, symphonic concerts, and cabaret* productions, Weimar sustained a lush tapestry of offerings. In his cultural history, Walter Laqueur described the era's musical life: ''Germany was the country of the leading conductors, the finest orchestras and soloists; its schools provided the most progressive musical education, and the general level of musical appreciation was of the very highest.'' Berlin's* 1929 *Festwoche* (festival week) gives evidence of the splendid range of offerings: Erich Kleiber* directed *Die Meistersinger* at the *Staatsoper* on Unter den Linden; *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre* were offered under the direction of Leo Blech; *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Salome* were directed by their composer, Richard Strauss*; Kleiber conducted *Don Pasquale*; Bruno Walter* conducted *Das Lied von der Erde* at the City Opera; *The Marriage of Figaro* was directed by Wilhelm Furtwängler*; Georg Szell conducted Giordano's *Andrea Chénier*; both *The Flying Dutchman* and Paul Hindemith's* *Neues von Tage* were offered by Otto Klemperer* at the Kroll Opera; and Arturo Toscanini directed *Rigoletto*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Manon Lescaut*, and *Aida*. In addition, symphonic concerts were led by Toscanini and Igor Stravinsky, Georg Schumann conducted a performance of Bach's B-minor Mass, and chamber music was offered with Pablo Casals. Although Berlin was a musical mecca—the city, supporting three opera houses, provided lavish possibilities throughout the year—abundant symphonic and operatic offerings were also at hand in Baden-Baden, Bayreuth, Breslau, Cologne, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hanover, Königsberg, Leipzig, Munich, and Stuttgart.

Music composition provoked turmoil during the Weimar years, due largely to two overlapping generations. The romantic tradition survived in the work of Strauss, who even before the war had abandoned his early experimentation in favor of tranquil creativity (e.g., *Der Rosenkavalier*). Hans Pfitzner* was also an exponent of prewar romanticism. The rich harmonies of Strauss or Pfitzner (e.g., *Palestrina*) differed from the sound of Ferruccio Busoni,* whose neoromanticism sometimes lapsed into the experimental. Busoni's successor in 1925 at the Prussian Academy of Arts was Arnold Schoenberg.* But while Schoenberg's twelve-tone composition sparked controversy, his work was almost totally rejected at the time. Instead, the preferred avant-garde composer was Hindemith. Beginning with his 1923 adaptation of Rainer Maria Rilke's *Marienleben*, Hindemith's work adopted features of traditional tonality. Kurt Weill,* one of Busoni's students, wrote his celebrated compositions during 1927–1933 (*The Threepenny Opera, Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny*, and *The Seven*

Deadly Sins). Working with Bertolt Brecht,* he directed his snappy songs, which drew on jazz and street ballad, toward a mass audience; they thus became part of popular culture.

In the area of popular culture, cabaret flourished during the Republic. But although music, mainly songs or chansons, was important to cabaret, social satire was at its heart. The concept of ''applied music'' or *Gebrauchsmusik*, analogous to the concept of applied arts as exemplified by the Bauhaus,* also prospered in the mid-1920s. With roots in the *Singmusik* and *Spielmusik* of the early youth movement, *Gebrauchsmusik* was integral to the light opera of Hindemith and Weill. Under the NSDAP it deteriorated into the ceremonial folk opera performed at numerous spectacles.

Despite the enmity of antimodernists and nationalists (*see Kulturbolschewismus*), the Republic's musical life was receptive and outward looking. In Berlin, where radio sustained experimentation, Alban Berg's *Wozzeck* was performed in 1925, Darius Milhaud's *Christophe Colomb* in 1930, and Stravinsky's Violin Concerto in 1931. The new music was promoted in almost every German city, from the opera house in Frankfurt to the annual music festivals in Donaueschingen. But since most of it failed to fit the NSDAP's definition of ''Germanness,'' it was banned after January 1933 as *entartete Musik* (degenerate music).
REFERENCES: Gilliam, *Music and Performance*; Laqueur, *Weimar*; *New Grove*, vol. 7, ''Germany''; Roseberry, ''Into the Twentieth Century''; Russell, *Erich Kleiber*.

MUSIL, ROBERT (1880–1942), writer; his fiction and essays explored a realm between philosophy and literature. Born in Klagenfurt, Austria,* to a respected engineer, he grew up an only child in the Habsburg Empire. During 1898–1901, after six years in military academies, he studied engineering at the *Technische Hochschule* in Brünn (now Brno); following a year in the army, he took a research post at Stuttgart's *Technische Hochschule*. To redress perceived humanistic deficiencies, he went to Berlin* in 1903 to study philosophy and psychology and earned a doctorate in 1908. During 1902–1905 he wrote his first novel, *Die Verwirrungen des Zöglings Törless* (translated as *Young Törless*), the portrait of an adolescent's intellectual frustration; published in 1906, the book was praised by critic Alfred Kerr.* Musil became a librarian in 1911 at Vienna's *Technische Hochschule*, but soon returned to Berlin for an editorial position with *Neue Rundschau*.*

Musil was activated by the Austrian army in 1914. He served on the Italian front, was decorated, and reached the rank of captain. The war intensified his intellectual ties with the Austria of Franz Joseph, and he remained rooted in Habsburg tradition. He worked during 1918–1922 at the War Office. The Austrian financial crisis—coupled with the loss of his parents in 1924—forced him to subsist thereafter as a freelance writer. His work in the 1920s included two plays, three short stories published as *Drei Frauen* (Three women, 1927), and an obscure story entitled *Die Amsel* (1927). He remained in Vienna until 1931,

settled in Berlin during 1931–1933, returned to Vienna when Hitler* seized power, and fled to Switzerland after the *Anschluss* (1938).

Musil's preoccupation throughout the 1920s—indeed, until he died—was his masterpiece *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (The man without qualities), a symbolic portrait of Austrian society before World War I. Begun in 1921, the novel explores the cultural and ideological crises that tormented Musil and his generation. Ulrich, the central character (a reflection of Musil), is devoid of identity due to his fragmentation by the claims of journalism, art, scholarship, and business. Arnheim, also a central character, is said to be patterned on Walther Rathenau,* a man whose writings Musil described as little more than lifeless speculations. A third character, Meingast, is a philosopher whose irrational credo paralleled that of Ludwig Klages.* Together, the characters embodied the decay of central Europe's ruling classes before the war. With neither beginning nor end, *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* is chiefly a sequence of essays lamenting Austria. Its first volume of 123 chapters (two parts) appeared in 1930. A second volume (part three), containing but 38 chapters, appeared in 1933. Musil was working on the fourth and final part in Swiss exile when he died; his widow, Martha Musil, published it as volume three in 1943.

REFERENCES: Bangerter, *Robert Musil*; Dowden, *Sympathy for the Abyss*; Luft, *Robert Musil*; Peters, *Robert Musil*.

N

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (*Nationalversammlung*). In accordance with a 30 November 1918 ruling by the Council of People's Representatives,* elections for a constituent assembly were held on 19 January 1919. Six parties and several splinter groups campaigned in Germany's thirty-eight electoral districts for the 431 mandates awarded to the National Assembly. (Ten seats allotted to Alsace-Lorraine* were nullified.) The distribution of mandates, calculated at one seat for every 150,000 votes, was as follows: DNVP, 42; DVP, 22; Center Party,* 90; DDP, 75; SPD, 163; and USPD, 22 (7 seats were awarded splinter parties). The KPD boycotted the elections. The results, which placed the socialist parties in a minority, were deemed a victory for parliamentary democracy and a defeat for those promoting radical revolution. Although the distribution coincided with that of the 1912 Reichstag,* the 1919 electorate was altogether different, numbering 36,304,084 eligible voters (compared with 14,442,387 in 1912). The voting age had been lowered from twenty-five to twenty, while suffrage had been extended to members of the armed forces and women* (37 seats were won by women). Eighty-three percent of eligible voters participated.

The National Assembly, dominated by the Weimar Coalition* parties, assumed the burdens of forming a government, making peace with the Allies, and creating a constitution.* Meeting from 6 February through August 1919 in Weimar's National Theater (Berlin* having been deemed unsafe), it passed a law on 11 February granting itself the power to elect the Republic's first President (Friedrich Ebert*). Under the chairmanship of Eduard David* and later of Konstantin Fehrenbach,* it decreed that elections for a new Reichstag be held in June 1920, and it drafted a constitution that, while embodying expressions of

strong centralized authority, retained much of the federalism peculiar to the Kaiserreich. The Constitution was approved by the Assembly on 31 July 1919. The delegates reconvened in Berlin on 30 September 1919, but were forced by the Kapp* Putsch into brief exile in March 1920. Before it dissolved on 21 May 1920, the Assembly passed measures reforming the Reichswehr* and German finances. It governed in a period marked by disappointment, and few regretted its passing; however, the Assembly's accomplishments were solid, and its influence in founding Germany's first parliamentary democracy should not be underrated.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Walter Kaufmann, *Monarchism*; Peukert, *Weimar Republic*; Ryder, *German Revolution of 1918*.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GERMAN INDUSTRY. *See Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie*.

NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM. A nebulous phenomenon, National Bolshevism surfaced in 1919 among members of Hamburg's KPD and recurred at intervals (e.g., 1923 and 1930) throughout the Weimar era. Associated chiefly with the preindustrial *Mittelstand*,* it was marked by implacable hostility toward the bourgeoisie and enchantment with Russia. Linked variously to the radical Right *and* Left, it aimed to bridge the gap between political extremes, thus forming a national front against the Republic and the Western Allies. Karl Radek, Lenin's agent in Berlin,* was enthralled when the concept was introduced to him during his 1919 imprisonment (Lenin dubbed it a heresy). Ernst Niekisch,* the erstwhile socialist most associated with it, later recalled that he sought to attract middle-class youth to an antibourgeois stance that celebrated the old military caste and appealed to national idealism.

In a 1932 *Weltbühne** article Kurt Hiller* coined the term *linke Leute von Rechts* (''leftists of the Right''), an expression of the ideological affinity certain leftists felt for the Right. Hiller's concept is useful, for although National Bolsheviks might identify themselves with one of several Communist groups, their ideology was less Marxist than anti-Western and less tied to the Soviet Union* than bent on annulling Versailles. Arthur Moeller* van den Bruck, deemed its key theorist, wrote of uniting Germany in ''an alliance with Russia and of playing the revolutionary East against the capitalist West.'' While such rhetoric mirrored Nazi slogans, National Bolshevism was more a state of mind than a movement.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Ascher and Lewy, ''National Bolshevism''; Lebovics, *Social Conservatism*; Fritz Stern, *Politics of Cultural Despair*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL (*Reichswirtschaftsrat*). Conceived by Wichard von Moellendorff* and first proposed in March 1919 by Labor

Minister Gustav Bauer,* the *Reichswirtschaftsrat* aimed to reconcile the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* with the new Republic. The crowning institution of a three-level pyramid structure (the others being factory councils and regional councils), it was supposed to safeguard the public interest by protecting workers and enhancing production. Formalized through Article 165 of the Constitution,* a provisional body was created by the Factory Council Law* in August 1919; its leading members were Hugo Stinnes,* Carl Duisberg,* and Carl Legien.* Blending Bismarckian ideas with Marxist dogma, a permanent council, formed on 4 May 1920, sought to represent ''all important trade and professional groups . . . according to their social and economic importance.'' With its eclectic assembly of 326 members, the council was too unwieldy for important deliberations. The aspiration that it do more than review economic legislation—that is, that it initiate parliamentary proposals—went unfulfilled. Often delaying issues that should have gone directly to the Reichstag,* it was unable to bridge the chasm between Germany's social classes. While it continued to exist, its role was negligible after 1923. The NSDAP dissolved the council in November 1934 in favor of the National Economic Chamber.

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Feldman, *Iron and Steel*; Taddey, *Lexikon*.

NATIONAL MORTGAGE BANK. *See Rentenbank.*

NATIONAL RURAL LEAGUE. *See Reichslandbund.*

NATIONAL SOCIALIST FACTORY CELL ORGANIZATION (*Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation*, NSBO); never a union, the NSBO conducted propaganda activity among workers through the preexisting trade-union* structure. It was instituted as part of the NSDAP in January 1931; its basic framework evolved spontaneously in June 1928 in Berlin's* industrial district. The first leader of the cells was Johannes Engel, a Nazi who was also a factory-council representative. Although Joseph Goebbels* gave the NSBO Party status within Berlin, Hitler* refused to formalize its national status before the NSDAP Congress of September 1929. From January 1931 the NSBO was coordinated by Gregor Strasser's* Reich Department for Industrial Cells (*Reichsbetriebszellenabteilung*, RBA). To promote the aim of locating a cell in every factory, it published the bimonthly *Arbeitertum* from March 1931 and, under pressure from Strasser, employed Marxist rhetoric to broaden its appeal. More effective with disaffected white-collar and farm workers than factory workers, it grew from a membership of 43,000 in December 1931 to 106,000 in May 1932; membership then doubled to about 200,000 after the July 1932 Reichstag* elections and was almost 400,000 by January 1933. But since such numbers must be judged against the five-million-strong socialist unions, the NSBO was relatively ineffectual. With its membership often denounced during 1933–1934 as Marxist rogues, the organization soon withered to insignificance.

REFERENCES: Childers, *Nazi Voter*; Kele, *Nazis and Workers*; Orlow, *History of the Nazi Party*.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, NSDAP). Brainchild of the toolmaker Anton Drexler and the journalist Karl Harrer, the future NSDAP was formed on 5 January 1919 more as a club than as a political party. Based in Munich, it began as the German Workers' Party (*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, DAP). After the suppression of Munich's *Räterepublik* in May, such organizations were required to register with the authorities. Hitler,* sent by the army in September to observe a Party meeting, quickly joined the group. Persuading its leadership to meet at the Hofbräuhaus, he soon assumed control of its propaganda apparatus. At Hitler's urging, Drexler adopted a twenty-five-point program in February 1920 (retained until 1945) that embraced the following: denunciation of the Versailles Treaty*; a resolution that all Germans be united in a Greater Reich; insistence that citizenship be based on race (Jews* being excluded); a commitment to nationalize business trusts; and dedication to improving the plight of small businessmen. To apply himself exclusively to the Party, Hitler resigned from the army in March 1920; the next month he appended the words ''National Socialist'' to its name and affirmed the swastika as its official emblem. In December 1920 the *Völkischer Beobachter** became the NSDAP's official newspaper.*

Zealously nationalistic and anti-Semitic,* the NSDAP preached anti-Marxism, yet it called the German worker to a new socialism—a ''German socialism.'' As Hitler intended, people attuned to parties representative of specific groups were at a loss in categorizing the NSDAP as a product of either the Right or the Left; indeed, it styled itself a *Sammlungspartei* (collective party) and was less ''party'' than ''movement.'' Yet while it ultimately attracted broad support, the NSDAP remained a bastion of the lower middle class. With its authoritarian structure, the NSDAP was beholden to an all-powerful leader; indeed, Hitler's control steadily increased. Forcing a leadership crisis in 1921, he humiliated Drexler on 29 July and then assumed the Party's paramount position.

Until 1924 the NSDAP focused less on political maneuvering than on militant activism. Inspired by Mussolini's March on Rome (October 1922), Hitler launched his abortive Beerhall Putsch* of November 1923; a fiasco, it provoked a temporary dissolution of the NSDAP (and a brief prison term for Hitler). In May 1924, during the Party's proscription, the *Völkischer-Block* (an alliance of anti-Semitic groups) won thirty-two Reichstag* seats. Although a National Socialist Freedom Movement (NSFB) was formed in August 1924 by Erich Ludendorff* and Gregor Strasser,* petty internal recriminations (Julius Streicher,* Hermann Esser, and other Munich-based associates created the opposing *Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft*) underscored Hitler's indispensability to the Nazi movement.

Hitler's decision to join the political process marked a fundamental shift in

Nazi practice. In February 1925, after his release from prison, he reestablished the NSDAP (no longer illegal), and the NSFB was dissolved. Ensuing months saw formation of the first SS (*Schutzstaffeln*) units, the growth of NSDAP influence beyond Bavaria,* and the evolution of an intraparty challenge focused on the Strasser brothers and Joseph Goebbels.* Only in April 1926, with Goebbels's loyalty secured, did Hitler neutralize his opponents. He then formed a national command structure (*Reichsleitung*) that included a deputy *Führer* (Gregor Strasser until 1932), a propaganda leader, a treasurer, and a press chief (*Reichsleiter für die Presse*). As head of the Party organization, Strasser evolved a regional hierarchy that included thirty-four large regions (*Gaue*); these were subdivided into districts (*Kreise*), local groups (*Ortsgruppen*), cells (*Zellen*), and *Blocks*. A leadership corps extended from *Gauleiter* to *Blockwarte* (block guardians). In addition to the SA* (created in 1920) and the SS, the NSDAP's several organizations included the *Hitler Jugend* (Hitler Youth, attached to the SA in 1926).

Although it claimed 70,000 members in the summer of 1927, the NSDAP gained only 2.6 percent of the vote and a paltry 12 Reichstag seats in the elections of May 1928. Despite sophisticated organizational changes, both the depression* and a reorientation of propaganda from cities to countryside were necessary to propel the Nazis to prominence. Winning 18.3 percent of the votes in the September 1930 elections (second highest of any party), the NSDAP returned 107 deputies to the Reichstag; in the July 1932 elections it became the largest party with 37.4 percent of the vote and 230 mandates. Despite major losses in November 1932 (33.1 percent and 196 seats), the NSDAP tenuously preserved its leading position in the two months before Hitler's appointment. By January 1933 it had about 1 million members.

The NSDAP's success was due less to its adherence to ideology than to clever propaganda and solid organization. Using the depression as a backdrop, it leveled scathing attacks on the ''system parties,'' joined a conservative crusade against the Young Plan,* and gained financial backing from segments of heavy industry. By instituting perpetual campaigning, it made key inroads into Germany's rural districts, chiefly in the Protestant* north. Yet in the final months of 1932 its constituency began to unravel. Hitler's appointment probably salvaged the NSDAP. After January 1933 it became Germany's ruling party; from July 1933 it was the only party (the remainder being disbanded or outlawed), and in 1945 it had a recorded membership of 8.5 million.

REFERENCES: Bessel, *Political Violence*; Bracher, *German Dictatorship*; Childers, *Formation of the Nazi Constituency*; Merkl, *Political Violence*; Noakes, ''Conflict and Development''; Orlow, *History of the Nazi Party*; Phelps, ''Hitler and the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*''; Stachura, ''Political Strategy.''

NATIONALISTS. *See* German National People's Party.

NAUMANN, FRIEDRICH (1860–1919), political theorist and politician; strongly impacted the Republic's political philosophy. Born in the town of

Störmthal near Leipzig, he studied theology and was long engaged in Protestant* church work. Coming under the influence of Adolf Stöcker's Christian Socialist movement in 1890, he began working with the Evangelical Socialist Congress and in 1894 founded a weekly publication, *Die Hilfe*. After he broke with the autocratic Stöcker in 1896, he formed the National Social Union (*Nationalsoziale Verein*), a group that espoused cooperation between the SPD and the Liberal People's Party (a grand alliance ''from Basserman to Bebel''). Embracing Max Weber's* thesis that Germany's primary conflict was between the bourgeoisie and Junkers,* he became a political publicist—without, however, establishing clear goals. His 1900 *Demokratie und Kaisertum* (Democracy and empire) reveals that despite his progressivism, he defended monarchism* and rejected British-style parliamentarianism. Yet when it became clear in 1903 that some disciples were wary of introducing equal suffrage in Prussia,* he dissolved the *Verein* and, with several colleagues, created the Liberal Alliance (*Freisinnige Vereinigung*); in 1907 he was elected to the Reichstag,* a mandate he retained until 1918.

With charisma and intelligence, Naumann employed his speeches and writings in 1910 to unite Germany's diverse left-liberal groups into the Progressive People's Party (*Fortschrittliche Volkspartei*). Yet whether he was dealing with colonial expansion or with creation of a powerful fleet, he remained a proponent of national power and shared the view that Germany was beset by enemies. During the war, which he had worked to avoid, he published *Mitteleuropa*, a book that proposed the formation of a central European community under German leadership. In 1917 he founded the *Staatsbürgerschule* (citizens' school), predecessor to the Republic's *Hochschule für Politik*.* He was a founder in November 1918 of the DDP (he served briefly as chairman in 1919) and was elected to the National Assembly* in January. Because he was increasingly impaired by asthma in his final months, his ideas were championed in constitutional debate by Weber. Supportive of the Weimar Coalition* as mirroring his concept of a broad ''left coalition,'' Naumann is chiefly remembered for his synthesis of socialism and nationalism. Despite his reputation, he remained suspicious of parliamentary democracy until his death in August 1919.

REFERENCES: Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Heckart, *From Bassermann to Bebel*; Sheehan, *German Liberalism*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*.

NAVY. *See* Reichswehr.

NAZIS. *See* National Socialist German Workers' Party.

NEGRI, POLA. *See* Ernst Lubitsch.

DIE NEUE RUNDSCHAU (New review); a distinguished literary journal, established in 1889 as the weekly *Die Freie Bühne* (The free stage) by Maximilian Harden,* Otto Brahm, Samuel Fischer,* and Theodor Wolff.* Its origi-

nators were inspired by the idea that the period's Naturalism (e.g., Gerhart Hauptmann* and Henrik Ibsen) might mold a new society. After several title changes and editorial shifts, the journal assumed a liberal political agenda under Oskar Bie (editor, 1895–1922) and was renamed *Neue Rundschau* in 1904. Never radically liberal, as compared to its rival *Die Weltbühne*,* by the Weimar era and under the cosmopolitan editorship of the Fischer Verlag's Rudolf Kayser (1922–1933), it was an esteemed, nonpartisan monthly examining art, literature, politics, psychoanalysis, and youth problems. Although its circulation never exceeded ten thousand, its readers were influential and its authors internationally renowned: for example, Thomas Mann,* Robert Musil,* Bertrand Russell, José Ortega y Gassett, and Virginia Woolf. In January 1933 Peter Suhrkamp succeeded Kayser. Among its prolific authors, Suhrkamp later described *Neue Rundschau*: ''It is no falsehood to point out that this journal was not founded for a movement, a school, or the like, but for the creative, or better still, artistic individuals of the present; for artists, that is [in all areas of culture], and not for a special elite and not for the general public'' (Unseld). Suhrkamp published *Neue Rundschau* until the NSDAP suppressed it in 1944. The first German publisher to obtain a license for resumed operations, he resurrected it in 1950 under a reestablished Fischer Verlag.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Greenberg, *Literature and Sensibilities*; Unseld, *Author and His Publisher*.

NEUE SACHLICHKEIT; an aesthetic style characterized by simplicity and sobriety. The word *Sachlichkeit*, roughly, ''objectivity,'' was used in prewar Germany to describe the architectural impact of Peter Behrens* and Walter Gropius.* However, it was the shock induced by the war, as well as the dislocation following in its wake, that led many artists (and writers) away from Expressionism* through a flirtation with Dada* and finally to a ''new objectivity.'' Largely confined to 1923–1929, the style was sober and sometimes banal, and it rejected the emotional vitality typical of art since 1900. As visual art, it was marked by sharp, simple, and unadorned line.

Gustav Hartlaub,* director of Mannheim's *Kunsthalle*, first brought clarity to the term. In May 1923 he began soliciting works that featured the ''tangible reality'' found in much of the era's art. He hoped to amass artists who spurned ''impressionistically vague and expressionistically abstract'' art, and whose work was ''neither sensuously external nor constructively internal.'' Among others, he contacted Max Beckmann,* George Grosz,* and Otto Dix.* Evoking ''a feverish feeling for reality,'' his exhibition opened in the summer of 1925 and was entitled *Die neue Sachlichkeit*; the term was soon a fashionable descriptor of Germany's post-Expressionist mood (a popular 1928 foxtrot was entitled ''*Es liegt in der Luft mit der Sachlichkeit*''—''There's a sobriety in the air'').

Walter Laqueur has warned against equating Weimar's cultural life with ''the plays and theories of Brecht, the creations of the Bauhaus and the articles pub-

lished by the *Weltbühne*.'' His caveat holds for *Neue Sachlichkeit*. The mainstream of Weimar's cultural life tended to be more conservative and wedded to tradition (including facets of Expressionism) than one might gather from many depictions of the era. Aware that the new realism had its conservative (''Classicist'') wing as well as a politically Left (''Verist'') wing, Hartlaub included both groups in his exhibition (*Neue Sachlichkeit* has since been subdivided further). The Classicists—for example, Carl Grossberg, Anton Räderscheidt, and Rudolf Dischinger—rejected revolutionary tendencies and often accepted the Republic. Among the movement's writers, a similar split is detected between Hans Grimm* or Hans Carossa (rightists) and Robert Musil* or Hermann Broch (leftists).

Neue Sachlichkeit, now deemed Expressionism's truce with the Republic's grim reality, ran its course by 1930. Yielding to a decorative and contemplative style, many of its artists became immersed in middle-class lives at art schools. REFERENCES: Barron, *German Expressionism*; *German Realism of the Twenties*; Hermand, ''Unity within Diversity?''; Laqueur, *Weimar*; Long, *German Expressionism*; Nisbet, *German Realist Drawings*; Willett, *Art and Politics*.

NEUMANN, HEINZ (1902–1937), politician; editor of *Die rote Fahne*, the flagship newspaper* of the KPD. Born to the middle-class home of a Berlin* businessman, he completed Gymnasium in 1920 and was about to begin university studies when Ernst Reuter* persuaded him to join the KPD. Soon absorbed in Party affairs, he became a full-time official and joined *Rote Fahne*'s editorial board in 1922, the year he first visited the Soviet Union.* Embracing the KPD's leftist opposition, he championed the abortive uprisings of 1923. At Moscow's request he published *Maslows Offensive gegen den Leninismus* (Maslow's offensive against Leninism) in 1925, a rebuttal to Arkadi Maslow's 1922 critique of Lenin (*Two Revolutions of 1917*). The work so pleased Stalin that Neumann served until 1928 as a KPD Comintern representative. A Stalin loyalist who mastered Russian, he was sent to China in 1927 (where opponents referred to him as ''the executioner of Canton''), but returned to Berlin as one of the triumvirate (with Ernst Thälmann* and Hermann Remmele*) that made the KPD rigidly subservient to Moscow.

In October 1928 Neumann replaced Heinrich Süsskind as editor of *Rote Fahne*. He joined the KPD's *Zentralkomitee* in 1929 as the advocate for expelling Party members who diverged from Stalinism; Clara Zetkin* dubbed him the ''agent provocateur of expulsions and splits.'' But by 1930, prompted by the threat of Nazism, he coined the slogan ''Hit the fascists wherever you meet them.'' Perilously out of step with a tactic of portraying the SPD as communism's chief enemy, he was warned by Stalin to strengthen his attacks on social democracy. Nonetheless, horrified by the NSDAP's electoral success of July 1932, he redoubled his efforts to transform the KPD's offensive. Although Remmele concurred with his analysis, Neumann was ousted from the KPD leadership in August 1932, forced to resign a Reichstag* mandate he had held since Sep-

tember 1930, and accused at the October 1932 Party Congress of ''softening the struggle against social democracy.''

Neumann went to Spain in 1933 to serve the Comintern as a political instructor. He was working in Switzerland in 1934 when his December arrest by Swiss authorities almost brought expulsion to Nazi Germany. At Stalin's intervention, he and his wife (Margarete Buber-Neumann) relocated to the Soviet Union. He worked as a translator in Moscow until 1937, when he was arrested on Stalin's orders and mysteriously vanished.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Buber, *Under Two Dictators*; Fowkes, *Communism in Germany*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*; Ward, '' 'Smash the Fascists' ''; Hermann Weber, *Kommunismus*.

NEURATH, KONSTANTIN FREIHERR VON (1873–1956), diplomat; Foreign Minister in Franz von Papen's* ''cabinet of barons.'' He was born near Stuttgart on the estate of Klein Glattbach; his father was court chamberlain to Württemberg's King Wilhelm II. He began legal studies in 1892, passed state examinations in 1901, and began a long diplomatic career. Posted to London in 1903, he was reassigned to the Foreign Office in 1908. He was then transferred in 1914 from the consular to the diplomatic corps and had just been assigned to Constantinople when war erupted. Although Neurath opted to join the army and was awarded the Iron Cross (First Class), the Foreign Office requested his discharge in March 1915. He was reassigned to Constantinople, where his quarrels with the German Ambassador led him to resign in August 1916. He soon left the diplomatic corps to become chief of Württemberg's civilian cabinet in January 1917, a post he retained until the end of the war. After he assisted with the abdication of Württemberg's king, he returned to the foreign service and became chief consul at Copenhagen in February 1919. He was soon named Ambassador and was transferred in 1921 to Rome, a post he retained for nine years. Although he was never enthusiastic about either Mussolini or the Italians (''the Italian is and remains an opportunist in politics''), he came to appreciate the need for strong leadership while in Rome. Increasingly at odds with Gustav Stresemann,* he detested the Foreign Minister's political machinations and was antagonistic to the League of Nations. In 1930 he became Ambassador to London. Counter to his appeal, he was recalled to Berlin in May 1932 to become Papen's Foreign Minister, an office he retained under both Kurt von Schleicher* and, until February 1938, Hitler.*

Although evidence suggests that Neurath was an opportunist (notwithstanding his Italian critique), this should be weighed against his aversion to the Republic. A monarchist who championed revision of the Versailles Treaty,* he never warmed to politics—politics and professionalism were, he believed, antithetical—and he hated parliamentary government. He was, indeed, ideally suited to the Presidential Cabinet* founded by Heinrich Brüning* and retained under Papen and Schleicher. Enjoying the favor of Hindenburg,* he deemed himself solely responsible to the President. He was a proponent of rearmament and

nurtured a ''great respect for power'' and a ''distrust of international organizations.'' During 1932 he promoted the restoration of military attachés to German diplomatic missions, a step disallowed by Versailles. In the same year, when a modus vivendi was sought with Poland,* he resisted it for fear that it might prejudice a later restoration of territory lost to Poland.

Although Hitler despised aristocrats and career bureaucrats, he retained Neurath because he had Hindenburg's personal blessing. After the President's death, Neurath's influence steadily declined. Although he left the Foreign Office in 1938, he was appointed Protector of Bohemia and Moravia (1939–1941) when these Czechoslovak provinces were taken by Germany. Convicted at Nuremberg of crimes against humanity and promoting aggressive war, he was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment; ill health brought his release in 1954.

REFERENCES: Bennett, *German Rearmament*; Heineman, *Hitler's First Foreign Minister*; Neave, *On Trial at Nuremberg*; Gerhard Weinberg, *Foreign Policy*.

NEW OBJECTIVITY. *See Neue Sachlichkeit.*

NEWSPAPERS. According to Article 118 of the Weimar Constitution,* ''every German has the right, within the bounds of the general laws, to express his opinion freely in word, writing, print, picture, or in any other manner.'' Although this marked a major advance on the Press Law of 1874, which assured no more than the right to print established facts, the guarantee against ''censorship'' (also Article 118) was restricted during the Weimar years by everything from penal laws to the President's emergency powers to revoke *any* freedom under Article 48. The limitation on journalistic freedom mirrored a pervasive esteem for the power of the written word: if Germans were inclined to believe everything they read, then they should read only ''facts'' reflecting the opinions of a specific interest group. Thus the function of the press was less to provide facts than to promote a point of view. This was best accomplished through the feuilleton—literary supplements usually found in the better newspapers.

The press empires of Ullstein,* Mosse,* and Scherl, all based in Berlin,* receive well-deserved emphasis in analyses of journalism during the Weimar years. However, the German press was quite decentralized in the 1920s. Eksteins recorded that Germany had 3,689 newspapers in 1919–1920, a figure that rose to 4,703 by 1932. Of these, only 26 realized a circulation of 100,000 or more (in sharp contrast to England or the United States, where daily circulations exceeding 1 million were not uncommon). Germany's most successful daily, Ullstein's *Berliner Morgenpost*, achieved a circulation in excess of 600,000 only in 1930. Yet the significance of decentralized publication must also be qualified; despite the widespread printing of local papers, typical news columns were generated through subscription to the syndicated writing of press agencies. Two of these, Wolff's Telegraph Bureau (WTB) and the Telegraph Union (TU), dominated the wire services. The WTB tended to support governmental positions, while the TU, owned by Alfred Hugenberg,* was antirepublican.

The Scherl Verlag, purchased in 1916 by Hugenberg, was the premier voice in opposition to the Republic. Through Scherl's *Tag*, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, *Berliner Illustrierte Nachtausgabe*, and *Woche*, Hugenberg exerted direct influence on public opinion. Less well known, but of greater import, was the indirect manipulation wielded through his advertising agency and several wire services (including the TU). Using loans and investments skillfully applied during the inflation* and depression,* Hugenberg gained partial control over almost half of Germany's newspapers; by 1932, 1,600 subscribed to the TU.

Approximately half of the Republic's newspapers espoused a political position. Of these, the flagship dailies of the SPD (*Vorwärts**), the KPD (*Rote Fahne*), and the NSDAP (*Völkischer Beobachter**) were tightly controlled by their parties. The several papers associated with either the Center Party* or the DNVP enjoyed considerable freedom vis-à-vis party policy, while those claiming loyalty to either the DVP or the DDP were independent to the point of frustration.

After the November Revolution* three publishers were identified with the DDP and the Republic's ideals: the Mosse and Ullstein firms of Berlin and the Sonnemann firm (*Frankfurter Societätsdruckerei*) of Frankfurt. Although they commanded a high percentage of readers, the Mosse (*Berliner Tageblatt*, *Berliner Morgenzeitung*, *8–Uhr-Abendblatt*, and *Berliner Volkszeitung*), Ullstein (*Vossische Zeitung*, *Berliner Morgenpost*, *BZ am Mittag*, *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *Tempo*), and Sonnemann (*Frankfurter Zeitung*) firms were a disappointment for the DDP: their papers often censured the Party for failing to assume moral leadership in the Republic; they were often embroiled in bitter rivalry with one another; they were controlled almost exclusively by Jews*; and, most damaging, they gradually disengaged from politics. Although the editorial skill of men such as Theodor Wolff* (*Berliner Tageblatt*), Georg Bernhard (*Vossische Zeitung*), and Bernhard Guttmann (*Frankfurter Zeitung*) was of the highest order, their newspapers failed to galvanize support for a regime whose survival was inseparable from their own.

REFERENCES: Albertin, ''German Liberalism''; Eksteins, *Limits of Reason*; Fliess, *Freedom of the Press*; Ullstein, *Rise and Fall of the House of Ullstein*; Young, *Maximilian Harden*.

NIEKISCH, ERNST (1889–1967), politician and journalist; a key theorist for National Bolshevism.* Born to the family of a metalworker in the Silesian town of Trebnitz, he was raised in Bavaria,* where he became a schoolteacher. He joined the SPD in 1917 and became chairman of Augsburg's Workers' and Soldiers' Council* in November 1918; thereafter he organized Swabia's Provincial Council (*Kreisausschuss*). At the December 1918 Congress* of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils he was among the majority who voted against legitimizing the council system as ''the basis of the constitution of the socialistic Republic.'' After the Council of People's Representatives* split on 24 December 1918, he led a small group of Bavarian Social Democrats who endorsed a United

Front* with Kurt Eisner's* USPD. On 21 February 1919, the day Eisner was assassinated, Niekisch was hastily elected chairman of the eleven-member Central Council (*Zentralrat*) of the Bavarian Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Councils. He was a proponent of both the council system and parliamentary democracy; his admirers hoped that he might reconcile Bavaria's socialist factions. But his efforts at compromise, including reassembly of the Landtag, failed to appease the radicals. From Eisner's death to Johannes Hoffmann's* selection as Prime Minister on 18 March, he wielded considerable authority in Bavaria. Thereafter his prominence dwindled as Hoffmann refused to embrace the *Zentralrat* and the radical Left rebuffed the Landtag. On 8 April he resigned and declared Munich's situation ''untenable.'' He was arrested on 5 May upon the collapse of Eugen Leviné's* *Räterepublik* and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Niekisch gradually recast his politics. He left the SPD for the USPD in 1919, but returned to the SPD when the parties reunited in 1922 and served until 1923 as deputy faction chairman in the Bavarian Landtag. In 1924, after he became secretary of the Textile-Worker Association in Berlin,* he began working with the Young Socialists, a group that hoped to bridge the gap between socialism and nationalism (he once claimed to support ''an entente between Potsdam and Moscow''). The SPD expelled him in 1926, whereupon he joined a splinter group known as the *Alte Sozialistische Partei* until 1928. With his Eastern romanticism, he perceived Bolshevism as a nationalist phenomenon that marketed itself with a veneer of Marxist dogma. The essence of the Soviet Revolution, he argued, was mystical and anti-Semitic*; it aspired to unite the Slavic world with a Prussian-oriented Germany against the decadent West. He founded the journal *Widerstand* (Resistance) in 1926 and used the publication to ridicule the Republic, advance his concept of National Bolshevism, and attack the Locarno Treaties* as a betrayal of both Russia and Germany. In 1930 he defined his ideas in *Die Entscheidung* (The decision).

Perceiving danger in Nazism, Niekisch published *Hitler—ein deutsches Verhängnis* (Hitler—a German misfortune) in 1932. *Widerstand* was banned in 1934, and Niekisch was arrested in 1937. After being charged with high treason, he was imprisoned until his liberation in 1945 by the Red Army. In 1953 he broke with the Communist regime and relocated to West Berlin.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Lebovics, *Social Conservatism*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

NOLDE, EMIL, born Emil Hansen (1867–1956), painter; one of the few prominent artists to defend National Socialism. Born to a peasant family in the Schleswig village of Nolde (which he adopted as his name in 1902), he studied woodworking in 1884–1888 before working as an itinerant cabinetmaker. After teaching for six years at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* in St. Gallen, he began studying art; his first painting was completed at the late age of twenty-nine. In 1906 he joined Dresden's *Die Brücke*. Although his association lasted only eighteen

months, it was in this period that Nolde mastered woodcutting. His 1909 oil painting *Abendmahl* (Last Supper), one of several religious works produced before the war, was the first Expressionist painting purchased by a German museum. Loosely associated with several avant-garde groups, he helped found Berlin's* *Neue Sezession* in 1910 and took part in the second *Blaue Reiter* exhibition in 1912.

Nolde's racially tinged nationalism was evident before World War I. In 1913, following a research expedition to the Orient, he concluded that Japan was ''the Germany of the East.'' Although he rebuked an imperialism that abused tribal cultures, he did so from romantic notions of the purity of primordial man. Too old to serve in the war, he joined the leftist *Arbeitsrat für Kunst** after the Armistice,* yet in 1920 he became a charter member of North Schleswig's NSDAP.

Nolde divided his life in the 1920s between Schleswig-Holstein and Berlin. In contrast to fellow Expressionists, who often rejected their prewar style, he resisted Berlin's allure and devoted most of his luminous color to the sea and landscape of Schleswig. His mystical attachment to Germany seemed to augur well for a future in the Third Reich. But whereas Nolde believed that Expressionism was compatible with National Socialism, the Nazis hated Expressionism. Nolde naïvely anticipated recognition upon Hitler's* assumption of power, but soon found his work proscribed by ideologues. Despite early support from Joseph Goebbels,* his art was gradually withdrawn from museums. By 1937, when 27 of his works appeared in the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art), 1,052 others had been removed from museums. Forbidden to work, he secretly painted small watercolors from fear that the odor of oils might compromise him. Although he was appointed professor of art in Schleswig-Holstein in 1946, his early support of the NSDAP haunted him until his death.

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Grosshans, *Hitler and the Artists*; Pois, *Emil Nolde*.

NOSKE, GUSTAV (1868–1946), politician; served as the Republic's first Defense Minister. Born to a working-class family in Brandenburg, he was a basketmaker when he joined the outlawed SPD in 1886. By 1893 he was working for SPD newspapers* in Brandenburg and Königsberg; he became editor in 1902 of the reformist *Chemnitzer Volksstimme*. He was elected to the Reichstag* in 1906 and was an important voice in the SPD's right wing, forming an expertise in military and colonial affairs while affirming Germany's right to imperial expansion. Disparaging ideologues—he dubbed Marxism ''an occult science''—he blindly supported Germany's war effort.

Despite impeccable patriotism, Noske supported the Kaiser's abdication in November 1918 in the belief that it would ensure a just peace. Appointed Commissioner of Kiel on 4 November 1918, he moved gingerly against the unrest seething in that port city during the war's final week. With skill and courage he negotiated a truce with the sailors that secured his election as both chairman of

Kiel's Sailors' Council and governor of the city. When the USPD resigned from the Council of People's Representatives* in December 1918, he was selected to fill a vacancy. Asked if he would take charge of military affairs, he replied: ''Someone will have to be the bloodhound; I won't shirk the responsibility'' (''*Einer muss der Bluthund werden, ich scheue die Verantwortung nicht*''). He swiftly enlisted members of the Imperial Army to organize Freikorps* units for the defense of Germany's provisional government. As virtual dictator of Berlin* during the early months of 1919, he was reproached by members of the SPD for the brutality he meted out against insurgents, yet he was increasingly admired by many on the Right, some of whom tempted him with offers of support should he overthrow the Republic. But Noske remained a loyal servant. Unfortunately, his method of salvaging the regime ensured the survival of reactionary elements in the new Reichswehr.* While he earned the respect of high-ranking military officers, the nascent army was so ambivalent during the Kapp* Putsch of March 1920 that it compromised Noske and forced his resignation. He was uniformly hated by the Left, but his departure deprived the SPD of whatever influence it enjoyed with the military during the initial months of the Republic.

The SPD did not run Noske in the June 1920 Reichstag elections. Otto Braun* and Carl Severing,* long-time friends, salvaged his career by appointing him *Oberpräsident* of Hanover. A good administrator, he retained the position until he was dismissed by the NSDAP in 1933. He enjoyed a successful Frankfurt retirement, but was arrested as a suspect in the July 1944 attempt on Hitler's* life. Because illness delayed his trial, he managed to survive the war.

REFERENCES: Carsten, *Reichswehr and Politics*; Mathews, ''Economic Origins of the Noskepolitik''; Stachura, *Political Leaders*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

NOVEMBER CRIMINALS (*Novemberverbrecher*); conceived by the anti-republican Right (the DNVP and other unrepentant monarchists), the term was first used to identify any German who had a hand in either the Armistice* or the Versailles Treaty,* but it was soon applied to those prepared to fulfill the terms of Versailles (e.g., Walther Rathenau* and Gustav Stresemann*). Linked to the *Dolchstosslegende*,* it cast an ominous shadow on the Weimar Constitution* and the existence of the Republic.

Although chief among the ''November Criminals'' were Matthias Erzberger,* Philipp Scheidemann,* and Friedrich Ebert,* anyone who gave immoderate support to the Republic could be tagged a *Novemberverbrecher*. While leading Party officials from the Weimar Coalition* were chiefly suspect, Theodor Wolff* (a newspaper editor) was the premier example of the nonpolitical *Novemberverbrecher*. From 1915 Wolff had attacked radical annexations in the pages of the *Berliner Tageblatt*; accordingly, he was cast increasingly in the 1920s as the traitor who had sabotaged national solidarity and had thereby subverted Germany's war effort.

The NSDAP usurped ''November Criminal'' as a Party slogan. Applying it

broadly to social, political, cultural, and economic issues, the Nazis ultimately turned it against anyone associated with the ''Weimar system.''
REFERENCES: Laqueur, *Weimar*; Taddey, *Lexikon*; Thimme, *Flucht in den Mythos*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

NOVEMBER REVOLUTION; the upheaval that swept the Hohenzollern dynasty (and every other German royal house) from power. The revolution was actually sparked on 29 September 1918 when the country's military leadership acknowledged imminent defeat and implored Kaiser Wilhelm to seek an armistice.* This set in motion not simply the exchange of notes ending the war but broad October reforms under Prinz Max* von Baden that virtually transformed Germany into a parliamentary democracy. Both milestones, part of a ''revolution from above,'' were deemed essential to preservation of the monarchy—albeit, a monarchy responsible to the Reichstag.* But while issues of central concern to the population were addressed—peace negotiations had been opened, the SPD had joined a coalition government, Prussia's* restrictive voting franchise had been abolished, and the new constitution of 28 October had removed the Kaiser's arbitrary powers—further revolution was not averted.

The Kaiser's abdication on 9 November resulted largely from Prinz Max's failure to convince a restive populace that real change had occurred. With a prince as Chancellor and a general as War Minister, and with censorship still extant, it was hard to comprehend what had happened. Moreover, while the government deliberated for an armistice, the navy gave orders on 28 October for an operation against British ships. Deeming this a suicide mission, the sailors in Wilhelmshaven mutinied.

By 4 November events in Wilhelmshaven had sparked full-scale revolt; within hours Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* seized control in almost every major German city. Doubting its right to govern, imperial authority crumbled as quickly as the councils (*Räte*) assembled; the transition was largely bloodless. The first royal house collapsed on 7 November when Kurt Eisner* expelled Bavaria's* Wittelsbachs. At noon on 9 November Max transferred power to Friedrich Ebert,* a Social Democrat. Two hours later, against Ebert's wishes, Party colleague Philipp Scheidemann* proclaimed a republic. The Kaiser, residing with his army in Spa, fled to Holland.

The Kaiser's forced abdication (he had hoped to retain the Prussian throne) formally ended the revolution. While the councils retained important power for several weeks, it was soon clear that their overriding goal was peace; they largely accepted the constitutional reforms of October. Although the specter of a Bolshevik-style revolution persisted into 1919, the SPD managed to regulate events when its leaders fabricated a Council of People's Representatives* on 10 November and thus assumed responsibility (temporarily with the USPD) for an interim German Socialist Republic. The SPD conspired with the Imperial Army, moreover, to thwart the revolution's further progress, an action that was probably unnecessary since, as a spontaneous event, the revolution lacked any tran-

scending motivation. In December the Congress* of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils helped reestablish the order required to elect a National Assembly.*
REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Bassler, ''Communist Movement''; Klaus Epstein, ''Wrong Man''; Haffner, *Failure of a Revolution*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Waldman, *Spartacist Uprising*.

NOVEMBERGRUPPE. Aroused by the November Revolution* and concerned with publicizing their ideas, several architects, artists, writers, critics, and musicians formed the *Novembergruppe* on 3 December 1918. Led initially by Max Pechstein and César Klein (both painters), the group invited ''Expressionists, Cubists, Futurists'' to produce a new art for a new time. Many members were also associated with the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*.* In all, more than forty artists and architects exhibited under the auspices of the *Novembergruppe* in its first year; Ludwig Mies,* head of its architectural section, arranged several exhibits of advanced architectural concepts. As with other groups of socially conscious intellectuals—for example, the Bauhaus*—the *Novembergruppe* initially clamored for the production of art with a social and political message.

The *Novembergruppe*'s political commitment soon eroded, and dissension formed within its ranks. Early members such as the artists Georg Scholz, George Grosz,* and Rudolf Schlichter (all diffident Communists), judging the *Novembergruppe* vague and moderate, attacked its leadership as bourgeois and overly committed to exhibitions. When it endorsed the Prussian government's 1921 decision to ban the work of Otto Dix* and Schlichter from a Berlin* exhibition, several Communists migrated to the loosely organized *Rote Gruppe*. By 1925 the *Novembergruppe*, although it continued to exhibit until 1932, was little more than a body devoted to exhibitions and marketing.
REFERENCES: Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*; Long, *German Expressionism*; Selz, ''Artist as Social Critic''; Willett, *Art and Politics*.

O

OLDENBURG-JANUSCHAU, ELARD VON (1855–1937), politician; archetypal Junker* who exercised leverage on Hindenburg* in the Republic's final year. He was born in the West Prussian town of Beisleiden; his family had held estates in both East and West Prussia* since the eighteenth century. Commissioned a Prussian officer in 1874, he was a powerful member of the *Bund der Landwirte* (Agrarian League) and served as the organization's chairman in East Prussia. As a Conservative, he entered Prussia's *Abgeordnetenhaus* in 1901; he held his mandate until 1910 and sat concurrently in the Reichstag* during 1902–1912. During the war's final two years (1916–1918) he sat in the Prussian *Herrenhaus*. A leader of the old Conservative Party, he joined the DNVP and was among the outspoken opponents of the Republic. In September 1930 he was elected to the Reichstag, where he represented East Prussia until July 1932.

A proponent of presidential dictatorship, Oldenburg was an exemplar of the archconservative militarist. Even in the Kaiserreich he was antagonistic to parliament: in a speech of 1910 he exclaimed that with a lieutenant and ten men, one could shoot the entire Reichstag. An intimate of Hindenburg, he wielded an unfortunate influence on the old President; indeed, he disparaged Hindenburg's anxiety over the ''violent manners'' of the Nazis and reproached him for adhering to the Constitution.* He helped alienate Hindenburg from both his Chancellor (Heinrich Brüning*) and his Defense Minister (Wilhelm Groener*).
REFERENCES: Bosl, Franz, and Hofmann, *Biographisches Wörterbuch*; Dorpalen, *Hindenburg*.

OPERA. *See* Music.

ORDER OF YOUNG GERMANS. *See Jungdo.*

ORGANISATION CONSUL (OC); successor in April 1920 to the *Brigade Ehrhardt*. Of the several *Wehrverbände* formed in response to the dissolution of the Freikorps,* OC was especially infamous. Organized by Hermann Ehrhardt,* OC made Munich its home since Ehrhardt (alias Consul Eichmann) was wanted by north German authorities for his part in the Kapp* Putsch. Widely tolerated in Bavaria,* OC was elitist and militarily well trained. Hoping to sustain a radical Freikorps spirit, Ehrhardt focused less on creating a group of men devoted to him than on generating a corps of leaders capable of infiltrating other organizations. Because Ehrhardt was persona non grata, OC was supervised by Alfred Hoffmann, while its military affairs were administered by Manfred von Killinger. Ernst von Salomon* served as adjutant. Although OC never exceeded five thousand men, the fact that other former Freikorps units were identified with it led officials to assume that it was far larger. Subordinate to its Munich office were thirteen *Gauleiter* (regional leaders), responsible for organizing and training auxiliary units. Persevering during 1921–1922 with military training in both Bavaria and Silesia, OC participated in the Upper Silesian* campaign of May 1921. (As the Versailles Treaty* prohibited Reichswehr* troops from entering the province, paramilitary activity in Silesia enjoyed the tacit support of the Weimar regime.)

While *Femegericht** was associated with several Freikorps successor groups, the term is especially associated with OC. As its goals included the ''fomentation of internal unrest in order to attain the overthrow of the antinationalist Weimar Constitution,'' OC adopted assassination* as its favored means of provoking unrest. On 9 June 1921 members of OC shot and killed Karl Gareis, leader of Bavaria's USPD. Its first renowned target, former Economics Minister Matthias Erzberger,* was murdered on 26 August 1921 in the Black Forest. Following this crime, the assassins were smuggled into Hungary. When the Baden police implicated OC in their investigation, Ehrhardt renamed the group *Neudeutscher Bund* (New German League). Its aspirations remained unchanged. In the summer of 1922 *Neudeutscher Bund* attacked Philipp Scheidemann* and Maximilian Harden* and assassinated Walther Rathenau.* Ehrhardt disappeared after these ''triumphs,'' and the organization was again disguised with a new name, *Bund Wiking* (Viking League). Although twenty members of *Bund Wiking* were brought to trial in 1924, the indictment was membership in a secret military association rather than murder. In 1926 Carl Severing,* Prussian Interior Minister, ordered the League's dissolution as an unlawful organization. Not only did *Bund Wiking* ignore Severing, it brought suit against him in an attempt to establish the illegality of his order (with twisted logic, it argued that the Republican *Reichsbanner** was also illegal). The courts upheld Severing; however, the League failed to act until Ehrhardt published the following in the 27 April 1928 *Vossische Zeitung*: ''Captain Ehrhardt has dissolved *Bund Wiking* throughout

the Reich. The reason is that he is convinced that there is no future in power politics.''

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Howard Stern, ''*Organisation Consul*''; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism.*

ORGESCH (*Organisation Escherich*). *See* Georg Escherich.

OSSIETZKY, CARL VON (1889–1938), editor and publisher; managed *Die Weltbühne** during 1927–1933. He was born in Hamburg to petty bourgeois circumstances; his father (a civil-service* stenographer of Polish origin), died when Carl was two. Despite the ''von'' (whose origin is uncertain), his upbringing was decidedly not aristocratic. He left Gymnasium before graduation and clerked during 1907–1914 for Hamburg's provincial administration. Notwithstanding the poor start, he married an Englishwoman of aristocratic extraction and matured into an uncommonly cosmopolitan writer. Attracted to politics, he belonged to the Democratic Alliance (*Demokratische Vereinigung*) in 1912–1914 and became a radical pacifist during the war; he served in 1919–1920 as secretary of Berlin's* German Peace Society.* In January 1920 he joined the left-liberal *Berliner Volkszeitung* as a correspondent. With other radical pacifists in the newspaper's employ, he helped organize the ''*Nie-wieder-Krieg-Bewegung*'' (''Never Again War Movement'') of 1920–1922. In January 1924 he was a founder of the short-lived Republican Party. Led by Fritz von Unruh,* this left-liberal Party, which sought to unite labor and the middle classes, failed to gain a seat in the May 1924 elections. Soon thereafter Ossietzky wrote: ''One hears people say that this republic is without republicans. Unluckily, the situation is just the reverse: the republicans are without a republic.''

Ossietzky joined *Das Tage-Buch** in June 1924. Although it was coedited at the time by Leopold Schwarzschild and Stefan Grossmann, he became responsible editor (*Sitzredakteur*) and thus assumed liability for the journal's rather radical opinions. In 1927 he accepted the offer of Siegfried Jacobsohn's* widow to edit *Weltbühne*. Working closely with Kurt Tucholsky* (who had acted as editor since Jacobsohn's death), he preserved and even extended the journal's rigorous coverage of Weimar's political and economic situation, but with a commitment to elegance that markedly enhanced its image. Because the journal published an informed critique in 1929 of Germany's secret rearmament program, Ossietzky was sentenced in November 1931 to an eighteen-month prison term for ''betraying military secrets.'' Although he was the beneficiary of an amnesty in December 1932, he refused to leave Germany and was arrested again on 28 February 1933, remaining imprisoned until November 1936. His final seventeen months were spent in a Berlin hospital, where he died of tuberculosis in May 1938. He was awarded the 1935 Nobel Peace Prize in absentia.

REFERENCES: Abrams, *Nobel Peace Prize*; Déak, *Weimer Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Poor, *Kurt Tucholsky*; Suhr, *Carl von Ossietzky.*

OSTHILFE (Eastern Aid); a government program used chiefly to cover the high-interest debts of the Junkers'* East Elbian estates. By the mid-1920s the

global economy was entrenched in agricultural recession. Because of failure to modernize, Prussia's* landed estates were singularly sensitive to the crisis. To rescue the social structure, the national and Prussian state governments instituted *Ostpreussenhilfe* (East Prussian Aid) in 1926. But when recession deepened in 1928 into agricultural depression,* the program was renamed *Osthilfe* and expanded under Agriculture Minister Martin Schiele* to include all provinces east of the Elbe River. In October 1930 a Reich Commissioner (Gottfried Treviranus*) was appointed to manage the program, and from March 1931 the entire venture was subsumed under Reich leadership (President Hindenburg* deemed the Prussian government insensitive to Junker needs). In November 1931 Treviranus was succeeded by Hans Schlange-Schöningen,* who remained Commissioner until Heinrich Brüning's* cabinet fell in May 1932; Magnus von Braun* was Franz von Papen's* Commissioner, while Günther Gereke followed under Kurt von Schleicher.*

Osthilfe, which totaled about 2.5 billion marks, was the Republic's largest intervention in private debt. Although it was theoretically open to middle-level farms comprised of 20–100 hectares (about 50–250 acres), estate owners amassed 806 million marks during 1931–1933, while small farmers* collected only 43 million. Such inequality weakened agrarian unity and provoked dire political repercussions. *Osthilfe* also eased debt and mortgage payments by relaxing credit, but because it was based too often on high-interest foreign loans, it resulted in higher national debt and decreased profitability.

That a major subsidy was earmarked for *Osthilfe* amidst the depression* illustrates the influence of Hindenburg. An estate owner, the President was wounded by Junker attacks on his defense of the League of Nations and the Young Plan.* To retain leftist patronage while recovering his popularity with conservatives, he made his support of the Young Plan contingent on Hermann Müller's* allocation of 300 million additional marks for *Osthilfe*. Müller's consent to this bargain seriously damaged his own position and helped induce his cabinet's collapse in March 1930. It gradually became apparent that *Osthilfe* was simply a massive stipend to hopelessly indebted estates. There were no demands for structural changes that might have fundamentally altered the situation; indeed, the Junkers were unwilling to sanction agricultural reform. When Schlange-Schöningen urged securing the land from Polish encroachment by resettling west German peasants on bankrupt estates, the *Reichslandbund** maligned the idea as ''agrarian Bolshevism.'' Ultimately, the money allotted to *Osthilfe* (a program retained until 1937) neither saved the troubled estates nor satisfied the Junkers.

REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Bessel, ''Eastern Germany''; Buchta, *Junker*; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*.

OSTJUDEN (Eastern Jews*). Almost a fifth of the Republic's Jews (totalling somewhat under 600,000) were *Ostjuden*: Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe and Russia. A wave of Russian pogroms had inaugurated a mass migration in 1881, and revolution and renewed pogroms heightened the numbers during and

immediately after World War I. Of 100,000 *Ostjuden* who had entered Germany between 1914 and 1920, 55,000 remained in 1922. Fearful of returning east and prevented from entering the United States, the *Ostjuden* (whose chief language was Yiddish) became an economic and emotional burden to their assimilated coreligionists in Germany. The Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith,* the Jewish defense league, claimed in 1925 that many *Ostjuden* were ''racketeers, swindlers, currency and stock cheaters, and thieves and fences,'' ideal stereotypes for anti-Semites. In fact, the typical *Ostjude* led a meager existence as an itinerant salesman or industrial worker. Although not every German Jew disowned his Eastern brethren—Zionists and many Orthodox Jews revered their traditions—the typical response was uneasiness.

The ambivalence of German Jews to their Eastern brethren was induced largely by the dual challenges of anti-Semitism* and Zionism. Prompted by both kinship and an attachment to liberalism, German Jews had long championed the emancipation of *Ostjuden*. But when these *Halbasien* (''half-Asian'') Jews descended en masse upon Germany, sympathy changed to fear. Because their unsavory presence damaged the liberal Jews' assimilationist philosophy—which perceived Jews as just another group of Western Europeans—the *Ostjuden* were pressed to leave Germany as soon as possible (during 1905–1914, 70,000 had emigrated to the United States). The aspiration to secure Germany from an Eastern infestation was not shared by all German Jews: some, moved by humanism, selflessly aided and educated Eastern Jewry; others, harboring romantic notions of racial purity, idealized their unassimilated Eastern brethren as superior beings. But too many German Jews failed to acknowledge that anti-Semitism was directed not simply at *Ostjuden* but at *Judentum* generally. Ironically, the inability of German Jews to grasp that assimilation had become a hollow dream in Germany may have been aggravated by the presence of *Ostjuden*, from whom they carefully differentiated themselves.

REFERENCES: Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*; Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction*; George Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism*; Niewyk, *Jews in Weimar Germany*; Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers*.

P

PABST, GEORG WILHELM (1885–1967), film* director; with Fritz Lang* and F. W. Murnau,* counted among the premier filmmakers of the Weimar era. Born in the Bohemian city of Raudnitz, Pabst was raised in Vienna, where his father was a railway official. He began engineering studies at Vienna's *Technische Hochschule*, but was soon attracted to the theater.* Against family wishes, he transferred in 1904 to the city's Decorative Arts Academy and joined a traveling repertory troupe in 1906. In 1914 he was recruiting actors in France when war broke out. After being arrested as an enemy alien, he was held in custody for over four years. In 1919, soon after his release, he became artistic director of the New Vienna Stage. He relocated to Berlin* in 1920 and was assistant director for Carl Froelich's* first postwar film, *Im Banne der Kralle*; the experience converted him from actor to filmmaker. In 1923 he directed the Expressionist* *Der Schatz* (The treasure), his first film.

Pabst came into his own after 1924, when he became a proponent of *Neue Sachlichkeit*.* He pioneered the fragmenting of scenes by shooting and editing; the technique was powerful in *Geheimnisse einer Seele* (Secrets of a soul, 1925), a film treating psychoanalysis in which fragmentation depicted pieces of a dream. But it was *Die freudlose Gasse* (Joyless street, 1925) that brought him (and, incidentally, Greta Garbo) international acclaim. His first effort at social realism, *Die freudlose Gasse* portrayed the demise of a middle-class Viennese family during the runaway inflation* of 1923. In three films—*Abwege* (Crisis, 1928), *Büchse der Pandora* (Pandora's box, 1928), and *Tagebuch einer Verlorenen* (Diary of a lost girl, 1929)—he focused on feminine psychology against the backdrop of a decayed society; sexually permissive by period standards, they

were severely censored. Early sound films—*Westfront 1918* (1930), *Die Dreigroschenoper* (*The Threepenny Opera*,* 1931) and *Kameradschaft* (Comradeship, 1931)—wrongly established him as a pacifist, social critic, and internationalist; Pabst was more interested in portraying reality than in changing it. Perhaps best known for *Dreigroschenoper*, he so improvised on the script that Bertolt Brecht* sued him.

Pabst was working in France when Hitler* seized power. In 1934 he accepted an invitation to direct in Hollywood, but he returned to France in 1935. In 1939 he went to the family home in Austria,* by then part of the Third Reich, to prepare for immigration to the United States; the outbreak of war prevented his departure. He produced three films in Germany during World War II and continued directing in Europe until 1956.

REFERENCES: Atwell, *G. W. Pabst*; Brooks, *Lulu in Hollywood*; Lotte Eisner, *Haunted Screen*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*; *Masterworks of the German Cinema*.

PABST, WALDEMAR (1880–1969), Freikorps* leader; responsible for the murders of Rosa Luxemburg* and Karl Liebknecht.* Son of a Cologne museum director, Pabst opted for a military career. Commissioned in 1899, he was with the General Staff in 1918 when Erich Ludendorff* assigned him to the *Gardekavallerie-Schützendivision* (Guard-Cavalry-Rifle Division). During the Armistice* his unit was converted into a Freikorps division. With Captain Pabst as chief-of-staff, the ''Horse Guards'' comprised the core of the government's forces in Berlin.* Headquartered at the Eden Hotel, Pabst took custody of Luxemburg and Liebknecht when they were delivered to the Eden on 15 January 1919 in the wake of the failed Spartacist Uprising.* On orders from superiors—probably Pabst—members of the unit murdered both Communist leaders that evening.

Pabst was soon Berlin's most persistent agitator for military dictatorship. In July 1919, after the signing of the Versailles Treaty,* he proposed overthrow of the government to Gustav Noske.* When Noske rejected the idea, Pabst persuaded his commanding officer, General Hermann von Hofmann, to order a march on Berlin with the pretext of defending the government against Communist insurgents. Georg Maercker,* a Freikorps leader loyal to the Republic, induced Hofmann to cancel the order. When Noske learned of the plot, he demobilized the Horse Guards and discharged Pabst. In October 1919, when Ludendorff and Wolfgang Kapp* constituted the *Nationale Vereinigung* (National Union), Pabst joined the group and took responsibility for provoking discontent in the military. His work was simplified in early 1920 when the Allies pressured Germany to execute the treaty's terms with a sweeping dismissal of officers and troops. The directive induced General Walther von Lüttwitz* to join the *Nationale Vereinigung*; Lüttwitz, in turn, provoked the Kapp Putsch. When the coup ended on 17 March in fiasco, Pabst fled with several coconspirators to Munich. He soon made his way to Austria,* where he changed his surname to Peters and helped organize Austria's *Heimwehr* (national guard).

Pabst was a monarchist with, as he claimed, no ''*Führer-Wunsch*'' (leader wish). Although he returned to Germany in the early 1930s, he did not support the NSDAP; indeed, he disdained Hitler* as a socialist. Briefly arrested during the June 1934 Röhm* purge, he worked thereafter for the weapons division of Berlin's Rheinmetal-Borsig. In 1940 he founded a firm that fulfilled import orders with Switzerland. The connection was useful; fearing arrest by the Gestapo, he fled to Switzerland in 1943.

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; *Süddeutsche Zeitung*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism.*

PAINTING. *See* Dada, Expressionism, *and Neue Sachlichkeit.*

PAN-GERMAN LEAGUE (*Alldeutscher Verband*). *See* Heinrich Class.

PANOFSKY, ERWIN (1892–1968), art historian; helped establish Hamburg as a research center in art history. Born in Hamburg, he began studies in law, but switched under the influence of Freiburg's Wilhelm Vöge to art history. He wrote his doctoral thesis in 1914 on Dürer's theory of art and completed his *Habilitation* in 1920 at Hamburg. In 1921 he was entrusted with Hamburg's seminar in art history. Befriended by Fritz Saxl, Aby Warburg's* librarian, he collaborated in shaping the Warburg Library's solid art history collection. He also worked with, and was influenced by, Ernst Cassirer,* a member of Hamburg's philosophy faculty. He became full professor in 1926.

Panofsky was a cultural historian. His research embraced antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance; his teaching (often done at the Warburg Library) covered artistic methods, perspectives, and proportions. His interest was more in the contextual framework of a piece of art than in its aesthetic properties and more in demonstrating the organic unity of a historical period than in art per se. His writing, esteemed for its elegance and lucidity, received broader recognition outside Germany than at home.

Of Jewish ancestry, Panofsky resigned in 1933 and emigrated to the United States. By 1935 he held a professorship at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. When World War II ended, several German universities awarded him honorary doctorates, and Hamburg unavailingly invited his return.

REFERENCES: Ferretti, *Cassirer, Panofsky, and Warburg*; Gombrich, ''Obituary''; Holly, *Panofsky*; Podro, *Critical Historians of Art*; *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

PAPEN, FRANZ VON (1879–1969), Chancellor; achieved the demise of the Republic by persuading President Hindenburg* to appoint Hitler* Chancellor. Born to a family of Catholic* nobles in the Westphalian village of Werl, he pursued a military career, was commissioned a cavalry lieutenant in 1897, and during 1913–1915 served as military attaché to Washington. Forced to leave the United States when he became embroiled in its conflict with Mexico, he served on the Western Front prior to assignment with the Turkish General Staff. In

1919 he resigned his commission to pursue politics. He joined the Center Party* and represented its right wing in the Prussian Landtag during 1920–1928 and 1930–1932. From 1923 he was on the board of *Germania*, a conservative Catholic newspaper.* A popular member of the *Herrenklub*,* Papen was a prototype of the conservative Weimar politician: willing to accept the Republic, he disdained parliamentary democracy.

The *Herrenklub* introduced Papen to leading industrialists and Junkers.* With their support—a base that included Kurt von Schleicher*—Papen, until then a nonentity, gained appointment as Chancellor on 1 June 1932. The *Herrenklub* also furnished his cabinet, dubbed ''the cabinet of barons.'' With his power resting on Hindenburg, he rescinded a ban on the Nazi SA* and on 20 July 1932 used a riot in the Hamburg suburb of Altona (*see* ''Bloody Sunday'') as pretext for deposing the SPD government of Prussia* in an ill-advised effort to neutralize the Nazis. His *Preussenschlag* (Prussian coup), resulting from his overnight appointment as Prussian Reich Commissioner, provided an unconstitutional model for Hitler's forthcoming actions.

Papen's standing was ruined on 12 September when the Reichstag,* under the presidency of Hermann Göring,* voted 512–42 to censure his government. Although he had achieved a diplomatic success at July's Lausanne Conference,* his reactionary policies failed to allay Germany's internal crisis. Dismissed on 2 December, he immediately sought revenge on Schleicher, his successor and erstwhile sponsor. In a plot hatched at the *Herrenklub*, he met secretly with Hitler on 4 January 1933 at the home of Cologne banker Kurt von Schröder. The resultant understanding assured his appointment as Vice Chancellor in a Hitler-led cabinet. He retained office until July 1934, when, having narrowly escaped execution in the prior month's Röhm* purge, he joined the diplomatic mission in Vienna. Acquitted at Nuremberg, he was sentenced by a denazification court to eight years in a labor camp. He was released in 1949.

REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Jürgen Bach, *Franz von Papen*; Dorpalen, *Hindenburg*; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*; Papen, *Memoirs*; Wheeler-Bennett, *Hindenburg*.

PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE. *See* Versailles Treaty.

PARLIAMENT. *See* Constitution *and* Reichstag.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE. *See* Wilhelm Cuno *and* Ruhr Occupation.

PATRIOTIC ASSOCIATIONS (*Vaterländische Verbände*). Of the groups striving to undermine the Republic, none were more obstinate than the patriotic associations. Although they were active elsewhere in Germany, they were conspicuous in Bavaria.* Including both *Wehrverbände* and *Kampfbünde*, they appeared in 1920 when the Versailles Treaty* compelled a dramatic cut in regular army units and the elimination of the Freikorps.* Among the better-known were

Organisation Escherich (*Orgesch*) *Bund Bayern und Reich*, *Deutscher Kampfbund* (dominated by the Nazis), *Bund Oberland*, *Jungdo*,* *Organisation Consul** (OC), the NSDAP's SA,* the *Stahlhelm*,* and *Wehrwolf*. Hapless attempts were made from 1922 to give the *Verbände* a single voice through formation of the Union of German Patriotic Associations (*Vereinigte Vaterländische Verbände Deutschlands**) and the Union of Bavarian Patriotic Associations; such efforts were ultimately subverted by differences between the more restrained associations (e.g., *Orgesch*, *Bund Bayern und Reich*, and *Stahlhelm*) and the fascistic and racist groups (e.g., OC, *Deutscher Kampfbund*, and the SA). Internal disputes, generally over political goals and paramilitary ideals, also afflicted the associations. While the Nazis were not immune from dissension, only they managed (until 1934) to balance the ambitions of a party with the ideals of the SA.
REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Garnett, *Lion, Eagle, and Swastika*; Harold Gordon, *Hitler*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

PAULI, WOLFGANG (1900–1958), physicist; discovered the exclusion principle, according to which no two electrons can be described as having the same energy state. The son of a chemistry professor at Vienna, he comprehended Albert Einstein's* relativity theory while still in Gymnasium. He studied theoretical physics under Munich's Arnold Sommerfeld and took a doctorate in 1922; next he accompanied fellow student Werner Heisenberg* to Göttingen, where both worked under Max Born.* Pauli went to Copenhagen (followed by Heisenberg) to study with Niels Bohr. His inquiry into Bohr's quantum theory culminated in his landmark 1925 discovery of the exclusion principle; it was an essential step in validating quantum mechanics. By 1926 he and Heisenberg were delineating the quantum dynamics that occupied physicists for the next twenty years.

In 1928 Pauli succeeded Peter Debye at Zürich's *Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule*; he held the chair until his death (at Einstein's invitation, he worked at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study during World War II). Intrigued by the roots of scientific thought, he was unexpectedly attracted to Carl Jung's psychology. In 1930 he proposed the existence of an electrically neutral subatomic particle; the reality of the neutrino was later confirmed by Enrico Fermi. Pauli was the recipient of the Nobel Prize for physics in 1945, and his 1933 article on wave mechanics remained in the *Handbuch der Physik* through 1958. He rarely altered his ideas; Victor Weisskopf eulogized him as ''the conscience of theoretical physics.''
REFERENCES: *DSB*; Hendry, *Creation of Quantum Mechanics*; Laurikainen, *Beyond the Atom*.

PEACE TREATY. *See* Versailles Treaty.

PEASANTS. *See* Farmers.

PECHEL, RUDOLF (1882–1961), publicist; as editor of *Deutsche Rundschau*, a strong neoconservative influence on Berlin's* intellectual life. Born in the Mecklenburg village of Güstrow, he took a doctorate in German studies before joining the staff of Weimar's Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv. After a subsequent posting with the Märkisches Museum in Berlin, he began writing for the biweekly *Literarisches Echo* in 1912. He met Julius Rodenberg, publisher of *Deutsche Rundschau*, before the war; in April 1919 he became the journal's editor. Among Germany's oldest publications, *Deutsche Rundschau* was already a voice of German conservatism. But it was Pechel, remaining for almost twenty-three years, who transformed it into Germany's most respected neoconservative publication.

Resolved to exercise political influence, Pechel formed ties with several neoconservative groups. A member of the *Juni-Klub*, a circle centered on Arthur Moeller* van den Bruck, he retained close contact with its successor, the *Herrenklub*.* *Deutsche Rundschau* promoted the antiparliamentary ideology of both groups. As president of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für die Interessen der Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschen* (Alliance for the Interests of Border and Foreign Germans), Pechel published the organization's nationalistic propaganda. In 1924 he assumed sole direction of the *Deutsche Rundschau*. Procuring clandestine data from industry and ministerial offices, he used the journal to influence government policy, especially foreign affairs. From the mid-1920s *Deutsche Rundschau* was a mouthpiece for the Munich Academy for Scientific Research and the Fostering of Germandom (*Deutschtum*).

Suffering financially, *Deutsche Rundschau* was purchased in 1932 by the *Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt*. The next year Pechel was joined by two associate editors, Paul Fechter and Eugen Diesel, both close friends. He initially welcomed Hitler* and was prepared to cooperate with the NSDAP, but the June 1934 murder of Edgar Jung,* a friend, forced a reappraisal. Through judicious articles on past tyrants, Pechel used *Deutsche Rundschau* as a tool of disguised opposition. Linked with the resistance, he was arrested in 1942 and spent the remainder of the war at Sachsenhausen.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Mauersberger, *Rudolf Pechel*; Pechel, *Deutscher Widerstand*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

PECHMANN, WILHELM FREIHERR VON (1859–1948), President of the General Assembly of the Evangelical Church; an unequivocal opponent of both the Republic and the NSDAP. After studying classical languages and jurisprudence, he accepted a position with the Bayerische Handelsbank. Highly successful, he joined the bank's board of managers in 1889 (a position he retained until 1937). Thereafter he served with several financial bodies, including the central committee of the Reichsbank.

Pechmann was politically active before World War I, serving as President of the *Deutsche Reichspartei* in Bavaria.* In 1919 he entered the Bavarian Landtag as a member of the BVP. But when the BVP helped draft the Weimar Consti-

tution,* he resigned. He was selected to lead the Bavarian State Synod of the Evangelical Church in 1919 and then became the leading lay figure in Germany's largest Protestant* body when he was elected President of the church's General Assembly (*Kirchentag*) in 1921. He served concurrently on the standing committee of the Lutheran World Conference.

Pechmann despised the Republic, claiming that it owed its existence to ''a political party whose atheistic and anti-clerical bias cannot seriously be doubted or disputed.'' He attacked a 1927 church declaration calling on everyone to obey God's word by supporting the constituted state, and in 1931 he implored the church to rebuff ecumenism so long as Germany was forced to suffer the ''*Versailler Diktat*.'' Yet he was under no illusions regarding Hitler.* In March 1933 he begged the church to take a stand against ''the sea of hate and lies'' that had descended upon Germany. During the April 1933 boycott of Jewish businesses he requested a public protest and demanded that the Evangelical Church make a categorical statement of support for Jewish citizens. In 1934, after futile attempts to get the church to act against anti-Semitism,* he announced his decision to ''leave a Church that had stopped being a Church.'' He converted to Catholicism after World War II.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Scholder, *Churches and the Third Reich*; Wright, *''Above Parties.''*

PECHSTEIN, MAX. *See* Expressionism.

PEOPLE'S NATIONAL REICH ASSOCIATION. *See Jungdo*.

PEOPLE'S PARTY. *See* German People's Party.

PETERSEN, CARL (1868–1933), politician; chairman of the DDP. Born in Hamburg to a prominent and well-established family, he completed legal studies before practicing law privately. Long active in Hamburg's municipal administration, he entered the city's senate in September 1918. In January 1919 he was elected to the National Assembly*; election to the Reichstag* followed in 1920. Friedrich Naumann's* death in August 1919 prompted his election as DDP chairman.

Initially determined to preserve Naumann's leftist tradition, Petersen moderated his views and became an early advocate of fusion with the DVP. But his 1921 campaign slogan, ''From Scheidemann* to Stresemann,*'' was ineffective. Although he combined warmth with rhetorical skill, his politics remained fuzzy and his leadership lacked force. Having known Wilhelm Cuno* in Hamburg, he persuaded Friedrich Ebert* to appoint the shipping magnate Chancellor. In 1924 he resigned his offices to become Hamburg's *Oberbürgermeister*; the move spared the DDP a bitter leadership fight. Continuing as DDP leader in Hamburg, he led the municipality during 1924–1928 and from 1932 to March 1933. In September 1932, as a final measure to prevent dissolution of the German State

Party* (successor to the DDP), he agreed to join a three-man directorate with Hermann Dietrich* and Reinhold Maier.

REFERENCES: Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Taddey, *Lexikon*.

PFEFFER VON SALOMON, FRANZ (1888–1968), Freikorps* leader; head of the SA.* Born in Düsseldorf, he apparently dropped the last part of his name (von Salomon) out of sensitivity to anti-Semitic* opinion (he irregularly used ''von''). Holding the army rank of captain at the end of World War I, he created the Westphalian Freikorps* (also known as the Pfeffer Freikorps) and was active in the Baltic* and Upper Silesian* campaigns. The leader of a sabotage group in the Ruhr, he was also a member of *Organisation Consul*.*

Pfeffer served in the Westphalian SA as an Oberführer before commanding the entire organization from November 1926 until August 1930. Under his leadership the SA grew from a disparate group of 6,000 men to a disciplined force of over 60,000. As a former officer with sound managerial talents, he instituted a new organizational structure during 1926–1927 that settled the SA's character until the fall of the Republic. Devised in harmony with Hitler,* the structure ensured that the SA served as a vital, if subordinate, tool of the NSDAP. Pfeffer established several auxiliary organizations—for example, SA reserves, naval forces, and intelligence teams—that increased the SA's overall cohesiveness while presaging later developments. But growing resentment over Hitler's ''legal'' pursuit of power led to his bitter resignation as Supreme Leader of the SA (OSAF) during the 1930 election campaign. Despite his aversion to parliamentary politics, he joined the Reichstag's* NSDAP faction in November 1932. Arrested by the Gestapo in 1940 and 1944, he survived World War II and spent his final years in Munich.

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Max Schwarz, *MdR*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

PFEMFERT, FRANZ. *See Die Aktion*.

PFITZNER, HANS (1869–1949), musician and composer; rejected the musical forms of the avant-garde in favor of late nineteenth-century romanticism. Born in Moscow to a family of musicians, he was raised in Frankfurt and studied piano at the Hoch Conservatory. After several years as a music director and conductor in Berlin* and Munich, he directed Strassburg's opera during 1908–1916. While in Strassburg he composed the musical legend *Palestrina*, his best-known work. He returned to Berlin in 1920 and taught a composition master class at the Prussian Academy of Arts. In 1925 he received the *Pour le Mérite* (Peace Class) and was appointed senator of the German Academy. He was named full professor in 1928 at Munich's Academy of Music; his retirement was forced in 1934. Despite his reactionary penchant, he detested National Socialism.

Although Pfitzner perceived himself a romantic composer in the tradition of Robert Schumann and Carl Maria von Weber, he is more often linked with Wagner and Richard Strauss* (whom he disliked). Vehemently opposed to the idea that creativity is largely an unconscious act, he disputed the new theories emanating from Berlin's Ferruccio Busoni* and from Vienna's Alban Berg and Arnold Schoenberg.* His writings stressed the importance of inspiration, aesthetics, and craftsmanship over artistic creation. Next to *Palestrina* (1916), his principal compositions included the cantata *Von deutscher Seele* (From the German soul, 1921) and the choral fantasy *Das dunkle Reich* (The dark empire, 1929).

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Müller-Blattau, *Hans Pfitzner*; *New Grove*, vol. 14; Newsom, ''Hans Pfitzner.''

PFÜLF, ANTONIE (1877–1933), politician; advocated equal rights for women* and abolition of Germany's death penalty. Born in Metz to a Bavarian army officer, she studied pedagogy during 1896–1902 and thereafter taught in Upper Bavaria.* In 1902 she joined the SPD. In 1910, while living in Munich, she was forced by illness into an extended leave of absence. During World War I she did yeoman work as a counselor to orphans.

Pfülf entered the National Assembly* in 1919 and, as a member of the Constitutional Committee, championed child welfare and women's rights. After breaking with Catholicism,* she tried to underscore the incompatibility of serving as both a state and a church official. Reelected to the Reichstag* in 1920, she became secretary of the law committee. She was dedicated to criminal-law reform, including abolition of the death penalty. She also worked in the SPD's Women's Conference on behalf of basic rights for gainfully employed women and actively promoted community schools and parent organizations.

From the time of the 1930 Reichstag elections Pfülf was absorbed in countering the NSDAP. Following reelection on 5 March 1933, she was briefly incarcerated. In mid-May she begged the SPD faction to boycott a session scheduled to vote for Hitler's ''Peace Resolution''; coerced by Nazi threats, a majority of the faction sustained his resolution. Despairing, Pfülf committed suicide on 8 June 1933.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Dertinger, *Dazwischen liegt nur der Tod.*

PIECK, WILHELM (1876–1960), politician; a leading KPD functionary in the Weimar era and first President of the German Democratic Republic. Born to a working-class family in Guben, he apprenticed as a cabinetmaker and then joined the SPD. Living from 1910 in Berlin,* he forfeited a Party position in 1915 when his radicalism led him to the *Gruppe Internationale*, the socialist opposition. Inducted in 1916, he deserted to Amsterdam in January 1918 and returned to Germany just before the November Revolution.* With Karl Liebknecht,* he helped found the Spartacus League* on 11 November 1918 and

entered its *Zentrale*. A founder of the KPD, and in turn elected to its *Zentrale*, he was arrested on 15 January 1919—upon the failure of the Spartacist Uprising*—with Rosa Luxemburg* and Liebknecht. According to Waldemar Pabst,* Pieck was about to be shot when he requested a hearing. While he was subsequently released, his cohorts were murdered. By his testimony, he gained his freedom by convincing Pabst that he was someone else. Some suspect that he gave evidence against his colleagues.

Within the KPD Pieck hovered between the moderates and the leftists, always giving unwavering loyalty to Moscow. Political leader of Berlin-Brandenburg, he held a seat in the Prussian Landtag during 1921–1928 and in the Reichstag* in 1928–1933 and entered Prussia's* *Staatsrat* in 1930. A Comintern member from 1928, he joined its Presidium in 1931. During 1929–1933 he led Germany's branch of *Internationale Rote Hilfe* (a Communist assistance society). While he feared the Nazis, Pieck remained loyal to Party leader Ernst Thälmann* and took care not to embrace Heinz Neumann's* scheme of opposing the NSDAP in combination with the SPD.

In May 1933 Pieck fled to France. He was elected chairman of the KPD and from June 1941 assisted the Soviets by broadcasting propaganda to the invading German troops. Stalin sent him to Berlin in June 1945, where, with Otto Grotewohl, he founded the Socialist Unity Party. He was East Germany's President during 1949–1960.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*; Waldman, *Spartacist Uprising*; Hermann Weber, *Kommunismus*.

PINTHUS, KURT (1886–1975), theater* and film* critic; edited the first important anthology of Expressionism.* Born to a Jewish family in Erfurt, he studied philosophy and literary history at Leipzig and took his doctorate in 1911. Already writing criticism by 1908 for various literary publications (through which he helped establish several Expressionist writers), he was an advisor for Leipzig's Ernst Rowohlt* Verlag by 1910. In 1912 he helped his friend Kurt Wolff* establish the Kurt Wolff Verlag. As principal reader for Wolff (he still juried for Rowohlt), he promoted numerous Expressionists, including Franz Werfel and Walter Hasenclever.* Although World War I interrupted his career, he achieved some renown in November 1918 as a member of Magdeburg's Soldiers' Council. His early 1919 ''Address to World Citizens'' was among the literary community's foremost calls to internationalism. Relocating to Berlin,* he became leading critic for *Tage-Buch** and *8-Uhr-Abendblatt*. His *Menschheitsdämmerung* (Twilight of mankind), published in 1919, remains the most famous anthology of Expressionist poetry. With an uncommon appreciation of film and radio, he began broadcasting at Berlin's first radio station in 1923.

Although Pinthus appeared on the Nazis' list of proscribed authors, he remained in Germany after 1933 and lectured at Berlin's *Freies Jüdische Lehrhaus* (Free Jewish School). Fleeing to America in 1937, he wrote for the *New York*

Times, taught theater at Columbia University, and worked on the *Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature*. He returned to Germany in 1953.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Ermarth, *Kurt Wolff*; Newton, *Form in the Menschheitsdämmerung*; Raabe, *Era of German Expressionism*.

PISCATOR, ERWIN (1893–1966), theater* director and playwright; best known for his concept of political theater. He was born in the village of Ulm, near Wetzlar, to a local pastor; the family soon moved to Marburg. In 1913 he began studies in art history and philosophy at Munich; however, he was soon drawn to the stage. In the summer of 1914 he acted as an extra with Munich's *Hoftheater*. Drafted in 1915, he was politicized by the war (he was wounded in 1917). In Berlin* by 1918, he joined the Dada* group (he was fast friends with George Grosz*) and entered the KPD early in 1919. After creating Königsberg's Theater Tribunal in 1919, he returned to Berlin to open his Proletarian Theater; less auditorium than group, the *Proletarisches Theater* performed propaganda pieces in meeting rooms and small halls. Shifting to mainstream production, he assumed direction of Berlin's *Central-Theater* in 1923–1924 and then directed the *Volksbühne* during 1924–1927. He worked in these years with Bertolt Brecht,* Max Brod, Ernst Toller,* and Walter Mehring.* With his *Piscator-Bühnen* (three separate companies), he devised elaborate sets; his best-known shows, mounted during 1927–1931, included *Hoppla, wir leben!*, *Rasputin*, *Schweik*, and *Der Kaufmann von Berlin*. His acclaimed book *Das politische Theater* (The political theater), published in 1929, is an autobiographical rendering of his work.

Both Nazism and financial problems convinced Piscator to leave Germany in 1931. He went first to the Soviet Union,* where he made films* and led the International Revolutionary Theater Alliance, and then lived in Paris during 1936–1938. He sailed for New York in 1938 and began directing the drama workshop at the New School for Social Research in 1940. From 1962 until his death he was intendant at the *Freie Volksbühne* in West Berlin. Above all else, Piscator aimed for ''total theater,'' that is, an auditorium so equipped with technology and sophisticated concepts that he could expose the full potential of the stage.
REFERENCES: Edward Braun, *Director and the Stage*; Holderness, ''Schaustück und Lehrstück''; Innes, *Erwin Piscator's Political Theatre*; Patterson, *Revolution in German Theatre*; Willett, *Theatre of Erwin Piscator*.

PLANCK, ERWIN (1893–1945), bureaucrat; served as the Chancellery's State Secretary under Franz von Papen* and Kurt von Schleicher.* Son of Max Planck,* the Berlin* physicist, he was commissioned an army officer in 1910. He began medical studies in 1913, but was recalled to the army upon the outbreak of war. Severely wounded and captured in September 1914, he was confined in France until he was repatriated in October 1917. After assignment to

the General Staff (where he served on Hindenburg's* personal staff), he became friends with then Major Schleicher, whom he followed into the Defense Ministry in November 1919. In January 1924, just promoted to cavalry captain (*Rittmeister*), he went to the Chancellery as liaison officer; reporting to the Reichswehr,* he was Schleicher's ''eyes and ears'' at the government's highest levels.

Highly valued by superiors and colleagues alike, Planck quit the Reichswehr in 1926 to formally join the civil service.* Assigned to the Chancellery, he advanced rapidly and, upon the collapse of Heinrich Brüning's* cabinet in May 1932, succeeded Hermann Pünder* as *Staatssekretär* (Pünder had promoted his career). He vigorously represented Schleicher before Reichstag* deputies and in December 1932 and January 1933 promoted his effort at an understanding with the trade unions.* Just before Schleicher's removal he considered thwarting Hitler's* appointment through proclamation of a national emergency.

Planck applied for retirement on 30 January 1933 and was granted a pension in July. Although he was convinced of the regime's criminality, he became its opponent only after Schleicher's murder on 30 June 1934. Through contact with Johannes Popitz,* Prussian Finance Minister, he joined the resistance. He was arrested on 23 July 1944 and condemned to death. His father's efforts to gain Hitler's clemency were ineffectual.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Bracher, *Auflösung*; Leber, *Conscience in Revolt*.

PLANCK, MAX (1858–1947), physicist; revolutionized science with his quantum theory. Born to a legal scholar in Kiel, he took his doctorate in 1879 at Berlin,* where Gustav Kirchhoff animated his interest in radiation. After five years at Munich he was appointed full professor at Kiel. He succeeded Kirchhoff in 1889 and remained at Berlin until he retired in 1926.

Planck focused his research on thermodynamics, especially the study of radiation from black (perfectly absorbing) bodies, and recorded those phenomena inexplicable by Newtonian physics. In 1900 he published his findings in ''On the Theory of the Law of Energy Distribution in a Normal Spectrum,'' which proposed that subatomic energy exists in small bundles or ''quanta'' and that instead of being a uniform commodity, these quanta vary in size based on the frequency of radiation of which they form a part. Key to understanding the internal structure of the atom, the theory questioned the distinction between energy and matter and drove the great advances in physics during the next half-century, including Albert Einstein's* theory of relativity and the development of quantum mechanics.

Planck received the Nobel Prize for physics in 1918, was elected a foreign member of England's Royal Society in 1926 (the society awarded him its Copley medal in 1929), and became president of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society* (KWG) in 1930. His work behind him, he remained in Nazi Germany. Openly opposed to many Nazi policies, he appealed unavailingly to Hitler* to end Jewish persecution. In 1938 he resigned from the KWG. After World War II his achieve-

ments were commemorated when the KWG was renamed the Max Planck Society for the Advancement of Science.

REFERENCES: Heilbron, *Dilemmas of an Upright Man*; Hermann, *New Physics*; Macrakis, *Surviving the Swastika*.

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PÖHNER, ERNST. *See* Wilhelm Frick.

POL, HEINZ. *See* Ullstein Verlag.

POLAND. Removed from the European map in 1795, Poland was resurrected after World War I at the expense of Russia, the Habsburg Empire, and Germany. The provinces of West Prussia* and Posen, portions of East Prussia and Upper Silesia,* and the city of Danzig* (a free city protected by the League of Nations) were lost to Germany through the Versailles Treaty* (plebiscites were held in July 1920 in areas of East Prussia and in March 1921 in areas of Upper Silesia to determine the national disposition of the regions). Germany resented these changes, and border revision became a persistent goal of the Foreign Office throughout the Weimar era; indeed, it may have been the only objective upon which all major political parties agreed. Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann* claimed just before his death in 1929 that whereas no German was prepared to go to war for Alsace-Lorraine,* no German—from the ex-Kaiser to the poorest Communist—was prepared to recognize the eastern borders. German irredentism and Polish de-Germanization so clouded German-Polish relations that a state of ''cold war'' persisted throughout the years 1919 to 1933.

To provide access to East Prussia, the Corridor Transit Treaty was negotiated in 1921; Poland honored the accord until the beginning of World War II. Before the Locarno Treaties* of 1925, Germany avoided a nonaggression pact with the Poles; according to Foreign Office State Secretary Carl von Schubert,* to contract such a pact would be ''nothing other than a form of recognizing the borders.'' Similarly, Ulrich Rauscher,* Ambassador to Warsaw, opposed any compact that appeared to recognize the status quo; such a treaty, it was argued, would demoralize the Germans in the lost territories. After Locarno, Poland stood firmly by the League of Nations while embracing its treaty with France; it was among the first states to sign the 1927 Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing aggressive war. Germany's Foreign Office, meanwhile, privately discounted the likelihood of Polish aggression while publicly underscoring Polish troop movements and every instance of ''Polish chauvinism and racial hatred.'' Stresemann hoped that Poland's languishing economy might lead to territorial concessions for the sake of loans and improved economic relations. Conversely, Schubert and Rauscher argued that frontier revision was unlikely without the use of force, and Rauscher even pressed for economic concessions to improve the treatment of Poland's German minority. Although Stresemann pondered an end to a tariff war initiated in mid-1925, a commercial treaty was not negotiated until March 1930. By the late 1920s the Foreign Office was examining the possibility of

bringing pressure for border revision through alignment with states (Lithuania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia) harboring compatible goals.

Ironically, rejecting the concept of treaty revision in the East, Hitler* negotiated a Nonaggression Pact with Poland in 1934 and thereby eased fourteen years of German-Polish tension—ominously subverting Poland's alliance with France. By thus ensuring peace, Hitler was free to consolidate his domestic position while avoiding a comprehensive eastern settlement deemed too conservative.

REFERENCES: Blanke, *Orphans of Versailles*; Doss, *Zwischen Weimar und Warschau*; Kimmich, *Free City*; Korbel, *Poland*; Von Riekhoff, *German-Polish Relations*.

POLISH CORRIDOR. *See* Poland.

POLITICAL COMBAT LEAGUES. *See* Freikorps.

POPITZ, JOHANNES (1884–1945), bureaucrat; helped regulate the Republic's fiscal policies in the mid-1920s. Born to a pharmacist in Leipzig, he was raised by a grandfather in Dessau upon his father's early death. A student of law and economics, he completed his doctorate in 1907 and assumed a legal position in Cologne with the Prussian civil service*; by 1914 he was a department head with the Prussian Interior Ministry. Sent to the Reich Treasury Office in 1916, he was appointed *Geheimrat* at the Finance Ministry upon conclusion of the Armistice.* Promoted to ministerial director in 1921 and *Staatssekretär* in January 1925, he was soon deemed Germany's foremost financial-law expert. He promoted the unpopular fiscal policies of Finance Minister Matthias Erzberger* (policies that were applied in 1924) and was appointed honorary professor for finance and tax law in 1922 at Berlin.

Popitz combined uncommon intelligence with personal integrity and financial expertise. Serving several Finance Ministers, he proved his genius by creating an important tax law in August 1925, soon after his appointment as *Staatssekretär*. The law, which addressed the turmoil generated in the aftermath of the inflation* crisis (and remained in force until 1945), was the first of many innovative policies regulating finances, especially between the Reich and federal states. Politically conservative, yet a member of no party, Popitz abhorred a system that required negotiation and compromise. A clash with Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht* in 1929 led him to resign together with Finance Minister Rudolf Hilferding.* He then devoted two years to scholarly research. After his coup against the Prussian government, Franz von Papen* asked Popitz to manage the Prussian Finance Ministry. Kurt von Schleicher* appointed him Minister without Portfolio and Commissioner of the Prussian Finance Ministry.

Hitler* appointed Popitz Prussian Finance Minister in March 1933. Although he worked for several years with the regime—he was awarded the NSDAP's Golden Badge of Honor in 1937—by the late 1930s he was embarrassed by his role as a Nazi sycophant. Never an admirer of the Republic, he slowly came to

detest the Third Reich. A leader in the resistance group *Mittwochgesellschaft* (Wednesday Society), centered on General Ludwig Beck and Carl Goerdeler,* he drafted a preliminary constitution for a post-Hitler regime in which he would serve as either Finance or Cultural Minister. Condemned to death for his activities, he was executed in February 1945.

REFERENCES: Bosl, Franz, and Hofmann, *Biographisches Wörterbuch*; Dieckmann, *Johannes Popitz*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

PORSCHE, FERDINAND (1875–1951), automobile design engineer; famous for racing cars and the Volkswagen design. Born in the Bohemian village of Maffersdorf (now Vratislavice), he apprenticed as a tinsmith in his father's factory while privately studying physics and tinkering with electricity. In 1893 he went to Vienna to train at the electrical firm of Béla Egger; within five years he directed the company's testing room. His skill at devising components for automobiles led Ludwig Lohner of Vienna's *Hof-Wagenfabrik Lohner* to hire him in 1898. By 1900 he was the company's chief of development. The Lohner-Porsche *Elektromobil* was a sensation at the 1900 Paris Exhibition, bringing Porsche wide recognition. In 1905 he was hired by Daimler's Austrian division. Not only did his fame increase for his design of midsize and large touring cars, but he became known as a racing driver. During the war his designs for aircraft engines and heavy locomotives earned him the Franz-Josephs-Orden and an honorary doctorate from Vienna's *Technische Hochschule*. He became *Generaldirektor* in 1917 of Daimler's six-thousand-employee Vienna-Neustadt plant.

Although Porsche was celebrated for the expensive six-cylinder AD-617, his first postwar design, his personal ambition was production of a small, four-cylinder racing car called the ''Sascha-Wagen''—a car that failed to impress Daimler. After the death in 1922 of his favorite test driver, Porsche impulsively quit his Vienna position to join Daimler in Stuttgart as technical director. When his two-liter Targa-Florio achieved an impressive racing victory in April 1924, Stuttgart's *Technische Hochschule* awarded him an honorary doctorate. But his relationship with Daimler (Daimler-Benz since 1926) was increasingly uneasy.

In 1929 Porsche moved to Graz as chief design engineer for *Steyr-Werke*. When the depression* ruined Steyr, it was acquired by Daimler-Benz. Averse to returning to Daimler, Porsche opened his own Stuttgart-based design firm. From a shaky inception, the office became a brain trust for automobile prototypes, especially for *Auto-Union*, a recent merger of Horsch, Audi, Wanderer, and Rasmussen. For *Zündapp-Motorrad-Werke* he developed a small car that was a rough prototype for the Volkswagen.

Hitler's* appointment generated considerable opportunity: the Führer was intrigued by fast cars. In June 1934, with his sixteen-cylinder racing car breaking records throughout Europe, Porsche was commissioned to design an inexpensive car for mass production: the Volkswagen (''People's Car''). Designed with an air-cooled rear engine, it went through numerous variations. Despite enormous

promise and the assembly of a modern plant in Wolfsburg, VW production was limited before 1945 to military models.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Peter Müller, *Ferdinand Porsche*.

PORTEN, HENNY. *See* Carl Froelich.

POTEMPA MURDER. Early on 10 August 1932, in the Upper Silesian* village of Potempa (near the Polish border), six members of the SA* forced their way into the home of Konrad Pietzuch. An unemployed Polish farm laborer and Communist sympathizer, Pietzuch was murdered in front of his mother and brother.

Although the Potempa murder took place against a backdrop of spreading political violence, it became a national sensation. Occurring within hours of Franz von Papen's* issuance of two decrees to combat terrorism, it was followed by a well-publicized trial in Beuthen where five of nine defendants (three were tried as instigators) were condemned to death on 22 August. Packed with Nazis, the courtroom became a scene of bedlam when the sentence was announced. When the *Völkischer Beobachter** published a threatening proclamation by Hitler,* Papen commuted the sentences (2 September) to life imprisonment on grounds that the killers had been unaware of his harsh antiterrorist decrees when they committed their crime. All were subsequently released by Hitler.
REFERENCES: Bessel, ''Potempa Murder''; Kluke, ''Fall Potempa.''

PRESIDENT. *See* Constitution.

PRESIDENTIAL CABINET (Presidential Regime). Hitler's* appointment in January 1933 at the head of a so-called Presidential Cabinet was feasible because the Reichstag's* parliamentary power to confirm such appointments had been subverted over the prior three years. During 1930–1932, largely under Heinrich Brüning,* policy was increasingly enacted without recourse to parliament. Although the Reichstag passed 29 measures in this period, 115 emergency decrees were implemented by authority of President Hindenburg*—many failing to address issues warranting emergency action. Through abuse of powers granted by Article 48 of the Constitution,* the Reichstag's proper function was shifted to the President. This result, plotted from at least 1929 by Kurt von Schleicher* and Otto Meissner* and given a legal basis by Carl Schmitt,* was reinforced by Brüning's policy of bypassing parliament. As long as Hindenburg placed Article 48 at his disposal, Brüning (and his successors) could ignore the Reichstag. By enacting his agenda without recourse to parliament, Brüning made the President—a pseudoemperor—the Republic's agent of power. Indeed, the longevity of any cabinet was thereafter subject to the pleasure of the President. The impact of this change can be viewed statistically: days on which the Reichstag sat, numbering 94 in 1930, were reduced to 13 in 1932; emergency decrees,

totaling 5 in 1930, rose to 66 in 1932. The Republic was, accordingly, recast as an authoritarian state well before 1933; indeed, Brüning's heavy use of Article 48 augmented Franz von Papen's* dismissal of the Prussian government in July 1932.

Given the age and disposition of Hindenburg, the stability of a Presidential regime was always suspect. In 1932 it was unwittingly subverted by a short-sighted camarilla that first prompted Brüning's dismissal and then, in January 1933, encouraged Hitler's installation as Chancellor. But in contrast to his predecessors, Hitler became Chancellor as leader of Germany's largest Party. While assuming power with the promise to form a parliamentary cabinet, he was already governing via Article 48 within six days of his appointment. Then via terror, cunning, and manipulation he managed to foil the underlying principle of a Presidential regime when, on 23 March 1933, he cajoled the Reichstag into granting him long-term emergency powers through an Enabling Act.* Thereafter he was no longer dependent upon the President for his authority.

REFERENCES: Boldt, ''Article 48''; Bracher, *Auflösung*; Kolb, *Weimar Republic*.

PRESS. *See* Newspapers.

PREUSS, HUGO (1860–1925), constitutional lawyer; known as the father of the Weimar Constitution.* Born in Berlin* to a Jewish businessman, he studied law at Berlin, where he completed his *Habilitation* in 1889. Politically left-liberal, he published the first of his articles on constitutional reform in 1885 and placed great hope in the brief reign of Kaiser Frederick III (1888). For forty years he was a prolific voice on constitutional and administrative issues. His unsuccessful attempts to gain appointment at his alma mater were thwarted by those opposed to his politics. In 1906, however, he became Professor of Constitutional Law at Berlin's *Handelshochschule*. Preuss joined Berlin's representative assembly in 1895 and was elected as a member of the Progressive Party in 1910 to the city council. Viewing city politics as a microcosm of national politics, he worked to enhance self-administration at the local level in the belief that success would redound to the nation at large.

For Preuss, the outbreak of war intensified the need for reform. In 1915 he published his philosophy in *Das deutsche Volk und die Politik* (German people and politics), and while he was serving in 1917 as rector of the *Handelshochschule*, he drafted the changes needed to recast Germany as a constitutional monarchy. The Council of People's Representatives* appointed him State Secretary at the Interior Ministry in November 1918. He soon laid the groundwork for the January 1919 elections of a National Assembly* and then drafted a new constitution, completed in late December 1918. Although the document approved by the assembly in July 1919 contained the substance of his ideas, it did not retain his commitment to centralized government.

Representing the DDP, Preuss served as Interior Minister from 13 February

to 20 June 1919, resigning with Philipp Scheidemann* in protest to the Versailles Treaty.* A man of biting wit and a loner within the DDP, he never again held national office. Yet while his public posture was restricted, he wielded considerable influence in 1919 as a member of Prussia's* constituent assembly and thereafter served until his death in the Prussian Landtag.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Grassmann, *Hugo Preuss*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

PROLETARIAN HUNDREDS. *See* Communist Party of Germany.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. *See* Constitution.

PROTECTION OF THE REPUBLIC, LAW FOR THE (*Republikschutzgesetz*), 18 July 1922. A series of violent acts against leading political figures—Matthias Erzberger,* Philipp Scheidemann,* and, in particular, Walther Rathenau*—provided impetus for the Republic to address antirepublican actions. With Joseph Wirth's* accusation of 30 June 1922—''the enemy stands on the Right (*''der Feind steht rechts''*)—action was set in motion that resulted in a cluster of so-called protection laws, passed in the Reichstag* by a vote of 303 to 102. In addition to the *Republikschutzgesetz*, a Court for the Protection of the Republic was created and a Law Concerning the Duties of Civil Servants for the Protection of the Republic (*Gesetz über die Pflichten der Beamten zum Schutze der Republik*) was also passed. This last conceded that a bureaucrat's traditional standard of neutrality, based primarily on loyalty to the Kaiser, was no longer sufficient. From 1922 bureaucrats were expected to support the Republic. Because the law circumvented unrestricted freedom, including assembly for previously lawful antirepublican or promonarchical activities, the DNVP found it an easy target. The entire package—including penalties against those who might glorify, encourage, or approve acts of violence against the republican form of government, its representatives, or its national banner—was adopted in the states (*Länder*) after considerable controversy; Bavaria* deemed the measures an encroachment on regional autonomy.

Ultimately, the legislation proved inadequate. The special court, consisting of three Supreme Court justices and three lay officials, endured only until 1927; its jurisdiction was thereafter consigned to less trustworthy regular courts. Application of the laws was uneven: employed vigorously in Prussia,* they received equivocal support in Bavaria (if they had been properly applied, Hitler* would have been deported in 1924 as an alien convicted of high treason). Moreover, the laws' exact rendering implied the protection of any constitutionally appointed individual, regardless of that official's loyalty to the regime; among the unfortunate consequences were suits brought in the early 1930s against bureaucrats for defaming Nazi ministers. The Reichstag was unable in 1929 to prolong the original laws, and a modified *Schutzgesetz* proved hollow in the violence-laden era of Heinrich Brüning* and his successors. Although the laws

were increasingly turned against the radical Left, they were vigorously opposed by the NSDAP.

REFERENCES: Caplan, *Government without Administration*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Jasper, *Schutz der Republik*; Taddey, *Lexikon*.

PROTECTION OF YOUTH AGAINST TRASH AND FILTH, LAW FOR THE (*Schund- und Schmutzgesetz*). Through Article 118 the Weimar Constitution* permitted special measures to regulate film* distribution, to counter ''trash and filth literature,'' and to protect youth from depraved exhibitions. Guided by Germany's churches and represented politically by the Center Party* and the DNVP, lay groups entered into coalition in November 1924 to form the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Volksgesundung* (Alliance for National Health), a lobby dedicated to German values. One of its six committees launched a crusade against ''trash and filth literature.'' But while Germans of all political persuasions were alarmed by signs of rampant moral change, there was no unanimity on how to control access to ''trash and filth''; indeed, definition of the terms proved contentious.

A draft of the *Schund- und Schmutzgesetz* was placed before the Reichstag* in August 1925 by Interior Minister Wilhelm Külz,* a member of the DDP. Since the DDP opposed censorship on principle, such sponsorship signified the Party's desire to avoid a rigid bill. Requiring months of deliberation, the law of November 1926 (passed on 10 December) was largely the work of Gertrud Bäumer* and Theodor Heuss,* both of the DDP. A majority of the DDP voted against the bill; indeed, that any Democrat supported censorship mortified most Party members. The law prohibited distribution or sale of ''indexed'' literature to youth under age eighteen, and all governmental agencies were accountable for removing such materials from public institutions.

Although churches and related groups were disappointed with limitations imposed upon the *Schund- und Schmutzgesetz*, they were vigilant in seeking its enforcement. The artistic and literary communities were nearly unanimous in opposing the measure, and the liberal press denounced it (Theodor Wolff* protested by resigning from the DDP). Most dedicated to restraining the law's impact was the *Aktionsgemeinschaft für geistige Freiheit* (Alliance for Intellectual Freedom), founded in 1928 by Alfred Döblin.* By the end of 1932, however, a total of 183 books and periodicals appeared on the censorship index. Historians generally maintain that the law helped prepare Germans for the infamous book burning of 10 May 1933.

REFERENCES: Petersen, ''Harmful Publications (Young Persons) Act''; Peukert, ''Schund- und Schmutzkampf.''

PROTESTANTS. Germany's Protestant church had been split since the time of the Reformation into Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinist) confessions. Although these were administratively merged in 1817 as the *Evangelische Kirche*, parishes still adhered to centuries-old traditions: the majority Lutherans attached

prime importance to justification by faith, while the minority Calvinists stressed predestination and active engagement with the world. From the nineteenth century church officials held civil-service* status and were permitted to tax members; in exchange, they submitted to state supervision. This heritage ensured a compact between church and crown: governed by a conservative hierarchy, the church idealized a Christian state in which the king (later the emperor) shared the same faith as the people, and from which unbelief and alien dogmas were excluded.

The *Evangelische Kirche* held the Republic in disdain. Initially, the shock of defeat and revolution threw its leadership on the defensive and not only terminated the traditional legal order of Protestantism but erased its political support and jeopardized its economic foundation. Legally, the monarch's abdication eliminated its constitution. No matter how many changes church governance had experienced over four centuries, until November 1918 all had been made in the name of the ruler concerned. Protestantism had never needed its own political party so long as those governing the church were also its political representatives. Thus, in contrast to Catholics,* whose political agent was the Center Party,* Protestants faced a political vacuum in 1918. At best, they foresaw a state governed by people espousing the separation of church and state; at worst, they faced persecution. But attempts to establish a Protestant People's Party or combine with the Center Party foundered early in the Republic.

Many key Protestants were not fixed on obstruction in their relationship with the Republic. In November 1918 regular reference was made to chapter 13 of Paul's Epistle to the Romans: ''Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God.'' But this resolve was irreparably harmed by Adolf Hoffmann, Prussia's* first Cultural Minister. A member of the USPD, Hoffmann came to symbolize socialist attitudes toward religion. Not only did he proclaim separation of church and state, but his decrees abolishing religious instruction and ending state subsidies spawned a massive petition drive supporting ''preservation of the Christian character of schools.'' Although Hoffmann was dismissed in December 1918, neither Protestants nor Catholics recovered from the shock of his vetoed resolutions.

Although the Constitution* did not ensure harmony, it dispelled many Protestant fears. Through Article 146 a unified educational system received only slight preference over either denominational or secular schools. Moderates on both sides agreed that the constitutional provision for separation of church and state protected mutual independence and freedom of action. Not only were church privileges ensured, but state control over church affairs was technically reduced. The Constitution allowed for twenty-eight separate *Landeskirchen* (state churches), each of which, while linked to the others by the national *Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenbund* (established in May 1922), jealously guarded its independence. While some leading Protestants never adjusted to a state without a crown, others slowly conformed to new circumstances. The Prus-

sian church treaty of 1931, which formed a partnership between the state government and church leadership, was preceded by a similar agreement in Bavaria* and followed by another in Baden. Had the Republic survived, a Reich church treaty might have formalized the independence of Protestants throughout Germany while securing increased loyalty on the part of church leaders to the Republic.

Significantly, the bulk of Reichstag* deputies from the DNVP were Protestants, including several church leaders. An area of severe friction in church-state relations centered on the church's commitment to preserve German *Kultur*. Because of the broad freedoms associated with the Republic, the regime came to symbolize the forces of decadent modernism undermining the German nation. Above all, the commitment of church leaders to denominational schooling imposed an important wedge between Protestants and the Republic. Finally, throughout the Weimar era the bulk of Protestants viewed socialism as their main enemy due to its traditional emphasis on class warfare and its hostility to religion. Protestant leaders pointed reprovingly at the fact that in 1928 only 20 of 152 SPD deputies belonged to a church. Thus, despite appearances of rapprochement, the trend among Protestants after 1929 was toward parties of the radical Right.

Efforts to cooperate with Nazism made the church exceedingly vulnerable to that movement. Few Protestant leaders fathomed that Hitler's* plan to reestablish a state church (*Staatskirche*) endangered traditional theology. Under the influence of Karl Barth,* however, a small but important group experienced a revival in the 1920s whereby anything exacting an ideological claim—proletarian socialism or militant nationalism—was reproved as nonbiblical. By demanding uncompromising commitment to God, Barth helped prepare numerous Protestants for the struggle of the 1930s.

REFERENCES: Borg, *Old-Prussian Church*; Conway, ''National Socialism''; Frank Gordon, ''German Evangelical Churches''; Helmreich, *German Churches under Hitler*; Scholder, *Churches and the Third Reich*; Wright, *''Above Parties.''*

PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION. Originating in Russia and evidently plagiarized by the Tsar's secret police from a little-known French satirical attack of 1864 on the despotism of Louis Napoleon, the *Protocols* outlined in twenty-four lectures a mysterious Jewish conspiracy to subvert and control the Christian world. Posing as the secret writings of the ''learned elders'' of international Jewry, they were tailored for a Russian audience under various titles between 1903–1907. Upon the collapse of tsarist Russia, the documents were filtered to the West by White Russian refugees, some of whom hoped that the Western powers might view Bolshevism as a Jewish plot to subjugate the world. It was apparently through two such refugees, Pyotr Nikolaevich Shabelsky-Bork and Fyodor Viktorovich Vinberg, that Captain Ludwig Müller received his first copy of the *Protocols*. An ardent anti-Semite, Müller translated

the documents and published them in January 1920 as *Die Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion*.

Although a journalist for the London *Times* proved in 1921 that the *Protocols* were a forgery, they retained their German market, and anti-Semites persisted in taking them seriously. Among those convinced of their authenticity were the deposed Kaiser and Erich Ludendorff*; meanwhile, the racist publisher and Reichstag* member Ernst zu Reventlow, knowing that they were fraudulent, championed their authenticity. In the wake of Walther Rathenau's* assassination* (June 1922), the writings were publicly denounced by the SPD; labeling them ''gross falsifications,'' the SPD laid part of the blame for Rathenau's death on the *Protocols*. But by the time Hitler* seized power, Müller's translation was in its thirty-third edition, and the sales of numerous titles providing commentary on the *Protocols* were in the hundreds of thousands. The forgery was promoted and widely circulated throughout the Third Reich.

REFERENCES: Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*; Niewyk, *Socialist*; Parkes, *Antisemitism*.

PROVISIONAL REICHSWEHR. *See* Reichswehr.

PRUSSIA. Germany's most important *Land*, Prussia dominated German politics from 1871 until Hitler* seized power. Inclusive of Germany north of Thuringia,* Bavaria,* Hesse, Württemberg, Baden, and the *Land* of Saxony* (excepting Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, and some enclaves), it surpassed in combined resources the remaining German states (*Länder*) in population, area, and wealth. In the Weimar era it embraced East Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia (Upper and Lower), as well as the provinces of Saxony (now Saxony-Anhalt) and Rhine, Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Westphalia, Hesse-Nassau, some enclaves in Württemberg and Bavaria, and Berlin.*

The unfolding of Prussian society since the eighteenth century was a process whereby various social groups managed to gain access to positions of privilege and power. The officer corps and bureaucracy gradually integrated all dissident groups into the existing authority structure. Criteria ensuring power were birth, wealth, and education (*Herkunft*, *Besitz*, and *Bildung*). But whereas agriculture remained its main occupation, Prussia had developed into Germany's most highly industrialized *Land* by 1900. The transformation deepened class cleavages and inspired demands for political reform.

The November Revolution* terminated Prussia's restrictive three-class franchise in favor of universal suffrage. After the 26 January 1919 elections to its constituent assembly, Prussia became the Republic's most polarized *Land* in social and political terms. Its parliament was dominated by a leftist majority, and its coalition governments, generally led by the SPD, were confronted with crises produced on the one hand by the posturing of reactionary Junkers* and on the other by the radicalism of Berlin and the Ruhr. Yet during the Kapp* Putsch only a few high-placed bureaucrats were persuaded to support the putsch-

ists. Prussia's government, led throughout most of the era by Otto Braun,* displayed an energy and success at combatting antirepublican activities that set the *Land* apart from a national policy that tended to equivocate. The credit for Prussia's success was owed largely to Carl Severing* and Albert Grzesinski,* Social Democrats who dominated the Interior Ministry during 1920–1932 and were, accordingly, in control of Prussia's police forces; both were pragmatists who understood the role of compromise in coalition politics.

By 1929, after the aggressive replacement of prominent civil-service* personnel with candidates nominated by the Weimar Coalition,* 70 percent of Prussia's administrative posts were held by members of the SPD, the DDP, the Center Party,* and the DVP; the large majority of officials had been of noble background in 1916, but were from the middle class by 1929. However, in July 1932, after the ruling coalition had lost its Landtag majority in the 24 April state elections, the Braun government was deposed by Chancellor Franz von Papen.* Through extraordinary use of Article 48 of the Constitution,* Papen, acting as Reich Commissioner for Prussia, removed leftists from Prussia's administration in a vain attempt at smoothing relations with the NSDAP. Not only did this *Preussenschlag* (Prussian coup) effectively end Prussia's tradition of autonomy, but it eased Hitler's assent to power. When Hermann Göring* became Prussian Interior Minister (he advanced to Prime Minister in April 1933), the state's parliament was annulled and its constitution set aside. In 1945 the Allies abolished Prussia.

REFERENCES: Brecht, *Prelude to Silence*; Craig, *End of Prussia*; Feuchtwanger, *Prussia*; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1918–1925* and *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*.

PÜNDER, HERMANN (1888–1976), bureaucrat; the Chancellery's State Secretary and one of the Republic's esteemed civil servants. Born in Trier to a government counselor, he studied law during 1906–1909 and took a doctorate at Jena in 1911. Having acquired a reserve commission in 1913, he was activated in August 1914. He ended the war as a major, whereupon he joined the Finance Ministry. He supervised the Minister's office from 1921; in 1925 he was promoted to ministerial director and transferred to the Chancellery. In 1926 he became *Staatssekretär*, a position he held until 1932. Possessed of uncommon loyalty and intellect, he became a familiar face at international meetings, thereby playing a key advisory role to several Chancellors. As fellow members of the Center Party,* he and Heinrich Brüning* formed an especially warm relationship. Pünder was so affronted at the way in which Brüning was displaced by Franz von Papen* that he tendered his resignation in June 1932 (Erwin Planck* succeeded him). He was soon named *Regierungspräsident* in Münster; the NSDAP dismissed him in July 1933.

Pünder's friendship with Carl Goerdeler* brought his arrest after the July 1944 attempt on Hitler's* life. Although he was probably uninvolved in the resistance, he was nonetheless incarcerated until American soldiers rescued him

in May 1945. He helped found the Christian Democratic Union and in October 1945 succeeded Konrad Adenauer* as *Oberbürgermeister* of Cologne.
REFERENCES: Pünder, *Politik in der Reichskanzlei*, and *Von Preussen nach Europa*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

PUTSCHES. *See* Beerhall Putsch, Black Reichswehr, *and* Wolfgang Kapp.

Q

QUIDDE, LUDWIG (1858–1941), historian and pacifist; chairman of the *Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft* (German Peace Society*). Born to a wealthy Bremen wholesaler, he took a doctorate in 1881 at Göttingen in medieval history and soon launched a brilliant historical career. He gained a lofty editorial appointment in 1885 at Munich's Bavarian Academy of Sciences, was elected to the Historical Commission in 1887, and helped found the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (from 1898, the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*) in 1889, serving as its original editor. During a two-year sabbatical (1890–1892) he directed the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome.

From 1892 Quidde was increasingly linked with groups devoted to peace and international understanding. His 1894 parody *Caligula* destroyed his academic career and earned him three months in prison for *Majestätsbeleidigung*. Although he was forced to resign from the Bavarian Academy in 1896, he had already committed himself to politics. Joining the regional South German People's Party in the mid-1890s, he sat in the Bavarian Landtag during 1907–1918 and then represented the DDP in the National Assembly.* But he was above all a pacifist (''pacifism,'' he claimed, ''is the translation of the democratic principle into foreign policy''). He was elected chairman of the Bavarian branch of the Peace Society in 1894 and served from 1900 as German delegate to the International Peace Bureau in Geneva. During 1914–1929 he was president of the German Peace Society. He spent much of World War I in Switzerland. His pacifism was tempered by a belief that Germany was not solely responsible for the war, a view that stirred opposition within the international peace movement.

Although Quidde was opposed to the Versailles Treaty,* his aversion to the

Reichswehr* led the DDP to drop him from its candidate list in 1920. He thereafter promoted disarmament* at the League of Nations. When he was imprisoned in 1924 for revealing secrets about German rearmament, Britain elicited both his release and the dismissal of treason charges. His outspoken support of disarmament brought him the Nobel Peace Prize (shared with France's Ferdinand Buisson) in 1927.

In a vain bid to preserve unity in Germany's increasingly disparate pacifist movement, Quidde led a new *Spitzenverband* during 1921–1929 known as the German Peace Cartel. But younger colleagues increasingly disparaged him as out of date; finally, in 1929, he was forced to surrender his presidency of the Peace Society and soon resigned from the organization. One of the Democrats who refused to transfer their allegiance in 1930 to the DStP, he helped found the Radical Democratic Party in November 1930. In March 1933 he emigrated to Geneva, where in 1935 he nominated Carl von Ossietzky* as Nobel Peace laureate.

REFERENCES: Abrams, *Nobel Peace Prize*; Chickering, *Imperial Germany*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Josephson, *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders.*

R

RACIAL FREEDOM PARTY. *See* German Racial Freedom Party.

RACISM. *See* Anti-Semitism.

RADBRUCH, GUSTAV (1878–1949), professor and Justice Minister; one of Germany's renowned constitutional theorists. Born to a wealthy middle-class family in Lübeck, he published poetry while still in Gymnasium, but studied law at the behest of his father. He completed a doctorate in 1902 at Berlin* and his *Habilitation* in 1903 at Heidelberg, where he remained for ten years as *Privatdozent*, forming friendships with Max Weber* and Hermann Kantorowicz* while generating a legal philosophy grounded in neo-Kantianism. His early writings, *Einführung in die Rechtswissenschaft* (Introduction to the study of law, 1910) and *Grundzüge der Rechtsphilosophie* (Principles of legal philosophy, 1914), underscored his view of the law as an organic system allowing for choice and development; they also established his reputation. He was appointed *ausserordentlicher Professor* at Königsberg in 1914, but was at the front by 1916. After declining an officer's commission in 1917, he became a pacifist. He consummated a long interest in socialism by joining the SPD in 1918.

In 1919 Radbruch became Professor of Criminal Law at Kiel. He won praise for opposing the Kapp* Putsch and was elected to the Reichstag* in June 1920. The only lawyer in the SPD faction, he formed a close friendship with Friedrich Ebert.* As Justice Minister in the cabinets of Joseph Wirth* (1921–1922) and Gustav Stresemann* (1923), he worked to revise the criminal-law code (*Strafgesetzbuch*). Although he established juvenile courts, his efforts to abolish the

death penalty and institute criminal rehabilitation foundered on conservative opposition in the Reichstag.

Radbruch drafted the Law for the Protection of the Republic* in 1922 (he later lamented that even with his law, justice* was ''blind in the right eye''). Discouraged by the multiple crises in the autumn of 1923, but especially by Berlin's handling of the leftist uprising in Saxony,* he resigned from Stresemann's cabinet in November and chose not to run for reelection in 1924. Having returned to Kiel, he accepted appointment to Heidelberg in 1926. On 28 April 1933 he was the first academic removed from his office by the NSDAP. Following the Third Reich, he was instrumental in reestablishing Heidelberg's law faculty.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Arthur Kaufmann, *Gustav Radbruch*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

RADEK, KARL. *See* Communist Party of Germany, Rapallo Treaty, *and* Soviet Union.

RAEDER, ERICH. *See* Reichswehr.

RAPALLO TREATY; an agreement between Germany and Soviet Russia, signed on 16 April 1922 by Walther Rathenau* and Georgii Chicherin (Foreign Minister of Germany and Foreign Commissar of Russia, respectively). Sometimes dubbed the ''Treaty of Outcasts,'' it was largely the brainchild of Chicherin and Karl Radek, Russia's central European expert; their efforts were promoted by Ago von Maltzan,* head of the German Foreign Office's Eastern Division. Radek, in collusion with Rathenau and German Chancellor Joseph Wirth,* came to Berlin* late in 1921 with the purpose of preparing a pact that might formalize Russo-German relations. The accord thus drafted in February 1922 corresponded to the first five of Rapallo's six articles.

Unwilling to finalize an agreement before the Genoa Conference,* Rathenau went to Italy convinced that Germany's relationship with the West must take priority over a Russian rapprochement. But the Soviets were invited to Genoa by Britain and France in hopes of reopening Russia for trade. Maltzan knew beforehand that this ambition was distasteful to the Soviets, a bit of wisdom that he kept to himself. After his arrival, Rathenau grew anxious that Britain and/or France might come to a separate arrangement with Russia. When Lloyd George unwittingly sharpened his fear by arranging a separate meeting with the Soviets, Maltzan induced him to meet secretly with the Russians at the latter's official residence (about twenty miles south of Genoa). Anticipating renewed encirclement, Wirth pressed his Foreign Minister to sign with the Soviets.

Rapallo was innocuous by comparison with the secret dealings that had followed the Russo-German trade accord of May 1921. Its six articles provided for diplomatic and consular offices in Berlin and Moscow, Russian renunciation of claims under the Versailles Treaty,* and a German waiver of claims for the

nationalization of property in Russia. In a secret exchange the Soviets granted Germany equality with the Allies in any subsequent agreement on nationalized property. Although rumors flourished of an appended military accord, no such document was signed at Rapallo.

Since Germany and Russia were pariahs, economically poor and militarily weak, one might think that the treaty was of minor importance. Yet it was treated by the Western press as a diplomatic bombshell that signalled Germany's intent to pursue an independent course, even to the point of splitting the capitalist powers, and Russia's resolution to end its isolation. The Genoa meeting, while shaken by Rapallo, continued five more weeks. But in Germany President Ebert* was outraged at Rathenau's precipitate action. Believing it dangerous to offend the Western powers, he also viewed Russia as capricious and untrustworthy. Yet his concern that the treaty would receive little support proved unfounded. Because of Hans von Seeckt's* military dealings with Russia, Wirth and Maltzan used the general to sway right-wing opinion. Although the DNVP remained skeptical, the DVP embraced Rapallo, and the treaty gained easy Reichstag passage. Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau* soon became Weimar's first Ambassador to Moscow.

But Rathenau concluded that he had blundered at Rapallo. In fact, the treaty underscored the overall lack of clarity in German foreign policy.* Maltzan admitted that Rathenau had been induced to treat with the Russians against his better judgment. A Russo-German alliance angered the Western Allies and horrified Poland.* By generating the vision of a powerful Russo-German combination in world affairs, it disrupted efforts at European cooperation and was a setback to Germany's foreign policy, especially in relation to reparation* talks.
REFERENCES: Freund, *Unholy Alliance*; Kochan, *Russia and the Weimar Republic*; Krüger, ''Rainy Day''; Pogge von Strandmann, ''Rapallo.''

RAT DER VOLKSBEAUFTRAGTEN. *See* Council of People's Representatives.

RATHENAU, WALTHER (1867–1922), industrialist, social thinker, and Foreign Minister; his assassination* in June 1922 helped trigger the crises of the following eighteen months. He was born in Berlin* to Emil Rathenau, the Jewish founder of Germany's General Electric Company (*Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft*, AEG). His was an eclectic intellect drawn to writing and painting (Max Liebermann,* his cousin, encouraged him to paint professionally). After taking a doctorate in physics in 1889, he practiced for ten years as an engineer, first at an aluminum plant in Switzerland and then at an electrochemical concern in Bitterfeld. Financially independent, he became an AEG director in 1899. His intellect and charm soon won him a place both in fashionable society and among the avant-garde. He joined Berlin's *Handelsgesellschaft* (Chamber of Commerce) in 1902 and was connected with eighty-six German and twenty-one foreign firms by 1914. In 1907 he became chairman of AEG's

board of directors. Yet despite his financial standing (and a circle of friends that included the Kaiser), he posed as a man of letters (his philosophy was a blend of Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, Max Weber,* and Friedrich Naumann*) and was most at home with writers and artists such as Frank Wedekind, Gerhart Hauptmann,* Rainer Maria Rilke, and Edvard Munch. Advocating an epistemology that separated the soul from the intellect, his early essays were published in Maximilian Harden's* *Zukunft*. ''Art and unconscious creation are the language of the soul,'' he wrote in his 1913 publication *Zur Mechanik des Geistes* (On the mechanism of the spirit), ''science and conscious creation are the language of the intellect. The soul is nourished by the urge to life, the intellect by fear of death.'' Uneasy with liberal capitalism, he rejected the SPD because of the materialism fundamental to Marxism.

Within weeks of August 1914 Rathenau wrote a memorandum predicting a long war and offering the government his help. He was soon leading the *Kriegsrohstoffabteilung* (War Materials Department), where he and his colleague Wichard von Moellendorff* managed all of the country's raw materials; together they ensured that Germany could sustain the war until 1918. When Rathenau resigned in 1915, he received no thanks for his labors; indeed, he was soon accused of war profiteering and, as time passed, chided for doing too little to prepare Germany for a long war. In June 1915 his father died and he became AEG's president. Despite tireless efforts at rationalization, his nature never mirrored his father's devotion to the world of commerce. He was an early champion of Erich Ludendorff,* but his enchantment faded when the general began advocating unlimited submarine warfare. By 1917 he predicted the economic chaos, including the inflation,* that came after the war. Yet with defeat imminent, he proposed a *levée en masse* on 7 October 1918.

Although Rathenau's commitment to parliamentary democracy remained lukewarm, he welcomed the Kaiser's abdication and joined the DDP after the Armistice.* Because he facilitated the November 1918 negotiations between Hugo Stinnes* and Carl Legien,* he earned the distrust of certain management-oriented Party leaders and was denied the chance to run for a seat in the National Assembly.* Yet his progressivism led Finance Minister Joseph Wirth* to appoint him to the Socialization Commission* in 1920. In July 1920 Wirth took him to the Spa Conference* as his advisor.

When Chancellor Wirth created the post of Reconstruction Minister in May 1921, it was to gain Rathenau's expertise. Having once insisted that Jews* decline prominent public office, Rathenau struggled with Wirth's offer, but eventually vacated his corporate positions to accept the post. Forced to resign when the DDP left Wirth's government in October 1921, he was employed by the Chancellor for missions to London and Cannes. Indeed, although Rathenau was a staunch opponent of the Versailles Treaty,* he generated Wirth's policy of fulfilling the treaty's terms as a means toward revising it. In January 1922 Wirth offered him the Foreign Office. Although he doubted his ability, he nonetheless accepted the portfolio.

Rathenau was keen on rapprochement with Russia, but he wished to subordinate the aim to improving relations with the West. However, in the weeks preceding the April 1922 Genoa Conference* he grew increasingly worried lest France and Great Britain recognize the Soviet government and dislodge Germany from its traditional role as Russia's closest trading partner. His alarm was exploited at Genoa by Ago von Maltzan,* who fabricated a story that Britain was near reaching a formal agreement with the Soviets and thus convinced Rathenau to sign the Rapallo Treaty.* His domestic enemies, already marking him a Jew* and a defeatist, now proclaimed him a Bolshevik agent. Rejecting Wirth's offer of protection, he was murdered, evidently by members of *Organisation Consul*,* on 24 June 1922.

REFERENCES: Felix, *Walther Rathenau*; Joll, *Three Intellectuals in Politics* and ''Walther Rathenau''; Harry Graf Kessler, *Walther Rathenau*; David Williamson, ''Walther Rathenau.''

RAUMER, HANS VON (1870–1965), industrialist and politician; pivotal in the creation of both ZAG in December 1918 and Gustav Stresemann's* short-lived cabinet of 1923. Born in Dessau to a family of wealthy aristocrats, he pursued legal studies through a doctorate. From 1905 until he moved to private industry in 1911, he served as a *Landrat*. In 1915 he became managing director of the association of the electrotechnical industry (*Bund der Elektrizitäts-Versorgungs-Unternehmungen Deutschlands*) and served also during 1916–1918 as a Treasury official. It was at Raumer's initiative in October 1918 that Hugo Stinnes* and Carl Legien* began negotiating the acclaimed management-labor agreement that formed a basis for ZAG; Raumer sat on the organization's central committee until it was dissolved in January 1924.

Raumer maintained numerous industrial connections. He led the *Zentralverband der deutschen Elektrotechnischen Industrie* during 1918–1933 and sat concurrently on the managing boards of numerous private firms and the mighty RdI. In this last capacity he was one of several members who in 1922 drafted a program for Germany's economic regeneration—a program adopted by RdI in 1925. He was also politically active. A member of the DVP, he entered the Reichstag* in June 1920 and remained a leader of the Party's left wing until September 1930. He assailed Matthias Erzberger's* tax measures, deeming them detrimental to ZAG policies. While he was serving as Treasury Minister under Konstantin Fehrenbach* (June 1920–May 1921), his own Party opposed him for accepting the reparation* obligations outlined at the July 1920 Spa Conference.* Although he maintained a conciliatory posture toward the SPD—he urged the formation of Gustav Stresemann's* Great Coalition* with the SPD—he rejected the counsel of the second Socialization Commission* that Germany's coal industry be nationalized. One of the experts who attended the Genoa Conference,* he applauded the Rapallo Treaty.* His service as Stresemann's Economics Minister was cut short in October 1923 by dissension within the DVP.

Throughout 1924–1929 Raumer was the DVP's most resolute proponent of

governing in coalition with the SPD. In 1930 he helped spearhead a futile initiative to reconstitute ZAG to combat the depression*; to sustain German exports, he also promoted trade with the Soviets. He resigned from the DVP in 1932 and was among those who supported Kurt von Schleicher's* efforts to woo the NSDAP. He retired in October 1933.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Feldman and Steinisch, *Industrie und Gewerkschaften*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

RAUSCHER, ULRICH (1884–1930), journalist and diplomat; served as Minister to Poland* from 1922 until his death in December 1930. Born to a Gymnasium professor in Stuttgart, he studied law and completed his legal training in Strassburg. Fluent in French, he scrapped a legal career in 1910 to work as the *Frankfurter Zeitung*'s Strassburg correspondent; from 1913 he wrote also for *März*, a monthly edited by Theodor Heuss.* The rigid jurisdiction practiced in Alsace-Lorraine* led him to write two blistering attacks in *März* against the military authorities; the second essay inspired a libel suit by General Erich von Falkenhayn. In 1914, before the outbreak of war, *Frankfurter Zeitung* moved him to Berlin.* During the war he worked in the War Press Office and as a member of the Foreign Office's occupation regime in Belgium. For several months in 1917–1918 he was an officer on the Western Front. He spent the war's closing weeks as a Berlin journalist, joined the SPD, and in November became Philipp Scheidemann's* personal secretary. On 4 January 1919 he was named press chief of the interim government, a post he retained until June 1920 and used to facilitate the general strike that defeated the Kapp* Putsch. He returned to the diplomatic corps in 1920 and became envoy to the autonomous Georgian Republic; when Soviet dominion over Georgia was recognized, he moved to Warsaw.

Germany could not have found a more astute individual for the delicate Warsaw post. Recollecting the history of Alsace-Lorraine, he argued that the Versailles Treaty,* by ceding so much territory to Poland, had concocted a state that could only be a ''permanent enemy of Germany.'' He opposed any treaty that might recognize the borders, arguing that such an accord would demoralize the Germans in the lost territories while making Germany appear ''half sovereign'' and defeated. Yet he consistently urged amelioration of German-Polish tensions through economic agreement and the establishment of formal relations. Both Berlin and Warsaw deemed him a positive influence. Although he never advised the use of force, he was persuaded that war with Poland was inevitable. ''The Corridor and Upper Silesia,'' he wrote, ''will return to Germany only as a result of a war and the related power-political convulsion of Poland.''

Gustav Stresemann* judged Rauscher one of his foremost diplomats. In 1928, upon the death of Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau,* he wanted to appoint Rauscher Ambassador to Moscow; however, President Hindenburg,* who mistrusted the socialist diplomat, overruled him. Stresemann's death nullified efforts to bring Rauscher to the Foreign Office as State Secretary.

REFERENCES: Doss, *Zwischen Weimar und Warschau*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Kimmich, *Free City*; Von Riekhoff, *German-Polish Relations*.

REARMAMENT. *See* Disarmament.

RED FRONT. *See Roter Frontkämpferbund.*

REICHSBANNER *''Schwarz-Rot-Gold.''* Organized in Magdeburg on 22 February 1924 as a self-protection unit for republican-minded veterans, the *Reichsbanner* was soon the paramilitary arm (*Kampfbund*) of the Weimar Coalition.* It was created by six members of the SPD and one each from the DDP and the Center* Party; its founding spirits were Otto Hörsing, *Oberpräsident* of Prussian Saxony* (1920–1927), and Karl Höltermann, senior editor of the *Magdeburger Volksstimme*, an SPD newspaper.* By using uniforms and a military structure, forming the *Jungbanner* as a youth division, and publishing *Das Reichsbanner*, the organization mirrored the older *Stahlhelm*.*

With a membership that was 90 percent socialist, the *Reichsbanner* grew distasteful to conservative Catholics* and became a nuisance to SPD leaders seeking cooperation with the Right. Although Joseph Wirth* encouraged all Centrists to join the organization as testimony to republican support, the *Reichsbanner*'s endorsement of a 1926 referendum to expropriate the property of former princes discouraged many Catholics. When Wilhelm Marx,* Center chairman, left the *Reichsbanner* in July 1927, the concept of a Weimar Coalition was seriously damaged. Wirth's departure in 1930 removed any serious Center connection. Although proportionally fewer Democrats joined the rank and file, the DDP leadership was more supportive of the *Reichsbanner* than its Center counterpart; nonetheless, the *Reichsbanner* was largely an arm of the SPD by 1930. It was also unfortunate that even loyal Social Democrats were suspicious of the *Reichsbanner*; Carl Severing,* Prussia's* Interior Minister, believed it inconsistent to use paramilitary power in support of parliamentary democracy.

The *Reichsbanner* claimed a membership of 3.5 million in 1932; in fact, active membership was probably never more than 1 million, but this made it Germany's largest paramilitary force (the SA* had about 500,000 members in December 1932). From 1930 it was increasingly involved in street fighting with the paramilitary arms of the KPD and the NSDAP. Reacting to the Harzburg Front,* Höltermann vainly tried to broaden the *Reichsbanner*'s appeal in December 1931 by forming the Iron Front (*Eiserne Front*), an organization that worked in 1932 for Hindenburg's reelection. In March 1933 the *Reichsbanner* disbanded and many of its members emigrated.

REFERENCES: Chickering, ''Reichsbanner''; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*.

REICHSLANDBUND (Agrarian League); a pressure group founded in 1893 as *Bund der Landwirte*. United in January 1921 with the newly instituted

Deutscher Landbund, it was thereafter known as the *Reichslandbund* (technically, ''National Rural League''). A *Spitzenverband*, it embraced thirty regional associations and had about five million members by 1928. Led by Konrad von Wangenheim and Martin Schiele,* veterans of the Kapp* Putsch, it claimed to represent all German farmers*; however, it spoke chiefly for Prussia's* reactionary landowners, focusing its attacks on governmental tariff and financial policies that threatened the power base of the Junkers.* Such activity was by no means new; in 1894 the old *Bund* had helped bring down the proindustry government of Chancellor Caprivi. In 1929 it opposed efforts to revise reparations* (*see* Young Plan) and then participated in the 1931 Harzburg* rally. Its impetus is captured by the 1932 claim that German farmers were being exploited ''by the omnipotent money-bag interests of internationally minded export industries.''

Although the *Bund* endorsed conservatism and monarchism* and attached itself to the DNVP, it often surrendered principle to economics. When the DNVP left Hans Luther's* cabinet in 1925, members felt themselves disenfranchised. Its demands for state intervention on behalf of agriculture also strained its relationship with industry and threatened the tenuous alliance of ''iron and rye'' (a coalition of industry and agriculture). That alliance collapsed in 1929–1930 when the *Bund* broke with the DNVP over policies that favored industry at agriculture's expense.

Internal discord plagued the *Bund* throughout the Weimar era. The *Christlichnationale Bauernpartei* (Christian-National Peasants' Party), founded in March 1928 by renegade members of the DNVP, was aligned with *Bund* positions, but the German Peasants' Party, rooted in the liberal German Peasants' League (*Deutscher Bauernbund*), was founded in 1928 to oppose the protectionist policies of big agriculture. The formation of such splinter groups testifies to growing frustration as Germany's agricultural crisis deepened. In March 1929 Schiele vainly tried to unite agricultural interests by forming the *Grüne Front* (Green Front). Over the next three years the NSDAP infiltrated the *Bund*, and then finally absorbed it into the *Reichsnährstand* in December 1933.

REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Angress, ''Political Role of the Peasantry''; Gessner, *Agrarverbände*; James Hunt, '' 'Egalitarianism' ''; Larry Jones, ''Crisis and Realignment''; Leopold, *Alfred Hugenberg*.

REICHSMARK. *See Rentenbank.*

REICHSRAT. *See* Constitution.

REICHSTAG. Elected directly by universal and equal suffrage, and inaugurating a system of proportional representation, the Republic's Reichstag displaced a body—the Kaiserreich's parliament was also named the Reichstag—that was more debating society than legislative assembly. The new body was designed to maximize democratic representation. The Constitution's* system of

proportional representation divided the country into thirty-seven electoral districts and required parties to post lists of candidates in each district. The number of votes cast for a list within any district determined how many mandates a party received in the Reichstag. In essence, a Party gained one parliamentary seat for every 60,000 votes. Surplus votes in all districts were pooled to elect further representatives from national lists.

The Reichstag's Weimar history was a tangled skein. Elections were scheduled on a four-year cycle. Those of June 1920, occurring soon after enactment of the Versailles Treaty,* revealed that the earlier National Assembly* elections, which had produced a majority for the parties of the Weimar Coalition* (the SPD, the DDP, and the Center Party*), had been but a temporary shift in traditional political loyalties; the Coalition's numbers were reduced from 76.2 percent to 43.6 percent (largely owing to dramatic losses for the DDP). The so-called inflation* election of May 1924, in which the government's economic policies were the campaign issue, brought the first breakthrough of radical and special-interest parties (e.g., the Economic Party*) at the expense of the middle-class parties. The unscheduled elections of December 1924, coming amidst a fragile recovery, occasioned some reversal in the fortunes of the NSDAP and the KPD, both of which had prospered in May. Moreover, some improvement accrued to the DDP and the DVP at the expense of special interests. But while the elections of May 1928 brought defeat to the anti-Weimar Right, thereby appearing to herald the Republic's final victory, the triumph was more apparent than real. Not only did 1928 witness the near collapse of the DDP and the DVP, but the special-interest parties almost doubled their representation. Moreover, the blow to the traditional Right, represented to date by the DNVP, made ready the dramatic rise of the NSDAP. Heinrich Brüning's* fateful dissolution of the chamber in 1930 ushered in the paralysis of Germany's parliament. With the enormous gains of the NSDAP in the September 1930 elections, the Republic entered a terminal season of legislative deadlock. By 1932, with Presidential Cabinets* supplanting legislative approval, parliamentary government had become a travesty.

Throughout the Republic's history, electoral continuity for the SPD and the Center was striking (with the exception of the May 1924 elections, when many workers forsook the SPD for the KPD). But a consistent erosion of support for the bourgeois parties—the DDP and the DVP—was accompanied from 1920 by a steady shift to the Right and a drift toward extremism. This trend away from parties associated with the Republic was clearly linked to economic turmoil; however, it also reflected a growing discontent with parliamentary democracy. Moreover, President Hindenburg* shared the discontent by 1930 and thus encouraged the slow withdrawal of parliament's constitutional rights. The erosion of the democratic middle was disastrous after 1930 when the ''anti-system'' options included not simply special-interest groups but a dynamic NSDAP.

REFERENCES: Childers, ''Anti-System Politics,'' *Nazi Voter*; Holborn, *History of Modern Germany*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Nicholls, *Weimar*.

REICHSVERBAND DER DEUTSCHEN INDUSTRIE (National Association of German Industry, RdI). Next to its assortment of cartels,* Germany's most apparent component of ''organized capitalism'' (regulated competition) was a sophisticated web of trade associations. An array of regional interest groups culminated at the national level in the *Spitzenverbände*. The largest and most powerful *Spitzenverband* was RdI, which held its inaugural meeting at Jena in February 1919. Initially merging the old Central Association of German Industrialists and the League of German Industrialists, RdI was a response posed by Hans von Raumer* to reorganize industry so as to meet the new circumstances (e.g., collective bargaining) presented by the formation of ZAG. Accordingly, RdI, which soon embraced most of German manufacturing, aimed at its inception to work with organized labor.

With twenty-seven specialized groups and about one thousand professional divisions, RdI had a complex governing structure comprised of a central committee (140–190 delegates from the divisions), a board of directors (30–60 members), and a presidium (16–34 members). Power rested with the presidium. Although its membership was fluid, the presidium was controlled by heavy industry, as evidenced by its 1920 membership: chairman Kurt Sorge (a Krupp director), Ewald Hilger (steel), Ernst von Borsig (heavy industrial equipment and chairman of the Employers' League), Felix Deutsch (director of General Electric), Hans Jordan (textiles), Paul Reusch,* Peter Riepert (construction), Abraham Frowein (textiles), Philipp Rosenthal (porcelains), Carl Friedrich von Siemens,* Robert Bosch,* Carl Duisberg,* Max Fischer (precision tools), Hans Kraemer (pulp and paper), Otto Moras (textiles), and Hugo Stinnes.* Such a lopsided makeup stirred periodic discord, especially over tariff policy, among members representing finishing industries. Duisberg became chairman of the presidium in 1925, while Gustav Krupp* assumed the post in 1931.

Identified until 1930 with the DVP, RdI rejected the corporatist socialization plan proposed in 1919 by Wichard von Moellendorff* of the Economics Ministry. Its first test came in March 1920 when, amidst the Kapp* Putsch, it was ambivalent toward the Republic's usurpers. Stinnes argued in his critique of the presidium's waffling that in future one ''can only do business with democratic governments.'' In 1923 RdI lobbied in vain for currency reform via creation of an autonomous gold-note bank. Its leverage as an agent of heavy industry grew from 1924 with the surge in industrial concentration (*see* IG Farben). After ZAG's collapse in January 1924, RdI abandoned all pretense of supporting social policies and urged decreased public expenditures, the privatization of public enterprises, and cuts in taxes, wages, and social programs. The depression* provoked a critique of parliamentary democracy from key RdI members. Distrustful in late 1932 of Kurt von Schleicher,* several RdI men reinforced the effort to form a Hitler-Papen-Hugenberg cabinet. In March 1933 the organiza-

tion backed the Enabling Act* and then promised support for Hitler's emergency programs. In the NSDAP's drive to synchronize competing groups, the RdI was merged in June 1933 with the Employers' League to form the *Reichsstand der deutschen Industrie*.

REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Feldman and Nocken, ''Trade Associations''; Turner, *German Big Business*; Zunkel, ''Gewichtung.''

REICHSWEHR; the Republic's armed forces, fixed in type and number by the Versailles Treaty* and consisting of both army and navy. Aiming to avert a war of revenge, the Allies rigorously limited Germany's military (Articles 159–213 of Versailles). The disarmament* clauses restricted the army to 100,000 officers and men, universal conscription was annulled, reserves were disallowed, the War Academy and cadet schools were banned, and the General Staff was proscribed. In addition, embattlements were dismantled and some weaponry, including tanks and heavy artillery, was forbidden. The navy was allowed 15,000 officers and men, six battleships (''Deutschland'' class, older and smaller than ''Dreadnoughts''), six small cruisers, twelve destroyers, and twelve torpedo boats; submarines were prohibited. Aircraft were allowed only for civilian purposes. Having nurtured the idea of forming a compulsory militia, the SPD found these provisions no less onerous than did the High Command of the Imperial Army (*Reichsheer*).

By the end of World War I the *Reichsheer* was largely a citizens' army. When the troops came home, they tended to quickly disperse. Early efforts by the Council of People's Representatives* to form a democratic army had mixed results; amidst threats to the council's safety, such units proved inefficient, unreliable, and, in some cases, hostile to the reestablishment of order. Faced with anarchy, Gustav Noske* turned to members of the General Staff; together they devised the Freikorps* structure. In the first months after the Armistice* the only units manifesting any loyalty to German authorities, and any fighting spirit, were the Freikorps. Unfortunately, that loyalty was infrequently maintained following acceptance of the Versailles Treaty.

The need to create a unified and responsive military force was soon apparent to both the government and the High Command. Although the Freikorps provided inestimable service in time of emergency, too many units were contemptuous of authority and endangered public safety. Thus in an early measure the new National Assembly* passed the Provisional Reichswehr Law on 6 March 1919. By this act the Imperial Army was dissolved, supreme command was entrusted to the President (Friedrich Ebert*), a civilian Defense Minister (Noske) was given immediate command authority, and an oath of allegiance to the Constitution* was created for all personnel.

Although the March law did not dissolve the Freikorps (that followed in 1920), the core of the Reichswehr came from the Freikorps, just as the core of the Freikorps had earlier come from the *Reichsheer*. This continuity was not

altered when, by the Defense Law (*Wehrgesetz*) of March 1921, the Provisional Reichswehr was recast as the 100,000-man force required by Versailles. Underscoring a constitutional provision that the government had total jurisdiction over national defense, the law stated that the ''President of the Reich is the commander-in-chief of the entire *Wehrmacht*'' (defense force). Through the President, the Defense Minister was authorized to issue orders to the military. Leading the Reichswehr, and directly responsible to the Defense Minister, was the Chief of the Army Command (*Heeresleitung*). The General Staff was supplanted by the *Truppenamt* (Troops Office), the intellectual hub of the army. The Chief of the *Truppenamt*, who was responsible to the Chief of the *Heeresleitung*, possessed neither the power nor the prestige of the old *Chef des Generalstabs*.

The navy (*Reichsmarine*) was decidedly the junior partner among the Republic's armed forces. The Chief of the Naval Command (*Marineleitung*) was also subordinate to the civilian Defense Minister. But in contrast to the army, which began military discussions with Soviet Russia in 1921 (the Reichswehr opened its own offices in Moscow, *Zentrale Moskau*, in 1923), the navy initiated tentative contacts with Soviet naval representatives only in 1926. The navy never depended on the Soviets to cover its illegal activities and consistently rejected close relations with Moscow. Yet throughout the Weimar era it focused on the likelihood of a two-front war: an offensive strike against Poland* in the Baltic Sea and coastal defense against France in the North Sea. First under Admiral Hans Zenker (*Chef der Marineleitung*, 1924–1928) and then under Admiral Erich Raeder (1928–1935), the navy evolved elaborate mobilization plans for offensive action in both the North Sea and the Baltic that presumed British neutrality. Despite its secondary guise, it rarely worked in harmony with the army; indeed, its presumptuous goals were unpalatable to senior army officers who recalled the unrealistic aspirations of the prewar High Seas Fleet. Meanwhile, the army managed throughout the Weimar years to accent two principles from Clausewitz: war is a means of national policy, not an end in itself; and military planning must be subordinate to political considerations. The navy discounted Clausewitz.

Since the army was preoccupied with protecting Germany's heartland, its relative moderation led the government to give it support and cover. Yet under Hans von Seeckt,* Chief of the *Heeresleitung* during 1920–1926, the army rigidly preserved the traditions of the old *Reichsheer* and failed to generate more than an ambivalent opinion of the Republic. Never esteeming himself subordinate to any civilian, Seeckt enjoyed a close relationship with President Ebert and often went over the head of both the Chancellor and the Defense Minister. His frequent protests in cabinet sessions, especially against Gustav Stresemann's* Locarno* policy, created the impression that the *Chef der Heeresleitung*, not the Defense Minister, spoke for defense policy. With or without the assistance of the Republic's civilian leaders, Seeckt managed to evade Versailles's military stipulations. A law unto itself, the army under Seeckt and his

successors remained a ''state within a state,'' establishing its own goals and unfolding its own means for their achievement. Moreover, from 1928 until the Republic's collapse, the ''civilian'' Defense Minister was a former general, first Wilhelm Groener* and then Kurt von Schleicher.* By 1932 the army was utterly professional and efficient; however, it was not the nonpolitical force Seeckt had professedly desired. With its older leadership seeking restoration of the monarchy, and many junior officers warming to the NSDAP, the Reichswehr failed utterly to serve the Republic in the regime's waning months.

REFERENCES: Bennett, *German Rearmament*; Carsten, *Reichswehr and Politics*; Corum, *Roots of Blitzkreig*; Craig, *Politics of the Prussian Army*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*.

REICHSWEHR-PROZESS. See Richard Scheringer.

REICHSWIRTSCHAFTSRAT. See National Economic Council.

REINHARDT, MAX, born Max Goldmann (1873–1943), stage director; his revolutionary theatrical techniques made him Germany's premier director during 1905–1920. Born to a minor Jewish businessman in the village of Baden, near Vienna, he was raised in Vienna and began acting in 1890 under the name Max Reinhardt. His first big contract came in 1893 with Salzburg's *Stadttheater*. In September 1894 he was engaged by Otto Brahm, director of Berlin's* *Deutsches Theater*, and soon made his name portraying elderly men. But Brahm was committed to Naturalist drama, especially plays by Gerhart Hauptmann* and Henrik Ibsen, and Reinhardt tired of the harsh realism.

Reinhardt directed his first production in 1900. To escape the tiresome content of Naturalism, he launched the cabaret* troupe *Schall und Rauch* (Sound and Smoke) in 1901. Performing at various locations, the troupe eventually established itself at Berlin's Hotel Arnim, where Reinhardt commissioned Peter Behrens* to redesign a small theater* suited to cabaret. He focused initially on the works of Frank Wedekind and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, enjoyed rapid success, and was able to leave Brahm in January 1903 (he had to pay for breach of contract). Not content with one theater, he also assumed direction of the *Neues Theater am Schiffbauerdamm* (Bertolt Brecht's* theater in the 1950s). After an acclaimed 1905 production of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, he left *Schall und Rauch* (renamed the *Kleines Theater*) and became director of the *Deutsches Theater*; he purchased the theater in 1906 and then opened the *Kammerspiele* next door. Upon founding an acting school, he became the unchallenged master of the German stage.

Reinhardt's roots were in cabaret. While he engaged the best actors and took spectacles on the road (including Paris, Moscow, London, and New York), he is esteemed for his experimentation—for example, theater-in-the-round productions of classical works, the staging of open-air drama, and his production in 1910 of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* at Berlin's Circus Schumann. For his panto-

mime-pageant *The Miracle* (1924), he remodeled the interior of Vienna's *Theater in der Josefstadt* to resemble a cathedral (he also produced the play in New York). He remained at the *Deutsches Theater* until 1920, but reactivated *Schall und Rauch* in 1919 upon acquiring Circus Schumann, which he renamed the *Grosses Schauspielhaus*. He had the circus ring recast for serious drama, while the underground cellar, once home to the animals, was used for cabaret. But Berlin's critics were no longer so generous; by 1920 several younger directors—for example, Leopold Jessner,* Erwin Piscator,* and Jürgen Fehling*—were challenging his position with their politicized theater (Reinhardt argued that ''art is neutral territory''). After founding the Salzburg Festival with Hofmannsthal and Richard Strauss,* he released the *Deutsches Theater* in 1920 to Friedrich Holländer and returned to Vienna; but following his acclaimed 1924 production of Carl Vollmoeller's *The Miracle*, he was back in Berlin.

Although the depression* was a severe blow, Reinhardt retained ownership of the *Deutsches Theater* until March 1933, when the NSDAP compelled him to release his theaters to ''the German people.'' He emigrated to Austria* and then left for the United States in 1937.

REFERENCES: Lotte Eisner, *Haunted Screen*; Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret*; Reinhardt, *Genius*; Styan, *Max Reinhardt*.

REINHARDT, WALTHER (1872–1930), general; first Chief of the Army Command (*Heeresleitung*). Born in Stuttgart to a Württemberg colonel, he entered the Prussian cadet corps in 1885 and was commissioned in 1892. In 1915 he was appointed Chief of Staff of the Thirteenth Army Corps; he assumed the same title for the Seventh Army in 1917. He was assigned to the Prussian War Ministry in 1918 and led the demobilization department at the time of the Armistice.*

Still a colonel, Reinhardt succeeded General Heinrich Scheuch as Minister of War on 3 January 1919, a post soon abolished by the Versailles Treaty.* Although he favored rejecting Versailles (he especially opposed its impact on Germany's eastern frontiers), he was persuaded by Defense Minister Gustav Noske* to retain his office after the treaty's signing. In August 1919, not yet a major-general, he became the Chief of the *Heeresleitung*, the highest military appointment in the Defense Ministry.

Reinhardt was not popular with fellow officers, many of whom believed Hans von Seeckt* and Walther von Lüttwitz* abler officers. Because of his support of the Republic, his willingness to subordinate the army to civilian authority, and his Württemberg roots, older officers viewed him with suspicion. Moreover, Seeckt, Chief of the *Truppenamt*, was indignant at serving an officer who was his junior. In view of these issues and the fuzziness of his duties, it is not surprising that Reinhardt made ineffective use of Reichswehr* troops during the March 1920 Kapp* Putsch. His anger at the army's failure to come to the Republic's aid during the putsch and at Noske's removal after the event provoked his resignation. Indeed, although the putsch failed, its leaders could claim victory: in dislodging Reinhardt and Noske, they removed two men determined to bring the army and the Republic closer together.

Reinhardt remained in the Reichswehr, first as Commander of the Fifth Army District (*Wehrkreis*) and then, from 1925, as Commander of the Second Army Group. When Seeckt, his successor, was forced to resign in 1926, Reinhardt was the army's senior officer; however, his lingering unpopularity led Defense Minister Otto Gessler* to pass over him. Since he created the Reichswehr's organizational structure against the opposition of Seeckt and Wilhelm Groener,* he is rightly deemed the father of the republican army.

REFERENCES: Bosl, Franz, and Hofmann, *Biographisches Wörterbuch*; Carsten, *Reichswehr and Politics*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*.

RELIGION. *See* Catholics, Jews, *and* Protestants.

REMARQUE, ERICH MARIA, born Erich Paul Remark (1898–1970), writer; best known for his antiwar novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (*Im Westen nichts Neues*). He was born to a bookbinder in Osnabrück. His future seemed fixed in his sixteenth year by the onset of World War I. Completing emergency exams (*Notabitur*) at eighteen, he enlisted in the army. His role at the front is unclear: perhaps he spent time behind the front lines; perhaps he was in the thick of battle near Ypres and was severely wounded in July 1917. In any case, after the war he was the prototype of the so-called lost generation, suffering postwar trauma and wandering through aimless jobs (including playing the organ in the chapel of a mental institution) before turning to journalism. Prior to joining Berlin's* *Sport im Bild* in 1925 as deputy editor, he changed his middle name to Maria and adopted the last name (Remarque) of his great-grandfather.

Remarque's breakthrough came in 1929 when Ullstein* published *All Quiet*. First appearing in the *Vossische Zeitung*, the story was an instant success—it sold 200,000 copies within three weeks, was quickly translated into several languages, and was filmed in Hollywood, all in 1929. Although pacifists praised its message, some leftists denounced it as war propaganda; Kurt Tucholsky* argued that Remarque had mellowed the war's tragedy by relating the experience of human solidarity in the trenches. But the book soon ran to several editions and made Remarque a wealthy man. He relocated to Switzerland in 1929 and continued to write. Two sequels to *All Quiet*, *Der Weg zurück* (*The Road Back*, 1931) and *Drei Kameraden* (*Three Comrades*, 1937), while sometimes deemed superior to their predecessor, are less well known. The Germans burned Remarque in effigy in 1933. He emigrated to the United States in 1939, settling with a colony of German expatriates. His American publications included *Flotsam* (1941), *Arch of Triumph* (1946), *A Time to Love and a Time to Die* (1954), and *Night in Lisbon* (1962). He returned to Switzerland after World War II. Deemed ''literary treason to the soldiers of the World War,'' *All Quiet* and *Road Back* were reduced to ashes by the NSDAP in Kaiserslautern on 26 March 1933, six weeks before the dramatic book burning of May.

REFERENCES: Barker and Last, *Erich Maria Remarque*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Owen, *Erich Maria Remarque*; Wagener, *Understanding Erich Maria Remarque*.

REMMELE, HERMANN (1880–1939), politician; served on the *Zentrale* of the KPD during 1921–1932. Born in Ziegelhausen am Neckar to a miller's family, he was among the generation that joined the labor movement and the SPD just as both were evolving into mass organizations. Upon completing an apprenticeship as a lathe operator in Ludwigshafen, he joined the metalworkers' union and the SPD in 1897. He entered the nascent youth movement in 1906 and attended the SPD's party school in Berlin* in 1907–1908. Thereafter, until the outbreak of war, he was an SPD functionary in Mannheim. Although he served at the front, he also participated in the founding of the USPD in 1917.

As the USPD leader in Mannheim at war's end, Remmele aspired to create a *Räterepublik* and played a key role in Mannheim's Workers' and Soldiers' Council.* Elected to the Reichstag* in June 1920 (he remained in the assembly until 1931), he was among those who separated from the USPD in November 1920 to join the KPD. Although his loyalties were with the KPD's left wing, his political profile remained blurred; never initiating actions on his own, he displayed ample flexibility to remain in the Party's politburo during 1924–1932 and serve on the Comintern's executive during 1926–1932. In 1924 he was briefly Party chairman. He also served as an editor, first for the Party's flagship newspaper,* *Rote Fahne*, and then for the theoretical journal, *Internationale*.

In 1925 Remmele supported Ernst Thälmann,* Stalin's most trusted adjutant, in opposition to the KPD's radical Left leadership. Thälmann became Party leader, and from 1928 Remmele joined him in a leadership triumvirate that included Heinz Neumann.* His fatal 1932 decision to unite with Neumann in opposition to Thälmann cost him his political influence. Tiring of the policy of maligning the SPD as the party of ''social fascists,'' a line emanating from Moscow, Neumann and Remmele redirected their attacks on the NSDAP. Both were stripped of their KPD offices. Remmele moved to Moscow before the end of 1932. He was arrested in 1937 and apparently died in a Soviet concentration camp in 1939. He was survived by an older brother, Adam Remmele, who represented the SPD in the Reichstag during 1928–1933 and served briefly as Baden's Interior Minister.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Fowkes, *Communism in Germany*; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*; Ward, '' 'Smash the Fascists' ''; Hermann Weber, *Kommunismus*.

RENTENBANK. The National Mortgage Bank (*Rentenbank*) originated in the monetary theories of Karl Helfferich* and Rudolf Hilferding,* men who otherwise had little use for one another. But it was Hans Luther,* Hilferding's successor at the Finance Ministry, and Hjalmar Schacht,* Currency Commissioner and Reichsbank President, who initiated the reform that ended Germany's runaway inflation* and introduced a new currency. Empowered by an Enabling Act,* Luther presented the cabinet with currency legislation on 15 October 1923 that combined Helfferich's ideas with Hilferding's tactics. Basing German assets on industrial and agricultural land rather than gold (of which Germany had

precious little), Luther defied the opposition of the Central Association of German Banks and conceived a temporary currency called the *Rentenmark*. Less legal tender than medium of exchange, the *Rentenmark* replaced the nearly worthless Reichsmark on 15 November. To augment the transition, the paper Reichsmarks were stabilized on 20 November at 4.2 trillion to the dollar, thus allowing Luther and Schacht to reestablish the exchange rate for a gold mark at its 1913 value—that is, 4.2 marks to the dollar—and yielding an exchange rate between Reichsmark and *Rentenmark* of one trillion to one.

While the *Rentenmark* was in circulation, Germany's landed property was encumbered to the *Rentenbank*. Luther calculated Germany's landed assets at a value of 3.2 billion gold marks. August Lentze, a member of the DNVP and a former Prussian Finance Minister, was chosen to lead the *Rentenbank*'s administrative council. The *Rentenmark* performed its needed function because Schacht, Reichsbank President since December 1923, instituted a very restrictive credit policy while Luther redressed the national deficit, the chief cause of the inflation. The harsh rehabilitation of finances was achieved on the income side by a large reduction in the size of the bureaucracy and by three emergency revenue decrees that dramatically increased taxes on a gold basis and imposed large taxes on inflation profits. Once stability was achieved—the point of the *Rentenbank* and the *Rentenmark*—Luther returned Germany to a currency based on gold. On 30 August 1924, one day after the Reichstag's* acceptance of the Dawes Plan,* the *Rentenmark* was replaced by a Reichsmark tied again to the international gold standard.

The success of the *Rentenbank* must be viewed with the 1924 London Conference* as backdrop; the conference, in which Luther and Schacht took part, produced the Dawes Report. Dawes prompted several American loans to Germany while bringing rationality to reparation* payments.

REFERENCES: Feldman, *Great Disorder*; James, *German Slump* and *Reichsbank*.

RENTENMARK. *See Rentenbank*.

REPARATION COMMISSION. *See* Reparations.

REPARATIONS. No issue burdened the political, financial, and economic history of the Republic so much as reparations. Although the idea of demanding reparations of Germany was established through Article 19 of the Armistice,* transforming the concept into a total bill or payment plan was mired in controversy and proved impossible at Paris. Article 233 of the Versailles Treaty* therefore postponed a final settlement by entrusting the intricate issue to a commission; created in February 1920, the commission was requested to reach its determination by 1 May 1921. Meanwhile, Article 235 required Germany to make an initial installment of 20 billion gold marks (about $4.5 billion) by 1 May 1921. In-kind reparations, mostly in the form of coal deliveries, began in September 1919. Despite the deferral of a final figure, war guilt was decided by

Article 231, the article that opened the treaty's section on reparations. Requiring Germany to accept responsibility ''for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them,'' Article 231 was viewed by Germans as a forced confession that they alone were culpable for the war. For the duration of the Republic, German diplomacy aimed to revise this ''confession''; it colored all deliberations connected with the treaty, especially those concerning reparations.

The first two years of peace were marked by an inability on the part of both Germany and the Allies to come to grips with financial realities. The problems were not eased by the appearance in late 1919 of John Maynard Keynes's popular antitreaty polemic, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. It was thanks to British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, whose 1918 campaign rhetoric had made the reparations debate more emotional by exaggerating the hopes of the British public, that the years immediately following the Peace Conference were taken up with elaborate meetings at which reparations and Europe's economic plight were debated. Often held at charming places off the beaten path—for example, San Remo, Spa, and Cannes (but also Paris and London)—the meetings were so complex that the diplomats generally played second fiddle to economics experts. Gordon Craig has contended that ''the twelve international conferences which were held on the reparations question made'' no ''progress toward achieving a reasonable solution of that troublesome problem.'' They did serve to make Britain suspicious of France while creating such torment in Paris as to make the Ruhr occupation* of January 1923 an expression of national relief. Meanwhile, the entire issue reinvigorated German nationalism.

On 27 April 1921 the Reparation Commission upheld a total debt of 152 billion gold marks that was to be collected by way of the London Schedule of Payments (annuities of 2 billion gold marks to be paid in quarterly installments). But when 1 May 1921 arrived, the Germans had failed to deliver the initial 20 billion gold marks required by Article 235. The ensuing London Ultimatum, which ordered payment under threat of Ruhr occupation, coincided with the collapse of Konstantin Fehrenbach's* cabinet and the establishment of Joseph Wirth's* first cabinet; one event provided a framework for the 1923 Ruhr invasion, while the other ushered in Germany's fulfillment policy.* But the Ruhr imbroglio, designed to extract reparations by force, sparked a period of runaway inflation* and provoked an international effort to help reconstruct Germany's economy and reexamine reparations. The assembling of the Dawes Commission marked America's retreat from economic isolation and led to the replacement of the London Schedule by the Dawes Plan* in 1924. Dawes provided the following: an international loan to Germany of 800 million Reichsmarks, an initial moratorium on reparations, and the resumption of payments according to a scale that began with an annuity of 1 billion marks in 1925 and climbed to 2.5 billion marks by 1928–1929. The plan served as the basis for reparation payments until 1929.

The Young Plan* of 1929 superseded Dawes and initiated a new payment schedule: thirty-seven annuities (i.e., 1929 to 1966) on a schedule rising from 1.8 billion to 2.4 billion marks. It also created a Bank for International Settlements* to supervise German payments—thus removing the foreign political controls that had continued under Dawes—and launched a two-part annuity: one ''unconditional'' and one ''postponable'' in the event of unforeseen difficulties. Deemed a fair and ''permanent solution,'' Young experienced a short and troubled life. Assailed by radical-right opponents, it survived a plebiscite in December 1929 only to succumb to the depression* in 1931. In June 1931, amidst a German banking crisis, President Hoover proposed a one-year moratorium on Allied debts if reparation payments were also suspended. Because Hoover recognized no difference between unconditional and postponable reparations, the moratorium subverted the Young Plan structure. Nevertheless, the Bank for International Settlements upheld the moratorium in December 1931. Finally, the 1932 Lausanne Conference,* which ratified the moratorium, dramatically reduced reparations to a final sum of 3 billion marks—less than two annuities under Young.

After World War I the United States had insisted upon the repayment of war loans without acknowledging any connection with reparations. The fate of the Lausanne Agreement, designed to replace Young, underscored the bankruptcy of the American position. By a separate ''gentlemen's agreement,'' ratification of Lausanne was tied in Italy, Britain, France, and Belgium to debt relief from the United States, a mutual creditor; no such relief was forthcoming. Germany never paid a pfennig of the 3 billion marks specified by Lausanne, and the Europeans, who refused to revive the Young Plan, defaulted in 1933 on their war debts. Through June 1931 the Germans had paid a total of 23 billion gold marks (about $5 billion), about 15 percent of the total bill set in April 1921. It was all they ever paid.

REFERENCES: Craig, ''The British Foreign Office''; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; McNeil, ''Could Germany Pay?''; Marks, ''Myth of Reparations''; Schuker, *American ''Reparations''*; Wheeler-Bennett, *Wreck of Reparations*.

REPUBLIC. *See* Constitution.

RESETTLEMENT. *See Osthilfe*.

REUSCH, PAUL (1868–1956), industrialist; a spokesman for iron and steel during the Weimar era. Born in Königsbronn to an official who administered Württemberg's mining and steel industry, Reusch opted for a career in private business. Through vocational training he cultivated an expertise in heavy industry. By 1909 he was general manager and board chairman for *Gutehoffnungshütte* (GHH) in Oberhausen, a large coal and steel firm engaged in machinery production and owned by the Haniel family.

Although Reusch was committed to increasing the size and profits of GHH, he denounced war profiteering. After World War I he cultivated a pattern when he organized the *Essener Montagsgesellschaft* (Essen Monday Society), a group of Ruhr industrialists who met monthly to discuss common concerns. His underlying aim was to use the postwar period of flux to reorganize and rationalize heavy industry. Relatedly, he pursued a strategy for vertical concentration and in 1920 won a struggle with Hugo Stinnes* for control of southern Germany's largest machine builder, *Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg* (MAN). Annoyed by the December 1918 formation of ZAG, he decried the abandonment of yellow unions (company-sponsored unions) and the implementation of an eight-hour day. In 1923 he championed both runaway inflation* and passive resistance in the Ruhr, hoping thereby to damage the French economy and force the removal of all foreign troops. When Gustav Stresemann* halted passive resistance in September 1923, Reusch christened him ''the Chancellor of capitulation'' and resigned his membership in the DVP.

Reusch owed his influential economic position to his station in heavy industry. A member since 1920 of the powerful RdI, he served during 1924–1930 as chairman of the northwest division of the Association of German Steel Industrialists, a giant steel cartel.* On behalf of GHH, he also assumed control of three south German newspapers.* Late in 1927 he initiated conversations that resulted in the formation of the *Ruhrlade*, a secret club of twelve individuals comprising the managerial elite of the Rhenish-Westphalian iron and coal industry. Although the *Ruhrlade* enjoyed some success as a covert pressure group, it failed to prevent Alfred Hugenberg* from displacing the more moderate Kuno von Westarp* as leader of the DNVP. By 1930 Reusch was frustrated by the fragmentation between the nonsocialist parties. Disenchanted with parliamentary democracy after the September 1930 elections and convinced that Hugenberg was the obstacle to nonsocialist cooperation, he began espousing cautious cooperation with the NSDAP. Although he was troubled by the Party's anti-Semitism* and social radicalism, Reusch was among those who believed that Hitler* could be ''tamed.'' Yet he supported the government of Franz von Papen* and even hoped that the latter would displace Hugenberg as head of the DNVP. Once the NSDAP gained power, Reusch was increasingly opposed to its economic policies. In 1942 he retired to an estate near Stuttgart.

REFERENCES: Maschke, *Es entsteht ein Konzern*; Turner, *German Big Business* and ''*Ruhrlade*.''

REUTER, ERNST (1889–1953), socialist politician; served briefly in 1921 as the KPD's General Secretary. Born in the Schleswig village of Apenrade to a Prussian official, he pursued history and classical studies until his father disowned him and terminated his support for joining the SPD. Although he completed state civil-service* exams in 1912, he declined a state position in favor of teaching at the SPD's Party School in Berlin.* As business manager for the pacifist *Bund Neues Deutschland*, he engaged in antiwar activities until he was

inducted in March 1915. He was wounded and captured by the Russians in August 1916; his socialist agitation while he was in a labor camp came to Lenin's attention. In May 1918 Lenin named him People's Commissar for the Volga Germans. With Karl Radek, he slipped back into Germany in December 1918 with a letter from Lenin stating that ''young Reuter has a brilliant and lucid mind—but is somewhat independent.''

During the Republic's early years Reuter rose rapidly in the KPD hierarchy. As an activist in Upper Silesia* and Berlin (he used the pseudonym ''Friesland'') and as leader with Ruth Fischer* of the left wing, he was named to the *Zentrale* and elected general secretary in August 1921. But he soon altered his posture; within five months his open criticism of the Comintern's intrusion into KPD affairs prompted his removal from all Party offices. As one of those Communists who vainly attempted to maintain the KPD's independence, he was expelled from the Party in January 1922. After a brief interval with the USPD he rejoined the SPD in late 1922. He was soon absorbed in municipal politics and was one of Berlin's departmental directors when in 1926 he unified the city's transportation system. Elected *Oberbürgermeister* of Magdeburg in April 1931 and sent to the Reichstag* in July 1932, he was totally committed to the Republic.

The Nazis abrogated Reuter's Reichstag mandate in June 1933. Arrested the same month, he was in and out of concentration camps until pacifist connections contrived his emigration to London in January 1935. From March 1935 until his return to Germany in 1946, he lived in Turkey, teaching city planning and advising the Turkish Transportation Ministry. In 1947 he was elected *Oberbürgermeister* of Berlin. Portraying West Berlin as an ''island in a red sea,'' he became a symbol of freedom and democracy during the Berlin Blockade.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Brandt, *Ernst Reuter*.

REVALUATION. *See Rentenbank.*

REVENTLOW, ERNST GRAF ZU. *See* German Racial Freedom Party *and Protocols of the Elders of Zion.*

REVISIONISM. *See* Fulfillment Policy.

REVOLUTION. *See* November Revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY SHOP STEWARDS (*Revolutionäre Obleute*). Emerging in Berlin* during the early months of World War I, the *Obleute* were radical socialists who sprang not from the SPD but from the trade unions.* Opposed to the policies of the SPD, the Stewards organized themselves clandestinely into small groups within munitions factories in order to mobilize workers opposed to the war. The selective membership was restricted to union

officials possessing administrative or political experience. In time they evolved a covert network and spread their organization to other plants and shipyards. In 1916, persuaded of eventual revolution, they formed a link with the Social Democratic Alliance, precursor to the USPD. They were largely responsible for the strikes and factory actions of 1916–1918. Until his induction Richard Müller* led the Stewards; he was succeeded in February 1918 by Emil Barth.*

The *Obleute* were often at odds with the Spartacists. In contrast to their socialist colleagues, they hoped to retain their position as a small cadre of revolutionaries rather than evolve into a party organization. Moreover, they avoided theoretical discourse and favored conspiratorial activity over mass action. Engaged from October 1918 in the formation of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils,* they opposed the December 1918 proposal of the Spartacus League* to break with the USPD and found a new party; indeed, they refused to join the KPD without Karl Liebknecht's* endorsement of five demands (including participation in the National Assembly* elections). Their decision to stand by the USPD deprived the KPD of a critical connection with the workers. Yet while they initially opposed a putsch, it was largely at their behest that a vote was taken on 5 January 1919 to oust the Council of People's Representatives* with a general strike. The resultant action, the Spartacus Uprising,* was a disaster. By March 1919, with neither program nor political leadership, they admitted that they had been outmaneuvered by the SPD. Much of their energy was absorbed, albeit briefly, by the Workers' Councils.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Haffner, *Failure of a Revolution*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Waldman, *Spartacist Uprising*.

RHINELAND. The terms of the Versailles Treaty* (Articles 42–43) forbade German troops and fortifications in the Rhineland or west of a line running fifty kilometers east of the Rhine River. Through the Rhineland Agreement of 28 June 1919 (separate from the treaty), the Allies agreed to a passive occupation of this region for a fifteen-year period; the region was to be divided into three zones, and evacuation was to proceed at five-year intervals. Administrative responsibility was vested in an Interallied Rhineland High Commission. While Allied occupation was a bitter pill for the Germans, it was a diplomatic defeat for the French. Georges Clemenceau wanted the Rhineland (and the Saar*) separated from Germany and established as a buffer zone, thereby securing France's borders. But endemic efforts at Rhenish separatism, led in 1919 by Hans Dorten,* found no support in Britain, Belgium, or the United States. Meanwhile, the Weimar Constitution* made the creation of a non-Prussian Rhineland virtually impossible, and America's rejection of Versailles and defection from European security intensified French fears of a resurgent Germany. By 1922, with heavy reductions in British and American troop levels, France was basically the only occupying power in the region. Until the changes effected by the 1925 Locarno Treaties,* the French viewed occupation both as the crucial centerpiece of their security system and as a partial guarantee that the Germans would meet

their reparations* obligations. Extremists hoped that by abetting Rhenish separatism during occupation, the goal of an autonomous Rhineland might yet be achieved.

The prospect of Germany losing the Rhineland was never greater than during the 1923 Ruhr occupation.* But Premier Raymond Poincaré's bid to extend French authority throughout the region was a costly failure. In 1924 the occupation was discontinued, and in 1925 the Locarno accords revised the Rhineland Agreement. Security remained the sine qua non of French policy. In the face of an early end to occupation—Locarno ordained removal of the last French troops in June 1930—a permanently demilitarized Rhineland became a linchpin of France's alliance system. For Germans, sovereignty demanded the removal of foreign troops from German soil. Locarno addressed both issues: by guaranteeing the Franco-German frontier, it assured the Germans that the Rhineland would remain within Germany; likewise, it assured the French that the region would remain demilitarized.

The DNVP denounced Locarno; indeed, it condemned Gustav Stresemann* for accepting the Rhineland's demilitarization, a step limiting German sovereignty. Military officers and civilian leaders soon affirmed in disarmament* talks with the West that every nation had a right to adequate military strength. Central to the argument were three issues: the imperiled status of East Prussia,* isolated as it was by the Polish Corridor; the limits on the size and weaponry of the Reichswehr*; and the demilitarized Rhineland. France responded by constructing the Maginot Line. When Hitler* remilitarized the Rhineland in March 1936, his action revealed that in evacuating that territory, France had lost both a defensive buffer and a staging area for an offensive into Germany.

REFERENCES: Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; McDougall, *France's Rhineland Diplomacy*; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*; Schuker, *End of French Predominance*.

RHINELAND PACT. *See* Locarno Treaties.

RICHTER, ERNST VON (1862–1935), politician; served as Prussian Finance Minister. Born Ernst Richter in Berlin,* he completed doctoral studies, entered the civil service,* and was Minister of State for Saxe-Coburg-Gotha from 1905 to 1917, during which time he was elevated to the nobility. Against Conservative opposition (he was a National Liberal), he was appointed *Oberpräsident* of Hanover in 1917. In December 1918 he joined the DVP.

Richter's 1919 election to the Prussian assembly (where he remained until 1928) produced a conflict of interest: he was the DVP's de facto faction chairman in the assembly, but as Hanover's *Oberpräsident*, he was subordinate to Carl Severing,* the SPD's Interior Minister. Since Richter, a monarchist, rebuffed parliamentary efforts to cooperate with the SPD, his status as a bureaucrat in an SPD administration was awkward. In any case, his support for the Kapp* Putsch led Severing to dismiss him in 1920. Remarkably, wishing to form a

Great Coalition* in 1921, Otto Braun* made him Prussian Finance Minister (1921–1925). To Severing's surprise, Richter worked with him in a ''spirit of cooperative collaboration.'' The SPD-led cabinet affirmed its confidence in Richter when in 1923 it allowed him to set Prussia's* operating and personnel budgets; his decisions could only be overruled by a cabinet vote that included Prime Minister Braun. Jointly committed to parliamentary democracy, Severing and Richter campaigned together in 1924, and by the mid-1920s Richter was actively engaged in efforts to link the DVP with the DDP. An abortive no-confidence vote against the Braun government by DVP colleagues forced Richter to resign in January 1925.

Richter's shift from monarchism* was not unlike that of DVP chairman Gustav Stresemann.* His efforts to bridge the gulf between the DVP and the DDP intensified when he left his ministry. He was soon active in the *Liberale Vereinigung* (Liberal Association) and was elected the group's cochairman (with Otto Fischbeck of the DDP) in December 1925. But the two parties were increasingly alienated both from the *Liberale Vereinigung* and from each other. In June 1928, after both parties suffered severe setbacks in the Reichstag* elections, Richter and Fischbeck were replaced by August Weber.*

REFERENCES: Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Kosch, *Biographisches Staatshandbuch*; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1918–1925*.

RICKERT, HEINRICH (1863–1936), philosopher; with Ernst Cassirer,* considered the premier neo-Kantian of the Weimar years. Born in Danzig* to an accomplished National Liberal parliamentarian and Reichstag* member, he studied philosophy under Wilhelm Windelband at Strassburg and took a doctorate in 1888. He completed his *Habilitation* at Freiburg in 1891 and was named professor at the same school in 1894. The truly systematic mind in the Baden or Southwest German School of neo-Kantianism (embracing Strassburg, Freiburg, and Heidelberg, it was distinct from the more empirical Marburg School), he was concerned with a universal theory of values and wished to revitalize Kant's categorical imperative. By promoting an objective science of culture—one viewing law, religion, and history as universal forms of knowledge—he helped lay a foundation for the social sciences. With Wilhelm Dilthey, he promoted a controversial antipositivism. His principal works were *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft* (Cultural science and natural science, 1899) and *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung* (Limits of concept formulation in the natural sciences, 1902), which sustained a distinction between cultural studies and science. His last major book was *System der Philosophie* (1921), a study linking the rational and the irrational.

Rickert succeeded Heidelberg's Windelband (1848–1915), his *Doktorvater*, in 1916. He was a long-time friend of sociologist Max Weber,* who became his philosophical student upon publication of *Die Grenzen*; indeed, part of Weber's theory is grounded in Rickert's philosophy. While Heidelberg deepened this friendship, it also escalated the effects of a nervous disease (chronic agorapho-

bia) that forced Rickert to leave the classroom and eventually made him an invalid. As his health deteriorated, so did his intellectual influence. Because of a narrow devotion to universal moral truths, he came close to discounting anything lacking permanent value. As a critic of *Lebensphilosophie*, an ideology gleaned from Dilthey that opposed causal explanation and aimed to unite the world of being with that of ideas, he vainly tried to block Karl Jaspers's* appointment at Heidelberg in 1922 and published an assault on Edmund Husserl,* his successor at Freiburg.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Oakes, *Weber and Rickert*; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*; Schnädelbach, *Philosophy in Germany*.

RIEFENSTAHL, LENI. *See* Arnold Fanck.

RÖHM, ERNST (1887–1934), soldier; influential leader of the SA.* Born in Munich to a railway official, he was raised in a monarchist milieu before deciding upon a military career in 1906. Assigned to Bavaria's* Regiment König Ludwig, he served on the Western Front, where he received multiple wounds and was promoted to captain in 1917.

Brutalized by his frontline experience, Röhm returned to Germany eager for adventure and battle. Convinced of the superiority of a military life, he cultivated a violent hatred of the Republic. A piece of his ideology appears in a book published in 1928: ''Army and politics so act and react upon one another that a separation of one from the other is absolutely impossible.'' He served in early 1919 as an adjutant with Franz von Epp's* Freikorps,* and helped liquidate Munich's *Räterepublik* before returning to the Bavarian army as a liaison with the region's paramilitary units. Unexcelled at avoiding the Versailles Treaty's* disarmament* clauses, he was also a gifted organizer. Still maintaining links with Epp, he helped create Bavaria's *Einwohnerwehren* while training and provisioning other paramilitary units.

Already in contact with Hitler* when the latter worked with army intelligence, Röhm was also an early member of the German Workers' Party (precursor to the NSDAP). For two years he funneled money to the NSDAP while affording it connections with Bavaria's military authorities. Disenchanted with the army's failure to profit from instability, he took his discharge late in 1922, left the *Einwohnerwehren* in February 1923, and began developing the SA, led at the time by Hermann Göring.* Possessed of enormous energy, he also created his own organization, the *Reichskriegsflagge*. More than anyone else, Röhm sparked the revival of Bavaria's paramilitary activity in 1923. Prevailing on Hitler to use the SA, he set the stage for November's ill-prepared Beerhall Putsch.* After the coup's collapse he was sentenced to fifteen months' confinement. Gaining early release in April 1924, he reorganized the outlawed SA as the *Frontbann*. During May–December 1924 he represented the National Socialist Freedom Movement (the NSDAP was banned) in the Reichstag.*

Röhm's relationship with Hitler was strained by friction within the *völkisch*

movement and Hitler's ambivalence toward the *Frontbann* after his own release from prison. Finally, after Hitler initially prevailed upon Röhm to lead the SA, disputes over its subordination to the NSDAP provoked Röhm's resignation in April 1925. While the men remained on close terms, Röhm left for South America and served almost three years as an advisor to the Bolivian army. He returned to Germany in 1930 and recovered his position as *Oberster SA Führer* (OSAF or Supreme SA Leader) in January 1931. Paralleling the NSDAP's breakthrough into national politics, he helped expand the SA from a force of 77,000 to one of almost 500,000 by 1933.

Hitler's decision to gain power legally was distasteful to Röhm and irritating to many SA subalterns. Yet despite tactical disputes and Röhm's well-known homosexuality, a warm relationship was sustained (Röhm was the only Nazi whom Hitler addressed with the familiar ''*du*''); Röhm always respected Hitler's superior vision and rhetorical talents. But after Hitler seized power, he came to appreciate the threat that the SA represented to the army. To gain the army's loyalty, the SA was purged and Röhm was executed on 1 July 1934.

REFERENCES: Bessel, *Political Violence*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Jablonsky, ''Röhm and Hitler''; Orlow, *History of the Nazi Party*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. *See* Catholics.

ROSENBERG, ALFRED (1893–1946), racial ideologue; served in the 1920s as theorist for the NSDAP. Born of Balto-German lineage in the Estonian town of Reval, he studied architecture and engineering in Moscow before fleeing revolutionary Russia in 1918. He moved to Munich, where his radical anticommunism and anti-Semitism* led him to the Thule Society.* Befriended by Dietrich Eckart,* he wrote several racist articles for Eckart's *Auf gut Deutsch* and through Eckart was introduced to both the German Workers' Party (precursor of the NSDAP) and Hitler.* Hitler was impressed by his abstruse intolerance of Jews,* Bolshevism, and Christianity and by his views on *Lebensraum* (''living space''). Rosenberg joined the NSDAP, and his ideas appeared in Hitler's speeches and the Party program.

The *Völkischer Beobachter** provided Rosenberg's principal outlet. In February 1923 he replaced Eckart as the paper's editor, a position he retained until 1938. Max Amann,* the paper's publisher, deemed Rosenberg an arrogant ''buffoon'' and a ''stuck-up crackpot ninny.'' Since this image of him was common, he remained an outsider among the Nazis. Nevertheless, when Hitler was imprisoned after the Beerhall Putsch,* he earmarked Rosenberg to lead the NSDAP until his release. Assisted by Julius Streicher* and Hermann Esser, Rosenberg founded a successor group known as the *Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft* (the NSDAP being temporarily banned). Although his pedantic bearing alienated colleagues and was ill suited for sustaining the fragmented Nazis, he kept his standing after Hitler's release. In 1929 he formed the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Combat League for German Culture); in 1930 he launched the journal

Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte and published his *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Myth of the twentieth century). *Mythus*, his best-known work, was an anti-Semitic and anti-Christian diatribe. Embarrassed by its pagan innuendos, Hitler refused to give *Mythus* the NSDAP's official endorsement. Nonetheless, it became a best-seller.

Rosenberg entered the Reichstag* in 1930, but retained only theoretical importance after 1932. Hitler's concordat with the Catholic* Church, coupled with his decision to appoint someone other than Rosenberg to the Foreign Office, underscored his eclipse. Nevertheless, he led the negligible NSDAP Foreign Affairs Department and established his Institute for the Investigation of the Jewish Question. Hitler restored his prominence in 1941 by appointing him Reichsminister for the Occupied Eastern Territories; however, the brutalities carried out under his supervision prompted his conviction for war crimes. The Nuremberg court hanged him in October 1946.

REFERENCES: Cecil, *Myth of the Master Race*; Fest, *Face of the Third Reich*; Nova, *Alfred Rosenberg*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*; Viereck, *Metapolitics*; Whisker, *Philosophy of Alfred Rosenberg*.

ROSENBERG, ARTHUR (1889–1943), historian and politician; one of the Republic's few leftist historians. Born in Berlin* to a Jewish businessman, he was raised in a middle-class milieu and studied ancient history and classical languages. He took a doctorate in 1911 with the thesis ''Investigations into the Roman Centuriate Constitution,'' wrote his *Habilitation* in 1913, and had just been appointed *Privatdozent* at Berlin when war broke out. An unrestrained patriot, he served in the War Press Office and joined the ultranationalistic *Vaterlandspartei* in 1917.

Exhibiting no radical tendencies until November 1918, Rosenberg joined the USPD upon Germany's defeat; when the USPD split in December 1920, he entered the KPD. Elected to Berlin's city council in 1921, he became part of the KPD's district leadership and then sat in the Reichstag* during 1924–1928. Counted with the KPD's ultraleft, he was close to Ruth Fischer* and Arkadi Maslow and opposed efforts to work with either the SPD or the trade unions.* Despite his ties—he entered the Comintern's executive in 1924—he was invited in 1925 to serve with the Committee of Investigation into the causes of Germany's 1918 defeat. The collapse of Fischer's leadership in 1925 brought his removal from the district leadership; however, he retained a position on the KPD's *Zentralkomitee*. He increasingly abandoned his ultraleft stance, even to the point of supporting Ernst Thälmann.* But in April 1927, disgusted by the Comintern's China policy, he resigned from the KPD. Although he joined the SPD, he was no longer politically active.

Membership on the Committee of Investigation (the fourth such committee) gave Rosenberg access to a wealth of primary documentation, enlivened his interest in contemporary history, and encouraged his best-known scholarship, *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Republik* (Birth of the German Republic, 1928)

and *Geschichte der Deutschen Republik* (History of the German Republic, 1935). From 1927 until the NSDAP dismissed him in 1933, he taught at Berlin, albeit not as a member of the history faculty but with the ill-defined sociology discipline (although he taught Greek and Roman history). *Entstehung der Deutschen Republik*, with its precise rendering of the Kaiserreich as harbinger of the revolution, angered his colleagues; the university refused to promote him to full professor. In March 1933 he fled Germany. During 1934–1937 he taught in Liverpool, England, and then emigrated in 1938 to New York, teaching until his death at Brooklyn College.

REFERENCES: Carsten, ''Arthur Rosenberg''; Lehmann and Sheehan, *Interrupted Past*; Pachter, *Weimar Etudes*.

ROSENZWEIG, FRANZ (1886–1929), religious existentialist; organized the *Freies Jüdische Lehrhaus* (Free Jewish School) in 1920. Born in Kassel to a respected manufacturer of dyestuffs, he studied medicine (passing his *Physikum* in 1907), history (with Friedrich Meinecke*), and philosophy (with Heinrich Rickert*) during 1905–1912. Berlin* awarded his doctorate in 1912 for a thesis on Hegel's political thought (published in 1920 as *Hegel und der Staat*). Although Meinecke urged him to pursue an academic career, he declined, knowing that his Judaism jeopardized his success. In 1913, while studying law, he experienced a spiritual crisis, almost converted to Christianity, and then devoted himself to religious philosophy. After serving most of World War I in the Balkans, he published his three-part magnum opus, a religious philosophy entitled *Der Stern der Erlösung* (The star of redemption, 1918–1919). A Nietzsche-inspired critique of Western philosophy (especially Hegel), *Stern* refuted efforts to combine the elements of God, the world, and man into one essence; for Rosenzweig, man was a lonely being, devoured by doubt.

Rosenzweig assumed direction in August 1920 of Frankfurt's new Independent House of Judaic Studies (its instructors included Leo Baeck and Martin Buber*) and was appointed *Privatdozent* for Jewish religious philosophy two years later at Frankfurt. Unfortunately, the onset of a progressive paralysis precluded his accepting the appointment. With the help of his wife and a special typewriter, he continued his scholarship, establishing his place at the center of an anti-Hegelian revolt. Mirroring many of the ideas of Martin Heidegger,* he called for an existential theology while advocating a renewal of classical Jewish thought. From 1925 he and Buber worked on a translation of the Old Testament; at his death ten volumes (Genesis to Isaiah) were complete.

REFERENCES: Bach, *German Jew*; Glatzer, *Franz Rosenzweig*; Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism*; Mendes-Flohr, *Philosophy of Franz Rosenzweig*.

ROSSBACH, GERHARD (1893–1967), Freikorps* leader; organized and led the famed *Freiwillige Sturmabteilung Rossbach*. Born in the Pomeranian town of Kehrberg, he was a freshly commissioned lieutenant when World War

I began. Ending the war as an artillery *Oberleutnant*, he founded his own border defense company for the Baltic campaign of 1919. After employing his unit in January 1919 in a surprise attack against Polish units in West Prussia, he became an object of national adulation. In November 1919 he went to the aid of Germany's beleaguered forces in the Baltic provinces.* Ernst von Salomon* recorded that between 7 and 30 November Rossbach wrought havoc upon the Latvian and Bolshevik forces while rescuing the German Legion. He returned a legendary figure, idolized by youth as the postwar archetype of a national hero.

Despite orders to disband, Rossbach ingeniously sheltered his unit for several years. Soon after fighting the KPD in Mecklenburg during the Kapp* Putsch, his corps was merged with the Reichswehr* as *Jägerbataillon 37*; the unit was used to crush the left-wing revolt in the Ruhr that followed the Kapp episode. In May 1920 Hans von Seeckt,* striving to remove undisciplined elements from the army, ordered the batallion disbanded, but Rossbach, receiving help from the Pomeranian *Landbund*, organized his eight thousand men into *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* (labor associations) and dispersed them among several East Elbian estates. The ''volunteer farm workers,'' who claimed to be working ''*für Brot und ein Bett*'' (for bread and a bed), scattered their arms throughout the Pomeranian countryside. When Rossbach was called to action in May 1921 by events in Upper Silesia,* he assembled four thousand well-armed men within forty-eight hours. When the fighting ended in July, he avoided an Inter-Allied Military Control Commission order to surrender arms by sequestering them back in Pomerania. For two more years he countered efforts to dislodge his corps by creating new cover societies: ''*Ich gründe schneller Vereine, als die Berliner sie auflösen können!*'' (''I create societies quicker than Berlin* can dissolve them!''), he remarked.

Rossbach joined the NSDAP relatively early. Arrested in October 1923, he was released in time for the Beerhall Putsch.* When the coup failed, he fled to Austria,* where he remained until 1926. Upon returning, he declared that the time for putsches had passed (his organization had scattered during his absence). He thereafter championed patriotic education for unemployed youth, including an emphasis on music* and folk dancing. This new path, which included the creation of *Turnerschaften* (gymnastics clubs), had scant appeal for former followers, most of whom drifted to the SA.* In April 1928 he was involved in Stettin's inconclusive *Femegericht** trial. He served as deputy chairman in the early 1930s of the *Reichsluftsschutzbund* (National Air-Raid Federation) and became chairman after Hitler's* seizure of power.

During the 1934 Röhm* purge Rossbach was briefly detained by a former lieutenant; he was fortunate to survive. He served during World War II in the *Abwehr*; after 1945 he helped reestablish Bayreuth's Wagner Festival and ran an insurance agency in Hamburg.

REFERENCES: Bronnen, *Rossbach*; *Deutsche Nachrichten*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Salomon, *Geächteten*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

DIE ROTE FAHNE. *See* Communist Party of Germany *and* Newspapers.

ROTER FRONTKÄMPFERBUND (RFB). Founded in Halle during the summer of 1924, the RFB (Red Front) was the KPD's answer to Weimar's ''epidemic of uniforms'' (*see* Freikorps). Created in response to the growth of the Republic's newly formed *Reichsbanner*,* it was a sophisticated augmentation of the Proletarian Hundreds formed during 1923 as part of United Front* efforts in Saxony* and Thuringia.* Clustered in industrial areas, the RFB identified 558 local branches and about 40,000 members by March 1925. After Ernst Thälmann's* 1925 purge of the ultra-left, it enjoyed an extended period of growth.

In parallel with other *Kämpfbünde*, the RFB established several auxiliary organizations. The *Rote Jungfront* (RJ), formed in October 1924, was a youth auxiliary that grew to 30,000 to 40,000 members by 1929. A women's* league, the *Roter Frauen- und Mädchenbund* (RFMB), was established at the RFB's second annual conference in May 1925. In conformity with United Front policy, the RFB maintained the fiction that it was independent of the KPD; yet it existed to attract new members to the Party and revealed its character, especially after 1928, by engaging in combat with the *Reichsbanner* (a largely SPD organization). Indeed, given its violent opposition to the Republic and its intrinsic military nature, it resembled the right-wing combat leagues far more than the *Reichsbanner*.

Moscow's 1928 directive to abort the United Front policy induced the RFB to enter a series of bloody and reckless clashes with police. In May 1929 the RFB was banned by the Prussian Interior Minister, Albert Grzesinski,* and Prussia's* example was followed by other states. But the RFB, with a 1929 membership of somewhat less than 100,000, persevered with often-lethal results into the Republic's final months.

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Rosenhaft, *Beating the Fascists?*; Schuster, *Rote Frontkämpferbund*.

ROTH, JOSEPH (1894–1939), writer; his work reflects a torment and nostalgia induced by World War I and the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. Born to a Jewish home in Brody (a Galician village now in Poland*), he was raised with his maternal grandfather when his father deserted the family. Studying in Vienna when war erupted, he enlisted in the Habsburg army in 1916 (leaving his studies incomplete) and was assigned to desk duties with the propaganda department. He later wrote that his ''most powerful experience was the war and the fall of my fatherland, the only one I ever possessed.''

A member of the war's ''lost generation,'' Roth returned to Vienna in 1918 poor and disillusioned. Eventually combining serious writing with journalism,

he wrote successfully for several Viennese newspapers* and then relocated in 1921 to Berlin.* Fleeting socialist sympathies landed him a job with *Vorwärts*; however, he soon moved to the *Berliner Börsen-Courier*. From 1923 until Hitler* seized power, he wrote essays and travel reports for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. To research his reports, he went to France in 1925 and the Soviet Union* in 1926 (the last trip erased his socialist convictions). By the late 1920s he was one of Germany's highest-paid journalists. Yet it was his novels that won him fame: *Hotel Savoy* and *Die Rebellion* in 1924, *Zipper und sein Vater* in 1928, and *Hiob* (Job) in 1930. The line between fiction and reality was always blurred in Roth. His best-known novel, *Radetzkymarsch* (1932), is a nostalgic treatment of the Habsburg monarchy that superbly captures the spirit of the age of Franz Joseph.

Leading a nomadic existence throughout Europe, Roth lived in hotels and did much of his writing in coffeehouses. He attempted to settle down early in his marriage (1922), but the endeavor was hopeless (his wife, diagnosed schizophrenic in 1928, fell victim to Nazi euthanasia in 1940). Deprived of his income and royalties in 1933, he fled to southern France; the next year he moved to Paris. After the *Anschluss* he began publishing the *Österreichische Post*, a periodical advocating restoration of the Habsburgs. But his habitual drinking was by then beyond control. Although friends persuaded Archduke Otto, son of Austria's late Kaiser and a resident of Paris, to visit the author and attempt to convince him to stop drinking, the effort was futile. In May 1939 he died of alcoholism in a hospital for the indigent.

REFERENCES: Bronsen, *Joseph Roth*; Ehrenburg, *Memoirs*; Francis, *Viennese Enlightenment*; Mathew, *Ambivalence and Irony*.

ROWOHLT, ERNST (1887–1960), publisher; perfected paperback ''pocket editions'' (*Taschenbücher*). Born in Bremen to a stockbroker, he was a banking apprentice before switching single-mindedly to the book trade. Beginning as a typesetter, he worked at Leipzig's prestigious Insel Verlag as printer, bookbinder, and engraver before selling books in Munich and Paris. He once exclaimed, ''I deal in books, I don't read them and I don't carry them around with me''; in fact, he was well read. Back in Leipzig by 1908, he progressed to business manager of the *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* (Magazine for bibliophiles); then, with Kurt Wolff* as silent partner, he opened his own firm in July 1908, the Ernst Rowohlt Verlag. The firm had four successful years before friction led Rowohlt and Wolff to dissolve their partnership. In February 1913 he was empowered to represent the Samuel Fischer* publishing house. Later that year he purchased the Hyperion-Verlag of Berlin.*

Rowohlt's breakthrough came in the 1920s. After four years of military service (1914–1918) he settled in Berlin and founded a second Ernst Rowohlt Verlag. From 1920 he published the democratic weekly *Das Tage-Buch*.* By frequenting well-known establishments—the Romanische Café, the Bierhaus Pschorr, and the bar at the Hotel Adlon—he nurtured literary contacts and trans-

formed his enterprise into a leading firm. Assisted by a gifted editor, Paul Mayer, he focused on inexpensive ''pocket editions''; it was a brilliant move. Among the almost two hundred names he counted as authors (several of whom he enticed from Fischer) were Arnolt Bronnen,* Hans Fallada,* Walter Hasenclever,* Walter Mehring,* Robert Musil,* Kurt Pinthus* (his chief reader), Ernst von Salomon,* and Kurt Tucholsky.* His biggest success, appearing in 1932, was Fallada's *Kleiner Mann—was nun?* (Little man—what now?).

As Rowohlt's authors generally embodied Weimar's left-wing spirit, the press drastically reduced its offerings after 1933. In 1938, after publishing a biography of the Jew* Bruno Adler under the name Urban Roedl, he fled Germany for two years, going first to London and then to Brazil (his wife was Brazilian). Although the firm was closed in 1943, it reopened in December 1945 under British license in Hamburg. With its solid literary paperbacks, it remains a major enterprise.

REFERENCES: Becher, *Im Liliputanercafe*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Ermarth, *Kurt Wolff*; Kiaulehn, *Mein Freund der Verleger.*

RUHR OCCUPATION (*Ruhrkampf*). Germany's Ruhr district takes its name from the Ruhr River. Flowing west for 145 miles through Westphalia (in the Weimar era the district comprised parts of Prussia's* Rhine Province and Westphalia), the river passes Essen and Mülheim before joining the Rhine at Duisberg. Embracing about 1,800 square miles, the Ruhr district was (and is) among the world's densest and most important industrial regions: from Dortmund in the east to Duisberg in the west, the district is a continuous urbanized area. Its evolution was owed largely to the mining and steel concerns formed in the nineteenth century by the Krupp* and Thyssen* families. With huge anthracite deposits, the Ruhr provided coal not simply to German firms but to steel industries throughout much of Europe.

The Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr launched the crisis-ridden year of 1923. Responding to Germany's failure to meet reparations* demands, French Premier Raymond Poincaré ordered troops into the district on 11 January. The action was in some measure a sign of French exasperation over four years of deadlock on reparations and economic issues. The Ruhr had been a target of threats since 1921, when Germany was found ''in default in the fulfillment of the obligations'' of the Versailles Treaty.* Yet only Belgium supported Poincaré's move; indeed, former allies surmised that he aimed to foment separatism in western Germany.

The occupation provoked a violent emotional reaction in Germany. On 13 January Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno* appealed to the Ruhr's population for ''passive resistance'' and noncooperation. Industry in the valley ceased to function, and Germans were briefly united as they had been in August 1914. But the Ruhr's idle workers needed to be paid. As dislocation and runaway inflation* intensified, German society became radicalized. Moreover, despite passive resistance, the French gradually established control in the Ruhr. Thus, while

Cuno's policy initially enjoyed widespread support, his inability to control the crisis generated uneasiness within his cabinet. The Center Party,* key to his coalition, was increasingly aroused by complaints from its Rhenish branch protesting the Republic's abandonment of the region. Finally, after a bitter attack in *Germania* (the Center's chief newspaper*), Cuno resigned in August 1923.

Although Gustav Stresemann,* Cuno's successor, terminated passive resistance, his action neither ended the Rhineland's chronic problems—among which was reawakened separatism—nor reestablished German sovereignty in the Ruhr. Moreover, it spawned crises throughout Germany: on 26 September, the day passive resistance ended, Bavaria* instituted a dictatorial regime under Gustav von Kahr*; an attempted coup, the Küstrin Putsch, was staged by the Black Reichswehr* on 1 October; Hitler* prepared his Beerhall Putsch*; and hyperinflation intensified. But the occupation had induced a precipitous collapse in the value of the French franc and a similar fall in Poincaré's popularity. The Premier's defeat in the May 1924 elections proved a watershed in French policy. With the 30 August 1924 adoption of the Dawes Plan,* the French began evacuating the Ruhr; the last troops left on 31 July 1925.

The occupation instructed Germans in the ability of a superior military force to exercise its will with impunity. Despite internal divisions, it also confirmed the willingness of Germans to sacrifice for policies in which they believed. Yet in addition to bloodshed and the hardship attached to the inflation, the episode gave rise to problems of a military nature that haunted France and Germany. Since both Cuno and General Hans von Seeckt* were united in the belief that the occupation violated Versailles, their successors felt even less constrained to adhere to the treaty. Although Seeckt never seriously considered intervention against the French, covert measures were taken by the Reichswehr* in response to France's violation of German sovereignty. A new and highly illegal volunteer system was created (including the Black Reichswehr), veterans of the former air force were organized into the *Ring der Flieger* (Fliers' Circle), and the Reichswehr's rapprochement with the Red Army was further promoted. Finally, Seeckt's conviction that the army would require Freikorps* support in the event that France advanced beyond the Ruhr resulted in the unfortunate resurgence of paramilitary units. These by-products of the occupation were aggravated by an unfortunate legacy: a heightened and embittered German nationalism.

REFERENCES: Cornebise, ''Gustav Stresemann'' and *Weimar Republic*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; McDougall, *France's Rhineland Diplomacy*; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*; Rupieper, *Cuno Government*; Schmidt, *Versailles and the Ruhr*.

RUHRLADE. See Paul Reusch.

RUSSIA. *See* Soviet Union.

RUSSO-GERMAN TRADE TREATY. *See* Soviet Union.

S

SA (*Sturmabteilung*); the most menacing of the Republic's paramilitary groups. The NSDAP founded its ''Sports Section'' (*Turn- und Sportabteilung*) in November 1920 under the direction of Emil Maurice, a Munich watchmaker. By August 1921, when Hitler* seized Party control, the *Sportabteilung* had evolved into a paramilitary institution whose members were dubbed the ''Brownshirts''; the group's initial uniforms came from a surplus consignment intended for soldiers serving in Africa. In converting the SA into a powerful organization, Hitler was assisted by Hermann Ehrhardt.* Ehrhardt loaned officers and contributed money for its development, while the dissolution of several Freikorps* units after the campaign in Upper Silesia* (May–June 1921) brought recruits. Because it was deemed a political tool, not a veterans' group, Hitler aimed membership appeals at ''our German youth''—males seventeen and older. In November 1921, after a battle with socialists at Munich's Hofbräuhaus, the organization was renamed *Sturmabteilung* (Storm Section). Although Hermann Göring* became formal leader in 1922, a fundamental redesign of the SA came only after Ernst Röhm* joined its command structure in February 1923. Through Röhm's training and enlistment campaigns, the SA helped radicalize Bavarian politics.

After the November 1923 Beerhall Putsch* the SA and the Party were banned. Röhm, released from prison in April 1924, revived the SA as the *Frontbann*. But by forming an organization that conformed with Bavaria's other military associations, Röhm broke with Hitler's aspirations. When Hitler reestablished both the NSDAP and the SA in February 1925 (the ban on both having been lifted), he informed Röhm that the *Frontbann* had no future with the Party and

that the SA would thereafter be less a military association than a political action league. Röhm resigned in April.

Dictating that members henceforth belong to the NSDAP, the SA evolved a propaganda mission and flourished at the expense of other paramilitary units. Its prosperity was attributed to Captain Franz Pfeffer* von Salomon, appointed *Oberster SA Führer* (OSAF or Supreme SA Leader) in September 1926. Working with Hitler, Pfeffer recast the SA's structure and formalized its propaganda role for the remaining years of the Republic. By the fall of 1930 it was a well-trained force of 60,000. Yet tension with Hitler, centered on the SA's objection to gaining power legally, intensified as the SA expanded its membership. The quarrel finally brought Pfeffer's resignation in August 1930. After briefly leading the SA himself, Hitler passed command to Röhm in January 1931.

Hitler's decision to blend military and political activism in the wake of the September 1930 elections (when the Nazi Reichstag* faction jumped to 107 members) helped dilute SA-NSDAP discord. Moreover, growth was phenomenal. Numbering 77,000 in January 1931, the SA stood at 260,000 twelve months later; in January 1933, when Hitler assumed power, it exceeded 500,000 (the numbers were quite fluid, with turnover as great as 25 percent in a single month). Such growth, fostered by unemployment (the SA had a larger plebeian component than the Party at large), was linked to increased political violence. This, in turn, led Heinrich Brüning* to ban the SA on 13 April 1932; two months later Franz von Papen* bartered removal of the ban. From 16 June, when the prohibition was lifted, until 1 July, seventeen demonstrators were killed, five Communists* and twelve Nazis (a higher toll than in any prior month). Another eighty-six men were killed in July, of whom thirty were Communists and thirty-eight Nazis (*see* ''Bloody Sunday'').

With membership reopened in February 1933 to non-Party constituents, the SA burgeoned to about 3 million by January 1934. Yet despite the pretense of harmony, friction between Hitler and the SA intensified until the June 1934 Röhm purge neutralized the organization's power. Thereafter, under the direction of Viktor Lutze, a chastened SA was reduced to collecting Winter Relief (*Winterhilfe*), parading, or smashing Jewish shop windows. Membership was marked by steady decline. Meanwhile the SS (*Schutzstaffeln*), organized in the summer of 1925 and officially subordinate to the SA until July 1934 (it gained substantial autonomy in November 1930), displaced the parent organization.

REFERENCES: Bessel, *Political Violence*; Brecht, *Prelude to Silence*; Childers and Weiss, ''Voters and Violence''; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Conan Fischer, *Stormtroopers*; Merkl, *Making of a Stormtrooper*; Reiche, *Development of the SA in Nürnberg*.

SAAR. Bounded by France in the south and west and by Rheinland-Pfalz in the north and east, the coal-rich 990-square-mile Saar (the Saarland since 1957) was among Germany's densest industrial regions. During World War I, upon determining that recovery of iron-rich Lorraine would aggravate France's al-

ready coal-deprived steel industry, the French government decided that by annexing the Saar, it could double its production of steel while simultaneously crippling Germany.

Although France hoped to annex the Saar outright, it met opposition from its wartime Allies on grounds of self-determination. But the Versailles Treaty* (Articles 45–50) granted a fifteen-year occupation of the ''Saar Territory.'' France was thereby allowed to exploit the Saar's coal until 1935, when a plebiscite would determine the region's future. Although the Saar was administered from July 1919 by the League of Nations, it was garrisoned by French troops, was subjected to France's customs and currency system, and fell increasingly under French political control. Beginning with the Locarno Conference* of 1925, Gustav Stresemann* pressed for its early return. Over the next five years several futile attempts were made to procure the Saar's recovery through a cash settlement. But while France acquiesced at the first Hague Conference* (August 1929) to early withdrawal from the Rhineland,* it consistently obstructed any discussion of the Saar. After Stresemann's death, when the French proposed a long-term joint exploitation of the region's mines in exchange for early return, the German negotiators judged the price too high.

On 13 January 1935 more than 90 percent of the Saar's population elected to reunite with Germany; 8.6 percent voted to retain the status quo, while only 0.4 percent chose union with France. ''Returned'' with great fanfare to the Third Reich on 1 March, the Saar was merged with the Palatinate to form the province of Saarpfalz.

REFERENCES: Feldman, *Iron and Steel*; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; McDougall, *France's Rhineland Diplomacy*.

SAHM, HEINRICH (1877–1939), city administrator; Danzig's* mayor throughout most of the Weimar era. Born to a family of artisans in the Pomeranian town of Anklam, he studied law before entering municipal politics. He joined Magdeburg's city council in 1906 and was elected *Bürgermeister* of Bochum in 1912. During World War I he was a municipal official with the German authorities in Warsaw. In July 1918 he succeeded Hans Luther* as chairman of the *Städtetag*.

Sahm became *Oberbürgermeister* of Danzig in February 1919. When the League of Nations reorganized the city in November 1920, his title changed to Senate President. Preserving Danzig's independence from Poland* required finesse and tenacity. While Sahm proclaimed ''hands off Danzig'' to the Poles, he rigorously ensured Poland's free access to the Baltic. The political and economic complexities generated by his position earned him international respect. Without party affiliation, he retained office for ten years through numerous coalition changes. In December 1930, after the NSDAP's momentous electoral success, he resigned. The next April he succeeded Gustav Böss* as *Oberbürgermeister* of Berlin.* Due largely to his efforts at generating nonpartisan support for President Hindenburg,* the old *Feldmarschall* chose to seek a second

term in 1932. Sahm employed for Hindenburg the words once applied to George Washington: ''First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen.''

Increasingly curbed after 1933 by Nazi Commissioner Julius Lippert, Sahm finally resigned his post in 1935 (Lippert succeeded him). Named German Ambassador to Oslo, he was about to be recalled when he died.

REFERENCES: Bosl, Franz, and Hofmann, *Biographisches Wörterbuch*; Kimmich, *Free City*; Von Riekhoff, *German-Polish Relations*.

SALOMON, ERNST VON (1902–1972), Freikorps* member and writer; linked to the conspiracy to kill Walther Rathenau.* He was born in Kiel; his forebears came from Venice in the early 1800s. Quickly absorbing Prussian tradition, the Salomons were well known for their military officers when Ernst was born. Too young to participate in World War I, he attended cadet school and joined the Freikorps in the war's violent aftermath. He participated in the Baltic provinces* and later joined Hermann Ehrhardt's* *Organisation Consul** (OC), which engaged in the May 1921 action in Upper Silesia* and helped plan the Rathenau assassination.* In 1922 he was sentenced to five years in a correctional facility for his part in the murder; the 1927 disclosure of further *Femegericht** activities brought a six-month extension. Lacking firm political beliefs, Salomon was drawn to any group that opposed the Republic. After his release he worked for the reactionary *Landvolk* movement (*see* Farmers) while voicing admiration for Russia's renewal under Marxism.

In the solitude of his cell Salomon began writing. He gained instant fame with the 1930 appearance of his autobiographical novel *Die Geächteten* (The outlaws). A piece of contemporary history, the work was largely a justification for his crimes. In addition to credible coverage of the Baltic campaign, *Geächteten* provides succinct logic for OC's murders: We ''have got to kill Scheidemann,* Rathenau, Zeigner,* Lipinski, Cohn,* Ebert,* and all the rest of the men of November, one after another. . . . [Every] act profoundly [shakes] the foundations of the structure.'' Despising the Republic and deeming its leading figures ''November Criminals,'' he maintained that the murder of enough republicans would bring the KPD to power; in the ensuing chaos the Freikorps would take over. The Nazis proclaimed *Geächteten* a ''document of the struggle and rebirth of the nation.''

Salomon was ambivalent about anti-Semitism* and never joined the NSDAP. During the Nazi era he chiefly wrote scripts for educational films.* Needlessly maltreated by the Americans after World War II, he was so angered by the episode that he satirized denazification in his polemic *Die Fragebogen* (The questionnaire, 1951). Critics agree that despite his sensationalism, he was the most reliable chronicler of the Freikorps movement.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Salomon, *Geächteten*; Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*.

SALOMON, FRANZ PFEFFER VON. *See* Pfeffer von Salomon, Franz.

SANDER, AUGUST (1876–1964), photographer; documented the face of the German people in photographs. He was born near Cologne in the village of Herdorf; his father did carpentry in the region's mines. Destined for a mining career, he received his first camera in 1892 and, with his father's help, built a darkroom and began taking photographs. While he was in the army (1896–1898), he apprenticed at a studio in Trier. After some freelance work he studied at the Dresden *Kunstakademie* and then took a position in 1901 at a studio in Linz. In 1902, with a coworker, he purchased the studio; two years later he bought out his partner and founded the *August Sander Atelier*. His work earned him fortune (quickly squandered) and fame. In 1904 he received a gold medal at the Paris Exposition, and in 1906 he staged a solo exhibition at the Landhaus Pavilion in Linz.

Soon after selling his Linz studio in 1910, Sander settled in the Cologne suburb of Lindenthal. While he was photographing peasants in the Westerwald, he conceived his principal enterprise: a series of five hundred to six hundred documentary photographs revealing his subjects in their natural setting. His *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* (translated as *Men without Masks*), finally published in 1980, was largely based on photographs taken in the Weimar era. Due to Nazi opposition, it never achieved its projected magnitude; however, it did capture, with rare purity, the face of the German people in the first third of the century.

A reservist, Sander was inducted in 1914. He continued his photography while on duty, was conscripted at war's end to do identity photos, and then resumed his massive chronicle. He succumbed to the influence of Cologne's progressive culture, and his work became truly pioneering in the postwar era. Still seeking people from all walks of life, he jettisoned a prewar romantic hue to record the more disturbing character of German reality. Upon seeing sixty photos at a 1927 Cologne *Kunstverein* exhibition, Kurt Wolff* offered Sander a contract. The initial three volumes, appearing in 1929 as *Antlitz der Zeit* (Face of our time), were introduced by Alfred Döblin.* In 1931 Sander delivered a popular radio series entitled ''The Nature and Development of Photography.''

The Third Reich was a calamity for Sander. His work so irritated the NSDAP that both *Antlitz der Zeit* and the plates used for its publication were seized and destroyed. Sander's son Erich, a member of the KPD, was arrested and eventually died in a concentration camp. Finally, the artist was compelled from 1935 to focus on landscape and nature studies. Although his pre-1933 photos were again exhibited in the 1950s, the magnitude of his achievement was not appreciated until after his death.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; International Center of Photography, *Encyclopedia*; August Sander, *August Sander*; Gunther Sander, *August Sander*.

SAUCKEL, FRITZ. *See* Thuringia.

SAXL, FRITZ. *See* Aby Warburg.

SAXONY. Located in east central Germany, the highly industrialized and urbanized state of Saxony had a total population in the 1920s of about five million. Aside from its capital, Dresden, its chief cities included Aue, Chemnitz, Görlitz, Meissen, Plauen, and Leipzig; its key outlet to the sea remains the Elbe River. Known after the 1918 abdication of Friedrich August III (king since 1904) as the Free State of Saxony, it fell under the control of the extreme Left in the half-year following the November Revolution.* In April 1919 Gustav Noske* deposed the leftists with Freikorps* units.

Given its special vulnerability to inflation,* Saxony remained a power center for the radical Left and provided sanctuary for the training of paramilitary forces sympathetic to communism. As part of its United Front* policy, the KPD focused its efforts during the crisis year of 1923 on regions where Berlin's authority was weakest; among these was Saxony. In the spring of 1923 the SPD-led government of Prime Minister Erich Zeigner,* hoping to gain KPD backing, agreed to assist with the creation of defense units called Proletarian Hundreds. Designed to impede military action against the working class, the Hundreds grew so rapidly that Carl Severing,* Prussia's Interior Minister, banned them in Prussia.* But when efforts to extend the prohibition failed in Saxony (and Thuringia*), business leaders grew anxious.

With the continued growth of the Hundreds serving as backdrop, Saxony's KPD and SPD formed a coalition on 12 October 1923. Meanwhile, Comintern agents, convinced that crisis-ridden Germany resembled Russia in 1917, urged an uprising against Berlin.* But the republican government had not been inactive. Having declared a state of emergency for the entire Reich on 26 September, Gustav Stresemann* permitted Defense Minister Otto Gessler* to assign emergency powers to Saxony's district commander, General Alfred Müller; in early October Müller disbanded the Hundreds and placed the police under his control. On 28 October Berlin moved against Saxony. Rudolf Heinze,* named *Reichskommissar* for Saxony on 29 October, quickly resolved the crisis; by 1 November Zeigner had been replaced by a government of moderate socialists under Karl Fellisch. Although it was constitutional, the preemptive strike (duplicated in Thuringia) was censured by the SPD, which noted Stresemann's failure to act against rightists in Bavaria. Deserting Stresemann on 2 November, the SPD forced his cabinet's collapse. Saxony, while it remained a socialist stronghold, provided no further threat to the Republic.

Prussian Saxony, a separate province whose capital was Magdeburg, was administered throughout most of the Weimar era by the Social Democratic founder of the *Reichsbanner*,* *Oberpräsident* Otto Hörsing. Also heavily industrialized (especially in the Halle-Merseburg district), the province was the scene in March 1921 of the bloody *März Aktion* (March uprisings), inspired largely by the propaganda of Béla Kun and the ''offensive theory'' of such KPD leaders as Arkadi Maslow, Ernst Reuter,* and Ruth Fischer.* The ill-advised uprisings, which spread to Saxony and cost more than 150 lives, induced a ruthless re-

sponse from Prussian Interior Minister Severing. Enlarged by the incorporation of Anhalt after 1945, Prussian Saxony is now Saxony-Anhalt; its capital is Halle.
REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Pryce, ''Reich Government versus Saxony.''

SCHACHT, HJALMAR HORACE GREELEY (1877–1970), Reichsbank President; with Hans Luther,* largely responsible for ending the runaway inflation* of 1923. He was born in the town of Tinglev (now in Denmark); his businessman father went to America in the early 1870s, but returned to Germany before Hjalmar's birth. After studying economics, sociology, and philology, Schacht chose a career in banking in 1908. In 1916 he became director of the Nationalbank, a post he retained in 1922 upon formation of the United Darmstädter and Nationalbank (Danatbank). During World War I he was a financial advisor to the occupation authorities in Belgium. A member of the prewar *Reichsverband der nationalliberalen Jugend* (Reich Association of National Liberal Youth), he helped found and finance the DDP in 1918. After failing to gain election to the National Assembly,* he joined Carl Friedrich von Siemens* in creating an organization aimed at augmenting business influence in the Party.

On 12 November 1923, at the nadir of the hyperinflation, Schacht became Currency Commissioner. He was asked to oversee a currency reform animated by Karl Helfferich* and Luther; his introduction of the *Rentenmark* induced the epithet ''savior of the mark.'' On 22 December 1923, after the death of Rudolf Havenstein,* he was appointed Reichsbank President, a post he held until March 1930. His priorities included tight fiscal policies and reduced dependency on foreign loans. But he was prone to a high personal appraisal and was increasingly given to arrogant denunciations of cabinet members who failed to bend to his counsel.

In June 1926, angered by the DDP's failure to champion the property rights of Germany's former princes, Schacht left the Party. He was never a committed democrat, and his nationalism was affronted by Germany's treatment after World War I. By the late 1920s his ambitions far exceeded the simple control of fiscal policy (he may have aspired to succeed Hindenburg* as President). After 1924, when he participated in the Dawes Plan* talks, he was at the center of discussions concerned with reparations.* In early 1929 he led the German delegation to the Conference of Experts in Paris. His disenchantment with the meeting's subsequent Young Plan,* already evident in Paris, led to his sensational proposal at the second Hague Conference* to embed political issues within negotiations over the plan's payment schedule. In March 1930, repudiating his links with Germany's reparations obligations, he resigned from the conference and quit his post as Reichsbank President. His ensuing denunciations of the Young Plan were calculated to appeal to the radical Right.

Schacht is alleged to have said that to achieve a great and powerful Germany, he was prepared to form an alliance with the devil. By the end of 1930 he was

promoting the NSDAP. In October 1931 this erstwhile democrat attached himself to the Harzburg Front.* Advising Hindenburg in November 1932 to make Hitler* Chancellor, he returned to the Reichsbank in March 1933 (he was Reichsbank President until 1939). Serving also as Economics Minister during 1934–1937, he was Hitler's leading financial architect. He finally broke with the Nazis when it became clear that their policies were inflationary. Although he was acquitted at Nuremberg of war crimes, the German courts kept him incarcerated until 1948. He thereafter returned to banking and financial counseling.
REFERENCES: Feldman, *Great Disorder*; James, *German Slump* and *Reichsbank*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Peterson, *Hjalmar Schacht*; Schacht, *Confessions*.

SCHÄFFER, FRITZ (1888–1967), politician; chairman of the BVP during 1929–1933. He was born to a Munich postal official; his university studies led to a doctorate in law. After serving in World War I, he entered Bavaria's* Interior Ministry. A conservative Catholic* and monarchist, he abhorred the postwar chaos and resolved to ''battle against the Revolution and against lawlessness and disorder.'' He joined the BVP in 1919 and sat in the Bavarian Landtag during 1920–1933. Preoccupied with Berlin's* relationship to the German states, he championed federalism. Notwithstanding his Catholicism, his efforts during the 1925 presidential campaign were critical in steering support from Wilhelm Marx,* the Center Party* candidate, to the Protestant* Paul von Hindenburg.* After leading the BVP's Munich chapter for five years, he succeeded Heinrich Held* as Party chairman in 1929.

On the national front, Schäffer formed cordial relations with Ludwig Kaas,* his counterpart in the Center Party. Yet when the Center's Heinrich Brüning* became Chancellor, his support was equivocal. Surmising that Brüning's economics infringed upon federalism, he periodically ordered the BVP's Reichstag* faction to oppose the Chancellor's measures (e.g., an increased beer tax). In September 1931 he joined Held's caretaker government in Bavaria as *Staatsrat* in the Finance Ministry. The deteriorating situation led him to help establish the BVP's first paramilitary organization, the *Bayernwacht* (Bavarian Guard); with about thirty thousand members, *Bayernwacht* was soon engaged in skirmishes with the SA.*

Although Schäffer was an early defender of Franz von Papen,* the Chancellor's ''Prussian coup'' (July 1932) turned him against Papen. After the July 1932 elections he endorsed efforts to form a Center-NSDAP cabinet; his distrust of Papen led him temporarily to underrate the danger embodied in Hitler.* Only after approval of Hitler's Enabling Act* (the BVP gave it unreserved support) did Schäffer try to avert catastrophe by restoring the Wittelsbach dynasty. But since Bavaria's Reichswehr* took orders from Berlin, Schäffer's effort failed. He was briefly incarcerated in June 1933. He spent most of the Third Reich in private employment and passed the final months of World War II at Dachau.

After the war he helped found the Christian Social Union and then served as West Germany's first Finance Minister (1949–1957).
REFERENCES: Altendorfer, *Fritz Schäffer*; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Schönhoven, *Bayerische Volkspartei*.

SCHÄFFER, HANS (1886–1967), bureaucrat; State Secretary in the Finance Ministry during the early years of the depression.* Born to a Jewish industrialist in Breslau (now Poland's* Wroclaw), he studied economics and history before taking a doctorate in law. He had founded a legal practice in Breslau before he served at the front (1917–1918) in World War I.

Although Schäffer was politically unattached, he was a convinced democrat and formed his closest ties with the SPD. Working from December 1918 with the Economics Office (soon renamed the Economics Ministry), he promoted the efforts of the first Socialization Commission.* In the spring of 1919 he assisted the National Assembly's* Constitutional Committee and thereafter acted as *Geheimrat* until his appointment in August 1923 as ministerial director in the Economics Ministry. A patron of free-market economics, he helped draft the Cartel Law of November 1923. His expertise was repeatedly employed at the decade's reparations* summits; concurrently, he helped secure important international loans for Germany.

When Paul Moldenhauer* became Finance Minister in 1929, Schäffer joined the ministry as State Secretary. Although he urged tighter fiscal policies in the last months of Hermann Müller's* cabinet and initially promoted Heinrich Brüning's* economic program, he gradually deemed Brüning too inflexible. Estranged from the Chancellor by mid-1931, he marked his dissension by resigning on 15 May 1932, two weeks before Brüning's dismissal.

In June 1932 Schäffer became *Generaldirektor* for the troubled Ullstein Verlag*; at the insistence of Goebbels* he quit his position the next March. Emigrating to Sweden, he helped redevelop that country's Kreuger Company. Especially interested in combatting cartels,* he took Swedish citizenship in 1938 and was active well into the postwar era as an economics consultant.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Wandel, *Hans Schäffer*.

SCHEIDEMANN, PHILIPP (1865–1939), socialist politician; member of the Council of People's Representatives* and Chancellor. Born to a working-class family in Kassel, he was a skilled printer when he joined the SPD at eighteen. Three years later, with the Party banned, his journalistic career began with an illegal newspaper* in his home city. From 1895 he held editorial posts with SPD papers in Nuremberg and Offenbach, including the *Mitteldeutsche Sonntagszeitung*. In 1905 he became editor of the *Kasseler Volksblatt*.

Having failed in 1898 at his first bid for the Reichstag,* Scheidemann entered the chamber in 1903 and served for thirty years. He joined the SPD's board of directors in 1911 and soon became a Party leader. An adept orator and, after

August Bebel's death in 1913, faction cochairman in World War I, he backed Party policy on war credits, but countered expansionists by demanding a peace without annexations or indemnities. In 1917 he warned of a Bolshevik-style revolution if fundamental reform were not forthcoming. Marked by a quick wit and lack of dogmatism, he was widely popular with colleagues. When the SPD split in 1917 (*see* Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany), he became second in line of leadership to Friedrich Ebert.*

In October 1918 Scheidemann became Prinz Max* von Baden's State Secretary. On 9 November, as a proponent of the Kaiser's abdication, he resigned. The same morning, lacking Ebert's consent, he proclaimed the formation of a republic from a Reichstag balcony with the words ''*Es lebe die deutsche Republik*.'' Ebert was furious. During the ensuing weeks of interim government, however, Scheidemann was a member of the Council of People's Representatives. After the National Assembly* elections, the newly elected President Ebert appointed him Chancellor (the formal title was *Ministerpräsident* until 1920) of a cabinet embracing the SPD, the DDP, and the Center Party.* But the Versailles Treaty* elicited his angry resignation on 20 June 1919; his ill-fated words before the Assembly were ''what hand would not wither which placed this chain upon itself and upon us?'' Within months he was assailing the government's policy vis-à-vis the Freikorps.* Remaining in the Reichstag, where his attack on Defense Minister Gustav Noske* helped oust his former colleague in the aftermath of the Kapp* Putsch, Scheidemann served also as *Oberbürgermeister* of Kassel from December 1919 until 1925. On 4 June 1922 members of *Organisation Consul** attempted to blind him as he strolled in Kassel by dowsing his face with prussic acid.

Scheidemann's enmity toward the Reichswehr* grew as time passed. On 16 December 1926, in a scathing attack before the Reichstag, he exposed the army's clandestine collusion with paramilitary groups and its secret dealings with the Soviet Union.* The speech alienated Centrist and DDP deputies, who believed it treasonous, and permanently damaged his reputation with fellow Social Democrats.

A well-known opponent of the radical Right, Scheidemann fled Germany in June 1933. After sojourns in Prague, France, and the United States, he settled in Copenhagen.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Scheidemann, *Making of New Germany*.

SCHELER, MAX (1874–1928), philosopher; a brilliant phenomenologist, deemed the equal of Edmund Husserl* and Martin Heidegger* by contemporaries. He was born in Munich. His mother was Jewish, while his father, who had managed the estates of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, traced a centuries-old lineage of Protestant* clergymen. Rejecting both heritages, Scheler converted in 1889 to Catholicism.* His studies led to a doctorate in 1897 under the direction of Jena's neo-Kantian, Rudolf Eucken. After he completed his *Habilitation* in

1899, Jena appointed him *Privatdozent*. He came under Husserl's influence in 1901; the Göttingen philosopher helped secure his appointment in 1907 at Munich. Scheler was a spell-binding lecturer. His ideas matured until in 1910 a charge of adultery (he divorced his first wife the same year) led Munich to demand his resignation. Banished from the classroom, he pursued a freelance career in Göttingen and Berlin. With Husserl, he produced *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phänomenologische Forschung* (Annual for philosophy and phenomenological research) while writing his primary work: *Über Ressentiment und moralisches Werturteil* (On resentment and moral value judgments, 1912) and *Zur Phänomenologie und Theorie der Sympathie-gefühle und von Liebe und Hass* (Contributions to the phenomenology and theory of sympathy and of love and hate, 1913). His *Formalismus in der Ethik und die materiale Wertethik* (Formalism in ethics and material value ethics, 1913–1916), inspired by Blaise Pascal, was a critique of Kant's approach to ethics and an outline of the structure of phenomenological values. A critic of bourgeois positivism, he was labeled a ''Catholic Nietzsche.''

A proponent of Christian socialism, Scheler was also a committed nationalist during World War I. Aiming to justify and glorify German involvement in the war, he published the anti-English *Der Genius des Krieges und der deutsche Krieg* (The genius of war and the German war) in 1915; he then lectured in Switzerland, Holland, and Austria on behalf of the Foreign Office's psychological warfare department. He recommitted to Catholicism in 1916 and repudiated militarism after the war. With support from Konrad Adenauer,* he was appointed director of the University of Cologne's Sociological Institute. (A lukewarm democrat—he disdained the masses—he held a Center Party* mandate in Cologne's city council.) His refurbished outlook surfaced in *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* (On the eternal in man, 1921), a phenomenological treatise on the interaction between man and the realm of religious value.

Disillusioned by Weimar's political and social disunity, and troubled by perennial marital problems, Scheler embraced corporatism and abandoned Catholicism in 1923 in favor of a pseudopantheism. His repudiation of positivism appeared in 1926 in *Die Wissenformen und die Gesellschaft* (Forms of knowledge and society). Finally, espousing metaphysics, he aimed to define the goal of history in *Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos* (The place of man in the cosmos, 1927). In April 1928, after an extended international lecture tour, he accepted a professorship at Frankfurt; he died the next month.

REFERENCES: Frings, *Max Scheler*; Kelly, *Max Scheler*; Staude, *Max Scheler*.

SCHERINGER, RICHARD (1904–1986), soldier; attempted to convert the army's junior officer corps to a national revolution. Born to a military family in Aachen, he experienced the occupation of the Rhineland* while living in Koblenz. In the autumn of 1922 he was erroneously sentenced by an Allied court to two months' imprisonment for mistreating a Belgian woman. Although he was soon released, the episode transformed him into a militant nationalist.

Agitating in 1923 against the Ruhr occupation,* he was tried in absentia by a French military court and sentenced to ten years' hard labor. Beyond the grasp of French authorities, he joined the Black Reichswehr.* In 1924 he enlisted in the army and was promoted to lieutenant in 1928.

In 1929 Scheringer and two fellow lieutenants from the Ulm garrison traversed Germany in hopes of persuading other junior officers to join the NSDAP and oppose the ''leftist'' policies of the army command. They aimed to render the army impotent in the event of a ''National Revolution.'' Their scheme was uncovered after they contacted the NSDAP's Munich headquarters. Arrested in March 1930 on a charge of high treason, Scheringer was at the center of the so-called *Reichswehr-Prozess* (Ulm Trial) of September–October 1930. The trial gained widespread attention—especially when Hitler* testified on behalf of the accused—and helped estrange the officer corps' younger members from their superiors. Found guilty of a ''treasonable enterprise,'' Scheringer was sentenced to eighteen months' ''honorable'' imprisonment. Ironically, while serving his sentence, he was converted to the KPD by a fellow inmate; the Supreme Court thereupon extended his prison term. Released in September 1933, he moved to Ingolstadt and then served in World War II as an artillery officer. After the war he was active in communist cover organizations.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Carsten, *Reichswehr and Politics*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2.

SCHERL, AUGUST. *See* Alfred Hugenberg *and* Newspapers.

SCHICKELE, RENÉ (1883–1940), writer and pacifist; he was the mainstay of an exile group in Switzerland during World War I. He was born in the Alsatian town of Oberehnheim (now Obernai); his German father owned a vineyard, and his mother was French. Referring to himself as a *Grenzvogel* or ''frontier bird,'' he promoted cultural rapprochement between France and Germany. His prose, set in Alsace, linked French rationalism and German romanticism. By the time he was fifteen his poems were appearing in the *Strassburger Zeitung* and Berlin's* *Heimat*. As a student at Strassburg, he helped found the literary periodical *Für künstlerische Renaissance im Elsass* (Toward an artistic Renaissance in Alsace) in 1903 with Otto Flake. Never a serious student, he edited the literary review *Das neue Magazin für Literatur* during 1904–1909 and published his first novel, *Der Fremde* (The stranger), in 1909. During 1909–1913, as Paris correspondent for the periodical *Nord und Süd* and the newspaper* *Neue Strassburger Zeitung*, he embraced pacifism. Back in Strassburg in 1913, he became coeditor of Leipzig's pacifist monthly, *Die weissen Blätter*, and was preparing a run for the Reichstag* when World War I erupted.

The war posed a bitter dilemma for Schickele, captured in his quickly censored 1915 drama *Hans im Schnakenloch*: should he claim allegiance to France or Germany? Engaged in illegal pacifist activities as a conscientious objector, he was forced to emigrate to Zürich in 1916. Reestablishing *Die weissen Blätter*,

he avoided polemics and preserved the journal for literary journalism. A voice of Expressionism,* it featured work by Heinrich Mann,* Leonard Frank, and Gustav Landauer.* Schickele was less concerned with specific political programs than with opposing war's brutality. Sometimes called a ''new Expressionist,'' he cultivated a pacifist idealism similar to that of Landauer. Anticipating revolution, he rejected force and condemned Bolshevism as Lenin's permanent declaration of war against the bourgeoisie: ''I am a socialist; but if one were to convince me that socialism is to be realized only by the Bolshevik method, then I . . . would give up all claim to its realization.'' He distinguished between a transfer of power, requiring force, and genuine change, which only comes through spiritual renewal. But by 1920 his utopian dreams had brought only disillusionment.

Schickele lived until 1932 in the Black Forest village of Badenweiler and freelanced during the Weimar years for *Die Weltbühne** and other journals. His *Das Erbe am Rhein* (The heritage on the Rhine, 1927–1931), published by Kurt Wolff,* was a trilogy portraying the disastrous impact of Franco-German revanchism in Alsace. He emigrated to Provence in 1932 and died shortly before Hitler* invaded France.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

SCHIELE, MARTIN (1870–1939), politician; an agrarian leader who served as Interior and Agriculture Minister. Born in the borough of Gross-Schwarzlosen in the district of Stendal in Prussian Saxony,* he earned a doctorate in estate management as preparation for an agrarian career. In 1897 he entered politics with the Conservative Party, serving several years on Stendal's district council. He was elected to the Reichstag* in 1914, was a founder of the DNVP in 1918, entered the National Assembly* in 1919, and retained a Reichstag seat during 1920–1930. Interior Minister under Hans Luther* in 1925 (he resigned with DNVP colleagues in October 1925 as a protest to the Locarno Treaties*), he held the Agriculture portfolio for Wilhelm Marx* (January 1927–June 1928) and Heinrich Brüning* (March 1930–May 1932).

As both cabinet member and *Reichslandbund** president (August 1928–October 1930), Schiele attacked the foreign policy of Gustav Stresemann* and aligned himself with the Junker* landowners (he championed *Osthilfe**). In May 1927, in an address favoring high duties on agricultural imports, he embarrassed the Foreign Office, which, concurrently, was proposing tariff reductions at the World Economic Conference. In March 1929 he drew attention to Germany's depressed agricultural situation by helping found the *Grüne Front* (Green Front); a *Spitzenverband* for four rural-interest groups, the *Grüne Front* was ultimately dominated by the *Reichslandbund*.

Late in 1929, disenchanted with the economic dictates and intransigence of Alfred Hugenberg,* Schiele resigned from the DNVP and joined the fledgling *Christlichnationale Bauernpartei* (Christian-National Peasants' Party). Because

Schiele's views were esteemed by President Hindenburg,* Brüning asked him to return to the Agriculture Ministry in March 1930, whereupon he resigned his Reichstag mandate. He was the first cabinet official to urge appointing Nazis to the government. To the distress of industrialists, he persuaded Brüning to found the office of *Osthilfe* Commissioner and broaden agricultural protectionism, but he was unable to satisfy Junker demands and came under increasing attack from the *Reichslandbund*. Forced to resign in May 1932, he retired to his estate in Mecklenburg.

REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Gessner, *Agrarverbände*; Larry Jones, ''Crisis and Realignment''; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

SCHIFFER, EUGEN (1860–1954) politician; the Republic's first Finance Minister. Born to middle-class circumstances in Breslau (now Poland's* Wroclaw), he studied law before launching a judicial career in the Prussian civil service.* But he turned to politics in 1900 after his appointment in Magdeburg as a magistrate. On the right wing of the National Liberal Party, he sat in Prussia's* *Abgeordnetenhaus* during 1903–1918 and held a concurrent Reichstag* mandate during 1911–1917. In July 1917 he championed Matthias Erzberger's* Peace Resolution. He served with the Treasury Office from 1917 until the November Revolution,* and was retained by Friedrich Ebert* as Treasury Secretary during the Armistice* period; upon election to the National Assembly,* he became Finance Minister under Philipp Scheidemann.* Advocating a laissez-faire policy that embraced international cooperation and free trade, he favored using taxation to reduce domestic purchasing power and check inflation.* As early as December 1918 he opposed the planned-economy proposals of Rudolf Wissell* and Wichard von Moellendorff,* and he resigned his ministry in April 1919 when the National Assembly approved a socialization bill. A sharp critic of those who financed Germany's war effort, he upheld Erzberger's tax proposals in late 1919.

A conservative member of the DDP and a monarchist at heart, Schiffer served as faction chairman in the National Assembly (from June 1919) and the Reichstag (until October 1924). Combining the offices of Vice Chancellor and Justice Minister under Gustav Bauer* (June 1919 to March 1920), he volunteered to remain in Berlin* as Bauer's surrogate during the Kapp* Putsch. On 17 March, upon accepting Walther von Lüttwitz's* resignation as Berlin's military commander, he appointed Hans von Seeckt* as the general's successor. Although he was a fearless emissary, his mediation with the Kapp regime alienated trade unionists and compelled his resignation.

Schiffer returned to the Justice Ministry under Joseph Wirth* (May–October 1921). Sponsoring administrative and judicial reform, he founded the Administration Academy (*Verwaltungsakademie*) in Berlin. From October 1921 to May 1922, as Wirth's commissioner at the Geneva negotiations over Upper Silesia,* he helped draft the German-Polish Convention of May 1922. The next year he

was a delegate to the International Court in The Hague. A sponsor of the Dawes Plan,* he was increasingly frustrated by the DDP's failure to establish a middle-class platform; he left the Party in October 1924 to organize the *Liberale Vereinigung* (Liberal Association). When his organization failed to generate a useful relationship with either the DDP or the DVP, he retired from politics and resumed his legal career in Berlin.

Schiffer had Jewish ancestry. As the key figure during the Nazi era of a liberal group known as the ''Schiffer Circle'' (it included the resistance leader Helmuth James von Moltke), he was fortunate to survive the Third Reich. Residing in East Berlin after World War II, he championed German unity and was elected to the governing committee of the Soviet Zone's Liberal Democratic Party.

REFERENCES: Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN, HANS (1886–1960), politician; deputy chairman of the DNVP during 1926–1928 and *Osthilfe** Commissioner under Heinrich Brüning.* The son of a prosperous landowner, he was born on the Schöningen estate in Pomerania. After attending a cadet academy, he was an officer in World War I. A committed conservative and monarchist in the war's aftermath, he represented the DNVP in the Prussian Landtag during 1920–1928 and held a Reichstag* mandate during 1924–1932 (the final two years for the *Christlichnationale Bauernpartei*).

Chairman of the Pomeranian DNVP during 1924–1929, Schlange was adapting to the Republic when Alfred Hugenberg* became DNVP chairman in 1928. Hugenberg's strident nationalism so alienated him that he left the DNVP in January 1930 and joined the fledgling *Christlichnationale Bauernpartei* (Christian-National Peasants' Party). Fearing the NSDAP, he championed Brüning's policies and vainly sought to generate conservative support for the Chancellor, even turning for help to trusted members of the SPD. Among the more efficient estate owners, he was named *Osthilfe* Commissioner in November 1931 by Agriculture Minister Martin Schiele* and drafted a plan to resettle unemployed west German workers on small farms created by breaking up bankrupt estates (the so-called *Siedlungspolitik*). The *Reichslandbund*,* learning of the plan, labeled it ''agrarian Bolshevism.'' President Hindenburg,* equally incensed—and seeking reason to fire his Chancellor—demanded the resignation of the entire Brüning cabinet in May 1932.

Despite involvement with the resistance group centered on Carl Goerdeler,* Schlange survived the Third Reich and helped found the Christian Democratic Union. He held responsibility for food distribution during 1945–1949 and then represented West Germany in London during 1950–1955.

REFERENCES: Chanady, ''Disintegration''; Schlange-Schöningen, *Morning After*; Walker, ''German Nationalist People's Party.''

SCHLEICHER, KURT VON (1882–1934), career officer and politician; the Republic's last Chancellor. Born in Brandenburg to an unassuming military fam-

ily, he profited from assignment to the Kaiser's Third Foot Guards before winning a place at the War Academy. He graduated in 1913 and was assigned at the outbreak of war to Wilhelm Groener* of the General Staff. During the Armistice* he was liaison officer to the Council of People's Representatives.* He assisted with formation of the Freikorps* and was chief of the Defense Ministry's political department from 1919 until 1926. His refusal to support the 1920 Kapp* Putsch brought promotion to lieutenant-colonel, after which he helped draft the 1921 Defense Law. General Hans von Seeckt,* who had a distaste for politicians, delegated most of the army's political dealings to Schleicher. In this role he advanced the military's links with the Soviet Union.* Witty in conversation and adept at coaxing votes from both the DNVP and the KPD, he thrived in his political role. In 1926 he was appointed Chief of the Defense Ministry's Armed Forces Department (*Wehrmacht Abteilung*); a new section, independent of the army, the *Wehrmacht Abteilung* was gradually recast as Schleicher's political bureau.

In the wake of a press campaign directed against Seeckt for authorizing the son of Prince Wilhelm of Prussia* to attend military maneuvers, Schleicher probably used his access to Defense Minister Otto Gessler* and President Hindenburg* to secure Seeckt's 1926 dismissal as Chief of the *Heeresleitung*. Thereafter his influence on Reichswehr* policy was greater than that of any general. Schleicher persuaded Hindenburg to make Groener Defense Minister in January 1928 and was in turn appointed chief of the Ministry office. He remained thereafter at the heart of national policy making.

Although Schleicher was unscrupulous, he was always more inclined to work with the Republic than were fellow officers; indeed, he never envisioned a return of the Kaiser and was repelled by the reactionary radicalism of Alfred Hugenberg* and the DNVP. Whatever his character faults or his part in the intrigues that helped destroy the regime (he exploited Hindenburg's deteriorating trust in Heinrich Brüning* and Groener to achieve their dismissals in the spring of 1932), few doubt his resolve to avert outright totalitarianism. Retiring from the army in May 1932 as a lieutenant-general to become Defense Minister, he was initially prepared to accommodate both the trade unions* and the SPD government in Prussia. Inclined to judge the NSDAP by Gregor Strasser,* he vastly overrated his ability to tame and work with Hitler.* Yet in July 1932 he endorsed Franz von Papen's* coup against the SPD government in Prussia, erroneously believing that it would mollify the NSDAP. When he succeeded Papen as Chancellor on 3 December 1932, the Center Party*—for whom Papen was a renegade—judged him a distinct improvement. But Schleicher never managed to establish a coherent policy and the progressivism that attracted the Center unnerved others and was used by conservative opponents, chief of whom was Papen, to persuade Hindenburg to dismiss him. On 28 January 1933 he was abruptly fired after Papen convinced the President that Schleicher was conspiring against him.

Schleicher became one of Hitler's most prominent opponents in 1933. Late

that year he and General Kurt von Bredow began preparing a legal case against the Nazi leader for high treason, corruption, deception of the President, and responsibility for the Reichstag fire. Using the Röhm* purge as cover, Hitler had both men executed on 30 June 1934.

REFERENCES: Bennett, *German Rearmament*; Breitman, ''On German Social Democracy''; Carsten, *Reichswehr and Politics*; Craig, *Politics of the Prussian Army*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Hayes, '' 'Question Mark with Epaulettes'?''

SCHLEMMER, OSKAR (1888–1943), artist; impossible to link with any medium or style, his geometric images, noted for pure and rational depiction, reflect the functional quality of Bauhaus* art. Born in Stuttgart, he trained as a draftsman for inlaid work. Following a semester at Stuttgart's *Kunstgewerbeschule*, he studied randomly from 1906 until the outbreak of World War I at the city's *Kunstakademie*, passing much of 1910–1912 working in Berlin.* In 1914 he created murals for the entrance hall of Cologne's *Werkbund* exhibition. An eager enlistee in 1914, he was twice wounded before 1916.

Returning to Stuttgart's *Kunstakademie* after the war, Schlemmer was student representative to the *Rat geistiger Arbeiter* (Council of Intellectual Workers). He campaigned for reform of the curriculum, but was unsuccessful at securing an appointment for Paul Klee.* After he exhibited his work in 1919 at Berlin's *Galerie der Sturm* (*see* Herwarth Walden), he joined the Bauhaus faculty in 1920. Hired to administer the sculpture workshop and teach mural painting, he became director of theater* activities in 1923, the year he completed a series of murals in the stairwell and hallway of the sculpture workshop (the murals were defaced by Nazis in October 1930). He moved with the Bauhaus in 1925 to Dessau and continued to direct the theater until his appointment in 1929 at Breslau's *Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* (State Academy for Art and Applied Art). His departure was likely prompted by Hannes Meyer's determination to politicize the Bauhaus.

When the Breslau Academy closed in April 1932, Schlemmer secured a position with the *Vereinigte Staatschulen für Kunst* (United State Schools for Art) in Berlin but the job lasted only six months. Although his work was increasingly defamed and his ability to earn a livelihood was undermined, he remained in Nazi Germany. Unpolitical, he agonized over the attack on his art: ''The horrible thing about this cultural backlash,'' he wrote, ''is that it is not directed against works of a political nature, but against purely artistic, aesthetic works, identified with 'Bolshevism' merely because they are new, unusual, different, original.'' His art appeared in the 1937 exhibition *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art). He died of diabetes in 1943.

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; Lehman and Richardson, *Oskar Schlemmer*; Schlemmer, *Letters and Diaries*.

SCHLICHTER, RUDOLF. *See Novembergruppe.*

SCHMIDT, ROBERT (1864–1943), politician and trade-union* official; a perpetual Economics Minister during the Republic. Born to working-class circumstances in Berlin,* he apprenticed as a piano maker. After he joined the SPD, he was an official during 1890–1893 in the pianomakers' union, a position he retained when the pianomakers were absorbed by the woodworkers' union. He was an editor for *Vorwärts** until his 1902 election to the General Commission of German Trade Unions (*Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*). He was elected to the Reichstag* in 1893 and retained his mandate until 1930 (excluding 1898–1903), serving as a prominent member of the SPD's revisionist wing. Acquiring considerable economic expertise, he was first secretary of the Central Workers' Secretariat in 1903–1910 and led the General Commission's social-policy section from 1910 until the end of World War I.

During the war Schmidt handled food problems, assisting with consumer organizations and functioning in the war's final weeks as Deputy Agricultural Secretary under Prinz Max* von Baden. Elected to the National Assembly,* he became Philipp Scheidemann's* Agriculture Minister (February–June 1919); as such, he was charged with food allocation during the months of postwar blockade.* Although he emulated his colleagues by resigning his ministry in protest to the Versailles Treaty,* he immediately joined Gustav Bauer's* cabinet and then succeeded Rudolf Wissell* in July 1919 as Economics Minister (former friends, Schmidt and Wissell engaged in a bitter ideological dispute). Abandoning Wissell's concept of a planned economy, he relaxed import-export controls in hopes of getting workers back in the factories and raising productivity; later, fearing inflation,* he returned piecemeal to fiscal controls. Together with Julius Hirsch, his State Secretary in 1919–1922, he remained at the Economics Ministry in Hermann Müller's* first cabinet (March–June 1920) and again held the portfolio under Joseph Wirth* (May 1921–November 1922). In the short-lived cabinets of Gustav Stresemann* (August–November 1923) he was Vice Chancellor (until 4 October) and Reconstruction Minister. Müller returned him to the Economics Ministry in the final months of his second cabinet (1929–1930).

Although Schmidt articulated support for the socialization program laid out in the SPD's 1891 Erfurt Program, his pragmatism led him to dismantle controls and regulations. His failure to pursue socialization has been widely criticized. Moreover, while he curbed laissez-faire economics, he fought a losing battle to retain many of the advantages gained by workers via the Central Working Association.* During his final tenure as Economics Minister he was unable to maintain cabinet unity in favor of unemployment insurance policies. When Müller's cabinet collapsed in March 1930, Schmidt retired from politics. He passed his final years in Berlin.

REFERENCES: Barclay, ''Insider as Outsider''; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

SCHMIDT-ROTTLUFF, KARL, born Karl Schmidt (1884–1976), artist; a leader in the Expressionist* movement whose sharply angular style is best represented by his woodcuts. Born in the town of Rottluff bei Chemnitz, he adopted the name of his birthplace while attending Gymnasium. He accompanied Erich Heckel in 1905 to study architecture at Dresden's *Technische Hochschule*. Together with Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and Fritz Bleyl, the two students founded the avant-garde circle *Brücke* (Bridge). Initially aroused by neo-Impressionism and *Jugendstil*, the artists evolved their own style; for Schmidt-Rottluff, this included simplified forms and bright and contrasting colors. When the *Brücke* artists were excluded from a 1910 exhibition of the *Berliner Sezession*, they took the name *Neue Sezession* and arranged their own show; they all abandoned the *Neue Sezession* in 1912 when they surmised that the shows were being corrupted by less talented artists. Aided from 1911 by the patronage of Herwarth Walden,* Schmidt-Rottluff moved to Berlin,* where his art appeared regularly in Walden's periodical *Der Sturm*. Although he was developing a more definite palette in the two years before World War I, his attention, stimulated by religion and by an attraction to African wood sculpture, was increasingly devoted to woodcuts.

Drafted, Schmidt-Rottluff served during 1914–1915 on the Eastern Front; the efforts of friends and admirers eventually gained his discharge. Returning to Berlin, he was haunted by his military experience and struggled for some time to regain his creativity. Drawn increasingly to religion and mysticism, he executed twenty woodcuts during 1917–1919 on New Testament themes: the well-known *Christ* and *Road to Emmaus* were completed in 1918. By the 1920s, when he resumed painting, his work had recovered an impressionistic gentleness.

At the war's end Schmidt-Rottluff joined the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*.* He carved several of Bruno Taut's* architectural ideas, worked in 1919 with the *Novembergruppe*,* exhibited his work with Berlin's *Freie Sezession* (founded in 1913) and Dresden's *Sezessiongruppe 1919*, and was commissioned to redesign the imperial eagle to suit Germany's new republic (his casts were rejected). He promoted an end to the conflict between the fine and applied arts and also affirmed a faith in socialism; yet, distrusting politics, he avoided political involvement. His talent was belatedly recognized in 1931 with election to the Prussian Academy of Arts.

The NSDAP seemed initially ambivalent about Schmidt-Rottluff; indeed, the National Socialist Students' League proclaimed him a ''German Artist'' in June 1933. But by year's end he was retired from the Prussian Academy. Despite escalating coercion, museums continued to show his work. Finally, in preparation for the 1937 *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition—which featured 51 Schmidt-Rottluff works—the government prohibited either purchase or exhibition of his work. By 1938, 608 of his pieces had been confiscated. He was dismissed from the *Reichskammer der bildenden Kunst* in 1941 and was thereafter forbidden to work. After World War II he taught at Berlin's Institute for Fine Arts.

REFERENCES: Barron, *''Degenerate Art''*; Long, *German Expressionism*; Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*.

SCHMITT, CARL (1888–1985), lawyer and political theorist; played a menacing, behind-the-scenes role in the waning months of the Republic. Born to a lower-middle-class Catholic* home in the predominantly Protestant* town of Plettenberg in Westphalia, he was committed to Catholicism throughout his life (half of his articles in the 1920s appeared in Catholic periodicals). Legal studies led to a doctorate (1911) and his *Habilitation* (1916) from Strassburg in the related fields of state and administrative law, national law, and state theory. He entered the Prussian civil service* in 1910 and worked for several years as a junior barrister and law clerk (a back injury precluded service in World War I). In 1916 he became a *Privatdozent* at Strassburg, but lost the appointment when Alsace-Lorraine* reverted to France. In September 1919 Moritz Julius Bonn* brought him to Munich's *Handelshochschule*. Appointed professor of public law at Greifswald in 1921, he moved after one semester to Bonn. In 1928 he became the Hugo Preuss* Professor of Law at Berlin's* *Handelshochschule*. He assumed a professorship at Cologne in January 1933, but returned to Berlin after passage of Hitler's* Enabling Act* to become a Prussian *Staatsrat*, a member of the NSDAP and the Academy of German Law, a leader in the League of German Jurists, and Professor of Public Law at the university. In June 1934 Hans Frank* appointed him publisher of the *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung*. Denigrated in 1936 by the SS Security Service (SD) for prior republicanism, he was soon forced from his offices. Resigning his Berlin professorship in 1945 and retiring to Plettenberg, he lived until his ninety-seventh year.

Schmitt possessed an uncommon intellect that manifested itself in numerous legal publications (e.g., *Politische Romantik*, 1919; *Die Diktatur*, 1921; *Politische Theologie*, 1922; and *Legalität und Legitimität*, 1932). He influenced several events between 1929 and 1936. His ideology was antibourgeois, antiliberal, antidemocratic, and inherently authoritarian; it was not antimodern or irrational (he was a cultural enthusiast whose friends included Hugo Ball,* Robert Musil,* and Ernst Jünger*). Animated by natural law, he argued that the essence of politics is the opposition between friend and enemy; this supersedes all cultural or economic considerations. Nations, he argued, naturally prepare for war; even in periods of peace they organize in opposition to potential enemies. He was hostile to optimistic liberalism because it deified such abstract notions as universalism and humanity, thereby corrupting political life by denying opposition. A qualified *Vernunftrepublikaner*,* he was intrigued by Article 48 of the Constitution*; already in 1921 he theorized that it could be used to destroy the Republic. While he remained politically independent throughout the Weimar era, his veneration of force and will and his distrust of democracy were tailored to the radical Right. Gaining the attention of Johannes Popitz* and Kurt von Schleicher* in 1929, he became an advisor to President Hindenburg* and helped frame the Presidential Cabinet.* But his influence was most profound in the summer

of 1932 when he prepared the legal defense for Franz von Papen's* *Preussenschlag* (Prussian coup). He was drafting a revised constitution when Hitler became Chancellor.

REFERENCES: Bendersky, *Carl Schmitt*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice*; Jerry Muller, *Other God*; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

SCHOCKEN, SALMAN (1877–1959), publisher; a bibliophile who derived a fortune from a chain of department stores. Born to a Jewish businessman in Posen, he studied business after attending *Volksschule* and in 1901 founded Zwickau's famous *I. Schocken Söhne* with his brother Simon. Focusing on quality control and low prices, the enterprise evolved by 1930 into nineteen stores with six thousand employees and annual sales surpassing one hundred million marks. During the Weimar era Schocken served briefly on the *Reichswirtschaftsrat* (Reich Economic Council) and was president from 1919 of the *Verband der Waren- und Kaufhäuser* (Federation of Department Stores).

Despite broad financial obligations, Schocken cultivated his intellectual interests. He had been raised in a traditional Jewish home, and his wish to combine the treasures of the past with a passion for modernizing Jewish thinking turned him into a collector of rare books, especially of art and literature. In 1912 he formed a Zionist group in Zwickau and participated thereafter in Zionist congresses. By the 1920s his stores were of secondary concern to his Zionist endeavors. His key importance to Judaism came as a publisher and advocate for Jewish education. Beginning with his 1927 plans to produce an anthology of Jewish material drawn from German literature, he became a major publisher of Jewish books in Germany, Palestine (later Israel), and the United States. Among the Schocken Verlag's first imprints were the initial volumes of the Martin Buber*–Franz Rosenzweig* translation of the Bible. He also founded Berlin's* Institute of Hebrew Learning, a center that focused on Jewish poets in medieval Spain.

Notwithstanding continued prosperity under Nazi rule, Schocken emigrated to Palestine in January 1934. Although his stores were sold in 1938 to ''Aryan'' buyers, Schocken retained the Verlag (transferred to Palestine, also in 1938; a second concern, Schocken Books, was founded in New York in 1945). He won international acclaim in the 1930s with publication of the collected works of Franz Kafka. But his cultural monument is the library of manuscripts, incunabula, and rare books he left to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Designed by Erich Mendelsohn,* the university's Schocken Library was built in 1936 and houses institutes for medieval Hebrew poetry and Jewish mysticism.

REFERENCES: Siegfried Moses, ''Salman Schocken''; Poppel, ''Salman Schocken.''

SCHOENBERG, ARNOLD (1874–1951), composer and teacher; leader of the New Vienna School—consisting of Schoenberg and his students Alban Berg and Anton von Webern—and arguably *the* pioneer in twentieth-century music* composition. Born in Vienna to Jewish parents recently relocated from Slovakia,

he mastered the violin as a boy; yet, aside from minor coaching from composer and conductor Alexander von Zemlinsky (his future brother-in-law), he was mostly self-taught. He earned a living in the 1890s by orchestrating operettas and worked in Berlin* during 1901–1903 as conductor of a cabaret* orchestra. Returning to Vienna, he soon became an esteemed composition teacher, instructing from 1910 at the Vienna Academy. Berg and Webern became his students in 1904.

The leader of musical Expressionism,* Schoenberg claimed that there ''is only one great goal to which the artist must strive, [and] that is to express himself.'' Deciding that the German musical tradition—represented at the time by Gustav Mahler, Anton Bruckner, and Richard Strauss*—was too dense and complex, he established his reputation in 1899 with *Verklärte Nacht* (Transfigured night). From about 1908, his goal was to simplify music by expunging consonance and dissonance. The desire for clarity led him to the revolutionary step of challenging the concept of harmony. In 1923, after years of speculation, he wrote a treatise on his twelve-tone technique.

To assume a post with the Stern Conservatory, Schoenberg returned to Berlin in 1911. He was seriously involved with painting (he completed eighty paintings during 1907–1912), and his friendship with Wassily Kandinsky* led him to exhibit with the *Blaue Reiter* in December 1911. World War I forced him back to Austria.* After serving in the Habsburg army, he instructed private pupils in Vienna. In 1925 he succeeded Ferruccio Busoni* as instructor of the composition master class at the Prussian Arts Academy; deemed ''Europe's liberal musical metropolis,'' Berlin provided a respite from the stifling anti-Semitic* atmosphere of the Austrian capital. Flourishing, Schoenberg composed the comic opera *Von Heute auf Morgen*, the Third String Quartet, the Variations for Orchestra, the Cello Concerto, and two acts of *Moses und Aron*, an opera portraying Israel's struggle for national freedom.

On 20 March 1933, soon after Hitler* seized power, Schoenberg quit the Prussian Academy. He fled Germany in May and soon arrived in the United States. Settling in 1934 in Los Angeles, he became a popular lecturer at UCLA and never returned to Europe. Among those few Jews* foreseeing the Holocaust, he embraced the Jewish faith and sought to organize a rescue mission for German Jews, even producing plans for a Jewish Unity Party designed for self-defense.

REFERENCES: Reich, *Schoenberg*; Alexander Ringer, *Arnold Schoenberg*; Joan Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*; Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg*.

SCHOLZ, ERNST (1874–1932), politician; Economics Minister in 1920–1921 and chairman of the DVP in 1929–1930. Born to middle-class circumstances in Berlin,* he earned a doctorate in law before launching a career in municipal government. He was a National Liberal member of Prussia's* *Herrenhaus* in 1912–1918 and was *Oberbürgermeister* of Kassel in 1912. Charlottenburg elected him to the same office the following year; he retained it until

the 1920 consolidation of Berlin's several districts. In 1918 he helped found the DVP.

Scholz served in the Reichstag* from 1921 until his death in June 1932. His financial expertise brought appointment as Economics Minister under Konstantin Fehrenbach.* On the right wing of his Party, with ties to conservative business interests, he led the Reichstag faction from 1923 until his death. He often thwarted Gustav Stresemann's* left-leaning politics and diplomacy, and recurringly favored cooperation with the DNVP. In December 1929, two months after Stresemann's death, he became Party chairman. Earlier the same year he frustrated a proposed compromise with the DDP that might have resulted in liberal unity. Ever ambivalent about bourgeois unity, he was outraged by the formation of the DStP in 1930. Although ill health led him to resign as DVP chairman in November 1930, his influence remained strong. In October 1931 he frustrated middle-class solidarity one last time by declaring that the DVP should aim to overthrow the cabinet of Heinrich Brüning.*

REFERENCES: Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Kosch, *Biographisches Staatshandbuch*; Max Schwarz, *MdR*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

SCHOOL BILL. The Weimar Constitution* embraced an educational compromise (Articles 146–149 and 174) that provoked conflict for the duration of the Republic. In an effort to assuage anticlericals in the SPD and the DDP, who opposed state aid for parochial schools and viewed religious instruction as a private matter, and members of the Center Party,* who wished such instruction to be the norm, the Constitutional Committee compromised on a system allowing for three kinds of primary school (*Volksschule*): the *Simultan-* or *Einheitsschule* (simultaneous or unified school), permitting religious instruction after normal school hours; the *Bekenntnisschule* (confessional school), allowing religious instruction during normal hours; and the *Weltlicheschule* (secular school), prohibiting religious instruction. The *Simultanschule* was made the norm and the other schools the exception (petitions signed by a substantial number of parents were required for exceptions). But the Constitution required enactment of a statute before this system could be instituted. As the Center repeatedly blocked such enactment, the preexisting imperial system remained in effect. Indeed, in 1931 the great majority of Germany's 53,000 schools were confessional: 29,020 were Protestant* and 15,256 were Catholic,* while only 8,921 were *Simultanschulen* (only 295 were secular). Because Catholics and ardent Lutherans judged the *Simultanschule* a compromise with secularism, an affinity evolved between the Catholic Center Party and a key segment of the largely Protestant DNVP.

The 1927 School Bill was not the first such measure to reach the Reichstag.* Unsuccessful bills, drafted in 1921 and 1925, allowed for common schools (similar to *Simultanschulen*) in which religious education was based on parental petition. But the 1927 measure had greater backing. The founding of Wilhelm Marx's* January 1927 cabinet was contingent upon several Center-DNVP com-

pacts, the most important being introduction of a bill authorizing widespread confessional education. Although the measure risked alienating the DVP, Marx's other coalition partner, it was soon drafted by the Interior Minister, Walter von Keudell* of the DNVP. The bill mandated complete equality among the three types of *Volksschule* and retention of the status quo in each German state. When it was made public in July 1927, it kindled so much protest from the political Left (including the DVP) that the *Reichsrat* rejected it on 14 October. The DVP's central committee announced its opposition on 27 November. After three months of debate, the Center's refusal to amend the bill forced the collapse of Marx's coalition; the School Bill died with his cabinet. Significantly, the Center had come to appreciate that while an amended bill might promote the founding of *Simultanschulen*, retaining the preexisting deadlock ensured a widespread perpetuation of confessional schools.

REFERENCES: Borg, *Old-Prussian Church*; Ellen Evans, ''Center Wages *Kulturpolitik*'' and *German Center Party*; Frank Gordon, ''German Evangelical Churches''; Samuel and Thomas, *Education and Society*.

SCHRÖDER, KURT FREIHERR VON. *See Herrenklub*.

SCHUBERT, CARL VON (1882–1947), diplomat; State Secretary in the Foreign Office during 1924–1930. He was born in Berlin*; his father was a general, ennobled by Wilhelm II in 1899, who also served in Prussia's* *Abgeordnetenhaus*. Through his mother (born von Stumm), he inherited both an interest in the Saar's* steel industry and a large winegrowing estate near Trier. After taking a doctorate in law from Heidelberg, he entered the diplomatic service in 1906.

Despite a gruff manner, Schubert was a conscientious diplomat who enjoyed rapid promotion. Before the war he was posted to Washington, Brussels, Lisbon, and London. After service with the army he was assigned in 1915 to the embassy in Bern. In 1919 he accompanied the delegation to Versailles. He was sent to London to reinstate the German embassy in 1920 and took charge in August of the Foreign Office's English desk. In December 1921 he was promoted to ministerial director and head of the Western Department (Great Britain and the Americas).

Methodical and conservative, Schubert was wary of Ago von Maltzan*; although he was friendly with the Eastern Department chief, he thought that Maltzan's reports of an impending Russo-French accord were ''cock-and-bull stories.'' Persuaded that Germany must improve its position by cooperating with Britain, he fostered an amiable outlook paralleling that of many German financial experts. Thus, hopeful that the April 1922 Genoa Conference* could resolve the reparations* issue and promote European recovery, he was aghast to learn that Walther Rathenau* had signed the Rapallo Treaty* with the Soviets.

Since Schubert's stance vis-à-vis the West harmonized with Gustav Stresemann's* aspirations, the Foreign Minister promoted him to State Secretary in

December 1924. With great command of detail, he gained the trust of his chief and coordinated many of the political and economic technicalities tied to Stresemann's diplomacy. When Stresemann's health disabled him, Schubert served as the Foreign Minister's surrogate in cabinet meetings, at the League of Nations, and in other diplomatic venues. His efforts on behalf of the Locarno Treaties* and the League were crucial to Stresemann.

In June 1930, after Stresemann's death and the collapse of Hermann Müller's* cabinet, Schubert was displaced by Bernhard von Bülow.* Posted to Rome as Ambassador, he was temporarily retired in September 1932, a retirement made permanent in July 1933.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Fink, Frohn, and Heideking, *Genoa*; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Krüger, *Aussenpolitik*.

SCHÜCKING, WALTHER (1875–1935), jurist, politician, and professor; a pacifist who served on The Hague's International Court of Justice. Born in Münster, he was raised in a family of scholars and took a doctorate in 1899 in international law and German legal history. He was named *Privatdozent* in 1900 at Breslau (now Poland's* Wroclaw) and was appointed *ordentlicher Professor* in 1903 at Marburg. Already a pacifist before World War I (and an advocate for Polish rights), he taught international law at Marburg until 1921 and then joined Berlin's* *Handelshochschule*. He directed Kiel's Institute for International Law from 1926 until the NSDAP forced his retirement in 1933.

Opposed to the legal positivism common before the war, Schücking applied ethical and social factors to international law. But while numerous antipositivists, especially in the Weimar years, embraced authoritarianism, he believed that international understanding could only be realized through the democratization of the political process. In 1918, soon after publishing *Die völkerrechtliche Lehre des Weltkrieges* (The lesson of international law in the World War), he became chairman of the Reich Commission for the Examination of International Legal Complaints in the treatment of German war prisoners. A founder of the DDP and elected to the National Assembly,* he joined the peace delegation that traveled to France in April 1919. Repelled by the Versailles Treaty,* he surprised leftist friends by denouncing the settlement as a mockery of international justice.* In May 1921, however, he advised compliance with the terms of the London Ultimatum (*see* Reparations).

Schücking returned to the Reichstag* in June 1920 and held his mandate until 1928. In 1930 he went to The Hague as a delegate to the Conference for the Codification of International Law; later that year he became a judge on the International Court and retained the office until his death.

REFERENCES: Acker, *Walther Schücking*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Chickering, *Imperial Germany*.

SCHULTE, KARL-JOSEPH (1871–1941), Archbishop and Cardinal; worked with Konrad Adenauer* in 1923 to deter Rhenish separatism. Born in

Öhringen in Württemberg, he studied theology and entered the priesthood in 1895. He completed a doctorate at Tübingen in 1903 and taught church law and apologetics in 1905–1908 at the Catholic academy in Paderborn. In 1908 he became Bishop of Paderborn. Aware of the unease that beset Catholicism* in prewar Germany, he endorsed an interconfessional approach to disputes within the Christian labor movement; indeed, his policies were often marked by pragmatism. Although he was a staunch conservative, he worked in World War I to alleviate the suffering of wounded French prisoners; similarly, during both the Ruhr occupation* and the depression* he focused on easing widespread suffering.

In January 1920 Schulte succeeded Felix von Hartmann as Archbishop of Cologne and became Cardinal the next year. Despite his lofty station, he ignored political opportunities within the church, consistently viewing himself as a pastor and seeking ways to enhance pastoral care. Because he viewed both Marxism and liberalism as distinct threats to the church, he sustained strong reservations about the Republic.

Despite such ambivalence, Schulte comprehended the pagan underpinnings of Nazism and warned his archdiocese against the movement. In 1933 he opposed talks aimed at a concordat with the Nazi government. In a February 1934 audience with Hitler,* he protested Nazism's antagonistic attitude toward Christianity. Although he was never as public an opponent of the NSDAP as Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber,* he struggled in his remaining years to counter the antichurch propaganda of the Party's chief ideologue, Alfred Rosenberg.* Nonetheless, he also cooperated with Cardinal Adolf Bertram,* who claimed that Nazism could only be moderated through compromise.

REFERENCES: Lewy, *Catholic Church*; Scholder, *Churches and the Third Reich.*

SCHUMACHER, KURT (1895–1952), politician; combined a relentless commitment to socialism with unqualified nationalism. Born in middle-class circumstances in the West Prussian town of Kulm (now Poland's* Chelmno), he soon became aware of the ethnoreligious conflict between Germans and Poles. In August 1914 he requested emergency exiting exams (*Notabitur*) from Gymnasium and volunteered for the army; four months later a shrapnel wound cost him his right arm. Awarded the Iron Cross (Second Class), he lived with pain the remainder of his life. After a year of convalescence he began studies in law and political science (he took a doctorate in 1926). In January 1918, with Konrad Haenisch as his sponsor, he joined the SPD. A dynamic spokesman for the Party and the Association of Disabled War Veterans, he served during the Revolution with Greater Berlin's* Workers' and Soldiers' Council.*

After the war Schumacher passed state exams and worked briefly for the Labor Ministry. He was well into his doctoral work when he set his thesis aside in 1920 to assume editorial duties in Stuttgart for the *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, an SPD newspaper*; the next decade was devoted to politics in Württemberg. He was a hard worker, unsparing in his attacks on opponents, and his dedication

attracted leading functionaries. Meanwhile, young Social Democrats were drawn by his charisma and intellect. Caustic and sometimes ruthless, he relished battle and seemed to provoke it. Although older functionaries viewed him with suspicion, he was elected to Württemberg's Landtag in 1924 (where he soon mastered complex legislative issues), became chairman of the Stuttgart Party organization in July 1930, and gained a Reichstag* seat in September 1930. Joining his faction's executive, he attracted a small number of younger SPD deputies to a more militant support of the Republic. He was an outspoken critic of Chancellor Heinrich Brüning.*

Schumacher despised federalism; in his first Landtag speech he argued that nothing was more important than ''the unity of the Reich.'' Lumping the KPD and the NSDAP together as enemies of the democratic order, he organized his first anti-Nazi demonstration in 1921. In a 1932 parliamentary clash he gained fame by calling Joseph Goebbels* a ''presumptuous dwarf.'' Never a pacifist, he advocated a strong defense (albeit one committed to the Republic), was responsible in 1924 for organizing the Stuttgart unit of the *Reichsbanner*,* and helped form the Iron Front in December 1931. Although his view of Marxism has inspired debate, his doctoral thesis, which treated the working-class party in a bourgeois state, fostered a reformism worthy of Ferdinand Lassalle.

A critic of Franz von Papen* and Kurt von Schleicher*—he dubbed them cryptofascists—Schumacher believed that should the NSDAP come to power, its tenure would be brief. He refused to go into exile when Hitler* became Chancellor. Arrested in July 1933, he spent ten years in concentration camps—eight at Dachau. Near death, he was released in March 1943. After World War II, his health irrevocably damaged, he became SPD chairman and leader of the Bundestag faction. He was praised for his courage, but because he mixed rigid nationalism with an autocratic nature, his death was greeted with both tears and relief.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Cook, *Ten Men*; Edinger, *Kurt Schumacher*; Flora Lewis, ''Hard-Bitten Herr Schumacher.''

SCHUND- UND SCHMUTZGESETZ. *See* Protection of Youth against Trash and Filth, Law for the.

SCHUTZSTAFFELN. *See* Heinrich Himmler.

SCHWARZSCHILD, LEOPOLD. *See Das Tage-Buch.*

SCHWERIN VON KROSIGK, LUTZ GRAF (1887–1977), bureaucrat; Finance Minister for Franz von Papen* and Kurt von Schleicher.* The scion of old nobility (von Krosigk) rooted in Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, Schwerin was born in the Anhalt village of Rathmannsdorf. He traveled widely, studied political science at Lausanne and Oxford (as a Rhodes scholar), and took a law degree in 1909. A career civil servant in Prussia's* judicial system when

World War I erupted, he served as an officer in a Pomeranian cavalry regiment and was awarded the Iron Cross (First and Second Class) for bravery. After the Armistice* he became a government assessor in Upper Silesia.*

Although Schwerin refused to join a party during the Weimar era, his sympathies were with the DNVP. He was linked with monarchists and nationalists, but his skill and connections assured rapid promotion from 1920 in the Finance Ministry. In 1929 he became ministerial director and head of the Budget Department; the year 1931 brought expanded duties as chief of the Reparations Department. Among Heinrich Brüning's* key advisors, he helped sponsor the emergency decrees that sustained the Chancellor's deflationary fiscal strategies. From 1931 he urged that the NSDAP be included in the cabinet.

Schwerin joined Papen's ''cabinet of barons'' with reluctance and only after President Hindenburg* appealed to his patriotism. As a critic of the *Sozialstaat*, he took steps to further reduce public expenditure. A perennial delegate at the international financial and reparations* meetings of 1931–1932, he championed cancellation of reparation payments at the 1932 Lausanne Conference.* Although he had Papen's trust, Schwerin opposed the Chancellor's retaining office after the November Reichstag elections. He continued as Finance Minister under both Schleicher and Hitler*; indeed, sustaining Hitler's rearmament program, he held office until 2 May 1945, when Admiral Doenitz imprudently named him Foreign Minister. Sentenced in 1949 to ten years' imprisonment, he was released in 1951.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Dorpalen, *Hindenburg*; James, *Reichsbank*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

SCHWEYER, FRANZ. *See* Hans Ritter von Seisser.

SCHWITTERS, KURT (1887–1948), artist; best known for a three-dimensional collage called *Merz*. Born to a retailer in Hanover, he attended Realgymnasium; after studying briefly at Hanover's *Kunstgewerbeschule*, he spent 1909–1914 at the Dresden *Kunstakademie*. In 1911 he entered his first work in an exhibition of the Hanover *Kunstverein*. Drafted in 1917, he was deemed unfit for active duty and was conscripted as a draftsman to a metallurgy factory near Hanover. The proximity of machines inspired his love for abstract art and convinced him to study architecture at Hanover's *Technische Hochschule*.

Early in 1918 Schwitters made contact with the artists centered on Herwarth Walden's* journal *Der Sturm*. Uniting with the avant-garde and making his first break with the provincialism of Hanover, he was soon exhibiting at Berlin's* *Galerie der Sturm* and publishing in the journal; by 1924 more than seventy of his works—poems, articles, and art reproductions—had appeared in *Sturm*. Meanwhile, Walden staged his first solo show in April 1920. Schwitters took part in the one hundredth *Sturm* exhibition in September 1921. But he soon returned to Hanover and was gradually rebuffed by the strident Dadaists centered

on George Grosz* and John Heartfield*; indeed, Schwitters's irreverent concept of Dada* was more suited to Hans Arp (a close friend) and Max Ernst.*

For Schwitters, Dada was embodied in *Merz*. Derived from the second syllable of ''*Kommerz*'' (commerce), *Merz* was his rejection of objective representation. Building a collage from pieces of junk—broken glass, *Strassenbahn* and theater* tickets, and rusty nails—he claimed, in the wake of the November Revolution,* that a new life would have to arise from remnants of the past. By 1920 his *Merz* had evolved into a *Merzbau*: a three-dimensional construction that eventually filled his house. It was destroyed in a 1943 air raid.

Schwitters gave lectures throughout western and central Europe known as Merz-Evenings; sometimes signing his name ''Merz,'' he initiated the periodical *Merz* in 1923 from his Hanover-based Merzverlag. *Merz* provided an outlet for the ideas and work of numerous artists (Arp, Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch,* László Moholy-Nagy,* Pablo Picasso, and Tristan Tzara). Yet Schwitters's truly creative years were over by 1923, and his prestige with the avant-garde waned. By 1923 he had worked for several firms as a professional advertising artist. Applying his ideas in his graphic art, he inspired some of the work completed at the Bauhaus* and helped found a Hanover group in 1927 called *Abstrakten*. He had also published several short stories by 1933. Although the NSDAP ignored him, he left Germany in 1937 when several of his works appeared in Munich's *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition. He lived in Norway until the German invasion of 1940, when he fled to England. He remained there until his death.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Clair, *1920s*; Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters*; Heller, *Stark Impressions*; Schmalenbach, *Kurt Schwitters*.

SEBOTTENDORFF, RUDOLF VON. *See* Thule Society.

SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC, LAW FOR THE. *See* Protection of the Republic, Law for the.

SEECKT, HANS VON (1866–1936), general; Chief of the *Heeresleitung* during 1920–1926. He was born in Schleswig; his family was not part of the old Prussian nobility but had migrated in the seventeenth century to Pomerania from Poland* or Hungary (his father was a general). Upon graduating from Gymnasium in Strassburg, he began a military career in 1885 by joining his father's regiment in Berlin.* In 1893 he married Dorothea Fabian, adopted daughter of a Jewish merchant and great-granddaughter of Ernst Moritz Arndt. A lieutenant-colonel when World War I began, he was promoted to colonel in January 1915 and major-general four months later. After showing exemplary talent during the invasion of Serbia, he became chief-of-staff in 1916 to the Austro-Hungarian Twelfth Army under Archduke Karl. By war's end he was chief-of-staff of the Turkish army.

As commander of East Prussia* during January–April 1919, Seeckt was in-

directly involved in Freikorps* actions in the Baltic provinces.* But deeming Russo-German friendship the keystone to German security, he came to view the Baltic adventure as a mistake, despite his aversion to Bolshevism. His opinion was grounded on a wish to eliminate the Eastern European states and restore the 1914 Russo-German border. He always considered France an enemy and England a threat. While he was serving in 1919 as a delegate to France, his censure of Foreign Minister Ulrich von Brockdorff-Ranztau* for using the army as an object of barter sparked lifelong enmity. Convinced that ''plowshares are of no avail without swords,'' he condemned Rantzau for not demanding an army of 300,000. Although they pursued parallel policies, Seeckt expressed contempt for Rantzau when the latter became Ambassador to Moscow in 1922.

Seeckt was promoted to lieutenant-general and placed in command of the *Truppenamt* in October 1919; his promotion paralleled the hatching of Wolfgang Kapp's* plot to overthrow the Republic. Although Seeckt was a monarchist, he rebuffed right-wing chauvinism; moreover, his marriage to a Jew* made him contemptuous of anti-Semitism.* His refusal to provide army support for the Kapp Putsch secured his appointment in March 1920 as Chief of the *Heeresleitung* (refusing also to act against the putschists, he argued that ''troops do not fire upon troops''). Thereafter he was determined to build a Reichswehr* that was efficient and obedient. Because of his distrust of Freikorps troops, he allowed only a limited number of freebooters into the army. When efforts to revise the Versailles Treaty* failed at the July 1920 Spa Conference,* he persuaded Finance Minister Joseph Wirth* to approach the Soviets with a proposal for constructing armaments facilities in Russia. Designed by the Foreign Office's Ago von Maltzan,* the trade treaty signed with the Soviets in May 1921 laid a basis for extensive military intercourse.

Called ''the Sphinx with a monocle,'' Seeckt envisioned a nonpolitical army and proceeded to create an army that was ''a state within a state.'' Although he was opposed to confronting the French during the Ruhr occupation,* he advised creation of a Black Reichswehr* in the event that France or Poland were tempted to a broader violation of Germany. But his loyalty to the Republic was suspect during the crisis year of 1923. Questions endure regarding his attitude toward events in Bavaria*: did he hope to profit from Bavaria's insurrection by establishing a ''legal'' dictatorship? He certainly violated his nonpolitical code when on 3 November he called for Gustav Stresemann's* dismissal as Chancellor because ''you do not possess the confidence of the troops.'' Yet, having been granted dictatorial powers after the Beerhall Putsch,* he asked Friedrich Ebert* to terminate those powers in February 1924.

The general's enemies were not confined to the Left. In 1923 Heinrich Class* uncovered a rightist plot to assassinate Seeckt. Efforts to sponsor him as a presidential candidate in 1925 were foiled by the parties; indeed, he was not widely popular outside the army. He appeared indispensable in 1923, but was dismissed in October 1926 after naïvely allowing the son of the former Crown Prince to attend military maneuvers. By opposing the Locarno Treaties,* by

treating politicians with disdain, and by alienating Kurt von Schleicher* he undermined his position. Even Defense Minister Otto Gessler,* once his unwavering champion, demanded his resignation.

Seeckt represented the DVP in the Reichstag* during 1930–1932. In October 1931 he attended the Harzburg Front* meeting. Never an ardent Nazi, he nonetheless supported Hitler* after 1933. During 1934–1935 he served in China as a military advisor to Chiang Kai-Shek.

REFERENCES: Corum, *Roots of Blitzkrieg*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Holborn, ''Diplomats and Diplomacy.''

SEIDEL, INA (1885–1974), poet and novelist; best known for *Das Wunschkind* (The wish child), the 1930 story of the relationship between a boy and his widowed mother during the Prussian Wars of Liberation. Born in Halle to a well-known literary family, she cultivated an interest in literature. She was raised in Braunschweig, Marburg, and, after her father's early death, Munich. The trauma of her father's 1897 suicide is reflected in much of her later work. In 1907, after marrying her pastor cousin Heinrich Seidel (also a writer), she moved to Berlin.* Her first poetry collection appeared in 1914, a second (*Neben der Trommel her* [Alongside the drum]) the next year, and her first novel (*Das Haus zum Monde*) in 1917. Although her early work was derivative and subjective, she overcame a purely personal focus in favor of eternal themes. She wrote extensive verse, but her prose received more recognition. From the 1920s her writing exhibited an empathy for cultural and psychological issues.

During 1914–1923 the Seidels lived in a rural setting near Eberswalde. They returned to Berlin in 1923, where Heinrich assumed pastoral duties at the Berlin Cathedral. Ina's breakthrough came in 1922 with publication of *Das Labyrinth*, a somber Freudian study of the eighteenth-century naturalist Georg Forster; the novel's main character, despite immense talent, dies in misery as he gropes through life's labyrinth. The psychological problems resulting from World War I are the theme of a 1928 novel, *Brömseshof*, in which a returning officer is incapable of maintaining the family estate. *Das Wunschkind* exposes the emotion attached to motherhood during war while investigating an endangered national inheritance.

In 1934, upon Heinrich's retirement, the Seidels moved to Starnberg, Bavaria*; thereafter Ina wrote essays, poetry, and novels, the most noted being *Lennacker*, a complex history of a Lutheran vicarage. During the Nazi era she completed an autobiography as well as biographies of Clemens von Brentano, Bettina Armin (née Brentano), and Achim von Armin. Although she was an early adherent of Hitler*, her final novel, *Michaela* (published in 1959), treated the guilt of middle-class, Christian Germans who had supported the Third Reich.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Bithell, *Modern German Literature*; Buck, *Bloomsbury Guide*; Ferber, *Seidels*; Garland and Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature*.

SEIN UND ZEIT. *See* Martin Heidegger.

SEISSER, HANS RITTER VON (1874–1973), military and police officer; chief of Bavaria's* State Police (*Landespolizei*) during the Beerhall Putsch.* A colonel at the end of World War I, he was Munich's commander after its liberation from the *Räterepublik* and then left the army to head the *Landespolizei*. Renowned for his actions against leftist agitators, he protected Hermann Ehrhardt* when the latter fled to Bavaria.

In 1923 Seisser was officially accountable to Franz Schweyer, Bavaria's Interior Minister, but with his personal power base and the subverting of the state's normal authority via the appointment of Gustav von Kahr* as *Generalstaatskommissar*, he ignored Schweyer. He thus formed part of the rightist triumvirate (with Kahr and General Otto von Lossow*) that plotted to overthrow the leftist regime in Thuringia* and toyed with ousting the Weimar regime. Such ambitions were foiled on 8 November 1923 by Hitler's* unforeseen putsch. In fact, Seisser and his cohorts were already wavering in their plans; at a 3 November meeting in Berlin* Hans von Seeckt,* Chief of the *Heeresleitung*, informed Seisser, who was seeking army support, that whereas he sympathized with his goals, the Reichswehr* would fire on rebels ''whether they came from the Right or the Left.'' By abandoning Hitler and Erich Ludendorff* on 9 November, the triumvirate inadvertently split the right-wing movement in Bavaria.

Seisser was the only member of the triumvirate to retain his position after the putsch. No longer able to influence politics, he retired in 1930 to become senior director of a Munich firm. He was briefly confined at Dachau in 1933.

REFERENCES: Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*.

SELDTE, FRANZ (1882–1947), politician and industrialist; founder of the *Stahlhelm*,* Germany's largest veterans' association. Born in Magdeburg, he studied chemistry at Braunschweig's *Technische Hochschule* as preparation for work at his family's chemical and soda-water firm. A reserve infantry captain, he lost his left arm at the Somme (1916). Awarded the Iron Cross (First Class), he was subsequently a war correspondent.

Returning to Magdeburg in November 1918, Seldte assumed control of the family business. He soon assembled several friends to discuss plans for a veterans' organization. Finding willing support, he founded the *Stahlhelm* on 25 December 1918. His initial impetus was comradeship, support of law and order, and a desire to assist returning veterans. But the unfolding of the November Revolution,* combined with the demands of the Versailles Treaty,* turned him and the *Stahlhelm* against the Republic.

Seldte refused to join a party, but his hopes mirrored those of the DNVP. Although he helped concoct plans for a German dictatorship, his politics remained equivocal, and he was not involved in the 1920 Kapp* Putsch. In 1924 he and his moderate supporters countered an effort by the anti-Semitic* Theodor Duesterberg* to gain control of the *Stahlhelm*; they were soon forced, however, to make Duesterberg deputy chairman. As the *Stahlhelm* flourished with the

addition of radical elements, Seldte's influence ebbed until Duesterberg became cochairman in 1927. With Seldte's blessing, the organization campaigned against the Young Plan* in 1929.

By aligning the *Stahlhelm* in 1931 with the Harzburg Front,* Seldte underscored his opposition to the Republic. While he generally stayed aloof from the Nazis during the Weimar years—he maintained a latent opposition to the SA*—he was pleased when Hitler* made him Labor Minister in January 1933; he retained the portfolio throughout the Third Reich and served also as Prussian Labor Minister. He joined the NSDAP in April 1933 and became an SA *Obergruppenführer* (general) in 1934, when, as head of a new veterans' organization, he witnessed the *Stahlhelm*'s dissolution. Indicted at Nuremberg, he died before coming to trial.

REFERENCES: Berghahn, *Stahlhelm*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*.

SENDER, TONI (1888–1964), politician; the highest-ranking woman in the USPD. Born Sidonie Zippora to a businessman who managed the Jewish community in Biebrich am Rhein, a suburb of Wiesbaden, she took the name Toni. After studying at Frankfurt's *Handelshochschule*, she found a secretarial position in the same city and entered the union for office employees in 1905; the next year she joined the SPD. She worked in Paris during 1910–1914 as a foreign-language secretary, but was forced by World War I to return to Germany, where she found employment as an office manager for a Frankfurt metallurgy firm. She became an associate of Robert Dissmann, a leader in the metalworkers' union, and was soon engaged in antiwar activities. She took part in Bern's International Socialist Women's Conference in March 1915 and was a founding member in 1917 of the USPD.

Sender was an uncommon blend of radicalism and pragmatism. She became general secretary on the managing board of Frankfurt's Workers' Council* and was among the city's leading activists in the November Revolution.* But in December 1918 she resigned her position (and her employment at the metallurgy firm) to become editor of the USPD newspaper,* *Volksrecht*. She also edited *Betriebsräte-Zeitung*, the organ of the metalworkers' union. Active until 1924 in Frankfurt's city government, she entered the Reichstag* in June 1920 and held her mandate until 1933, from 1922 as a member of the SPD. While she was angered by the ''irrational'' decision of a majority of the USPD to join the KPD in October 1920, she also deemed the 1922 merger of the two socialist parties premature. She gained prominence in the SPD's left wing, regularly opposing the ''opportunistic'' coalitions of the Party's leadership. In August 1923 she submitted the no-confidence resolution that induced Wilhelm Cuno's* resignation as Chancellor. She sat on the committees for foreign policy, economics, and social policy; indeed, she gained considerable attention in plenum sessions with her statements against both Left and Right radicalism.

In March 1933 Sender fled Germany, going first to Czechoslovakia and then to Belgium. She emigrated to the United States in 1935 and worked for the

Office of Strategic Services during World War II. After the war she was employed by the American Federation of Labor and the United Nations.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Sender, *Autobiography*.

SETTLEMENT. *See Osthilfe*.

SEVERING, CARL (1875–1952), politician; Prussian Interior Minister during most of the Republic. Born to a working-class home in Herford, he apprenticed as a locksmith before joining the SPD and the metalworkers' union in 1893. Settling in Bielefeld, he became business manager for both the local SPD and the union. He sat in the city council during 1905–1924 and entered the Reichstag* in 1907, serving initially until 1912. During 1912–1919 he edited *Volkswacht*, Bielefeld's SPD newspaper.*

Severing was a moderate who championed SPD efforts to work with the imperial regime in World War I. Subsequent to involvement with Bielefeld's Workers' and Soldiers' Council,* he mediated a coal miners' strike in the Ruhr. It symbolizes his renown, but also the putschists' detachment from reality, that Wolfgang Kapp* considered him for the Economics Ministry in March 1920. After the Kapp Putsch Severing, as *Reichskommissar* for Prussia,* negotiated the so-called Bielefeld Agreement that ended a workers' uprising in the Ruhr. But the ruthless suppression by the military of those who rejected his compromise damaged his reputation with the trade unions* and instilled in him a lasting suspicion of the military.

Severing's efforts at curbing the Ruhr crisis led Otto Braun,* Prussia's Prime Minister, to invite him to become Interior Minister. He retained the portfolio (with a brief interruption) until 1926 and held it again during 1930–1932. Meanwhile, he was elected to the National Assembly* and sat in the Reichstag during 1920–1933, holding a concurrent mandate in the Prussian Landtag. In 1928–1930 he was Reich Interior Minister.

Severing was a hard worker and a superb speaker, but his pragmatism left him little time for socialist theory. He was a proponent of the idea that the SPD should govern in coalition with the moderate bourgeois parties; his paramount goal was bolstering the Republic. Prussia, he argued, should serve as a model for democracy. He purged the civil service,* principally the police force, by replacing monarchists with supporters of the Republic—always aiming to widen the social and religious background of the bureaucracy. Ever fearful of paramilitary units, he quickly responded to potential insurrection on both the Right and the Left. He banned the NSDAP in Prussia in November 1922, dissolved the KPD's Proletarian Hundreds in August 1923, and was pivotal in inducing the Reich government to ban the SA* in April 1932. While he was pained at using paramilitary groups to combat antidemocratic organizations, he supported the *Reichsbanner*.*

After Franz von Papen's* coup against the caretaker government of Braun

and Severing, it was largely Severing who maintained that resistance was not simply hopeless but might provoke civil war. Surprisingly, given his hostility to the NSDAP, he was only briefly incarcerated during the Third Reich. From April 1947 he represented the SPD, this time in the Landtag of North Rhine–Westphalia.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Liang, *Berlin Police Force*; Orlow, *Weimar Prussia, 1918–1925*, *Weimar Prussia, 1925–1933*.

SHOP STEWARDS. *See* Revolutionary Shop Stewards.

SIEDLUNGSPOLITIK. *See* Hans Schlange-Schöningen.

SIEMENS, CARL FRIEDRICH VON (1872–1941), industrialist; promoted cooperation between management and labor through the Central Working Association* (ZAG). The youngest son of Werner von Siemens, founder of the *Siemens- und Halske-Werke* (Siemens Brothers from 1867, the firm made telegraphic and electrical equipment), he was born in Berlin.* In 1899, following engineering studies, he took a position at the family firm (his father had died in 1892). Sent to London in 1901 to oversee Siemens's English-based electric dynamo plant, he remained for about ten years. Because of the failing health of Wilhelm, his older brother, he became chairman in 1912 of the firm's managing board (*Vorstandsrat*); Wilhelm died in 1919. Carl served briefly in World War I; he left the *Vorstandsrat* in 1919 to become supervisory board (*Aufsichtsrat*) chairman. By 1930 he sat on the boards of numerous German firms.

In March 1918 Siemens launched the Central Association of the German Electrotechnical Industry (*Zentralverband der deutschen Elektrotechnischen Industrie* or *Zendei*), a belated attempt at industrial cooperation in the war. A champion of laissez-faire economics in the international arena, he favored concentration of domestic industry, especially broad vertical cooperation among overlapping industries. Such ideas were anathema to Walther Rathenau,* Siemens's principal competitor, who favored the horizontal segregation of heavy industry from finished-products manufacturing. In 1920 Siemens helped form an *Interessengemeinschaft* by combining with the steel and coal concerns of Hugo Stinnes* and Emil Kirdorf*; known as the Siemens-Rheinelbe-Schuckert-Union, the IG lasted five years. Siemens was engaged from 1921 with the Republic's Economic Council and became its president in 1923, the year he was elected deputy chairman of the RdI.

Siemens viewed Stinnes's November 1918 efforts at founding the ZAG as a means of steering Germany through its postwar political and economic crises; even after it was unpopular with fellow industrialists, he supported the labor-management cooperation central to ZAG. To raise industrial funds for electoral campaigns, he helped found a *Kuratorium* in December 1918 for the reconstruction of German economic life; the fund, earmarked for the DDP, aimed at electing deputies opposed to socialization. Driven by *noblesse oblige*, he held a DDP

Reichstag* seat from 1920 until his 1924 selection as chairman of the railroad's (*Reichsbahn*) supervisory board. A patron of Eugen Schiffer's* abortive *Liberale Vereinigung* (Liberal Association), he was heartened by the 1925 Locarno Treaties* and represented German industry at the International Trade Council in Paris. In 1927 he led the German delegation at the World Economic Conference.

As late as 1931 Siemens discounted the NSDAP. Staggered by the July 1932 Reichstag elections, he helped found a business lobby dedicated to Franz von Papen.* He vainly tried to reestablish ZAG after Hitler* became Chancellor and maintained his distance from the Nazis until his death.

REFERENCES: Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Siemens, *Carl Friedrich von Siemens*.

SILESIA. *See* Upper Silesia.

SILVERBERG, PAUL (1876–1959), industrialist; a leading figure in the RdI. Born in the town of Bedburg, near Cologne, to a Jewish industrialist (he was baptized a Protestant*), he took a doctorate in law and founded a legal practice. Upon his father's death in 1903 he dissolved the practice to become *Generaldirektor* of the family's lignite (brown coal) industry. He acquired a neighboring firm in 1908; the resultant *Rheinische AG für Braunkohlenbergbau und Brikettenfabrikation* (Rheinbraun) was Germany's largest lignite-mining firm.

Although Silverberg was calculating and opportunistic, he was one of industry's more progressive minds. An early member of the RdI, he sat on the Socialization Commission* and sponsored selective cooperation with labor. In January 1923, with inflation* accelerating, he introduced a plan inspired by Hugo Stinnes* for reconstructing the economy. His 1926 speech at the annual RdI meeting, claiming that business had come to accept the Republic, provoked controversy and was condemned by some associates. Revealingly, he boasted that in the Republic's early years (when he had apparently supported SPD policies) business had consciously subverted socialization by regularly proposing new ways to achieve it.

Instrumental in creating the Rhenish lignite cartel, Silverberg became supervisory board chairman in the mid-1920s of Harpener Bergbau, a giant bituminous (soft coal) firm. A patron of vertical concentration, he maintained key holdings in public utilities and the electrical industry. Politically enigmatic, he joined the DVP in 1926. In 1928 he entered the *Ruhrlade*, a secret industrial lobby founded by Paul Reusch* to wield political influence. He had once been a sponsor of Gustav Stresemann's* foreign policy, but his politics shifted to the Right with the onset of the depression.* After promoting Heinrich Brüning,* he grew uneasy with the Chancellor's economic policies and eventually rejected his offer of a cabinet post.

Fearing socialization through a ''black-brown alliance'' of the Center Party* and the NSDAP, Silverberg defended the antilabor cabinet of Franz von Papen*

in 1932. Yet upon Papen's demise he bolstered Kurt von Schleicher's* efforts to court both Gregor Strasser* and the trade unions,* and encouraged a plan to lift the moratorium that was protecting bankrupt Junkers.* After January 1933 he vainly tried to placate the NSDAP with protestations of loyalty. Soon forced to yield his positions, he fled to Switzerland, where, despite appeals to come home, he remained after 1945.

REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Meynen, ''Dr. Paul Silverberg''; Neebe, *Grossindustrie*; Turner, *German Big Business* and ''*Ruhrlade*.''

SIMONS, WALTER (1861–1937), judge; served as President of the Supreme Court (1922–1929). Born in Elberfeld (now in Wuppertal) to a family long involved in silk weaving, he was raised in a pious Lutheran milieu. After eclectic studies, he began a legal career in 1888 with the Prussian civil service.* He served during 1897–1905 as a district judge in Meiningen and then became regional court counsel at Kiel; within a year he transferred to the Justice Office in Berlin.* Relocated to the Foreign Office in 1911 as a legal advisor, he did his utmost in the war to avert unrestricted submarine warfare. In 1918 he participated in the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations. Prinz Max* von Baden, acquainted with his writings, invited Simons to direct the Chancellery office in October 1918. A monarchist, he vainly tried to gain the abdication of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince as prelude to forming a regency for the Kaiser's grandson.

Named director of the Foreign Office's legal department in December 1918, Simons went to France as the peace delegation's secretary. In protest to the Versailles Treaty,* he resigned in May 1919. Over the next year, as executive director for RdI, he sponsored tight credit policies to restore industrial solvency and attract foreign investment. Although he rejected party membership, he entered the cabinet of Konstantin Fehrenbach* in June 1920; he was not a skilled diplomat, and his eleven months as Foreign Minister were burdened by arduous reparations* negotiations at London and Spa. The occupation of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Rohrort resulted (8 March 1921) when Simons rebuffed a reparations-payment scheme; the cabinet resigned in May as a protest to the London Ultimatum (*see* Reparations).

Simons became president of the Supreme Court in October 1922, and the issue of judicial reform consumed his tenure. Acting President of the Republic upon the death of Friedrich Ebert,* he received serious appraisal as Ebert's successor. A devout Protestant,* he was also president of the Evangelical Social Congress. Insisting that the authority of law took precedence over the authority of the state, he resigned from the Court in 1929 when President Hindenburg* refused to act against the government after it had ignored a Court decision. He thereafter taught international law at Leipzig. Among his publications is a biography of his friend Hugo Preuss,* the Constitution's* principal author. In 1929 he became chairman of the German Society for International Law. His Christian convictions precluded his embracing the Third Reich.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Brecht, *Political Education*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Gründer, *Walter Simons*.

SKLAREK SCANDAL. *See* Gustav Böss.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, SPD). The SPD was organized in 1875 at Gotha through a merger of Ferdinand Lassalle's Workers' Associations and the Socialist Workers' Party of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel. Its members were soon branded *Reichsfeinde* (enemies of the state), intent on ruining Bismarck's new Reich. Subjected in 1878 to repressive antisocialist laws, the Party thrived under persecution. Thus, when the crusade ended in 1890, the SPD's organizational and electoral strength was superior to that of any other party. Its steady expansion over the next two decades revealed Germany's transformation into an advanced industrial state.

The revisionist movement within the SPD, centered on Eduard Bernstein in the decade preceding World War I, urged a nonrevolutionary path to socialism and thus created an ideological rift that threatened Party unity. Although the outbreak of war appeared to reunite orthodox Marxists and reformers in support of the Kaiserreich, the length and horrors of the war ultimately provoked schism. The first group to break with the SPD, comprising both orthodox Marxists and pacifists (including, ironically, Bernstein), formed the USPD in April 1917. This split in working-class solidarity was among the Republic's chief tragedies. By 1919 Germany had three mutually hostile socialist groups: the Majority Socialists (the SPD during 1917–1922), supportive of the government and revisionist in outlook; the USPD, opposed to the war, but ideologically incoherent; and the Spartacus League*—soon the core of the KPD—opposed to the Kaiserreich, the war, and parliamentary democracy.

Following the Kaiser's abdication, the SPD (chiefly Friedrich Ebert* and Gustav Noske*) was consumed with the need to restore order and establish the Republic's legitimacy. But with power unexpectedly thrust upon it, the Party failed to exploit opportunities for achieving the substantive changes necessary to guarantee the regime's future. Frightened by events in Russia and bewildered by manifold postwar problems, the SPD turned to Germany's old authorities for assistance. Thus encouraged, an antirepublican bureaucracy, military, and judiciary were restored; these groups arrested needed reforms in the Republic's early years, aided the regime's right-wing enemies in the middle years, and stood increasingly ready to expedite its demise after 1930. Yet it took great courage for men like Ebert, Noske, and Philipp Scheidemann* to assume the burden of responsibility in the Republic's opening months.

In the 1919 elections to the National Assembly* the SPD gained 37.9 percent of the votes and 163 mandates. Although it was the largest parliamentary party—a status it retained until 1932—the SPD was forced to govern in a so-called Weimar Coalition* with the DDP and the Center Party.* Soon after the

abortive Kapp* Putsch, the June 1920 Reichstag* elections seriously curtailed Party support (21.6 percent). Whereas its constituency never dropped below 20 percent until March 1933, it also never again surpassed 30 percent. Moreover, the SPD's tenacity was subverted by both the Kapp Putsch and the June 1920 election results.

As time passed, the self-conscious patriotism of men such as Scheidemann and Noske gave way to the capable, if often-uninspiring, administration of Hermann Müller,* Gustav Bauer,* and Otto Braun.* Forsaking idealism in favor of pragmatism, many of these men still hoped to build a socialist society in harmony with farmers* and the lower middle class. But until the rump USPD rejoined the Majority Socialists in 1922, the SPD's ideology was nearer Lassalle's state-based socialism than Marxism. Throughout the Weimar era the leadership valued skilled functionaries above charismatic ideologues. Finally, disagreement over the essence of socialism prevented the SPD from evolving an aggressive vision of what to do with power when it had it. With the onslaught of depression,* the increasingly successful campaigns of the KPD led the SPD to mouth Marxist slogans invalidated by prior practice. While the KPD gained converts by castigating the SPD as a party of ''social fascists,'' Social Democrats struggled with compromises between the ideology of class struggle and the liberalism of Weimar democracy. Although its treasury was confiscated on 10 May 1933 and the Party was banned from further political activity on 22 June, it survived until 1945 via an exile committee established by Otto Wels* and Friedrich Stampfer.*

REFERENCES: Breitman, *German Socialism*; Gates, ''German Socialism''; Guttsman, *German Social Democratic Party*; Kolb, *Weimar Republic*; Mishark, *Road to Revolution*.

SOCIALISM. *See* Communist Party of Germany, Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, *and* Social Democratic Party of Germany.

SOCIALIZATION COMMISSION. Marxist theory asserts that the nationalization (or socialization) of industry is fundamental to working-class liberation. Accordingly, the Council of People's Representatives* formed a *Sozialisierungskommission* on 21 November 1918 to review the prospects for socialization. The formation of a commission, as opposed to proclaiming immediate socialization, underscored the interim cabinet's conviction that its actions must harmonize with the maintenance of order and the protection of property; these men were appalled by events in Bolshevik Russia. Moreover, at the behest of Friedrich Ebert,* interim Chancellor, several nonsocialists were appointed to the nine-member commission. In Germany's postwar chaos neither government nor union leaders espoused hasty action against private industry.

The November accord that heralded the Central Working Association* (ZAG, an employer-union partnership) indicated that the pressure for sweeping socialization, outside of small pockets of radical workers, was hardly extreme. The employers' plan, ''social policy in exchange for the renunciation of socialization,'' was embodied in ZAG and promoted by such non-Marxist socialists as

Walther Rathenau* and Wichard von Moellendorff.* Even the USPD made only guarded recommendations: Wilhelm Dittmann,* a member of the interim cabinet, argued that the war-torn economy was unsuited to nationalization, while Karl Kautsky, Germany's premier Marxist theorist (and an outspoken opponent of Bolshevism), claimed that socialization without popular support could invoke civil war. But Kautsky agreed to head the commission. Short on funding and staff and impeded by ministries fearing its encroachment, the commission received only lip service from the interim cabinet. Yet, under pressure from the USPD it opened deliberation on 5 December and offered a preliminary report on 7 January 1919. The judicious report stressed the need to socialize ''ripe industries,'' but underscored an equal need for further study in view of the danger attached to disrupting production. The ensuing Coal Socialization Act of March 1919 strengthened the economic coordination of the coal industry, but failed to nationalize that industry. The commission members resigned in April in protest of their lack of powers.

Until March 1920 the Republic was too absorbed with the Armistice,* leftist unrest, drafting a constitution,* and haggling over the Versailles Treaty* to focus on socialization. The issue was clouded, moreover, by failure of the two socialist parties to win a majority in the National Assembly.* But in the agreement ending the general strike that had subverted the Kapp* Putsch, the new cabinet of Hermann Müller* yielded to a union demand that a second Socialization Commission be established to amend the Coal Socialization Act. Since the June 1920 elections brought severe losses to the SPD and DDP, Müller's government did not survive to appraise the commission's conclusions. Appearing in an August 1920 report and strongly influenced by Rathenau, they espoused an organic concept of state socialism based largely on the community ethics marking Germany's war economy. The minority cabinet of Konstantin Fehrenbach,* facing stiff opposition from an industry-backed DVP (heavy industry, led by Hugo Stinnes,* was urging vertical concentration rather than socialization) and fearing Allied pressure for enlarged coal deliveries, distanced itself from the recommendations. Although the commission deliberated into 1921, pressure for socialization abated.

The power of heavy industry, exercised politically through the DVP, frustrated the work of the Socialization Commission. However, even leading socialists were ambivalent about socializing the ''ripe'' coal industry. The experience of Russia, coupled with the weakness of Germany's postwar economy, discouraged most socialists from embracing socialization. Unfortunately, this failure to address a once-important SPD issue spawned a bitterness that was not confined to the political Left.

REFERENCES: Breitman, *German Socialism*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Ryder, *German Revolution of 1918*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

SOLDIERS' COUNCILS. *See* Workers' *and* Soldiers' Councils.

SOLLMANN, WILHELM (1881–1951), politician and journalist; one of the SPD's pragmatists, he regularly sponsored collaboration with the moderate bourgeois parties. Born to a middle-class home in the village of Oberlind, near Coburg, he completed a business apprenticeship in Cologne and attended the local *Handelshochschule*. In 1907, soon after joining the SPD, he founded a youth group, *Freie Jugend Köln*. Shifting his attention to journalism, he joined the staff of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1911 and remained at the newspaper* (with a one-year interruption) until 1933—from 1920 as editor-in-chief. Meanwhile, he entered the Reichstag* in 1914 via by-election and became chairman of the Cologne SPD in 1915.

An adherent of Germany's war effort, Sollmann served on Cologne's city council during 1915–1923. He helped Konrad Adenauer* moderate the temper of Cologne's Workers' and Soldiers' Council* during the Armistice* and was elected to the National Assembly* in January 1919. In the wake of the March 1920 Kapp* Putsch he championed the embattled Defense Minister, Gustav Noske*; he then declined the proffered Defense portfolio. Founding the journal *Sozialdemokratischer Pressedienst* in 1920, he encouraged socialist debate on defense and other issues. With Noske and Otto Braun,* he led a minority of prominent SPD leaders who sought to foster trust with the Reichswehr.*

Sollmann developed considerable expertise in the areas of defense, education, and foreign affairs. He opposed Rhenish separatism in the early 1920s, promoted a Great Coalition* in the crisis year of 1923, and served during August–November 1923 as Interior Minister under Gustav Stresemann,* but he was foiled in his effort at resolving the crisis with Saxony.* For the balance of the Weimar era he worked to broaden the base of support for the Republic and challenged the SPD to extend its appeal beyond the working classes. With deputies from other parties, he served on the *Arbeitsausschuss Deutscher Verbände* (Action Committee of German Associations) and the *Interparlamentarische Union* (Inter-Parliamentary Union).

An outspoken critic of the NSDAP (he maligned Joseph Goebbels* in the Reichstag), Sollmann was savagely beaten by Nazis on 9 March 1933. In May he fled to the Saar,* where he founded and edited *Deutsche Freiheit*. He moved to Luxemburg in February 1935 and then emigrated to the United States in January 1937. The Quakers secured him a position at Swarthmore.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Kühn, *Wilhelm Sollmann*; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*

SOMBART, WERNER (1863–1941), economist and social philosopher; a sponsor of Germany's *Sonderweg* (special path), he forged many of the social-conservative arguments employed against both Marxism and liberal capitalism. Born in Ermsleben am Herz to a wealthy estate owner and politician, he was raised from 1875 in Berlin* upon his father's election to the Reichstag.* He studied economics at Berlin (with Gustav Schmoller) and Pisa and took his doctorate in 1888. A youthful interest in Marxism induced his 1890 ''exile'' to

Breslau as an *ausserordentlicher Professor* of economics. He was finally promoted to *Professor ordinarius* in 1906 at Berlin's *Handelshochschule*, succeeded Schmoller in 1917, and became emeritus in 1931.

A prolific author, Sombart was deemed the ''Proteus of German social scientists.'' According to Arthur Mitzman, he ''decisively altered his social and political perspective at least once every decade during the period 1888–1915.'' In the process he moved ''from evolutionary Marxism and a profound belief in modern industrial civilization . . . to rejection of modern civilization and nostalgic love of community, to the exaltation of the entrepreneur and the hero, and ultimately to a position not far removed from Nazism.'' He is best known for *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, a two-volume (later three-volume) study, first published in 1902, that outlined how and why European economic history had moved through the stages of precapitalism (feudalism), early capitalism, and late capitalism. He came to view historical causation as a spiritual rather than a material process—a position defined in *Der Bourgeois* (1913), in which he identified Jews* as agents of a money-dominated commercial mentality alien to a human-oriented entrepreneurial spirit. In his patriotic outburst of 1915, *Händler und Helden* (Traders and heroes), the English displaced the Jews as purveyors of crass materialism.

It required the Republic for Sombart to enjoy the recognition he had justly earned. Equated in stature to Max Weber,* he became a member of the Prussian and Bavarian academies and served during 1932–1935 as president of the *Verein für Sozialpolitik* (Association for Social Policy). Thoroughly alienated from Marxism, which he debunked in 1924 as corrupted by ''the Jewish spirit,'' he championed a humanistic ''German socialism'' to replace the capital-oriented politics of social democracy. Rejecting economic determination (he claimed that the age of capitalism was drawing to a close), he thought that the NSDAP would initiate an era of German recovery under bureaucratic control. His early attraction to the Third Reich sullied his reputation.

REFERENCES: M. Epstein, ''Obituary''; Lebovics, *Social Conservatism*; Lenger, *Werner Sombart*; Mitzman, *Sociology and Estrangement*; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*.

SOVIET UNION. After the bitter Brest-Litovsk Treaty deliberations of early 1918, a gulf separated Germany and Soviet Russia (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was not constituted until 1922). The countries were further estranged by Freikorps* activity in the Baltic provinces* and Soviet complicity in Germany's November Revolution* (blatantly pursued by Karl Radek). Nevertheless, sharing the status of international pariahs, distrusting the West, and rejecting the postwar settlements, Germany and Russia soon conceded that they had much in common. Dismissing ideological differences and suspicions, Lenin used Radek (imprisoned in Berlin*) to initiate contact in 1919 with German industrialists and military officers. In 1920 Enver Pasha, leader of the Young Turkish revolution and a friend of Germany, went to Moscow in hopes of establishing

a Russo-German-Turkish alliance against the West. The visit prompted establishment of commissions in Moscow and Berlin for prisoner repatriation. As a corollary, Ago von Maltzan* drafted a Russo-German trade treaty that was signed on 6 May 1921. While the treaty promoted economic activity between the former enemies, the repatriation commissions increasingly functioned as informal diplomatic and consular missions.

When the July 1920 Spa Conference* failed to alter the military terms of the Versailles Treaty,* Hans von Seeckt* persuaded Finance Minister Joseph Wirth* to employ the new Russian connection as a means for promoting German rearmament. With public funds funneled through private industry, Wirth (by then Chancellor) sustained the building of Soviet-based factories for artillery, tanks, planes, and ammunition, all in violation of Versailles. Radek and Foreign Commissar Georgii Chicherin then drafted a proposal that, when skillfully employed by Maltzan at the Genoa Conference,* resulted in the Rapallo Treaty* of 16 April 1922. Although it was innocuous by comparison to the military activities that followed the 1921 trade treaty, Rapallo signalled to the Western powers an end to Soviet isolation and Germany's intent to act independently. It excited Allied concern over the potential for expanded political and military consensus between Germany and Russia.

Because Rapallo formalized Russo-German relations, Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau* became the Republic's first Ambassador to Moscow. A relentless sponsor of Russo-German cooperation, Rantzau used his opposition to the 1925 Locarno Treaties* as a bridge to the April 1926 Soviet-German Treaty of Berlin. The agreement reaffirmed Rapallo: its signatories promised never to engage in an economic boycott and pledged neutrality should one be the victim of unprovoked attack. Yet while covert military cooperation continued, several factors served to cool relations: German membership in the League of Nations, growing détente between London and Berlin, an easing of restrictions on German rearmament, Philipp Scheidemann's* disclosure of the army's clandestine dealings with Moscow, and the loosening of Poland's* dependence on France. By the time of his death in 1928, Rantzau was the only important Foreign Office sponsor of an explicitly pro-Soviet policy.

Meanwhile, the nature of Soviet policy was a source of periodic friction. Although Chicherin, Foreign Commissar until 1930, brought some *Realpolitik* to Soviet diplomacy, the *raison d'être* of the Moscow-controlled Comintern was fomentation of revolution, especially in Germany. In the 1920s the Soviets were preoccupied with controlling the KPD, frustrating the ability of the SPD to represent German workers, and subverting the Republic. They helped plan the KPD uprisings in Saxony* and Thuringia* and then coordinated disruptive actions during the depression.* Because of such activities, hope for real détente remained illusory in the Weimar era. During the years (1929–1933) in which Herbert von Dirksen* was Ambassador to Moscow, relations between the two countries cooled noticeably.

REFERENCES: Dyck, *Weimar Germany and Soviet Russia*; Freund, *Unholy Alliance*;

Gatzke, ''Russo-German Military Collaboration''; Holborn, ''Diplomats and Diplomacy''; Kochan, *Russia and the Weimar Republic*; Post, *Civil-Military Fabric*.

SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHE PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS (SPD). *See* Social Democratic Party of Germany.

SPA CONFERENCE; the first postwar meeting to which Germany was invited. Held during 5–16 July 1920, the Spa (Belgium) Conference was inspired by a British proposal of April 1920 that the Germans respond in person to reparations* and disarmament* concerns. The recommendation may have been a subterfuge; it appears that in view of America's refusal to ratify the Versailles Treaty,* Lloyd George was stirred as much by anxiety over renewed French designs on the Rhineland* as by German failure to fulfill the treaty. In any case, once the Allies agreed that resolution of a total reparations bill would not appear on the Spa agenda (the French wanted this left to the Reparation Commission), an invitation was dispatched to Germany.

Aside from its disarmament protocols, Spa's significance rests on its success at achieving a six-month agreement on coal deliveries. By 1920 France was especially vexed over the delinquency of German coal deliveries. During the course of deliberations the belligerence of Hugo Stinnes* provoked the Allies to threaten Ruhr occupation.* It required great effort for Stinnes's colleagues (Walter Simons,* Moritz Julius Bonn,* Carl Bergmann,* Konstantin Fehrenbach,* Joseph Wirth,* and Walther Rathenau*) to avert the threat. The delegates then resolved that Germany would deliver a total of two million tons of coal per month for six months; for each ton, Germany would receive five gold marks for food purchases. Since efforts to obtain such food credits had been blocked in 1919 by France, the Spa accord was deemed a German victory. Although Stinnes condemned the accord—he claimed that German coal could get more on the open market—the German cabinet approved the agreement. Indeed, this was the first occasion at which Rathenau advised fulfilling Allied demands as a step to treaty revision, thus spawning the fulfillment policy* (he was equally resolved to avert a Ruhr occupation). Nonetheless, the German Right christened Spa the ''two-million-ton *Diktat*.''

Disarmament issues compelled Fehrenbach to summon Defense Minister Otto Gessler* and Hans von Seeckt* (Chief of the *Heeresleitung*) to Spa. Both men, arriving on 6 July, used the occasion to implore that military strength be doubled to 200,000 men. Seeckt argued that Germany's domestic emergency, coupled with the Polish threat to its eastern frontier, made the 100,000 figure absurd. But the Allies rejected both this demand and Seeckt's subsequent plea to extend to October 1921 the deadline by which the army should be cut. (Seeckt came away convinced that he would be better served by treating with the Soviets.) Although in the first of two protocols the deadline for cutting the army was indeed extended to 1 January 1921 (the Versailles deadline was 31 March 1920), the Allies included a threat of sanction: noncompliance would bring the occu-

pation of further German territory. A second protocol required the disarming of *Einwohnerwehren* and other paramilitary groups. Claiming that the threat of occupation exceeded the terms of Versailles, the Germans initialed the second protocol but rejected the first.

REFERENCES: Craig, *Politics of the Prussian Army*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Joll, *Three Intellectuals in Politics*; Kent, *Spoils of War*.

SPAHN, MARTIN (1875–1945), politician and historian; best known for his dramatic 1921 rupture with the Center Party.* Born in the town of Marienburg (now Poland's* Malbork) to Peter Spahn, a high-ranking Catholic* politician, Martin studied history and earned a doctorate in 1896. He completed his *Habilitation* in 1898 and profited in 1901 from efforts to create religious parity in academic life by being appointed full professor of political science at Strassburg. A member of Strassburg's city council during 1908–1918, he was also chairman of the council's Center faction from 1912 (he became chairman of Alsace's Party in 1909). During 1910–1912 he was in the Reichstag.*

A monarchist who believed that Catholics should come to terms with Bismarck's Reich, Spahn was already a critic of his Party's leftist orientation during World War I. Since the war sharpened his nationalism, he attacked the Center in 1919 when it entered into coalition with the SPD; his alienation was increased by its support for the Weimar Constitution.* In the summer of 1920 Maximilian Pfeiffer, a member of the Reichstag faction, wrote that while the ''father sits in all of the commissions and in all of the leading positions of the faction in spite of considerable physical weakness, his son and his son-in-law [Karl Görres] abuse us.'' Indeed, both son and son-in-law polemicized incessantly against a Party for which Peter Spahn had labored for decades. Just after the August 1921 murder of Matthias Erzberger,* Martin moved his membership to the DNVP. Returned to the Reichstag in May 1924, he sat in opposition to his father, who died in August 1925.

Meanwhile, Spahn left Strassburg at the end of the war and, with Konrad Adenauer's* help, gained appointment at Cologne's new university. But politics led him to Berlin,* where in 1922 he led a new academic institution (the *Politisches Kolleg*) sponsored by Alfred Hugenberg.* His decision aroused a storm among many who claimed that in time of crisis he abandoned both his Party and the Rhineland.*

With Görres, who also joined the DNVP, Spahn formed the Party's Catholic Committee. For the balance of the decade he worked to draw the Center away from the DDP and the SPD. His rebuke of the Center for promoting secular education in coalition with the SPD—Spahn labeled the endeavor a ''brutal attack by world Jewry''—induced the Center to reexamine its political ties and seek a new alliance with the DNVP (*see* School Bill). Yet after Hugenberg became DNVP chairman in October 1928, Spahn was increasingly disillusioned. In 1929 he defied Hugenberg's opposition to the Young Plan,* and in 1930 he

almost delivered the Catholic Committee to the new Conservative People's Party.* Upon the DNVP's dissolution he joined the NSDAP. He returned to the University of Cologne in 1933 and was a Nazi until the end of World War II, dying within days of Germany's surrender.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Clemens, *Martin Spahn*; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Neubach, ''Peter Spahn.''

SPAHN, PETER. *See* Martin Spahn.

SPARTACIST UPRISING; an abortive bid in January 1919 to overthrow Germany's interim government. On Sunday, 5 January 1919, in reply to the dismissal of Berlin* Police Chief Emil Eichhorn,* the USPD and the Revolutionary Shop Stewards* organized a workers' march through the capital and shouted defiance at Friedrich Ebert* and his ''counterrevolutionary'' government. That evening at police headquarters Karl Liebknecht* and Wilhelm Pieck* of the KPD's *Zentrale* met with seventy Shop Stewards and the *Zentralkomitee* of the USPD to discuss further steps. Deluded by the ease with which workers had taken Berlin's newspaper* district, the group formed a fifty-three-person Revolutionary Committee and voted to depose the Council of People's Representatives.* The committee was earmarked to coordinate the uprising.

Within hours the committee (led by Liebknecht, Georg Ledebour,* and Paul Scholze) proved its incompetence. Succeeding at little more than issuing proclamations, it failed to bring leadership to the thousands who returned to Berlin's streets on 6 January; its last meeting took place on 9 January. Meanwhile, the Ebert regime, anticipating trouble, called on the army, the Freikorps,* and the Berlin populace (thousands responded) to protect the legitimate regime. Gustav Noske,* charged with deployment, organized troops outside central Berlin. A counteroffensive began on the eighth. Police headquarters, the rebels' last stronghold, fell during the night of 11–12 January. Acknowledging defeat, the Shop Stewards and the USPD asked their followers to return to work on 13 January.

The so-called *Spartakuswoche* (Spartacus Week) was a total defeat for the radicals. However, it is important to note that the uprising was not a premeditated action and that the attitude of the KPD was equivocal throughout. Although Liebknecht and Pieck, the only Party members present at the fateful 5 January meeting, endorsed the effort, the remainder of the KPD's *Zentrale* was opposed. Ultimately, the *Zentrale* resolved that it was morally obliged to support the revolt. But it was with a sense of doom that Rosa Luxemburg* backed the endeavor; she severely chastised Liebknecht for his unilateral action.

The chief tragedy of the uprising was its violent aftermath. In subsequent weeks the uprising spread to the Ruhr, Saxony,* and Bavaria,* but each effort to extend it resulted in brutal repression. In Berlin the death toll was never confirmed but may have exceeded one thousand. Freikorps units, entering the capital on 11 January to widespread applause, were eager to reestablish ''law

and order.'' This meant capturing as many revolutionary leaders as possible. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were apprehended on 15 January by the Guard-Cavalry-Rifle Division led by Waldemar Pabst.* Taken to the Eden Hotel, they were beaten and killed. Their loss was a long-term calamity for the KPD.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Waldman, *Spartacist Uprising*.

SPARTACUS LEAGUE (*Spartakusbund*); chief precursor to the KPD. On 4 August 1914 several antiwar socialists gathered to affirm both their commitment to international socialism and their opposition to the war just erupting. Centered on Rosa Luxemburg,* Karl Liebknecht,* Leo Jogiches, Franz Mehring, and Clara Zetkin,* the participants organized in 1915 as the *Gruppe Internationale*. Functioning within the SPD—which it opposed due to the Party's support of the war—the *Gruppe Internationale* held a formal conference in January 1916 and adopted Luxemburg's axiom that there is no such thing as a ''national'' defensive war. The conferees also began publishing a series of political tracts, subsequently known as the *Spartakusbriefe* (Spartacus letters). In March 1916, when the group was enlarged by eighteen SPD deputies expelled from the Reichstag* faction for defying Party discipline, it took the name *Spartakusgruppe*. The next year, when support for the war split the SPD, the group attached itself to the new USPD.

The *Spartakusgruppe*'s vision was never restricted to the pacifism that served as a basis for the USPD. With the war in its last year and the Russian Revolution serving as a backdrop, its ideology coalesced around revolutionary Marxism. Luxemburg, imprisoned for most of the war, played the central role in focusing the ideology. Yet, she differed with several colleagues over the use of Bolshevik tactics in Germany. Her critique of Lenin's strategies, which appeared in several *Spartakusbriefe*, reproached the Russian's adherence to national self-determination, his dismissal of a constituent assembly, and his use of terror. In one letter that appeared in September 1918, she even argued that Germany would have to rescue the situation in Russia.

The *Spartakusbund*, so named on 11 November 1918, was a relatively unnoticed group of revolutionaries, never more than a few thousand people. Overshadowed by the two socialist parties, it was not well placed to guide events. The postwar Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* were more a spontaneous development than a response to Spartacist propaganda. When the Congress* of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils voted in December 1918 to reject the council system as a basis for Germany's political future, it was a bitter defeat for the Spartacists. Prompted by growing cleavage in the socialist movement, the Spartacists called a conference on 29 December 1918. Meeting at Prussia's* *Abgeordnetenhaus*, they voted to separate from the USPD; then, prompted by members of Bremen's *Linksradikalen* and other radical groups, they constituted themselves as the Communist Party of Germany* (KPD). Despite the name

change, the abortive revolt that occurred within days of the KPD's founding was known as the Spartacist Uprising.*

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Waldman, *Spartacist Uprising*.

SPENGLER, OSWALD (1880–1936), cultural philosopher; famous for the portentous metaphysical essay *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (*The Decline of the West*), he was deemed ''the philosopher of pessimism'' (he rejected the label). Born to a middle-class home (his father was a postal clerk) in the town of Blankenburg am Harz, he pursued broad studies in mathematics, philosophy, science, and history. After taking a doctorate at Halle in 1904 with a thesis on the pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus, he taught consecutively in Saarbrücken, Düsseldorf, and Hamburg until, forsaking teaching (to the regret of faculty and students), he became a private scholar in 1911. Living in Munich, he supplemented a small inheritance with income from articles and reviews. A heart condition and nearsightedness precluded his induction into the army, and he spent most of the next decade on *Untergang des Abendlandes*; its first volume appeared a month before the Armistice.*

Spengler claimed later that the Moroccan Crisis of 1911 inspired *Untergang*. He was distressed by Germany's prewar foreign policy, and his anxiety matured into a broad historical vision. Reminiscent of Hegel, he traced the morphology of eight historical cultures through six organic phases and then, arguing that western civilization had entered a state of decline, presumed to foretell the future. Using Vico, Herder, Burckhardt, and, especially, Nietzsche as guides, he aimed to show how such modern qualities as rationalism, democracy, technology, and pacifism were undermining the West. Distinguishing between ''culture'' and ''civilization,'' or ''soul'' and ''intellect,'' he stressed that the key to survival was a synthesis between socialism and the ''Prussian spirit.''

Untergang's publication amidst defeat and revolution could not have been better timed. Although the scholarly community maligned it for errors and shallowness, it soon gained public attention (the fiftieth edition was released in 1924) and recast Spengler as Germany's premier living philosopher. Labeling the November Revolution* as a ''revolution of stupidity,'' his 1920 pamphlet *Preussentum und Sozialismus* launched his participation in the Republic's caustic political debates. Thereafter linked with Arthur Moeller* van den Bruck, he was active on the right-wing lecture circuit. From 1926, however, debilitating headaches interrupted his work; he suffered a mild stroke in 1927.

Spengler once alleged that Germany would not produce another Goethe but, rather, a Caesar. Despite authoritarian leanings, he was an opponent of the NSDAP. Ignoring this fact, the Nazis embraced him as a solid rightist thinker. In September 1933, eight months into Hitler's* rule, he published an anti-Nazi polemic, *Jahre der Entscheidung* (translated as *Hour of Decision*). Referring to the Nazis as ''everlasting Youths . . . fired by uniforms and badges,'' the book outraged Joseph Goebbels,* who lamented that it had been missed by the censor.

Thereafter, until his death, Spengler was portrayed by the Nazis as a plagiarist and charlatan.

REFERENCES: Klaus Fischer, *History and Prophecy*; H. Stuart Hughes, *Oswald Spengler*; Lebovics, *Social Conservatism*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

SS (*Schutzstaffeln*). *See* Heinrich Himmler.

STAB-IN-THE-BACK LEGEND. *See Dolchstosslegende.*

STAHLHELM; Germany's largest postwar veterans' organization. Founded by Franz Seldte* on Christmas Day, 1918, the *Stahlhelm, Bund der Frontsoldaten*, began with three basic principles: comradeship, support of law and order, and reconstruction. Although it was opposed to the November Revolution,* it was initially neither reactionary nor antirepublican. Membership was open to socialists and Jews* so long as they had served a minimum of six months at the front. But law and order soon eclipsed the emphasis on comradeship; by 1920 the *Stahlhelm* stood too far to the Right to be deemed a pillar of the Republic. Rapid growth resulting from the partial dissolution of the Freikorps* in March 1920 served to radicalize the *Stahlhelm*: in March there were only thirty local chapters; by the end of 1921 the number had grown to three hundred. The organization's newspaper,* *Der Stahlhelm*, exposed this heightened radicalization as criticism of the Republic increasingly overshadowed veterans' issues.

Acknowledging that its membership criteria must lead to decline, the *Stahlhelm* organized a youth auxiliary, the *Jungstahlhelm*, in October 1923. During 1924 youth chapters were located throughout northern and eastern Germany. The auxiliary accepted young men aged seventeen through twenty-one. Upon their twenty-second birthday members could join the *Ring-Stahlhelm* so long as they had two years in the *Jungstahlhelm*.

From a brotherhood of about 2,000 in 1920, the *Stahlhelm* grew to more than 100,000 in 1924. When post-1923 stability led many paramilitary associations to either fold or convert into political combat leagues (*Kampfbünde*), the *Stahlhelm* politicized. Under the command from 1927 of Seldte and Theodor Duesterberg,* it absorbed other organizations and by November 1928 had an estimated membership of between 450,000 and 500,000. Meanwhile, its right-radical political ideas were trumpeted by a new journal, *Die Standarte*. It campaigned in 1929 against the Young Plan* and joined the Harzburg Front* in 1931. Whereas *Stahlhelm* membership remained steady after 1930, that of the *Jungstahlhelm* declined, revealing the attraction of the SA.* Yet it was only in the Republic's waning months that the SA matched the *Stahlhelm*'s numerical strength. Claiming that it had become a Marxist fraternity, Hitler* dissolved the organization in early 1934.

REFERENCES: Berghahn, *Stahlhelm*; Bracher, *Auflösung*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*.

STAMPFER, FRIEDRICH (1874–1957), journalist and politician; editor of *Vorwärts*,* the SPD's flagship newspaper.* Born to a German-Jewish family in the Moravian capital of Brünn (now the Czech city of Brno), he was raised in the Habsburg Empire. He was already interested in socialism and journalism while in Gymnasium and began working for Leipzig's *Volkszeitung*, a socialist newspaper, while studying at the city's university. From 1903, after moving to Berlin,* he published a revisionist sheet, *Stampfer-Korrespondenz*, that urged a nonrevolutionary path to socialism. Following brief service with the Austrian army during the war, he returned to Berlin; when the Party leadership seized *Vorwärts* in November 1916 from its leftist editorial staff, he was appointed the paper's editor-in-chief, a post he held until 1933 (with Curt Geyer* from 1924). Maintaining a patriotic line in his own writing, he joined Germany's peace delegation in 1919. Although he resigned from *Vorwärts* in protest to the Versailles Treaty,* he resumed his post after a one-year hiatus.

Known in the Weimar era as the SPD's ''grey eminence,'' Stampfer was elected to the Reichstag* in June 1920 and retained his mandate until May 1933. Part of his Party's right wing, he opposed reuniting with the small USPD in 1922, arguing that coalition would not work. Yet late in 1931 he began urging the SPD's executive (which he had entered in 1925) to form a loose anti-Nazi alliance with the KPD. Briefly arrested in February 1933, he emigrated to Prague in May and, with Geyer as editor, soon began publishing *Neuer Vorwärts*. In May 1938, upon moving to Paris, he joined the executive of the SPD-in-exile. Identified by the Gestapo as a leading Marxist-Communist, he made a dramatic escape to the United States in 1940. His history of the Weimar era, *Die vierzehn Jahre der ersten Deutschen Republik* (The fourteen years of the first German republic), published in Karlsbad, Czechoslovakia, in 1936, was released in Germany in 1947. He returned to West Germany in 1948.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Breitman, *German Socialism*; Matthias, ''Downfall''; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*

STANDSTILL AGREEMENT. *See* London Conferences.

STAPEL, WILHELM (1882–1954), journalist; a leading neoconservative publisher. Born in Calbe in Prussian Saxony,* he took a doctorate in 1911 and joined the staff of the liberal *Beobachter*, a Progressive Party newspaper* based in Stuttgart. Within months he shifted to Dresden's more conservative *Kunstwart*. Introduced to Johann Fichte's ideas by *Kunstwart*'s publisher, Ferdinand Avenauius, he helped found the *Fichte-Gesellschaft* (Fichte Society). Not only did World War I erase his liberal instincts, but by 1918 he was expounding an ideological potpourri combining anti-Semitism,* Protestantism, and radical nationalism.

During 1918–1938 Stapel was editor of Hamburg's *Deutsches Volkstum*, a conservative monthly dedicated to ''German intellectual life'' that was purchased in December 1918 by the *Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfen Verband*

(DHV), Germany's largest non-Marxist (and white-collar) trade union.* The journal's sole purpose was indoctrination and it wielded a powerful influence on youth; its orientation was, Stapel claimed, ''to the left of the Left and to the right of the Right.'' An enemy of the Republic, Stapel entered a Hamburg branch of the *Juni-Klub* (*see Herrenklub*), a neoconservative group enlivened by hatred of the Versailles Treaty* and interest in the ideas of Arthur Moeller* van den Bruck. In 1920 he joined the board of the *Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt*, a publishing firm that had recently assumed control of the DHV's publications.

Inspired by the Lutheran theologian Paul Althaus, Stapel affirmed his belief in a link between God and the German *Volk*; he wrote that the ''German Volk is not an idea of humanity but an idea of God's.'' In the May 1924 Reichstag* elections he stood unsuccessfully with the *Völkischer-Block*, an alliance of the temporarily banned NSDAP and the *Deutschvölkischer Freiheitspartei*. Condemning capitalism in favor of a ''healthy corporative order,'' he even flirted with National Bolshevism*; his muddled outlook was evident in a 1926 statement that Germany should ally itself with world Bolshevism in order to establish a front against England. By identifying a *völkisch* theme at the heart of German Protestantism, he helped remove the barriers between Protestants* and the NSDAP, claiming in 1931 that the anti-Christian elements of Nazism should be viewed as minor ''intellectual obstacles.'' Both his 1932 book *Der christliche Staatsmann: eine Theologie des Nationismus* (The Christian statesman: A theology of nationalism) and his 1933 theological justification of the NSDAP, *Die Kirche Christi und der Staat Hitlers* (The church of Christ and the state of Hitler), sparked lively debate.

Although Stapel was gratified when Hitler* became Chancellor, he never joined the NSDAP. He remained with *Deutsches Volkstum* until attacks in *Das Schwarze Korps*, the SS mouthpiece, forced his resignation in 1938. The British authorities dismissed him in 1946 from the *Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt*.

REFERENCES: Conway, ''National Socialism''; Keinhorst, *Wilhelm Stapel*; Heinrich Kessler, *Wilhelm Stapel*; Scholder, *Churches and the Third Reich*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism.*

STATE PARTY. *See* German State Party.

STAUSS, EMIL GEORG VON (1877–1942), banker; among the earliest business leaders drawn to the NSDAP. Born in the Saar* town of Friedrichsthal, he was already publishing picture books when he began a banking apprenticeship. Exploiting a break opened by his marriage to the daughter of Admiral Richard von Müller, he moved to Berlin* as secretary to Georg von Siemens, founder of the Deutsche Bank. Siemens eventually made him manager of a petroleum trust. A budding expert on the Balkans and the Middle East, he administered the Deutsche Bank's Anatolian Railway Company during World War I, devoting himself to construction of the Baghdad Railway. In 1915 he succeeded Karl Helfferich* on the bank's managing board. He claimed that the

king of Württemberg ennobled him in 1918 for his wartime achievements (a topic of dispute).

After the war, as supervisory board chairman of both Lufthansa and BMW, Stauss helped reconstruct the depressed aircraft and aircraft-engine industries. Following protracted mediation, he convinced the capital-strapped companies of Benz and Daimler to reorganize in 1926 and then joined the new firm as supervisory board chairman; the company's miraculous recovery was largely his accomplishment. But while both BMW and Daimler-Benz were governed by Deutsche Bank, Stauss failed in an effort to form an automobile trust—an IG Auto—under the bank's control. In 1932, three years after the merger of Deutsche Bank and the Disconto-Gesellschaft (''DeDi-Bank''), he transferred to the bank's less conspicuous supervisory board.

Stauss contributed generously to the DVP, which he joined in the 1920s, but soon after the September 1930 Reichstag* elections, which saw his own election, he became enamored of Hitler* and the NSDAP. Fast friends with Hermann Göring,* he arranged Hjalmar Schacht's* first meeting with the flying ace in December 1930. Although he retained his DVP membership until 1933, he quietly channeled funds to the NSDAP. In 1931 he helped launch the new *National-Zeitung*, a Nazi daily in Essen, by holding out the prospect of a sizable loan for the newspaper.* Although a Nazi press attack in mid-1932 briefly cooled his ardor, he became an honorary member of Hitler's rubber-stamp Reichstag in November 1933, a position he retained until his death in 1942. He never joined the NSDAP.

REFERENCES: Bellon, *Mercedes*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Seidenzahl, *100 Jahre Deutsche Bank*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

STEGERWALD, ADAM (1874–1945), trade-union* leader and politician; Labor Minister under Heinrich Brüning.* Born to a Catholic* farmer in the village of Greussenheim, near Würzburg, he grew up in impoverished circumstances before apprenticing as a cabinetmaker. In the 1890s, while doing itinerant work, he was attracted to the labor movement. After settling in Munich in 1896, he attended evening courses at the university and joined the Center Party.* He helped organize the Party's union movement in 1899 and was elected leader of the Central Organization of Christian Woodworkers the same year. In 1902 he became chairman of the new *Gesamtverband der christlichen Gewerkschaften* (League of Christian Trade Unions), a position he held until 1929. In 1908 he was elected secretary of the International Conference of Christian Trade Unions.

Too young to remember Bismarck's struggle against the Catholic Church, Stegerwald championed the Wilhelmine Reich and its aggressive policies. During World War I, which began while he was doing research in Africa, he served in the Treasury Office and the War Food Office. As head of a Christian, anti-socialist labor movement, he was favored by the regime and in 1917 became the first and only working-class member of the Prussian *Herrenhaus*. But while

he supported extensive annexations, he opposed Prussia's* three-class voting system and promoted the extension of manhood suffrage within a constitutional monarchy. In November 1918, fearing rampant socialization, he condoned formation of the Central Working Association* and, with Gustav Hartmann of the liberal Hirsch-Duncker Federation of German Labor Associations, founded the German Trade-Union Federation* (DGB), a nonsocialist *Spitzenverband*. The DGB named him its first chairman. Elected in 1919 to both the National Assembly* and the Prussian state assembly, he served as Prussia's first postwar Welfare Minister and then was Prime Minister during April–November 1921 (his resolution to govern without the SPD caused his cabinet to collapse). At the annual Christian trade-unions congress in November 1920 he proposed creation of a new interconfessional party that might combine elements of nationalism and democracy. This premature bid to create an ecumenical *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community) found little support.

Stegerwald's politics were erratic. Whereas he abhorred socialism, his conservatism embraced an anticlerical bias that alienated many Catholics. He conceded the import of women* to Center Party strength, but nevertheless revered the Kaiserreich and thus was a bitter opponent of Matthias Erzberger.* Until the late 1920s he fostered coalition with the DNVP. Because of his labor role, his opinions fragmented the vote of Catholic workers and caused many defections to the SPD. Joseph Wirth,* his antagonist after Erzberger's death, declared him the chief impediment to Party acceptance of the Republic. Although he was defeated in January 1922 for the Party chairmanship, he bided his time in the belief that he would succeed Wilhelm Marx* in December 1928. When the Party turned to Monsignor Ludwig Kaas,* Stegerwald's defeat was attributed to his unpopularity with civil servants (whose pay raises he opposed in the Reichstag*), his opposition to politically involved clergymen, and the Center's growing antilabor bias. His bitterness was eased in January 1929 upon his election as chairman of the Reichstag faction, an expression of support that led him to resign his trade-union positions.

In April 1929, when Hermann Müller* reorganized his cabinet, Stegerwald became Transportation Minister. In March 1930 he accepted the Labor Ministry in Heinrich Brüning's first cabinet, a post he had rejected in 1920. Disliked by President Hindenburg* and supportive of Hans Schlange-Schöningen's* unpopular plan to settle unemployed workers on bankrupt estates, he nonetheless retained his ministry until Brüning's second cabinet collapsed in May 1932.

Stegerwald assailed the reactionary policies of Franz von Papen.* Misjudging the NSDAP, he supported Hitler's* Enabling Act.* His political career over, he found no room in the labor movement after the NSDAP synchronized the movement. In 1944 he was erroneously arrested in connection with the plot to kill Hitler. He survived World War II and realized his Weimar-era dream in October 1945 when, just before his death, he helped found the Christian Social Union.

REFERENCES: Ellen Evans, ''Adam Stegerwald'' and *German Center Party*; Morsey, ''Adam Stegerwald''; Patch, *Christian Trade Unions*; Schorr, *Adam Stegerwald.*

STERNBERG, JOSEF VON. *See* Marlene Dietrich.

STERNHEIM, CARL (1878–1942), dramatist; applauded in the Republic's early years for his plays satirizing bourgeois society. Born in Leipzig to a Jewish banker and theater* critic, he grew up in Berlin* and resolved in his teens to become a writer. After broad studies during 1897–1901, he spent much of the next two decades developing a literary style. In 1907, after marrying the wealthy Thea Bauer (a stage designer), he settled in Munich and, with critic Franz Blei, founded the journal *Hyperion*. His first success, *Die Hose* (The trousers), appeared in 1911.

Sternheim's early work, inspired by Nietzsche and Ibsen, leaned on a neoromantic tendency to explore the relationship between life and art. But, unsuccessful with romanticism, he shifted to comic satire. Between 1910 and 1922 he wrote a series of plays collected in 1922 as *Aus dem bürgerlichen Heldenleben* (From the heroic life of the bourgeoisie). He was only indirectly political (he championed individualism), and his interest in the bourgeoisie was concerned less with class than with mental attitude—his middle class was sexually dissolute and unexcelled in its drive for status. His *Maske* trilogy, of which *Die Hose* was the first part (it was followed by *Der Snob* and *1913*), is a saga through which each of three generations forfeits its identity for the sake of greed. His characters evoke little interest apart from the vices they illustrate. Because his work was rejected by the Kaiser's censor, he achieved popularity only after World War I; indeed, in the early Republic he vied with Georg Kaiser* as Germany's most favored playwright.

In the war, during which he translated and adapted many of Molière's plays, Sternheim began comparing himself to the French playwright. He also wrote essays, short stories, and the novel *Europa* (1919–1920), although they were less well known. For some time his marriage to Bauer enabled an extravagant lifestyle, but a nervous disorder produced growing irritability and myriad changes in address. For several years, until a bitter separation from Bauer in 1924, he wrote for the Expressionist* journal *Aktion*.* His post-1925 work, increasingly personal, demonstrates a marked decline in his literary powers. After Hitler* seized power, he settled in Brussels.

REFERENCES: Beckley, ''Carl Sternheim''; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Wendler, *Carl Sternheim*; Williams, *Carl Sternheim*.

STHAMER, FRIEDRICH (1856–1931), diplomat; Germany's popular Ambassador to London during most of the Weimar era. Born in Hamburg, he studied law before becoming a judge advocate in 1879. He was appointed to the Board of Advocates in 1893 and was elected to Hamburg's Senate in 1904. After he served as Hamburg's *Oberbürgermeister* during World War I, his talents (including English fluency) were deemed essential to allay postwar British resentments. Upon petition from the Foreign Office, he went to London in 1920 as *chargé d'affaires*; within months he was named Ambassador.

Known for honesty, tactfulness, and reserve, Sthamer was among the most admired foreigners in London. Overcoming the war's prejudices, he established rapport with business and political leaders and formed a close friendship with the royal family. He also furnished the Foreign Office with valuable information on English domestic issues. Active in talks leading to both the Dawes Plan* and the Locarno Treaties,* he repeatedly rejected cabinet portfolios in favor of remaining in London. At British behest he retained his diplomatic post until 1930, when, at seventy-three, he was well beyond the normal retirement age of sixty-five.

REFERENCES: Grathwol, *Stresemann and the DNVP*; Holborn, ''Diplomats and Diplomacy''; *New York Times*.

STILLHALTE-ABKOMMEN. *See* London Conferences.

STINNES, HUGO (1870–1924), industrialist; with interests in coal mining, steel, electricity, newspapers, hotels, and shipping, this master of commercial combination was the most successful German industrialist of his age. Born in Mülheim to a prosperous coal-merchant family, he had only a brief technical education before he employed an innate talent at commercial expansion. Inheriting the family firm, he applied courage and imagination to recast it in 1901 as one of the largest coal and steel combines in northwest Germany: the *Deutsch-Luxemburgische Bergwerks- und Hütten-AG* (German-Luxemburg Mining and Smelting Company). He soon became supervisory-board chairman of the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Elektrizitätswerk*, and he and August Thyssen gained majority control of the company in 1905. Not only were his pre-1914 steel and electrical holdings Germany's largest, but his international trade in paper and petroleum was striking. By 1912, while sitting on the governing boards of twenty-two companies, he had enlarged Deutsch-Lux into a major vertical industrial conglomerate.

The casual observer mistook this somber and poorly dressed man for the model of modesty. But while Stinnes disdained the trappings of wealth, he nurtured a passionate vanity: he truly believed that what was good for his enterprises was good for Germany. In World War I his annexationist demands exceeded those of colleagues. Preparing for victory, he created a new company in 1917 for overseas trade. Never opposed to dealing with organized labor, he indicated in 1917, when the idea of forming an employer-union compact was first raised, that his only concern was gaining union support for his annexationist aims in Longwy-Briey and Belgium. In the turmoil following on Germany's defeat, he was pleased to link his name on 15 November 1918 with that of Carl Legien,* president of the General Commission of Trade Unions, in the compact that heralded the Central Working Association* (ZAG).

Neither Stinnes's zeal nor his business stature were impaired when Germany's defeat established the naïveté of his faith in Erich Ludendorff.* In 1919 he joined the presidium of RdI; on 6 June 1920 he was elected to the Reichstag*

as a member of the DVP. Devoid of monarchism,* he devised a nonsocialist plan for reconstruction through individualism and industrial integration. Because he was deemed the archetype of a predatory capitalist, his high profile dismayed DVP chairman Gustav Stresemann,* but Stinnes retained his parliamentary mandate until his death. After 1918 he purchased several newspapers,* including the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. He also gained control in 1920 of the bulk of Germany's coal base by founding the Rheinelbe Union, an *Interessengemeinschaft* that linked Deutsch-Lux with Emil Kirdorf's* *Gelsenkirchener Bergwerke*. Soon thereafter he and Carl von Siemens* formed the Siemens-Rheinelbe-Schuckert-Union.

The June 1920 elections produced a governing coalition that included the DVP. Because of his prominence, Stinnes was asked to attend the Spa Conference* of July 1920 as an industrial expert; the gesture nearly brought disaster. He was convinced that the only means to handle the Allies was via intransigence; his reckless comments at Spa almost led to an early Ruhr occupation.* Although his more evenhanded colleagues averted Allied action, Stinnes reinforced French opinion that the only way to deal with the Germans was through ultimatums (he later recommended transforming reparations* into a private issue between German and French businessmen). His pugnacity was celebrated in Germany.

Despite his Reichstag mandate, Stinnes argued that a parliamentary system was unsuited to Germany and that the Reich's future should be placed in the hands of entrepreneurs. He rarely attended Reichstag sessions, never addressed the chamber, and gave lukewarm support to the DVP in his own newspapers. Perhaps the country's greatest inflation* profiteer, he sought in 1923 to undo the collective bargaining system and extend the workday. Openly hostile to Stresemann, he opposed the Chancellor's foreign and domestic strategy during the Ruhr occupation.

Stinnes was plagued by ill health at the end of his life and died at age fifty-four on 10 April 1924. By force of will he had consciously overextended his assets with bank credits. In the year after his death his industrial holdings (numbering 1,664 firms) suffered massively under currency stabilization.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Bonn, *Wandering Scholar*; Feldman, ''German Business'' and *Great Disorder*; Wulf, *Hugo Stinnes*.

STINNES-LEGIEN AGREEMENT. *See* Central Working Association.

STÖCKER, HELENE (1869–1943), feminist and pacifist; helped organize the *Bund für Mutterschutz und Sexualreform* (League for the Protection of Motherhood and Sexual Reform). Born in Elberfeld (now in Wuppertal) to a home steeped in Calvinism, she broke with her family (her father manufactured textiles) and trained to be a teacher. In 1901, writing on eighteenth-century German literature, she became the first woman in Germany to earn a doctorate. Nietzsche was her guiding intellectual influence.

Stöcker began writing for the feminist *Frauenbewegung* during her student years, but by focusing on sexual reform and birth control, rather than suffrage reform, she offended many in the women's* movement. Residing from 1901 in Berlin,* she became president of the *Bund für Mutterschutz* in 1905 and founded *Die neue Ethik* (later *Die neue Generation*), a journal that declared sexual union a natural right based on a relationship distinct from marriage; she edited the journal until 1933. But the *Bund für Mutterschutz* was torn by internal strife and eventually fell victim to a conservative campaign launched by the League of German Women's Societies (*Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*, BDF). Stöcker was also in the BDF.

Stöcker was an early member of the *Bund Neues Vaterland* (New Fatherland League), an antiwar group founded in November 1914. When it was proscribed in 1916, she created the *Frauenausschuss für einen dauernden Frieden* (Women's Committee for a Lasting Peace); this was also suppressed. Meanwhile, her pacifism and cohabitation with a man brought expulsion from the BDF. Alienated from the postwar women's movement, she helped found several groups linking feminism and pacifism. As part of the International League for Sexual Reform, she promoted legalized abortion and petitioned for the protection of unwed mothers and illegitimate children; the abolition of birth certificates bearing the word ''illegitimate'' was her achievement. A leader in the new German Peace Cartel, she supported Kurt Hiller's* *Gruppe revolutionäre Pazifisten* (Revolutionary Pacifist Group) from 1926. In the older German Peace Society* she formed part of a leftist opposition that favored Soviet peace projects (she never joined a party). During the Republic's final years she supported Willi Münzenberg* and his leagues against imperialism and fascism.

On 28 February 1933, upon learning of the Reichstag fire, Stöcker fled Germany. Following several years in Switzerland, she emigrated in 1941 to the United States.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Richard Evans, *Feminist Movement in Germany*; Hackett, ''Helene Stöcker''; Hamelmann, *Helene Stöcker*; Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*; Wickert, *Helene Stöcker*.

STOLPER, GUSTAV (1888–1947), economist and journalist; a critic of state control over German economic life. Born in Vienna to a Jewish banking official, he studied economics before taking a doctorate in law at Vienna in 1911. Already writing for both the London-based *Economist* and the *Österreichischer Volkswirt* (Austrian economist) as a student, he coedited the latter title for fourteen years. After teaching at Vienna's *Handelshochschule*, he led the research and statistical division of Germany's War Economics Commission during 1915–1918.

A disciple of Friedrich Naumann,* Stolper endorsed economic liberalism and urged *Anschluss* with Germany in 1919 as central to Naumann's vision of *Mitteleuropa*. In 1925 he went to Berlin* to edit the *Berliner Börsen-Courier*. He soon founded the *Deutscher Volkswirt*, an influential political and economic

weekly, and served from 1926 as Berlin correspondent for the *Economist*. He was a member of the DDP and led the Party's executive committee in 1928–1929.

Although Stolper was the DDP's expert on high finance, his October 1929 call for a renewed commitment to capitalism stemmed from his concern for German workers in the unfolding financial crisis. Moved by the depression* to increased political activity, he entered the Reichstag* in September 1930 as a member of the new DStP. While he was troubled by his Party's growing anti-Semitism,* he continued to support the DStP and retained his mandate until November 1932. Prohibited from publishing *Volkswirt* in March 1933, he sold the journal to Hjalmar Schacht* and emigrated to the United States. From October 1933 he was active in New York both as a writer and as a financial advisor to European banking houses and private investors. Adjusting well to the United States, he took American citizenship in 1939 and became a friend and advisor to Herbert Hoover. His 1940 book, *German Economy, 1870–1940*, argued that German liberals, through their costly social demands, laid the foundation for Hitler.*

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Stolper, *Leben in Brennpunkten unserer Zeit*.

STORM TROOPS. *See* SA.

STRASSER, GREGOR (1892–1934), politician; next to Hitler,* the leading Nazi during the Weimar era. Born in the village of Geisenfeld to a Bavarian judicial official, he was trained by Jesuits. After Gymnasium he apprenticed as a pharmacist. A student at Munich when war erupted, he joined a Bavarian regiment, was wounded and decorated for bravery, and ended the war a lieutenant. A radical nationalist, captivated by Oswald Spengler,* he joined the Freikorps* brigade of Franz von Epp* and helped liquidate Bavaria's* *Räterepublik* in May 1919. In 1921, upon completing pharmacy studies at Erlangen, he opened a chemist's shop in Landshut.

Strasser met Hitler in 1921 and joined the NSDAP late in 1922. Active in the SA,* he became leader in March 1923 of the Lower Bavarian Storm Troops, the largest SA unit outside Munich. After leading his unit in the Beerhall Putsch,* he received an eighteen-month prison term in May 1924; the state released him upon his election the same month to the Bavarian Landtag. As part of a three-man directorate with Albrecht von Graefe of the German Racial Freedom Party* and Erich Ludendorff,* he helped found the National Socialist Freedom Movement in August 1924 as successor to the banned NSDAP. In December 1924 he entered the Reichstag.*

Although Strasser's loyalty to Hitler remains a subject of speculation, it appears that he never questioned Hitler's leadership of the Nazi movement. Yet when he reentered the NSDAP in February 1925, he did so as Hitler's colleague (*Mitarbeiter*), not as his follower (*Gefolgsmann*). Meanwhile, Hitler's esteem

for Strasser is confirmed by the latter's rise. Named *Gauleiter* for Lower Bavaria in March 1925, Strasser delegated duties to Heinrich Himmler* (his personal secretary) and went to Elberfeld to organize the Nazi Working Group Northwest. He cultivated a north German following and, with help from his brother Otto Strasser* and Joseph Goebbels,* founded a publishing house and a newspaper,* *NS-Briefe*. The three men also drafted an alternative Nazi program; based loosely on a socialist appeal to industrial workers, it was rejected at the NSDAP's 1926 Bamburg Congress. In September 1926 Hitler made Strasser *Propagandaleiter*. By standing by Hitler, Strasser enlarged the NSDAP's appeal in the north just as it was waning in Bavaria.

When Hitler became Propaganda Leader in December 1927, he appointed Strasser *Reichsorganisationleiter*. In the new post (equivalent to deputy Führer), Strasser overhauled the NSDAP's national structure and thus helped to prepare it for the massive campaigns of the depression* era. His prior interest in socialism had clearly dissipated when Otto dramatically resigned from the Party in July 1930; Gregor was crucial in preventing his brother's departure from damaging the Party. Yet his interest in issues outside the prevailing NSDAP agenda was evident in his cultivation of the National Socialist Factory Cell Organization* and in his broad political ties. Opposed to Hitler's presidential bid in 1932, he championed a policy of right-wing coalition once the NSDAP had become the Reichstag's largest party; the tactic was rebuffed by Hitler.

When in early December 1932 Hitler rejected an offer that the NSDAP join a cabinet led by Kurt von Schleicher,* Strasser resigned his offices (he retained his NSDAP membership). Although Strasser never aimed to split the Party (as Schleicher may have hoped), Hitler never forgave him for stabbing ''me in the back five minutes before the final victory.'' Still deemed a threat in 1934, especially by Goebbels and Hermann Göring,* he was working as a director with a Berlin* pharmaceutical firm when Hitler had him murdered on 30 June as part of the Röhm purge.

REFERENCES: Jablonsky, *Nazi Party in Dissolution*; Kissenkoetter, ''Gregor Strasser''; Noakes, ''Conflict and Development''; Orlow, *History of the Nazi Party*; Stachura, '' 'Fall Strasser,' '' *Gregor Strasser* and ''Political Strategy.''

STRASSER, OTTO (1897–1974), politician and journalist; formed a leftist opposition within the Nazi movement. Born to a judicial official in the Franconian town of Windsheim, he was a textile apprentice when he volunteered for the army at age sixteen in August 1914. Wounded and decorated on several occasions, he was a lieutenant when he joined the Freikorps* brigade of Franz von Epp* in January 1919. After taking part in the brutal liberation of Munich (*see* Bavaria), he began economic studies in Berlin.* Germany's postwar condition led him to the SPD, and he freelanced for *Vorwärts*.* But he abandoned the SPD when a workers' revolt was suppressed in the Ruhr subsequent to the Kapp* Putsch. While he was completing a doctorate, he took a position as an

assistant with the Food Ministry. By the spring of 1923 he had forsaken the civil service* for a managerial position with an industrial firm.

With his brother Gregor, Strasser met Hitler sometime in 1921. But while Gregor soon joined the NSDAP, Otto was under the spell of Arthur Moeller* van den Bruck and resisted Hitler's appeal until 1925. Only when the NSDAP was reestablished in 1925 did he assist Gregor in instituting a Nazi presence north of Bavaria. Through a small publishing firm and a journal, *NS-Briefe*, he became an ideological force in the Party, focusing his attention on the urban proletariat. Lacing his neoconservative socialism with nationalist sentiment, he addressed economic and anti-Semitic issues, but also devised a pro-Soviet, anticapitalist propaganda that slowly alienated his brother and much of the Nazi leadership; Hitler called him a ''parlor Bolshevik.'' When he dramatically resigned from the Party in July 1930, the link between Otto and Gregor was severed. Although his attempt to split the NSDAP during 1930–1932 via the *Nationalsozialiste Kampfgemeinschaft Deutschlands* (National Socialist Fighting League of Germany, generally known as the *Schwarze Front*) found some response with Hermann Ehrhardt* and Walther Stennes (a former SA* leader), it enjoyed little broad-based appeal.

When Hitler came to power, Strasser recast the *Schwarze Front* as a resistance organization and directed its efforts (radio broadcasts, pamphlets, and broadsides) from Austria* and, after June 1933, Czechoslovakia. Still part of the radical Right, he accused Hitler of failing to live up to his promise of rooting out Germany's real enemies: clergymen and Western liberals. Sought by the Gestapo on a charge of high treason, he eluded arrest and even gained devotees among Ernst Röhm's* storm troops. His 1934 book *Sozialistische Revolution oder Faschistischer Krieg?* (Social revolution or fascist war?) aimed to uncover Hitler's ''real'' supporters: capitalists, fascists, and clerics. He fled Prague in 1938 and eventually made his way to Canada. The Bonn government blocked his return to Germany until 1955.

REFERENCES: Donohoe, *Hitler's Conservative Opponents*; Kele, *Nazis and Workers*; Moreau, ''Otto Strasser''; Reed, *Nemesis?*; Stachura, *Gregor Strasser*; Strasser, *Flight from Terror* and *Hitler and I*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

STRAUSS, RICHARD (1864–1949), conductor and composer; his colorful orchestration and expressive power made him Germany's most celebrated composer from 1900 until his death. He was born to affluent circumstances in Munich; his father was a well-known horn player, while his mother was a scion of the Pschorr brewing family. Composing by age six, he took piano and violin lessons, studied theory and composition with Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer, and then attended the University of Munich in 1882–1883. He was engaged as Meiningen's music* director in 1885 and became conductor of the Munich Court Orchestra in 1894. Renowned for his virtuosity as both pianist and conductor, he was engaged in 1898 by Berlin's Court Opera on Unter den Linden; during 1908–1919 he also conducted the Berlin Court Orchestra. After five years of

directing (with Franz Schalk) Vienna's State Opera, he worked from 1924 only as a guest conductor and composer. In 1924 he became honorary director of the Salzburg Festival.

An early devotee of Brahms, Strauss eventually fell under Wagner's influence; a musical revolutionary, if a late romantic, his greatest creativity occurred before World War I. His tone poems *Don Juan* (1889), *Till Eulenspiegel* (1895), *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1896), and *Don Quixote* (1898), while stirring controversy in the Kaiserreich, became part of the Republic's orchestral repertoire. He was also a prolific songwriter. His operas incorporate Wagner's principles of musical drama. *Salome* (1905), based on Oscar Wilde's version of the biblical story, was banned after performances in New York and Chicago. *Elektra* (1909), his first opera to use a libretto by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, launched a partnership that ended in 1929 with the author's death; by then the two men had produced six operas. *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911), whose waltzes evoke old Vienna, was the most quickly accepted work in his repertoire. Despite an early interest in modern music (he corresponded with Arnold Schoenberg*), Strauss resolved that his music should be understood and abandoned efforts to fathom atonality in 1912. By the 1920s his ''neoclassical'' compositions (such as *Intermezzo* and *Die ägyptische Helena*), incorporating both baroque and classical elements, clearly diverged from the music of Schoenberg, Alban Berg, and Ferruccio Busoni.*

With Friedrich Rösch and Hans Sommer, Strauss had founded the *Genossenschaft deutscher Tonsetzer* (Cooperative of German Composers) in 1898; it was the first organization aimed at providing security (e.g., copyright protection) for creative musicians. In November 1933 the NSDAP named him president of the *Reichsmusikkammer*. Neither Nazi nor anti-Nazi, he sparked controversy with his 1935 première of *Die schweigsame Frau*, an opera based on a libretto by Stefan Zweig, a Jew. The episode induced his resignation from the *Reichsmusikkammer*, after which he led a strictly private existence. He wrote until his death; his final compositions included *The Four Last Songs*.

REFERENCES: Del Mar, *Richard Strauss*; Gilliam, *Richard Strauss and His World*; Krause, *Richard Strauss*; Marek, *Richard Strauss*.

STREICHER, JULIUS (1885–1946), politician; the Republic's most notorious anti-Semite. Born near Augsburg in the Swabian village of Fleinhausen, he was the ninth child in a strict Catholic* family. Like his father, he trained as a primary-school (*Volksschule*) teacher. In 1909 he moved to Nuremberg. After World War I, in which he was decorated (Iron Cross, First Class) and achieved the rank of lieutenant, he returned to Nuremberg and became absorbed in local radical politics. Associated with several *völkisch* groups, he gained prominence in Franconia's German Socialist Party (DSP). But in 1921 he resigned from the DSP (taking its newspaper,* *Deutscher Sozialist*, with him) when his fanatical anti-Semitism* spawned dissension. With several adherents, he threw his support to Hitler* in October 1922. When the NSDAP established a branch in

Nuremberg, Streicher became its chairman. In short order he organized new branches in thirteen towns throughout Franconia.

Streicher, who sported a riding whip in public, delighted in violence and had a notoriously trying personality. While he gained his own devotees (he was utterly loyal to Hitler), he aroused loathing in those who opposed him. He was involved in myriad lawsuits (he bragged of inducing seven libel actions in a single month); his celebrated conflict with Hermann Luppe, the mayor of Nuremberg, colored city politics. Using *Der Stürmer*, a weekly founded in April 1923, to promulgate anti-Semitism, he also stirred strife by attacking Catholics, a tactic that enhanced his position in predominantly Protestant* Franconia. Briefly jailed after the Beerhall Putsch,* Streicher and Hermann Esser organized the *Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft* (Greater German People's Community, GVG) in March 1924 as a successor to the banned NSDAP. Rabidly anti-Semitic, the GVG was opposed by the National Socialist Freedom Movement, a successor group centered on Gregor Strasser* and Erich Ludendorff.* Although Streicher berated parliamentary participation, he was elected in May 1924 to the Bavarian Landtag and to Nuremberg's city council in December.

In April 1925, soon after Hitler reestablished the NSDAP, Streicher was appointed *Gauleiter* of Franconia. Despite his fanaticism, he soon built his region into one of the Party's key strongholds. While his demeanor provoked recrimination from other Nazis, he retained Hitler's trust. Nuremberg's school commission found him guilty of ''conduct unbecoming a teacher'' and dismissed him in 1928. In March 1933 he entered the Reichstag*; the next month he was the most ardent proponent of Germany's anti-Jewish boycott. Throughout the 1930s he remained Franconia's *Gauleiter* and continued publishing ugly rhetoric against Jews.* His Nazi enemies, led by Hermann Göring,* were so annoyed by the extent of his sadism and personal enrichment that they finally indicted him in 1940 on corruption charges. Appearing before the Supreme Party Court, he was found guilty and dismissed from his offices (Hitler let him retain his position with *Der Stürmer*). The Nuremberg tribunal sentenced him to death in 1946 for inciting racial hatred.

REFERENCES: Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher*; Lenman, ''Julius Streicher''; Showalter, *Little Man, What Now?*; Varga, *Number One Nazi Jew-Baiter*.

STRESEMANN, GUSTAV (1878–1929), politician; the Republic's foremost statesman and the 1926 Nobel Peace laureate (with Aristide Briand). Born in Berlin* to a beer distributor and innkeeper, he was among his generation's ambitious social climbers. He studied economics during 1896–1900, and took a doctorate at Leipzig with a thesis on Berlin's beer industry. As a fledgling businessman, he worked with Saxony's industrial association and became active in the *Bund der Industrieller*. His connection with light industry generated permanent conflict with the Ruhr's heavy industrialists. Meanwhile, he joined the National Liberal Party in 1903; his business success translated into political recognition, and in 1907 he was elected to the Reichstag.*

As faction leader during World War I, Stresemann was both outspoken nationalist and extreme annexationist; as a result, the left-liberal DDP refused to affiliate with him after the war. Stresemann thereupon founded the right-liberal DVP on 2 December 1918. Serving as Party chairman until his premature death, he was also faction leader from June 1920 until his appointment as Chancellor on 12 August 1923. His short-lived cabinet (actually, two cabinets), containing four Social Democrats and deputies from the DDP and the Center Party,* was the first Great Coalition.* His resolve to work with the SPD arose from pragmatism, not socialist sympathies. Governing for three months (12 August–23 November 1923), he faced more crises—separatism in the Rhineland*; hyperinflation; the Ruhr occupation*; and threatened uprisings in Saxony,* Thuringia,* Bavaria,* and Hamburg—than the Republic had encountered since its founding. Moreover, circumstances forced his reliance on Weimar's chief military leader, Hans von Seeckt,* who openly abused him. Yet Stresemann remained energetic and tenacious. Increasingly an advocate of reconciliation abroad and constitutionalism at home, this former monarchist came to embody the *Vernunftrepublikaner** (a republican by rational choice). His cabinet unravelled on 3 November 1923 and collapsed twenty days later.

Even as Chancellor, Stresemann's focus was foreign affairs; he continued as Foreign Minister until 1929. After years of erratic diplomacy, foreign policy* became predictable under his guidance. According to Hajo Holborn, he ''was the only statesman who, through his great ability as a parliamentary tactician and orator, as well as through his diplomatic talents, could make the office fully his own.'' Thus it is that the period 1924–1929, commonly known as *die goldenen zwanziger Jahre* (the Golden Twenties), is also the Stresemann era. He aimed to restore Germany's great-power status, and his strategy centered on ending the struggle in the Ruhr and stabilizing the economy as prelude to negotiating a compromise with France and reopening the reparations* issue. This was a courageous plan, part of his fulfillment policy,* but its realization ruined his reputation with old allies on the Right. Yet as leader of the DVP, he persuaded Germany's industrialists to help stabilize the mark and forge a new understanding with the West.

Stresemann tirelessly mended bridges with the West while profiting from conflict between France and Britain. Beginning with the Dawes Plan,* negotiated in London in August 1924 and pushed through the Reichstag the same month, he initiated his strategy of freeing Germany from the isolation imposed by the Versailles Treaty.* The Locarno Treaties* of October 1925, which eased European tensions while paving the way for German membership on the League of Nations' Executive Council, were his premier diplomatic victory. By linking acceptance of the 1929 Young Plan* with early withdrawal from the Rhineland, he engineered a diplomatic coup unappreciated at home. Although foreign policy always begets domestic implications, this was never so true as during the Weimar era. Stresemann's tragedy was the failure of the nationalistic Right, especially old friends in the DVP and the moderate wing of the DNVP, to either

understand or give support to his policy. The burden of the Foreign Office also destroyed his failing health.

Because of his complexity, no critique of Stresemann can be final. Encompassing both conservative and liberal attributes, both monarchism* and republicanism, he was damned by the Right for selling out to Germany's enemies while he was censured by the Left for being Hitler's* ideal precursor. Neither image is accurate. He was both a consummate politician and a patriotic statesman; his service in six successive cabinets was marked by a sober determination to revise Versailles through conciliation. From August 1923 until his death in October 1929, his negotiating skill and diplomatic constancy gained him the respect needed to maneuver through domestic and international hazards.

REFERENCES: Cornebise, ''Gustav Stresemann''; Gatzke, *Stresemann*; Grathwol, *Stresemann and the DNVP*; Holborn, ''Diplomats and Diplomacy''; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Kent, *Spoils of War*; Stresemann, *Mein Vater*; Sutton, *Gustav Stresemann*; Turner, *Stresemann*.

STUDENTS. *See Deutsche Studentenschaft and* Universities.

DER STURM. *See* Herwarth Walden.

STURMABTEILUNG. *See* SA.

SUFFRAGE. *See* Constitution.

SUHRKAMP, PETER. *See* Samuel Fischer *and Die neue Rundschau*.

T

DAS TAGE-BUCH; a weekly periodical founded in 1920 in Berlin* by the Austrian Stefan Grossmann. It is more often associated with Leopold Schwarzschild, who joined Grossmann in 1922. The journal's second editor (from 1930), Schwarzschild was an economics analyst who combined imagination with a solid base of knowledge. Combining humanism with pragmatism, he also avoided party affiliations. A refugee after March 1933, he was counted among the most hostile anti-Communists.

Although it printed contributions from the anti-Republic Left, *Tage-Buch* was invariably democratic. It was often compared with the more radical *Weltbühne*,* and its circulation and the quality of its contributors paralleled those of its rival. But while *Weltbühne* often abused the Republic, *Tage-Buch* uniformly praised the regime. The journal gave steady, if increasingly desperate, support to Heinrich Brüning.* In 1932, after Franz von Papen's* Prussian coup, Schwarzschild transferred *Tage-Buch* to Munich. He hoped that Bavarian particularism might shield journalism against ''further departures from strict legality,'' but the action only underscored the naïveté of Germany's democrats.

Tage-Buch published until 9 March 1933, when, in accord with the ''synchronization'' of Bavaria,* it was banned. Its staff fled to Paris, where Schwarzschild published the first issue of *Neue Tage-Buch* on 1 July 1933. Providing incisive political and economic analyses, the new journal was a mouthpiece for émigrés and a steady irritant to the NSDAP. With Winston Churchill among its contributors, it was quoted regularly in the international media, and its subscribers included diplomats, government officials, and businessmen.

REFERENCES: Golo Mann, *Reminiscences and Reflections*; George Mosse, *Germans and Jews*; Walter, ''Schwarzschild.''

TARNOW, FRITZ (1880–1951), trade-union* leader; championed economic democracy (*Wirtschaftsdemokratie*) as a bridge from capitalism to socialism. Born to a cabinetmaker in the Westphalian village of Rehme, he apprenticed as a carpenter and joined the woodworkers' union in 1900. Settling in Berlin* in 1903, he studied at the trade-union school and was soon prominent in his union's central committee. During 1908–1909 he polished his ideology at the SPD's party school.

A veteran of World War I, Tarnow entered the executive of the General German Trade-Union Federation (ADGB) in 1920—an office he retained until 1933—and succeeded Theodor Leipart* as president of the woodworkers' union. Appointed to the *Reichswirtschaftsrat* (Reich Economic Council), he championed efforts to maintain wage values during the inflation.* Evolving a sharp analytical skill, Tarnow bolstered the SPD's right wing, opposed Marxism as a hollow ideology, and promoted the idea that the working class could prosper under capitalism if it was granted equality with management in leadership of the industrial sector. By 1928 he espoused ''economic democracy,'' a notion attributed to Rudolf Hilferding* and Fritz Naphtali that substituted ''organized capitalism'' for Marxism.

Tarnow preferred labor-management consensus to government involvement when addressing economic issues, but, respecting a union demand that the ADGB be better represented in the SPD, he held a Reichstag* mandate during 1928–1933. The depression* dimmed his optimism. Opposed by 1931 to Heinrich Brüning's* deflationary economic policies, he cosponsored with Wladimir Woytinski and Fritz Baade a works-creation measure aimed at employing a million jobless men on public works projects. This so-called WTB Plan, while backed by the ADGB, was censured by Marxist purists, obtained only lukewarm support from the SPD, and strained the uneasy SPD-union relationship during 1932. Tarnow advised cooperation with Gregor Strasser* in August 1932 and was among the few labor leaders to support the chancellorship of Kurt von Schleicher.*

On 2 May 1933 Tarnow was arrested. Soon released, he fled to Copenhagen. In April 1940, when Germany occupied Denmark, he escaped to Sweden. After he returned to Germany in 1946, he led the Frankfurt-based trade-union council.
REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Braunthal, *Socialist Labor and Politics*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*.

DIE TAT; founded as a monthly in 1909, an important voice of neoconservatism. From 1912 *Tat* evolved under Eugen Diederichs into a distinguished cultural periodical. Among other things, it published the Greek philosophers and poets, the thought of medieval mystics, work from the Renaissance, the wisdom of the Orient, and German cultural history and folklore. Diederichs hoped that

it might shape Germany's middle-class youth; however, despairing because his voice found no echo, he grew increasingly frustrated. Viewing Weimar democracy as the rule of petty individuals incapable of reshaping German life, he came to fear the corrupting influence of ''Americanization'' in his final years. Not surprisingly, he was a protagonist for a ''revolution from the Right.''

Diederichs relinquished *Tat* in 1928 to Adam Kuckhoff. Hans Zehrer* became unofficial editor in October 1929 and assumed the official role in the fall of 1931. *Tat* prospered under Zehrer as it became more forcefully political, especially in its stands against the Versailles Treaty* and the Republic. Its average circulation rose from 3,000 in 1929 to 25,000 by 1932. Its contributors included Wichard von Moellendorff* and Werner Sombart.* Meanwhile, Zehrer formed his *Tatkreis* (*Tat* Circle), a neoconservative group that included Ferdinand Fried (pseudonym of Friedrich Zimmermann), an economics expert who (influenced by Sombart) was devoted to autarchy and a planned economy; the sociologist Ernst Wilhelm Eschmann; and two Heidelberg sociology students, Giselher Wirsing and Horst Grüneberg, both influenced by Karl Mannheim* and Sombart. The neoconservatism of the *Tatkreis*—antirestoration, anti-Republic, and proyouth—was compelling among middle-class intellectuals. In April 1932 it advocated a ''third front'' uniting Left and Right. This ''revolution from above'' envisioned the army, led by Kurt von Schleicher,* joining with the trade unions* and an NSDAP contingent led by Gregor Strasser* to form a broad authoritarian administration.

Initially assuming that Hitler's* regime would be short-lived, Zehrer came to appreciate the dynamism of the Third Reich. Having cast his lot with the wrong Nazi, and retaining a low opinion of Hitler, he was forced to leave *Tat* in August 1933. Wirsing and Eschmann, committed Nazis, reorganized the journal, renaming it *Das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert* in 1939.

REFERENCES: Lebovics, *Social Conservatism*; Jerry Muller, *Other God*; Sontheimer, ''Tat-Kreis''; Stark, *Entrepreneurs of Ideology*; Struve, *Elites against Democray* and ''Hans Zehrer''; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

TAUBER, RICHARD, born Carl Richard Denemy (1891–1948), opera and stage singer; remembered for his renderings of Franz Lehár's operettas. Born in Linz, the illegitimate child of an aspiring actor, he was raised from age six in Germany. At sixteen he left school, and his father, who had charge of him, sent him to study conducting at Frankfurt's Hoch Conservatory. After concluding theoretical training in Freiburg, he began a conducting career. In 1912 his father became intendant of the *Neuesstadttheater* in Chemnitz. When Tauber sang there in March 1913 as Tamino in *The Magic Flute*, he met with such success that he received a five-year contract with the Dresden Royal Opera. Under director Ernst von Schuch he performed all the great tenor roles with an ensemble that included Tino Pattiera and Elisabeth Rethberg.

Although Tauber renewed his Dresden contract in 1918, he was soon appearing in Berlin* and Vienna. Blessed with a lyrical voice, he sang German

Lieder (songs) and was soon a darling of both cities. In 1924, when he began performing Lehár's works—for example, *Paganini*, *Friederike*, *Zarewitsch*, and *Schön ist die Welt*—he earned the ridicule of serious opera devotees, but brought himself and the composer fame and financial success. Singing at Berlin's Metropol Theater, he was especially revered for his rendition of the song ''Mädchen, mein Mädchen'' from *Friederike*. After his 1930 film* début in *Dirnenlied*, he formed his own company to make *Lockende Ziel* (End of the rainbow) and *Land of Smiles* (based on Lehár's work). He toured Britain and the United States in 1931–1932.

Nonpolitical, Tauber left Germany early in 1933 after being attacked by the SA.* While he made his home in Britain, he appeared in Vienna until the *Anschluss*. He conducted the London Philharmonic during World War II and also did some composing (he coauthored the operetta *Old Chelsea*). After the war he performed on Broadway and played a central role in the English film *Lisbon Story*.

REFERENCES: Castle, *This Was Richard Tauber*; *Internationales Biographisches Archiv*.

TAUT, BRUNO (1880–1938), architect; with Walter Gropius,* chiefly responsible for enhancing awareness of the social significance of architecture. Born to a struggling merchant in Königsberg, he studied at Königsberg's *Baugewerkschule* before transferring in 1903 to Berlin.* After four years with Stuttgart's Theodor Fischer, he opened a Berlin office in 1909 with Franz Hoffmann; his younger brother Max (1884–1967) joined the firm in 1914. He gained notice in 1912 for his design of garden cities for the suburbs of Magdeburg and Berlin, and by the time war broke out he was already a respected industrial and residential architect. He was long attracted to Expressionism*; his pavilion at Leipzig's 1913 building exhibition and his beehive-shaped ''Glashaus'' at Cologne's 1914 *Werkbund* exposition placed him at the center of the modernist movement. A pacifist, he was dismissed by the military review board in 1914.

Taut was a born organizer with a sense of mission. In November 1918 he founded, with Gropius, the painter César Klein, and the critic Adolf Behne, the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*,* a group focused on uniting ''art and the people.'' He also joined the *Novembergruppe*.* As the leader of architecture's utopian wing, he published the influential magazine supplement *Frühlicht* (Dawn). But with his visionary penchant ebbing, he served during 1921–1924 as Magdeburg's city architect. Gehag (*Gemeinnützige Heimstätten-Aktiengesellschaft*), Berlin's housing cooperative, recruited him in 1924 as its designer and thus initiated the most productive phase of his career. The same year he helped organize the *Ring*, a group of architects hoping to enliven housing policy in the capital. Under Taut's direction Gehag focused on large-scale apartment projects in Berlin's suburbs (Neukölln and Zehlendorf); the best-known, built with Martin Wagner during 1925–1930, was the ''horseshoe'' development in Britz. In all, he mobilized the construction of over ten thousand apartments.

Taut's significance lies less in his buildings than in his published thought.

His prolific writings raised issues of common concern, provoked discussion of the ''new architecture,'' and extended modernism's boundaries. All of his work made reference to light and crystal (e.g., *Alpine Architecture*, 1919). Elected in 1931 to the Prussian Academy of Arts, he taught during 1930–1932 at Berlin's *Technische Hochschule* and then went to Moscow as consulting architect to the city government. Dismayed by Soviet efforts to discourage modernism, he came home in February 1933 to learn that the Nazis sought his arrest as a cultural Bolshevik (*see Kulturbolschewismus*). He fled Germany and spent three years in Japan at the request of the Japanese Society of Architects. In his final years he taught at Istanbul's art academy.

REFERENCES: Lane, *Architecture and Politics*; *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*; Pehnt, *Expressionist Architecture*; Dennis Sharp, *Modern Architecture and Expressionism*.

THALHEIMER, AUGUST (1884–1948), politician; a leading intellectual in the KPD during the early 1920s. Born to a middle-class Jewish family in the Württemberg village of Affaltrach, he joined the SPD in 1907, soon after he took a doctorate in linguistics. Linked before World War I with the radicals who formed the nucleus of the subsequent Spartacus League,* he was friendly with Karl Liebknecht,* Rosa Luxemburg,* and Franz Mehring. In 1915 he helped found the SPD opposition circle, *Gruppe Internationale*, and then was among those who organized the *Spartakusgruppe* in March 1916. Two months later he was sent to the Western Front.

A founder of the KPD in December 1918, Thalheimer was elected to the *Zentrale*, where he devised a revolutionary blueprint. Rebuking the Republic at the November 1920 Party congress, he introduced the slogan ''Initiative! Revolutionary Offensive'' that launched (with Moscow's blessing) the KPD's disastrous ''March Action'' of 1921. Unmoved by failure, he held to the concept of revolutionary action and, as an ally of erstwhile Party chief Heinrich Brandler, wielded considerable force in the *Zentrale* in favor of a United Front* with the SPD. He insisted that the Bolshevik example must be duplicated in Germany; his standing was finally undermined by failure of the October 1923 uprisings in Saxony* and Thuringia.* In 1924 he and Brandler were expelled from the KPD as ''rightists.''

Thalheimer went to Moscow in 1924, joined the Soviet Party (CPSU), and became an instructor at the Marx-Engels Institute. Against Comintern wishes, he returned to Germany in 1928. Declining an offer to work as a KPD journalist, he helped Brandler form a splinter group, the KPO (*Kommunistische Partei-Opposition*), in December 1928; a futile endeavor, the KPO chiefly opposed Moscow's control of German communism. His writings on fascism, which appeared in 1930–1932, were the best antifascist commentaries coming from the Marxist camp.

Thalheimer fled to France in 1933 and reached Cuba in 1941. Still deemed a

Communist, he was denied entry to West Germany after World War II; he died in Havana.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Fowkes, *Communism in Germany*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

THÄLMANN, ERNST (1886–1944), politician; led the KPD from 1925 until the Party's suppression in 1933. He was born to petty bourgeois circumstances in Hamburg; his father managed an import shop for which Thälmann worked upon quitting school at age fourteen. After two years he left home to become a dockworker. He joined the SPD in 1903 and soon became active in the German Transport-Workers' Union. He went to sea in 1907 after being declared unfit for military service. Upon returning to Hamburg, he redoubled his activity in Party and union affairs. Inducted in January 1915, he spent three years on the Western Front, deserting just before the Armistice.*

Late in 1918 Thälmann joined the USPD in Hamburg, where he served for fourteen years with the city's representative assembly (*Bürgerschaft*). Widely popular with dockworkers, he became the USPD's local chairman in May 1919. He failed to gain election to the Reichstag* in June 1920 and was among those who abandoned the USPD in October 1920 in favor of the KPD; a majority of his Hamburg colleagues did the same.

Although Thälmann was rather inarticulate, his forceful personality made him effective. As a member from December 1920 of the KPD's *Zentrale*, he attached himself to Ruth Fischer* and Arkadi Maslow and thereby rose by 1923 to a key Party position. Throughout the 1920s he viewed United Front* tactics as no more than feigned cooperation—a means to discredit the SPD leadership. This position contrasted with that of Heinrich Brandler and Paul Levi,* who perceived the policy as a means to gain legitimacy for the KPD. Thälmann gradually tired of the effort. He supported the KPD's abortive uprisings of October 1923, but while the debacles subverted Fischer and Maslow, Thälmann only advanced in their aftermath, largely because of his devotion to Moscow. He was elected to the Reichstag in May 1924 (a mandate he retained until his arrest in March 1933) and became Party chairman, leader of the *Roter Frontkämpferbund** (RFB), and candidate for Reich President, all in 1925. Indeed, the arguments used to dislodge Fischer and Maslow were incongruously turned to Thälmann's advantage. Moreover, he was named to the Comintern's executive at the organization's Fifth World Congress, also held in 1925.

Thälmann's 1.9 million votes (6.4 percent) in the 1925 elections ensured Hindenburg's* election and the defeat of Wilhelm Marx,* the candidate of the Weimar Coalition.* Convinced that all non-Marxists were motivated by bourgeois greed and an all-consuming desire to topple the Soviet Union,* he expressed no regrets over his candidacy. In 1928 the emergence of a rightist opposition in the RFB coincided with the discovery that John Wittorf, Thälmann's relative, had embezzled Party funds. When opponents tried to use the resultant crisis to topple Thälmann, Stalin's intervention salvaged his position.

More or less sharing leadership from 1928 with Heinz Neumann* and Hermann Remmele,* he vetoed a renewed United Front and in the Republic's final years oled a fight against the SPD that became the central feature of KPD policy. As an exercise in futility, he ran again for the presidency in 1932.

Thälmann's faith in Stalin and his underestimation of the NSDAP were his undoing. Arrested on 3 March 1933, he remained in various camps and prisons until his execution at Buchenwald in August 1944.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Comfort, *Revolutionary Hamburg*; Fowkes, *Communism in Germany*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Hermann Weber, *Kommunismus*.

THEATER. In no other cultural field was change in form and expression so closely related to sociopolitical currents as in Weimar theater; the *Zeitgeist* was mirrored by the theater. Expressionism* ruled in the immediate postwar years—that is, during the era when optimists envisioned a utopian future. *Neue Sachlichkeit*,* with its pragmatic approach to reality, marked the Republic's *goldene zwanziger Jahre* (1924–1929) of apparent prosperity. Finally, a strident political theater exemplified the depression* years, when both electoral results and street violence underscored the polarization of society. Moreover, theater was at the core of public consciousness. Focused on Berlin,* Germany possessed an undue share of the best directors and producers, and these enjoyed the largest and most committed audiences. The extremes embodied on the stage—from the extroverted passion of Expressionism to the militant stridency of political theater—paralleled the Republic's collective experience.

Weimar theater was marked by a wealth of talent and creative energy. The work and ideas of Max Reinhardt,* Leopold Jessner,* Erwin Piscator,* and Bertolt Brecht* are seminal to twentieth-century theater. Yet it was neither the superb acting (e.g., Gustaf Gründgens, Fritz Kortner,* and Werner Krauss*) nor the subject matter associated with these directors that made their work important. Although fascinating plays were written in the Weimar years—for example, Walter Hasenclever's* *Der Sohn*, Georg Kaiser's* *Von Morgens bis Mitternachts* (From morning to midnight), Ernst Toller's* *Masse-Mensch* (Masses and man), Brecht's *Dreigroschenoper* (*Threepenny Opera*), or Carl Zuckmayer's* *Fröhliche Weinberg* (Merry Vineyard)—the crowds also flocked to Shakespeare, and the critics (e.g., Herbert Ihering* and Alfred Kerr*) attached equal weight to a staging of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* as to Fritz von Unruh's* *Ein Geschlecht* (One family). The era's renown is based largely on design and presentation. Reinhardt's use of a revolving stage, his theater-in-the-round, and his handling of crowds; Jessner's application of color and three-dimensional steps; Piscator's sophisticated technology (e.g., film* projected on the side of the stage) and political polemics; and Brecht's blend of music* and drama, his varied use of visual and acting techniques, and his ''epic theater'': all revolutionized the stage.

Experimentation was not restricted to theater directors, or even to roles traditionally associated with theater. While serious writers and directors embraced

cabaret,* classically trained composers such as Paul Hindemith* and Kurt Weill* experimented with popular music, the architects Walter Gropius* and László Moholy-Nagy* designed theaters and stage sets, and the artist John Heartfield* made set designs while George Grosz* produced drawings for projection in Piscator's plays. What resulted was an enriching of an already-excellent theater experience—one accessible to popular audiences.

For many reasons, Weimar's best theater ended by 1930. Creative exhaustion and economic depression induced the curtailment of grants and cultural polarization. But as damaging as these factors were, competition from talking films had a greater impact. While many theaters closed in 1930–1932, and numerous actors and musicians lost their jobs, cinema houses flourished. With Hitler's* triumph, the era of theatrical experimentation—always a left-wing phenomenon—came to an end.

REFERENCES: Laqueur, *Weimar*; Patterson, *Revolution in German Theatre*; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

THOIRY CONFERENCE. *See* Locarno Treaties.

THE THREEPENNY OPERA (*Die Dreigroschenoper*). In 1928 the new intendant of the *Theater am Schiffbauerdamm*, Ernst-Josef Aufricht, chanced upon Elisabeth Hauptmann's translation of *The Beggar's Opera*. Originally written in 1728 by John Gay, the work had recently enjoyed a two-year run on the London stage. With support from Erich Engel,* Aufricht convinced Bertolt Brecht* and Kurt Weill* to reconstruct Hauptmann's draft as a musical play. In under six months Brecht and Weill wrote *Die Dreigroschenoper* and staged its first performance on 31 August 1928 with Weill's wife Lotte Lenya in the cast.

Arriving on the Berlin* stage when middle-class audiences were acceptant of sociopolitical satire, *The Threepenny Opera* ran for about a year. It was subsequently staged throughout the world and remains Germany's most successful theatrical work of the twentieth century. Advancing Brecht's formula of ''meat first, morality after,'' the play sets its action among thieves and beggars in London's underworld. The authors envisaged the plot, which revolves around the philanderings of the criminal Macheath, as ideal for maligning romantic opera, in which the audience's entertainment comes from identifying with the shallow emotions of the stage characters.

The Threepenny Opera, filmed in 1931 by G. W. Pabst,* is esteemed as the prime example of Weimar ''political theater.'' Yet, when it appeared in 1928, it was critiqued as ''bourgeois flippancy'' in the KPD's *Rote Fahne*. Apparently, Brecht only rendered the play's deeper meaning in retrospect. Perhaps more radical than its content was the play's relationship to form and structure. Combining cabaret* songs, the use of projections, modern dance rhythms (e.g., tango), operatic standards, and a dance band in place of an orchestra, the authors achieved something that was avant-garde, instructive, fun, and compelling, all at the same time.

REFERENCES: *Masterworks of the German Cinema*; Willett, *Theatre of the Weimar Republic*.

THULE SOCIETY (*Thule Gesellschaft*). Among the obscure threads that were drawn together to form the NSDAP, few have gained more notice than the Thule Society. Founded in Munich on 17 August 1918 by Rudolf von Sebottendorff and Walter Nauhaus, it was initially a cover for the *Germanen Orden*, a racist league whose Munich branch was founded in 1913. Seeking ''German-blooded, serious men of pure character,'' the *Orden* stressed its ''Aryan-Germanic'' orientation, espoused religious revival, and voiced an ''inexorable hate for the Jews'' and the need to exclude them from the *Volkskörper* (racial body politic). Somewhat awkwardly, the *Orden* and the Thule Society maintained separate existences in the Weimar era.

A small, if locally important, group, the Thule Society amassed a Bavarian membership of about 1,500. Its members held overlapping membership in the *Germanen Orden*, the *Freikorps Oberland*, the *Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund* (German Racial Defense and Offense League), the *Deutschsozialistische Partei* (German Socialist Party), and the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (predecessor to the NSDAP). Thule held meetings and initiations, employing the subterfuge in the revolutionary months of 1918–1919 of being a study group for Germanic antiquity. On at least two occasions members of Thule vainly tried to overthrow the regime of Kurt Eisner.* Seven members were captured and murdered in late April 1919 by Munich's *Räterepublik*; Rudolf Hess,* a society member, was out dispensing anti-Communist tracts when his cohorts were found.

The Thule Society was a conspiratorial club; its aim was the promotion of anti-Semitic propaganda, and few of its members became active Nazis. Sebottendorff was, nonetheless, notable for selling the NSDAP its major newspaper,* the *Völkischer Beobachter*.* During the Weimar years the society became increasingly inactive. When Hitler* seized power, it was momentarily revived by Sebottendorff. It published a journal, the *Thule-Bote*, and its emphasis was social and artistic. When its ''old fighters'' refused to be reduced to a ''social club,'' the society split and disappeared.

REFERENCES: Bracher, *German Dictatorship*; Phelps, '' 'Before Hitler Came.' ''

THURINGIA. Known as ''Germany's green heart,'' Thuringia in the Weimar years bordered on Hesse in the west, Bavaria* in the south, Saxony* in the east, and Prussian Saxony (now Saxony-Anhalt) in the north. Aside from its capital of Weimar, its chief cities (all of moderate size) included Jena, Eisenach, Gotha, and Gera (Erfurt was a Prussian enclave). While it was industrialized, its approximately 1.7 million people were almost equally split between industrial and nonindustrial occupations. But its anomaly was its history. An administrative unit in the Middle Ages, it was split into several principalities and duchies in the sixteenth century. A predominantly Protestant* entity (it was

the home of the Reformation), it was re-created in May 1920 through merger of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (less the city of Coburg, which joined Bavaria), Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, and the principalities of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Schwarzburg-Rudolfstadt, and Reusse. As the component parts were inclined to particularism, the union met with scattered resistance.

From 1920 through the chaotic year of 1923, Thuringia was more or less dominated by a locally radical SPD. Yet it was susceptible throughout the Weimar era to the leftist influence of Saxony and the rightist influence of Bavaria. During 1920–1923 the SPD held power and, with KPD support, introduced a factious program of educational and administrative reform. By 1923 the economy was so weak that it threatened urban workers and the lower middle class. As part of the KPD's United Front,* Thuringia's Communists and the SPD reached an agreement on 15 October similar to that just instituted in Saxony. In both states Comintern agents had organized Proletarian Hundreds for what they assumed would be conflict with the Republic. The SPD Prime Ministers, alarmed by rightist activities in Bavaria and the Black Reichswehr's* attempted putsch near Berlin,* secured KPD cooperation to repel an anticipated assault. But a provocative speech by Saxony's Prime Minister, Erich Zeigner,* prompted Berlin to act. After occupying Saxony, Reichswehr* troops moved into Thuringia on 6 November. Although the preemptive strikes were designed in part to avert action from Bavaria, they drew a harsh rebuke from the SPD, which noted Berlin's failure to act against Bavaria.

Thuringia also harbored *völkisch* predilections; after the 1923 imbroglio, it shifted to the radical Right and gave the NSDAP its first and most successful base of expansion beyond Bavaria. Led from 1924 by the *Ordnungsbund*, an alliance of nonleftist parties that excluded the NSDAP, Thuringia forced the Bauhaus* to relocate to Dessau in 1925 and was one of three German states (with Braunschweig and Mecklenburg) that refused to enforce a speaking ban on Hitler.* Meanwhile, the anti-Semitism* of Arthur Dinter, Thuringia's outspoken Nazi *Gauleiter* (1925–1927), was exceeded in virulence only by that of Julius Streicher,* Dinter's closest ally.

When state elections gave 11.3 percent of the vote to the NSDAP in December 1929, Thuringia became the first state to include a Nazi in its government. On 23 January 1930, with state finances nearing insolvency (Berlin discussed absorbing Thuringia into Prussia*), Wilhelm Frick* became both Education and Interior Minister. Although Frick's efforts to reshape education and the police force induced his dismissal in April 1931, the 1929 election was a Nazi watershed—the Party used Thuringia as a proving ground for the methods it employed in seizing power after January 1933. After Landtag elections in August 1932, Fritz Sauckel, *Gauleiter* since September 1927, became Prime Minister—the first Nazi to head a German state.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Brecht, *Prelude to Silence*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Tracey, ''Development'' and ''Reform.''

THYSSEN, FRITZ (1873–1951), industrialist; the most important business leader to support Hitler* before 1933. Born in Styrum, near Mülheim, he was the eldest son of August Thyssen, founder of the *August-Thyssenhütte* in Oberhausen. After studying engineering, he joined the firm in 1898 as its ''crown prince''; his father, in his eighties when he died, refused to yield control before his death (1926). Fritz, meanwhile, enhanced his knowledge of mining technology through travel. He spent two years at the front in World War I.

Germany's collapse and revolution profoundly affected Thyssen. Once stating that in ''Germany democracy represents nothing,'' this erstwhile Center Party* member joined the DNVP and made restoration of Germany's lost dignity, for which he blamed both foreign and domestic enemies, his principal goal. Resisting the 1923 Ruhr occupation,* he was arrested for refusing to deliver coal to the French. His brief imprisonment brought instant fame. In October 1923 he went to Munich to assist with an anti-Weimar rebellion. He attended at least one NSDAP meeting before the Beerhall Putsch,* met Hitler through Erich Ludendorff,* and was already underwriting the Nazis at the time of the putsch.

One of the proponents of corporatism, Thyssen was in the leading ranks of German industrialists by 1926. When most firms lacked sufficient capital to expand, he generated discussions that culminated in Germany's massive steel cartel, United Steel Works or Vestag (*Vereinigte Stahlwerke*). He sat on both the executive of the Reichsbank and the presidium of the RdI (upon replacing his father at *Thyssen-Gruppe*). In 1928 he joined the *Ruhrlade*, Paul Reusch's* secret industrial elite. He and Emil Kirdorf* were the only prominent businessmen to publicly oppose the Young Plan.* During 1930–1932, while he was still with the DNVP, he mediated between the NSDAP and Rhenish business interests; indeed, he arranged Hitler's meeting with the Düsseldorf Industrial Club in January 1932.

Although he joined the NSDAP only in May 1933 (his wife, Amélie, joined in March 1931), Thyssen contributed heavily to the Party and was known as a ''fellow traveler'' before 1933. He was sent to the Reichstag* through a by-election in November 1933, but was disillusioned with the Nazi state by 1935. In November 1938, after denouncing the *Kristallnacht* brutalities, he resigned from the Prussian *Staatsrat* (Hermann Göring* had appointed him in 1933). After he fled Germany in September 1939, he repudiated the Third Reich and was living in France when the Vichy French arrested him. He was released to the Nazis and spent 1940–1945 in various concentration camps. Interned after the war by the Americans, he moved to Argentina in 1948.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Thyssen, *I Paid Hitler*; Turner, *German Big Business* and ''*Ruhrlade*.''

TIETZ, OSCAR (1858–1923), entrepreneur; founded Germany's leading department-store chain, *Warenhaus Hermann Tietz*. Born in Birnbaum (now Miedzychod in Poland*) to a wealthy Jewish home with widespread familial connections, he left school at thirteen for an apprenticeship; after holding several

positions he formed a partnership in 1882 with his uncle Hermann (1837–1907) that generated the Gera-based textile shop of Hermann Tietz. Emulating American ideas, Oscar supplied his customers with assorted clothing and linen goods at low prices. In 1896 the relatives converted the concern into Germany's first department store. Oscar soon oversaw construction of Munich's *Warenhauspalast*. Chiefly competing with *Warenhaus Wertheim*, he trumped his rival by introducing a large food department. He opened similar stores in other large cities and constructed three in Berlin* at the turn of the century (by the 1920s he had ten stores in Berlin). He moved to Berlin in 1900 and amassed a fortune of twenty-five million marks by 1911, thus becoming the fourth-wealthiest man in Brandenburg.

Tietz supplied war materials during World War I. As a Red Cross delegate, he used his international standing to act in Switzerland as an emissary on questions of foreign trade. After Germany's collapse his contacts and clever inflation*-era investments helped reinstate the preeminent position of his firm. His magnificent stores on Alexanderplatz and Leipziger Strasse, each staffed by over two thousand employees, were famous in the Weimar era.

In addition to possessing business acumen, Tietz was a leader in social policy. Although he was president of the Federation of Department Stores (*Verband der Waren- und Kaufhäuser*) and a board member of the Employers Federation (*Arbeitgeberverband*) for retail trade, he was active on his firm's behalf with Berlin's Workers' Councils* during the November Revolution.* Under his aegis a seminal wage settlement was concluded in 1919 between the retail-trade union and the *Arbeitgeberverband*; thereafter he mediated wage disputes on several occasions. Active with the DDP, he was friendly with Paul Hirsch, Prussia's* Prime Minister, and maintained contact with other SPD politicians.

In 1923, the year of Oscar Tietz's death, *Warenhaus Hermann Tietz* embraced forty companies, seven textile mills, and several clothing manufacturers. Understandably, Tietz and his firm were already anti-Semitic targets before 1914. Because of his prosperity amidst widespread misfortune, disgruntled shopkeepers intensified their campaign against him during the inflation era. In 1926 his son Georg purchased KaDeWe (*Kaufhaus des Westens*), Germany's largest department store, from another Jewish businessman. By 1933, when the NSDAP Aryanized the Tietz chain, it had fourteen thousand employees and earned more than one hundred million marks annually. The Nazis renamed it *Hertie*, the name it retains today.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Werner Mosse, *Jews in the German Economy*; Tietz, *Hermann Tietz*.

TILLICH, PAUL (1886–1965), theologian and philosopher; best known for linking religious issues with the ''human condition.'' Born to a Lutheran pastor in the Brandenburg village of Starzeddel (now in Poland*), he studied theology and philosophy and took a doctorate in 1908 at Berlin.* After a two-year ministry in Moabit (1912–1914), he decided on an academic career. During World

War I, while he was serving as a frontline chaplain (he was awarded the Iron Cross, First Class), he wrote his *Habilitation*; in 1919 he became a *Privatdozent* at Berlin. He was named full professor in 1925 at Dresden's *Technische Hochschule* and succeeded Max Scheler* in 1929 as Frankfurt's Professor of Philosophy and Sociology. His Frankfurt years produced friendships with Theodor Adorno* and Max Horkheimer.* He was forbidden to teach in April 1933 and emigrated in October to the United States, where he taught systematic theology at Union Theological Seminary (1938–1955), Harvard (1955–1962), and Chicago (1962–1965). His three-volume magnum opus, *Systematic Theology*, was completed in the United States. While he served as chairman of the Council for a Democratic Germany, his 109 talks for Voice of America (1942–1944) summoned Germans to resist Hitler.*

''Religious truth,'' Tillich wrote, ''is *acted*—in accord with the Gospel of St. John.'' Inspired by Kierkegaard's existentialism, he focused on the anxieties of man, claiming that religious questions arose from human problems. He argued that no realm of culture is ''off limits'' to a theologian and was drawn to what he called ''the frontier areas'' between fields—between church and state, theology and philosophy, and idealism and socialism. In the 1920s, while he was writing for *Blätter für religiösen Sozialismus*, he sponsored religious socialism; his holistic ideas were incorporated in *Auf der Grenze* (On the boundary). Tillich also distinguished between ''technical reason,'' comprising science and technology, and ''ecstatic reason,'' covering faith. Although he was inspired by the ideas of Karl Barth,* he rejected the notion of a personal God during the war; accordingly, he is sometimes deemed an atheist. Yet he argued that each individual is in the final analysis concerned with a metaphysical Ultimate.

REFERENCES: *EP*, vol. 8; Garland and Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature*; Pauck and Pauck, *Paul Tillich*.

TIRPITZ, ALFRED VON (1849–1930), admiral; no figure held greater responsibility for poisoning Anglo-German relations in pre–World War I Europe. Born to the family of a jurist in Ebenhausen, near Munich, he entered the small Prussian navy when he was sixteen. In 1892 he was named chief-of-staff of the navy's Supreme Command. Upon appointment in 1897 as State Secretary of the Naval Office (*Reichsmarineamt*), he instituted a vigorous program of naval expansion. He was ennobled in 1900 and was promoted to Grand Admiral of Germany in 1911.

A master manipulator of public opinion, Tirpitz aimed to challenge Britain's control of the seas. His large naval construction bills were landmarks. Yet his plan not only threatened to bankrupt Germany, it failed to match British construction and innovation. With his dream fleet years from completion, he tried desperately to avoid war in July 1914. Because of Britain's effective use of blockade,* the war soon underscored his inadequacies as a strategist. The Kaiser made him accountable for Germany's deficiency in overseas squadrons, blamed him for the loss at the Falkland Islands, and then vetoed his plans for use of

the fleet. His frantic efforts to build submarines—an option he had opposed before the war—sullied his reputation still further. In disgust, he resigned his position in March 1916.

Tirpitz retained massive influence until the end of the war, both through well-placed admirals and through founding, with Wolfgang Kapp,* the *Vaterlandspartei*, a one-million-strong ultranationalist pressure group that sought vast annexations and indemnities. After the war he joined the DNVP and engaged in efforts to overthrow the Republic. Although he formed friendships with Oswald Spengler* and Gustav von Kahr,* he detested Hitler's* anti-Semitism* and was suspicious of the Nazi leader's plans. After the DNVP's excellent showing in the May 1924 Reichstag* elections, the Party endorsed a Tirpitz cabinet with Wilhelm Marx* as Vice Chancellor. Since the Center Party* refused to ''serve as a fig leaf for German Nationalist policy,'' and the DNVP shunned a government led by Marx, nothing came of the nomination. However, Tirpitz retained his Reichstag mandate until 1928. In 1925 he helped persuade Hindenburg* to run for the presidency. His posthumous memoirs are bitter and vindictive.

REFERENCES: Herwig and Heyman, *Biographical Dictionary of World War I*; Scheck, ''Intrigue and Illusion'' and ''Politics of Illusion.''

TOLLER, ERNST (1893–1939), playwright and poet; a personality in Bavaria's* short-lived *Räterepublik*. He was born to an affluent Jewish family near Bromberg in the town of Samotschin (now in Poland*); his aversion to the region's anti-Semitism* led him to begin studies in France in February 1914. The war forced his return to Germany, where he immediately enlisted. He was wounded near Verdun, where his ordeal induced a nervous breakdown and led to his discharge in January 1917. Resuming studies at Munich, he was drawn to leftist politics and joined the USPD in December 1917. He was appointed to Kurt Eisner's* provisional government in November 1918 and was soon elected vice chairman of the Central Council (*Zentralrat*) of Bavaria's Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Council.*

Intense and idealistic, Toller coined the concept ''United Front''* through which Eisner hoped that the USPD and the SPD might achieve socialization in unison. But Toller soon judged the Landtag and councils incompatible, one representing a middle-class past and the other a proletarian future. On 8 April 1919 he replaced Ernst Niekisch* as head of the *Zentralrat* and thus became the reluctant leader of Munich's *Räterepublik*. A political neophyte, armed only with a conviction that he could not ''leave the masses in the lurch,'' he was displaced after five days by Eugen Leviné.* Leading a detachment of the Bavarian Red Army on 16 April, he wrested control of Dachau from an advance Freikorps* patrol; it was the regime's only victory. As ''liberator of Dachau,'' he presented Leviné with grievances on 26 April, accusing the Communist leader of failing to open negotiations with Johannes Hoffmann* while striving to reproduce Russia's Revolution in Bavaria. The grievances caused Leviné to

resign. Toller was fortunate to escape Munich's White Terror; his friend Gustav Landauer* was not so lucky. Toller received a five-year prison sentence for his role in the *Räterepublik* and was released on 15 July 1924.

Toller's writing is that of an erstwhile idealist disillusioned with a Republic little altered from the Wilhelmine era. Aside from *Die Wandlung* (The transformation), a play written in the war, he produced most of his work in prison, including *Gedichte der Gefangenen* (Poems of the prisoner, 1921) and several Expressionist plays that bear the strain of confinement. Full of anger and scorn, the plays—especially *Masse-Mensch* (Masses and man, 1921), *Die Maschinenstürmer* (The machine wreckers, 1922), and *Hinkemann* (1923)—reflect cynicism and the morbidity of his wartime experience. His *Hoppla, wir leben!* of 1927, the story of an alienated veteran, was staged by Erwin Piscator.* Although he was a celebrated Expressionist, his later work rejected Expressionism.* His 1933 autobiography *Eine Jugend in Deutschland* was translated as *I Was a German*.

After his release from prison Toller traveled widely while contributing to *Die Weltbühne*.* Convinced that Weimar's parties had failed to ensure basic human dignity, he restricted his political activity to membership in Kurt Hiller's* *Gruppe revolutionäre Pazifisten*. As a Jew* who had frequently warned of the dangers of Nazism, he fled Germany in 1933 and lived variously in Europe and the United States. His last play, *Pastor Hall*, appeared in 1938. Bitter over socialism's failures and distressed by Nazi brutalities, he endured recurring depression. In May 1939, after Germany invaded Czechoslovakia, he committed suicide.

REFERENCES: Benson, *German Expressionist Drama*; Dove, *He Was a German*; Lamb, ''Ernst Toller''; Pörtner, ''Writers' Revolution.''

TÖNNIES, FERDINAND (1855–1936), sociologist and philosopher; formulated the concepts *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) that so enlivened German thought in the first half of the twentieth century. Born to prosperous farmers in the Schleswig village of Oldenwort (Schleswig was still a duchy of the Danish crown), he formed a friendship in his youth with the poet Theodor Storm, became an adherent of Bismarck's new Reich, and studied at Strassburg as a youthful expression of patriotism—Strassburg having just ''rejoined'' Germany. Soon at Jena, he focused his studies on classical philology and modern philosophy. In 1877 he took a doctorate at Tübingen and then wrote his *Habilitation* at Kiel in 1881.

In 1887 Tönnies published his masterpiece, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. He aimed to contrast a naturally evolving community (*Gemeinschaft*), founded upon kinship ties, with a rationally based society (*Gesellschaft*), founded upon artificial ties that endeavor to maximize pleasure and profit: ''as *Gemeinschaft* rests on custom and consciousness of duty, *Gesellschaft* rests entirely on desire and fear.'' He argued that his categories were ideal sociological types not found in the empirical world, and that their value rested in synthesis. Yet, building on

a theme that had inspired German philosophy since the early romantics, he used his *Weltanschauung* (his term) to link an alienation from modern society with an idealized view of the Middle Ages.

Tönnies abhorred Bismarck's antisocialist laws, a fact that led some to identify him with the SPD, and he worked for political and social reform in the decades preceding the war. But while his politics impaired his career—Prussia's* Cultural Ministry refused to appoint him full professor until 1908—his professional colleagues esteemed him. He was a founding member in 1909 of the German Society for Sociology and was elected the society's first president, a position he retained until 1933. Receiving numerous honors in the 1920s for his pioneering work, he was instrumental in establishing sociology as a discipline in the Republic's *Technische Hochschulen*.

Although Tönnies finally joined the SPD in the last years of the Republic, he never embraced democracy, fearing that it would lead to Caesarism. Firmly wedded to rational analysis, he abhorred the irrationality of those who espoused a racial *Gemeinschaft*, and he rejected the NSDAP's *Volksgemeinschaft* as a perversion of his thought. In 1933 the NSDAP banned him from the classroom and stripped him of the presidency of the Sociology Society. He spent his final years in Kiel.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Cahnman, *Ferdinand Tönnies*; Heberle, ''Sociology of Ferdinand Tönnies''; Mitzman, *Sociology and Estrangement*; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*.

TORGLER, ERNST (1893–1963), politician; last chairman of the KPD's Reichstag* faction. Born to woeful circumstances in Berlin,* he was unable to fulfill a childhood dream of becoming a teacher. After attending a business school, where he joined the socialist youth movement, he landed a minor business post. Already a member of the SPD, he served in World War I as a radio operator. In 1917 he joined the new USPD; one of the founders of the KPD, he adhered to the Party's ultraleft. After various functionary roles, Torgler was awarded a full-time appointment as Party secretary. He was elected to the Reichstag in December 1924 and became faction chairman in 1929.

On 4 June 1932 Torgler engaged in a futile, if renowned, discussion with Wilhelm Abegg, State Secretary in Prussia's* Interior Ministry. Abegg was seeking an anti-Nazi affiliation between the SPD and the KPD. While neither part endorsed such cooperation, Franz von Papen* used the meeting as one of his excuses for ousting the Prussian government (*see* ''Bloody Sunday''). On 12 September 1932, in the first parliamentary session after the 31 July elections, Torgler successfully moved to alter the Reichstag agenda and then requested that an emergency decree of 4 September be repealed (the decree called for a dramatic reduction in wages) and that Papen be censured. His motion, accepted by Reichstag President Hermann Göring* and supported by both the KPD and the NSDAP, subverted Papen's short-lived government.

On 27 February 1933, the date of the Reichstag fire, Torgler was among the

last deputies to leave the chamber. He was charged with complicity in the fire, but a lack of evidence brought his acquittal in December 1933; nonetheless, he was imprisoned until 1936. Meanwhile, in 1935 he resigned from the KPD. Remaining in Berlin, where he was employed by Electrolux, he joined the SPD after World War II.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Hans Mommsen, ''Reichstag Fire''; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*

TRADE UNIONS. Labor in the Weimar era was represented by three distinct and often mutually hostile *Spitzenverbände*: the General German Trade-Union Federation (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, ADGB); the German Trade-Union Federation* (*Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund*, DGB); and the Hirsch-Duncker Federation of German Labor Associations. Each of these was in turn marked by internal strife and ideological discord inherited from prewar Germany, which further frustrated the effectiveness of organized labor. The socialist or free trade unions, known from July 1919 as the ADGB, had a membership in 1919 of 5.5 million. By far the largest *Spitzenverbände*, the ADGB was affiliated with the SPD; yet, focused on bread-and-butter issues, it restrained the SPD's commitment to Marxism. Unequivocally opposed to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils,* its leadership lauded the labor-management ZAG as the Magna Carta of organized labor. The DGB was largely analogous to the League of Christian Trade Unions (*Gesamtverband der christlichen Gewerkschaften*, GcG) and had a membership of about 1.7 million in 1922. Although the DGB was open by definition to any nonsocialist, it was predominantly Catholic* and often aligned with the Center Party.* Hirsch-Duncker, founded in 1868 by the reformer Max Hirsch and the publisher Franz Duncker, was a nonsocialist, liberal-bourgeois organization. Although fear of Bolshevism led it to merge in November 1918 with the GcG, ideology doomed the alliance. When it reemerged in March 1920 as the Free National Ring of German Worker, Employee, and Civil Servant Unions (*Freiheitlich-nationaler Gewerkschaftsring deutscher Arbeiter- Angestellten- und Beamtenverbände*, FNG), its 700,000 members underscored their commitment to the republicanism embodied in the Weimar Constitution* and sponsored by the DDP.

The term ''workers'' (*Arbeiterschaft* or *Werktätigen*) conveys a meaning in Germany somewhat broader than that denoted in Anglo-Saxon countries. In a country that still esteemed a guild mentality wedded to apprenticeships and artisans, one might be a worker of either *Faust* or *Stirn* (loosely translated ''hand'' and ''brain''). Although the industrial proletariat were generally viewed as ''workers of *Faust*,'' white-collar workers, store clerks, civil-service workers, artisans, and some agriculture workers were more often viewed as ''workers of *Stirn*.'' Accordingly, the *Arbeiterschaft* implied both wage workers (*Arbeiter*) and salaried employees (*Angestellten*). All three *Spitzenverbände* represented a coalition of blue-collar, white-collar, and civil-servant unions that found unity in a particular ideological platform (although coordination of policy remained

difficult or impossible). For the ADGB, led by the pragmatic Carl Legien* until 1920 and thereafter by Theodor Leipart,* that platform was socialism—weakly affirmed and rarely activated. For the DGB, led by Adam Stegerwald* until 1929 and thereafter by Heinrich Imbusch, solidarity was linked with an ecumenical Catholicism. In its early years the DGB was marked by tensions between conservatives, who were hardened antisocialists, and liberals, who were prepared to amalgamate with the ADGB should the latter sever its ties with the SPD. Yet an important affiliate of the DGB (285,000 members in 1922) was the DHV (German National Union of Commercial Employees), which had its strength in Protestant* regions. The ideology of the DHV differed from that of the largely Catholic industrial unions; the commercial employees were not only antisocialist but retained an anti-Catholic bias and were often anti-Semitic. Averting friction between democratic Catholics and nationalistic Protestants proved impossible. Meanwhile, the FNG (Hirsch-Duncker), espousing liberal democracy, promoted harmony between labor and capital while advocating arbitration of labor disputes. The FNG, led by Gustav Hartmann, rejected both strikes and state aid for workers. Aimed at salaried workers, its position was compromised by formation of the *Allgemeiner freier Angestelltenbund* (AfA, General Federation of Free Salaried Employees), a group linked with the ADGB. Anton Erkelenz,* a founder of the DDP and a labor activist, insisted that FNG members not join the SPD.

Labor was not restricted to the umbrella groups. In addition to special-interest associations, leaders of the management-controlled ''yellow unions,'' who were excluded in 1918 from ZAG, gravitated to the DVP. Led by Fritz Geisler, these individuals merged as the National Federation of German Unions (*Nationalverband deutscher Gewerkschaften*), a neoconservative group that proposed to release workers from the ''self-interested spirit'' that enlivened the socialist and Christian labor movements. The Revolutionary Trade-Union Opposition (*Revolutionäre Gewerkschaftsopposition*, RGO), formed in 1929–1930 by the KPD, failed to attract more than 325,000 members. Similarly, the NSDAP's National Socialist Factory Cell Organization* (NSBO) was largely ineffectual.

Organized labor was troubled throughout the Weimar era by rivalry, internal factionalism, and poor leadership. Although recurring crises produced ad hoc alliances, labor's vitality was subverted by the depression.* A third of the ADGB's approximately 4 million members (it exceeded 8 million in 1922) were out of work in 1931. DGB membership stood at 1.3 million, that of the FNG at about 580,000. Invariably underrating the danger posed by right-wing radicalism, the ADGB undermined Hermann Müller's* cabinet in 1930 by rejecting compromise on a relatively minor issue of unemployment insurance; Müller's exit triggered the end of parliamentary democracy. Finally responding to danger in 1932, Leipart prepared to work with Gregor Strasser* in an effort to find a moderate course within the NSDAP. But with Hitler's seizure of power, the ADGB found itself in crisis. Hoping to manifest political neutrality, it severed its ties with the SPD (the Christian unions acted likewise vis-à-vis the Center

Party). Then, without consulting the SPD, it welcomed the regime's decision to sponsor May Day rallies. The effort at appeasement failed: the NSDAP launched a *Blitzkrieg* on the ADGB on 2 May 1933, arresting leaders and staff and occupying union offices in a thirty-minute national action. Within weeks the DGB and FNG were also suppressed.

REFERENCES: Braunthal, *Socialist Labor and Politics*; Ellen Evans, ''Adam Stegerwald''; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Kele, *Nazis and Workers*; John Moses, *Trade Unionism*; Patch, *Christian Trade Unions*; Skrzypczak, ''From Carl Legien.''

TREATY OF BERLIN. *See* Ulrich Graf von Brockdorff-Rantzau *and* Soviet Union.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES. *See* Versailles Treaty.

TREVIRANUS, GOTTFRIED (1891–1971), politician; helped found the KVP in 1930. Born to a middle-class estate owner in the village of Schieder (in Lippe), he acquired a naval commission in 1912. During World War I he rose to the rank of lieutenant-commander and commanded a destroyer. After Germany's defeat he studied agriculture and during 1921–1930 directed Lippe's *Landwirtschaftskammer* (Chamber of Agriculture). He joined the *Stahlhelm** and the DNVP and was among the large DNVP contingent elected to the Reichstag* in May 1924.

Treviranus was a fervent nationalist and antisocialist, but as a leader of the DNVP's moderate wing, he promoted a conservatism that encouraged compromise within the Republic's parliamentary structure; the Party's willingness to govern in coalition during 1925–1927 was largely due to his influence. But the tactic was anathema to the social Darwinism advanced by Alfred Hugenberg.* Already alienated by Hugenberg's anti-Catholicism, Treviranus anticipated problems when the antirepublicanism of Hugenberg and his cohorts began taking shape in 1925. Once Hugenberg became DNVP chairman in October 1928, conflict was inevitable. Publicly censuring Hugenberg during the anti–Young Plan* campaign for ''leaning toward the National Socialists,'' he resigned from the DNVP in December 1929; eleven other Nationalists, all Reichstag deputies, joined him.

With Walther Lambach, head of the DHV (a white-collar trade union*), Treviranus founded the People's Conservative Association (*Volkskonservative Vereinigung*) in January 1930. When a second cluster of dissidents followed Kuno von Westarp* out of the DNVP in July 1930, the two groups fused as the Conservative People's Party* (KVP). A moderate conservative alternative, the KVP had slight impact, gaining only four Reichstag seats in the September 1930 elections. Although Treviranus remained in the chamber, the KVP was disbanded in 1932.

When Heinrich Brüning* formed his first cabinet in March 1930, he made Treviranus Minister for Occupied Territories. But Treviranus sparked a diplo-

matic furor when in August 1930 he heralded his resolve to regain ''the lost regions in the East'' in a speech. Pressured by France, Brüning reshuffled his cabinet; Treviranus became *Osthilfe** Commissioner. Yet, as a Brüning loyalist, he returned to Brüning's second cabinet (October 1931 to May 1932) as Transportation Minister. Back in Lippe in June 1932, he resumed his leadership of the *Landwirtschaftskammer* and reestablished the People's Conservative Association.

Treviranus was never friendly with the NSDAP. Although he advised Brüning to add a Nazi to his cabinet after the September 1930 elections, he insulted Hitler* in 1931 by informing him that ''nobody wants you in Germany, Herr Hitler.'' In 1933 the NSDAP dismissed him from the *Landwirtschaftskammer* and banned his political group. In disguise, he fled Germany in 1934, likely evading his murder in the forthcoming Röhm purge, and lived in England. He returned to Germany after World War II, but eventually settled in Palermo, Italy.
REFERENCES: Chanady, ''Disintegration''; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Leopold, *Alfred Hugenberg*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

TROELTSCH, ERNST (1865–1923), philosopher, historian, and theologian; one of the foremost proponents of historicism (*Historismus*). The eldest son of a physician, he was born near Augsburg. He began his studies at Erlangen in 1884, took his doctorate under Göttingen's Albrecht Ritschl, and was appointed *Privatdozent* in 1890 at the same university. Much inspired by Paul de Lagarde, he came to believe that he might revolutionize theology through the application of history. He was named *ausserordentlicher Professor* at Bonn in 1892 and became Professor of Systematic Theology in 1894 at Heidelberg. His eloquence was renowned. Georg Wünsch, a Heidelberg student, claimed that he ''lectured in such a colorful, captivating way that one's breath stood still'' (Pauck). World War I inspired his interest in politics, but triggered a conflict with his friend Max Weber* that led him to transfer in 1915 to Berlin.*

Troeltsch was soon linked with such colleagues as Adolf von Harnack,* Friedrich Meinecke,* and Hans Delbrück,* all advocating extensive social and political reforms, warning against excessive nationalism, and eventually pressing for Prinz Max* von Baden's appointment as Chancellor. Upon Germany's collapse, Troeltsch wrote that the catastrophe was ''only the delayed consequence of our inner weakening since the death of Hegel''—a reference to his belief in the power of Spirit to shape history. A founder of the DDP, he was elected to the Prussian assembly in January 1919 and served as undersecretary in the Prussian Cultural Ministry. His ideas on schools and churches were incorporated into the Prussian constitution.

Theologically liberal, Troeltsch viewed Christianity not as divine revelation but as a manifestation of religion. His theology blended Weber's sociology with a historicist belief that value judgments, like history itself, are never fixed. Under Weber's influence he became interested in religious sociology, arguing that Christianity was but one religion among several—a perspective that alienated

the ecclesiastical authorities. His final book was *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Historicism and its problems, 1922), a primary text on the philosophy of history.

REFERENCES: H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*; Pauck, *Harnack and Troeltsch*; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*.

TRUPPENAMT (Troops Office). *See* Reichswehr.

TUCHOLSKY, KURT (1890–1935), journalist and satirist; brilliant contributor to *Die Weltbühne*.* He was born in Berlin* to the family of a Jewish businessman and banker (he later converted to Lutheranism). His father's death in 1905 led him to quit Gymnasium; he completed his *Abitur* in 1909 as an external student. Although journalistic interests competed with legal studies, he took a doctorate in 1915. But it was his erotic short novel of 1912, *Rheinsberg*, that attracted the attention of Siegfried Jacobsohn,* editor of *Schaubühne*; his first article for the weekly appeared in January 1913.

Tucholsky was not overcome by giddy patriotism in August 1914. Upon completing his studies, he was inducted in April 1915 and sent to the Baltic provinces* to manage a matériel warehouse. Continuing his writing (he refused to send much of his work to the censor), he likened the war in the East to an ox repeatedly running its head against a thick wall; while the performance was magnificent, the beast failed to ask if it had any purpose. By 1917–1918 he despaired that the barbaric future might make the prewar era seem a paradise of tranquility.

After the Armistice* Tucholsky returned to Berlin and wrote briefly for *Vorwärts*,* but shaken by the brutality of the Freikorps,* he rejected the reformist course set by the SPD and joined the USPD. During 1918–1920 he edited *Ulk*, the *Berliner Tageblatt*'s literary supplement, while writing for several other newspapers.* But it was *Weltbühne*, Jacobsohn's renamed weekly, that became his primary forum. Writing social commentary and scores of feuilletons, he was so prodigious that in addition to his given name he used four pseudonyms with distinct personalities: Kaspar Hauser, Peter Panter, Theobald Tiger, and Ignaz Wrobel. His collected work totaled over five thousand pages, yet he never wrote a major book. Although his irreverence was unmatched in both quality and fervor (making him one of Germany's most hated individuals), to most Berliners he was the author of trenchant cabaret* chansons, written for popular singers at Max Reinhardt's* *Schall und Rauch* or other famous night spots. Nevertheless, despairing of Germany and faced with threats on his life, he left Berlin in 1924 and lived first in Paris and from 1929 in Sweden. When Jacobsohn died in 1926, he reluctantly returned for ten months to edit *Weltbühne* (Carl von Ossietzky* replaced him in October 1927), but he never saw Germany after 1929.

Republicans rebuked Tucholsky for being insufficiently constructive. He castigated aristocrats, officers, capitalists, policemen, bureaucrats, clergymen, students, peasants, judges, and all Bavarians; few Germans earned his praise. But

while he mocked bourgeois society, he earned a sizable sum in Paris as literary correspondent for the *Vossische Zeitung*. To be fair, it should be noted that his work after 1923 was less caustic and was marked by frequent humor. He was, moreover, uncommonly kind to personal friends.

In 1932, with Walter Hasenclever,* Tucholsky wrote the comedy *Christoph Columbus*; it was among his last works. He had once argued that the Germans deserved a tyranny as a reward for the morass they had produced; he surmised, moreover, that Germany's working class would not rise against Hitler.* In 1933 his books were burned and he was deprived of his citizenship. An ailing refugee in Sweden, he committed suicide when his application for citizenship was rejected.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Poor, *Kurt Tucholsky*.

U

UFA (*Universum Film A.G.*); premier German film* company during the Republic. Around 1910 three luxurious cinemas were built in Berlin*: the *Theater im Admiralspalast*, the *Kammerspiele am Potsdamer Platz*, and the *Kammerspiele am Nollendorfplatz*. Equipped with orchestra pits and loge seating, they soon merged as the *Union Theater Gesellschaft*. By 1914 Union had grown to nine cinemas, including buildings on Unter den Linden and Kurfürstendamm. During the war Erich Ludendorff* founded a film office (the *Bild- und Filmamt* or Bufa), which, in turn, formed a relationship with Union. By 1917 a production firm emerged from the venture, *Universum Film A.G.* UFA's task was to produce quality propaganda to inspire both troops and home-front audiences.

With support from Deutsche Bank, not only did UFA survive defeat, but the ''Ufa'' sign soon appeared above cinema names in every major German city; indeed, to overcome postwar hostility to German productions, it acquired cinemas in much of Europe. While it was not the Republic's only film company (competitors included Emelka, AAFA, Süd-Film, and Phoebus), UFA was the largest and best known, and every significant actor and director worked for it at some time. Producing news and sports programs, it became part of German cultural life. By the mid-1920s, with the spacious *Ufa-Palast am Zoo* as its premier cinema, UFA was an umbrella group for several smaller production firms (Sascha-Film, Nordisk, and Decla-Bioscop). Its Neubabelsberg studios, acquired when Decla-Bioscop merged with UFA in 1921, generated numerous outstanding films, including *Dr. Mabuse* (1922), *Faust* (1926), *Metropolis* (1927), and *The Blue Angel* (1930). UFA also fed a demand for history with

Madame du Barry (1919), *Anna Boleyn* (1920), *Danton* (1921), and *Fridericus Rex* (1922).

The post-1923 decline of Germany's film industry, a result of Hollywood's ascent and the tight economic policies following Germany's inflation,* severely damaged UFA. No longer able to afford feature-length extravaganzas, it focused on low-budget short subjects and documentaries (*Kulturfilme*). Rescued in 1925 by Hollywood's Paramount and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, it made some of its best films in the next two years (e.g., *Faust* and *Metropolis*). But in 1927, again nearing collapse, it was purchased by Alfred Hugenberg,* the right-wing owner of Deulig (*Deutsche Lichtbildgesellschaft*) and Scherl Verlag, and soon chairman of the DNVP. Although Hugenberg rarely intruded in production, he ensured that UFA's newsreels (about four-fifths of all newsreels made in Germany) were markedly nationalistic. Under Hugenberg UFA-Deulig abstained from the experimentation that had marked its early life. By 1931 it was drawn to themes of war and patriotism; indeed, when the NSDAP ''synchronized'' UFA in 1933, Goebbels* found it ready-made for Nazi propaganda. In 1946 the Neubabelsberg studios, situated in Soviet-held territory, were renamed *Deutsche Film A.G.* (DEFA).

REFERENCES: Kiaulehn, *Berlin*; Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*; Kreimeier, *Ufa Story*; Manvell and Fraenkel, *German Cinema*; Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin*.

ULBRICHT, WALTER (1893–1973), politician; a KPD functionary who survived to lead the Socialist Unity Party (SED) in the German Democratic Republic. Born to a working-class home in Leipzig, he left school in 1907 to apprentice as a cabinetmaker; he soon joined the socialist youth movement. He entered the SPD in 1912 and began studies at Leipzig's Workers' Institute. By the outbreak of war he was associated with the SPD's left wing. He was drafted in 1915; his desertion in 1918 brought two months' imprisonment.

After a second desertion Ulbricht escaped incarceration and arrived in Leipzig just as the November Revolution* was unfolding. Joining the Spartacus League,* he served with Leipzig's Workers' and Soldiers' Council*; in January 1919 he helped organize the city's KPD. A gifted organizer, if lacking in charisma, he was so productive that the Party appointed him Thuringia's* district secretary in April 1921. After proclaiming in 1922 that ''the measure of the party's capacity for action'' was a foothold in the factories, he was elected in 1923 to the *Zentrale* and given authority to organize factory cells. Engaged in Thuringia's botched 1923 uprising, he lost his *Zentrale* seat and, facing arrest, fled to Moscow to train as a Comintern agent. Briefly assigned to Vienna and Prague, he reappeared in Berlin* in September 1925. He reentered the *Zentrale* in 1927 and was elected in 1928 to the Reichstag* (he retained his seat until 1933). During a hiatus in 1928 when Ernst Thälmann* was relieved of his Party offices, Ulbricht served as KPD emissary to the Comintern.

As Berlin-Brandenburg's district secretary in 1929–1933, Ulbricht organized

strikes, parades, and street encounters. Steadily espousing Moscow's line, he dubbed the SPD ''the moderate wing of fascism.'' After spending most of 1933 in the resistance, he fled to Prague in October and then went to Paris in 1936 to work with Wilhelm Pieck.* Summoned to Moscow in 1938, he avoided a charge of ''deviationism'' (fatal to numerous colleagues) and helped organize the National Committee for a Free Germany. He returned to Germany in April 1945 as head of the Communist working group. In 1949, upon Germany's division, he became general secretary of the SED.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Stachura, *Political Leaders*; Carola Stern, *Ulbricht*; Hermann Weber, *Kommunismus*.

ULLSTEIN VERLAG; among the Republic's three largest newspaper* publishers. Founded in 1877 when Leopold Ullstein (an erstwhile reformer) purchased a small Berlin* newspaper, it was divided among Leopold's five sons upon his death in 1899. Meanwhile, its liberal editors were repeatedly jailed for *lèse-majesté*, a practice that earned it a growing readership.

In January 1914 the Ullsteins purchased the *Vossische Zeitung* (*Voss*), Berlin's oldest newspaper (founded 1705). Georg Bernhard's simultaneous appointment as coeditor proved a stroke of genius. Aggressive, ambitious, and controversial, this one-time Social Democrat supported Alfred von Tirpitz* during the war, but then bolted his rightist connections to join the DDP and champion the Republic. Setting the firm's agenda until the Republic's last years, Bernhard edited *Voss* until 1931, but managed all the Ullstein dailies until 1920.

The Ullstein firm was a centerpiece of the pro-Weimar establishment, and its readers (known as *Ullsteindeutscher*) have been characterized as open minded, progressive, and international. Not only did it surpass its principal rival, the Mosse* Verlag, in size, but by the mid-1920s it was the most prosperous publishing house in Europe. With four papers of various types (*BZ am Mittag* was the most widely read) and numerous magazines (the most popular, the weekly *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, sold more than two million copies per issue), the firm employed ten thousand people and supported a vast transportation system and a worldwide news service. Its publications included book titles—for example, Erich Maria Remarque's* *Im Westen nichts Neues* (*All Quiet on the Western Front*)—and its writers included Heinz Pol, film* critic for *Voss* and a frequent columnist for *Die Weltbühne** (under the pseudonym Jacob Links).

In 1931 the Ullstein Verlag weathered a bitter intrafamily property scandal that pitted brother against brother. When it ended, Bernhard was gone and the firm was permanently damaged. In 1943 Leopold Schwarzschild, editor of *Tage-Buch*,* recalled the episode as an ''extraordinary manifestation of the general decay in Germany.'' Out of ambivalence or distraction, the firm failed thereafter to use its power on behalf of the Republic. In February 1933 the brothers bowed to Joseph Goebbels's* demand that the NSDAP control editorial policy. Convinced that Hitler's* rule would be brief, they failed to foresee that the Nazis would not merely control what the paper published but would own the enter-

prise. In the spring of 1934 the Ullstein firm, valued at sixty million marks, was sold for twelve million. It was renamed Deutscher Verlag in 1937.
REFERENCES: Eksteins, *Limits of Reason*; Schwarzschild, ''Rise and Fall of the House of Ullstein''; Ullstein, *Rise and Fall of the House of Ullstein*.

ULM TRIAL. *See* Richard Scheringer.

UNABHÄNGIGE SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHEPARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS (USPD). *See* Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

UNIONS. *See* Trade Unions.

UNITED FRONT (*Einheitsfront*); a tactical maneuver designed by the KPD to entice labor support by feigning cooperation with the trade unions* and/or the SPD. The term was coined by Ernst Toller* and pertained initially to the policy advanced in 1918–1919 by Kurt Eisner's* Bavarian government in its futile effort to maintain SPD-USPD unity. Better known is the KPD effort, originating with Paul Levi* in January 1921, to ''go to the masses'' and thereby win trade-union support. Dictated by necessity, not conviction, the proposal was not adopted until June, that is, after the KPD's disastrous March 1921 uprising in which the Party, goaded by the USPD's recent split, made a futile attempt at revolution.

The United Front strategy was inherently ambiguous and dishonest. Adherents of a so-called United Front from below aimed to entice worker support by cooperating with the unions. Those desiring a United Front from above hoped to attract labor by working with the SPD leadership. But the ambiguity went deeper than this. While the policy implied working within existing institutions to coax mass support, it also meant that such work was no more than preparation for the overthrow of the Republic. Yet by relaxing principles of doctrine and discipline sufficiently to work within the Weimar system, the KPD risked its doctrine and discipline. The discrepancy between means and ends, between the desire to build mass support and the need to maintain ideological purity, spawned factional strife and perennial tension with Moscow. Indeed, the very nature of the policy encouraged Moscow's determination to minimize ideological deviation by imposing strict discipline on the KPD.

Making use of the 1923 hyperinflation, the KPD lent support to SPD governments in Thuringia* and Saxony,* and made joint cause with the SPD in such endeavors as a demonstration following Walther Rathenau's* assassination.* Cooperation spawned the Proletarian Hundreds, armed formations of workers. Yet not only was the United Front applied inconsistently (the KPD voted against the Law for the Protection of the Republic,* also a response to Rathenau's murder), it avoided the compromises needed for working-class unity. Moreover, it invariably misread ''opportunities'' and promoted labor ac-

tions supported neither by the majority of workers nor by the trade unions. Finally, the policy spawned vicious factionalism; Ruth Fischer,* for example, condemned the United Front as a policy that threatened to degrade communism to the level of ''reformism.''

Never fully embraced by the KPD, United Front efforts were finally abandoned in 1928. In every instance the impetus for policy change derived from Moscow.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; Rosenhaft, *Beating the Fascists?*

UNITED PATRIOTIC ASSOCIATIONS OF GERMANY. *See Vereinigte Vaterländische Verbände Deutschlands.*

UNITED STATES. *See* Dawes Plan *and* Young Plan.

UNIVERSITIES. Whether old and esteemed (e.g., Heidelberg and Leipzig) or newly organized (Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Cologne), Germany's thirty universities and *Technische Hochschulen* set the stage for sustained unrest and were a stronghold for antidemocratic forces during the Weimar era. The domain of a semiaristocratic elite known as the *Bildungsbürgertum*, the universities, while hardly altered by the November Revolution,* saw their traditional role threatened by the eclipse of the Kaiserreich. Thus professors and students alike, fearing for status and security, spurned the democratic principles of the Republic.

Germany's new state governments, especially in Prussia,* hoped to reshape higher education to mirror new realities. But reform was bitterly resisted. The Corporation of German Universities (*Verband der deutschen Hochschulen*), founded in 1920, nurtured nostalgia for the Kaiserreich and contested almost every effort at innovation. Although some—for example, Ernst Troeltsch* and Friedrich Meinecke*—were ultimately recast as *Vernunftrepublikaner*,* the large majority of Germany's full professors remained contemptuous of the Republic.

Such contempt was bolstered by a structure, inherited from the Kaiserreich, that ensured that academia remain a bastion of tradition. A postdoctoral hurdle required to lecture in a German university, the *Habilitation* is the true stepping-stone to an academic career, while the doctorate, a degree more commonly held in Germany than the United States, is often crucial to advancement in nonacademic professions. Moreover, the *Habilitation* is by no means the final hurdle to academic success. After successfully presenting this thesis to a specific faculty for examination, the candidate presents a trial lecture. If one *habilitiert sich*, appointment as a *Privatdozent*—analogous to instructor or assistant professor in the United States—follows. During the Weimar era the *Privatdozent* was not salaried, but was entitled to fees paid by students. By creating a reputation through publication, the *Privatdozent* manifested his (rarely ''her'') competence to advance. Thus, without private means, the life of a *Privatdozent*—especially

amidst economic chaos—was bitter if not desperate. The next step, that of *ausserordentlicher Professor* (associate professor), included a small salary, but did not include tenure. Only with advancement to *ordentlicher Professor* (full professor) was tenure and a meaningful salary assured. The faith that this ensconced professorate placed in the old regime's arrogant style was not broken by defeat; indeed, it was bolstered by the apparent disdain in which the Republic was held internationally. While few republican officials suffered the professors' enmity as much as Carl Becker,* the Prussian Cultural Minister, it is instructive that President Friedrich Ebert* was told by Berlin's* rector that he was unwelcome to address the university.

Most tragically, the Republic failed to win student support. Although professors, albeit generally antidemocratic, retreated to nonpolitical simplicity and warmed only rarely to the NSDAP, students were invariably drawn to the Nazis' radicalism. There were clear social and economic underpinnings for the allure. From 1923 employment prospects became progressively worse. As most students had middle-class pedigrees, they became agents of a cohort embittered by the impoverishment stemming from inflation* (1922–1923) and currency reform (1923–1924). They naturally linked their indignation to the Versailles Treaty,* the *Dolchstosslegende*,* and the Ruhr occupation.* Gradually recognizing that an education would not ensure their future, they blamed their predicament on the reparations* due the Allies and on the Republic's policy of fulfillment.* More ominously, they increasingly identified with a *völkisch* ideology deemed more revolutionary than the nation-oriented philosophy of their elders.

German students were organized into a complex web of overlapping affiliations. Fraternities, with traditions more than one hundred years old, continued to dominate student politics after the war. The Republic's more than 1,500 fraternities (*Corporationen* or *Verbindungen*) had nationwide affiliations and were split into dueling orders, which cultivated a tradition of settling issues of honor with swords, and nondueling orders, which included the Catholic* corporations. In 1928–1929 more than half of the male students were fraternity members (by 1931 women* accounted for about 15 percent of the 138,000 students). Meanwhile, a national student league, the *Deutsche Studentenschaft*,* was formed in 1919 to give students a unified voice. Soon gravitating to the Right, the *Studentenschaft* formed German-Aryan chambers at universities in Austria* and Czechoslovakia and was so anti-Semitic by 1927 that it lost government recognition. Finally, to the great detriment of student politics, radicals organized the National Socialist German Students' League (NSDStB) in 1926. Politically naïve, none of the groups was loyal to the Republic. Condemning the Constitution* and the Versailles *Diktat*, they also promoted the need for a *Führer*.

Although students were moved by similar issues throughout the Weimar era, their character had markedly changed by 1930. The students of 1930, born just before the war, had only vague memories of imperial Germany. As the depression* deepened, universities attracted more students who were apathetic about

academics and shared an interest in radical solutions to their problems. The NSDStB gained majorities in *Studentenschaft* elections at eight universities in 1929. Thereafter violence became endemic to the academy as NSDStB leaders displayed contempt for decorum and tradition. In 1931 the *Studentenschaft*'s national conference was led by a Nazi. By May 1933, when scores of students burned library books, a law had restored recognition to the *Studentenschaft* while restricting membership to students of Aryan blood.

REFERENCES: Giles, *Students and National Socialism*; Laqueur, *Weimar*; Fritz Ringer, *Decline of the German Mandarins*; Steinberg, *Sabers and Brown Shirts*; Zorn, ''Student Politics.''

UNRUH, FRITZ VON (1885–1970), poet and playwright; erstwhile Prussian officer who became a pacifist during World War I. He was born in Koblenz to an aristocratic family; his ancestors had served the Prussian electors and kings for three hundred years. Conforming to family tradition, he entered the military academy at Plön in Schleswig-Holstein. In 1905 he settled in Berlin* to begin broad university studies. His *Offiziere*, a 1911 Expressionist play, reflected the era's influence—he was hailed as the successor of Heinrich von Kleist—but generated sufficient resentment that he resigned his commission in 1912. When Max Reinhardt* produced *Offiziere* in 1911, Unruh's reputation was fixed. His 1913 drama *Louis Ferdinand, Prinz von Preussen*, while securing the Kleist Prize in 1915, was banned and not performed until 1920. Prophetically, a character in the play remarks, upon hearing a compatriot urge war on the king, ''War tears holes into which even crowns may fall.''

Unruh did not succumb to the exuberance of August 1914. Nevertheless, regaining his commission, he was wounded in the advance into France. During convalescence he wrote *Vor der Entscheidung* (Before the decision), an antiwar poem. A symbolic work that provoked a court-martial and was censored until 1919, it featured the horrors of the battlefield. In 1916, while at Verdun, he wrote the prose poem *Opfergang* (Road to Calvary). Verdun deepened his pacifism and changed his life. His mixture of torment and compassion was next reflected in *Ein Geschlecht* (A family), a one-act tragedy also based on Verdun; judged both his best work and a landmark of Expressionism,* it gained a private performance in 1917 at Frankfurt's *Stadttheater*.

Acclaimed after the war, Unruh was among Weimar's most performed dramatists. In 1920 he completed *Platz*, a play focused on revolution, as part two of a trilogy begun with *Ein Geschlecht*. But already sensing the impotence of idealism, he failed to finish part three. Although several plays followed, Unruh lost his audience, as did most Expressionists. Yet he became a champion of the Republic and spoke repeatedly on behalf of pacifism and international causes. In 1924 he and Carl von Ossietzky* founded the Republican Party, a forlorn attempt at political persuasion. The winner of Vienna's Grillparzer Prize in 1923, he entered the Prussian Academy of Arts in 1927, the year he received the Schiller Prize and wrote *Bonaparte*, a portent of approaching dictatorship.

In 1932, soon after his antifascist play *Phaea* was denounced by the NSDAP, Unruh moved to France. The Nazis removed him in 1933 from the Academy of Arts and burned his books; later they revoked his citizenship. In 1940 he escaped French internment and fled to the United States, where he maintained himself with difficulty as both writer and painter.

REFERENCES: Kronacher, *Fritz von Unruh*; Mainland, ''Fritz von Unruh''; Sokel, *Writer in Extremis*; Ronald Taylor, *Literature and Society*.

DER UNTERGANG DES ABENDLANDES. *See* Oswald Spengler.

DER UNTERTAN. *See* Heinrich Mann.

UPPER SILESIA (*Oberschlesien*). Settled in the sixth century by Slavic tribes, the region of central Europe known as Silesia was an integral part of Poland* by the eleventh century. In the early thirteenth century, when the Polish duchy of Silesia (Śląsk) was dissolving into tiny principalities, colonization was invited into the area. Although it was nominally under Polish rule, the region was thoroughly Germanized when it became part of the Holy Roman Empire in the fourteenth century. In 1742 it was ceded to Frederick the Great of Prussia.*

At the southeastern corner of Silesia—that is, in the province of Upper Silesia—the Versailles Treaty* spawned a border dispute that inflamed Polish-German relations in the interwar era. Although most of Silesia, both Upper and Lower, was agricultural and forested lowland, textile and glass industries marked the Sudetes mountain range of the south (on the Czechoslovak border). But the southeastern part of Upper Silesia, centered on Kattowitz, was densely industrialized and comparable in significance to the Ruhr. Originally resolved to award all of Upper Silesia to Poland, the Allies, in deference to national self-determination, ordered a plebiscite in the province in the final treaty. Bitterly disappointed, Polish irregulars tried to seize the entire province in August 1919; their effort was defeated by Freikorps* units. Yet when the treaty took effect on 10 January 1920, Germany relinquished the province as a plebiscite zone.

Held on 20 March 1921, the plebiscite aimed to determine if part or all of Upper Silesia should be given to Poland. With 707,122 votes cast for Germany and 433,514 for Poland, it was another painful defeat for the Poles; only a far eastern piece of Upper Silesia voted for transfer. Ignoring the result, Polish Commissioner Wojciech Korfanty reorganized Polish irregulars and crossed into Upper Silesia on 3 May 1921. But upon orders from Hans von Seeckt,* Freikorps* units regrouped. On 23 May 1921 the Germans won a victory at a Franciscan monastery in Annaberg,* thereby ending the Polish incursion. Chancellor Joseph Wirth,* who took office amidst the crisis, approved Seeckt's action. However, to the dismay of the Germans, the Allies used the plebiscite to separate a major portion of the province from Germany. Upper Silesia's important industrial region—including fifty of sixty-four coal mines and twenty-two of thirty-seven blast furnaces—was given to Poland. The province's complicated

division was sanctioned by the equally complex German-Polish Convention of 15 May 1922.

Throughout the remainder of the Weimar era the Germans in Polish Silesia focused international attention on Polish repression. Represented by the *Deutscher Volksbund*, they deluged the League of Nations with petitions about largely trivial complaints. From 1930, however, Józef Pilsudski's government periodically persecuted Silesia's Germans; the period 19–26 October 1930, for example, was declared ''Anti-German Week.'' Although Polish Silesia was annexed to Germany in 1939, both Lower and Upper Silesia were awarded to Poland by the 1945 Potsdam Conference.

REFERENCES: Bessel, ''Eastern Germany,'' *Political Violence*; Campbell, ''Struggle for Upper Silesia''; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Tooley, ''German Political Violence''; Von Riekhoff, *German-Polish Relations*.

USPD. *See* Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

USSR. *See* Soviet Union.

V

VALENTIN, KARL, born Valentin Ludwig Fey (1882–1948), comic actor; a Munich ''character'' with a gift for satire and the absurd. Born to a middle-class Munich home, he completed *Volksschule* in 1897 and apprenticed as a cabinetmaker at his father's bidding. His father, owner of a shipping company, died in 1902, leaving the business to Valentin. But Valentin was already enrolled in acting school. Soon aware of his talent, he sold the shipping company in 1906. Although his early years on stage were difficult, his comic ability was evident by 1908. Changing his name to Karl Valentin, he was engaged by Munich's Frankfurter Hof Hotel, where, in 1911, he met his stage partner, Liesl Karlstadt (born Elisabeth Wellano). For twenty-five years the couple acted and traveled together, becoming Munich's premier attraction at beerhalls such as the Augustiner-Keller and the Kindl-Keller.

Adept with dialect and masks, Valentin wrote about four hundred comic sketches. Portraying the impotence of common people, he lampooned the war during 1914–1918 and then made a career of drawing laughter to himself and life's unexpected disasters. By injecting humor into such skits as *Das Christbaumbrettl* and *Der Firmling* (both of 1922), he assured audiences that their situations were in fact secure. His humor was praised by Alfred Kerr* and Kurt Tucholsky,* and his skill at reproducing life's struggle influenced Bertolt Brecht,* with whom Valentin collaborated. Throughout the 1920s Valentin performed throughout central Europe. Despite attractive offers, he refused to leave Munich, where he was a cult figure among upper-class audiences. Since much of his work was written in untranslatable dialect, Munich remained his best ''stage.''

Although the Republic had revoked censorship, Valentin carefully avoided topics that might offend the NSDAP, a strong force in Munich. He continued to entertain widely in the 1930s, but the Third Reich was not conducive to satire. In 1942, after he lampooned Hitler,* his performances were banned (he continued to write). In 1947, shortly before his death, he returned to the stage with Karlstadt. His publications included *Das Karl-Valentin-Buch* of 1932.
REFERENCES: Sackett, *Popular Entertainment*; Schulte, *Valentin-Buch*.

VALENTIN, VEIT (1885–1947), historian; one of the few academics to embrace the Republic. He was born of Huguenot lineage in Frankfurt; his father was a Gymnasium headmaster and his mother a gifted pianist. Raised in a milieu steeped in culture, he was soon attracted to history. He completed Gymnasium in 1903 and took a doctorate in 1906 at Heidelberg; he later described his *Doktorvater*, Erich Marcks,* as his ''permanent counselor and friend.'' His thesis, *Politisches, geistiges, und wirtschaftliches Leben in Frankfurt-am-Main vor dem Beginn der Revolution 1848–49* (Political, intellectual, and economic life in Frankfurt on the eve of the 1848–49 revolution), revealed his brilliance as a scholar. After extended research in France and England, he published an acclaimed work in 1908 on the 1848 revolution. His interest in the Frankfurt Parliament's first president, a liberal prince who had long advocated German unity, led in 1910 to *Fürst Karl Leiningen und das deutsche Einheitsproblem* (Prince Karl Leiningen and the problem of German unity). The book brought immediate appointment as *Privatdozent* at Freiburg.

Freiburg was home in 1910 to Georg von Below,* a fact with dire consequences. Promoted to *ausserordentlicher Professor* in 1916 (he was deemed unfit for the army), Valentin was soon embroiled with the Pan-German League. Deeply patriotic, he nonetheless opposed annexationism and in a 1915 pamphlet demanded the postwar restoration of Belgium. Although Valentin was briefly rescued from Below's wrath when the Foreign Office's Ernst Jäckh enlisted his services, he was soon attacked by the League; Below, Freiburg's new rector, resolved to discredit him. In October 1916 Alfred von Tirpitz* secured his removal from the Foreign Office, and in May 1917 Below forced his dismissal at Freiburg. Hans Delbrück* and several liberal newspapers* ineffectually came to his defense.

Germany's defeat salvaged Valentin's future. He joined the DDP and lectured at Berlin's *Handelshochschule* and Jäckh's *Hochschule für Politik*.* In 1920 he joined the staff of the Reichsarchiv in Potsdam, a position that gave him freedom to continue research into the 1848 revolution. He was solidly republican; his critics dubbed him Weimar's ''spokesman.'' He fought the *Dolchstosslegende*,* blamed the military for Germany's defeat, and espoused entry into the League of Nations. During 1926–1932 he served as coeditor of the pacifist *Die Friedenswarte* (he spurned the label ''pacifist,'' calling himself an ''antimilitarist''). To rebut commentary that Germany needed a new Frederick the Great, he published *Friedrich der Grosse* in 1927 to strip the monarch of his legend. But

such scholarship, including works on Bismarck and foreign policy, remained subordinate to his interest in the Frankfurt Parliament. His magnum opus, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848–49* (History of the German Revolution of 1848–49), appeared in 1930–1931. The two-volume study was the first to comprehensively examine the revolution's social causes.

Valentin's major work appeared as Germany's democratic spirit was evaporating. In June 1933 Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick* dismissed him from the Reichsarchiv and removed his civil-service status. Within weeks he accepted a temporary appointment at the University of London. In 1939 he relocated to the United States, where he worked for the Office of Strategic Services. Shortly before the outbreak of World War II he published a two-volume *Weltgeschichte* (World history); *The German People* appeared in 1946.

REFERENCES: Richard Bauer, ''Veit Valentin''; *Great Historians of the Modern Age*; Lehmann and Sheehan, *Interrupted Past*.

VATER UND SOHN. *See* Joachim Freiherr von der Goltz.

VATERLÄNDISCHE VERBÄNDE. *See* Patriotic Associations.

VEHMIC JUSTICE. *See Femegericht*.

VEIDT, CONRAD, born Konrad Hans Walter (1893–1943); actor and director; famous as the murderous sleepwalker in *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*.* Born in Berlin,* he began studies in 1912 with Max Reinhardt* and was soon taking parts in the director's acting company. His early stage work included roles with Emil Jannings* and Werner Krauss.* During 1914–1916 he served in the army, with illness finally bringing reassignment to Berlin. Although he was highly successful through 1923 on the Berlin stage, his 1917 film* début in *Der Spion* initiated a career in cinema. In a risqué and controversial role he played a sympathetic homosexual in Richard Oswald's 1919 film *Anders als die Andern* (Different from the others); when threatened with exposure, Veidt's character commits suicide. *Satanas*, another 1919 endeavor, written by Robert Wiene and directed by F. W. Murnau,* featured Veidt as the devil. Briefly forming his own company with Murnau (he directed two films), he moved entirely to acting upon winning international acclaim as Cesare the somnambulist in the 1920 Expressionist classic *Caligari*. In 1924 he was Ivan the Terrible in *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett*, the last important Expressionist film.

Veidt accepted John Barrymore's 1926 invitation to come to Hollywood. He remained for two years in the United States, but returned to Germany before the first sound films. Forced by sound to change his style, he was soon a master of realism. Married to a woman of Jewish ancestry, Veidt left Germany with some difficulty. He finally emigrated to England and became a British subject in 1938. Multilingual and well trained by Reinhardt, he portrayed both cultured

aristocrats and villainous Nazis on the London stage. During 1940–1943 he worked in Hollywood, last appearing as Major Strassner in *Casablanca*.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Lotte Eisner, *Haunted Screen*; *International Dictionary of Films and Filmmakers*; Manvell and Fraenkel, *German Cinema*.

VEREINIGTE VATERLÄNDISCHE VERBÄNDE DEUTSCHLANDS (VVVD, the Union of German Patriotic Associations of Germany); a *Spitzenverband* of pan-German, youth, officers', and veterans' associations. The VVVD was founded in 1922 by Fritz Geisler, a member of the DNVP, and Rüdiger von der Goltz,* a former Freikorps* leader. Although the group was Monarchist,* its relative lack of anti-Semitism* set it apart from groups that often gravitated toward the NSDAP. While it claimed political neutrality, the VVVD echoed the radical bourgeois conservatism associated with the DNVP and the right wing of the DVP. In 1924 it condemned the Dawes Plan,* an antagonism it retained for the later Young Plan.*

The VVVD's effort to consolidate Germany's patriotic associations* met with limited success. Reichstag* acceptance of both the Locarno Treaties* and the aforementioned reparations* plans underscored its inability (and that of other such groups) to impact national policy. Led by prewar reactionaries, it steadily dwindled in importance once the election of Paul von Hindenburg* made absurd its campaign against a regime governed by traitors and socialists. After the *Stahlhelm*'s* Theodor Duesterberg* entered its ruling presidium in 1927, it became an extension of the older veterans' organization. During the 1928 Reichstag elections the VVVD and the *Stahlhelm* made one last futile bid to unite the patriotic associations. The VVVD was represented by Goltz at the 1931 Harzburg Front* rally.

REFERENCES: Bracher, *Auflösung*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*.

VERNUNFTREPUBLIKANER (''rational republican''); a term applied to those who supported the Republic out of political necessity rather than moral conviction. Historians note that the establishment of the Republic on 9 November 1918 was less deliberate act than improvisation. Even Friedrich Ebert,* leader of the SPD and the Republic's first President, was horrified when his colleague Philipp Scheidemann* impetuously proclaimed ''*die deutsche Republik*'' from a Reichstag* balcony; Ebert, an erstwhile saddlemaker and union leader, was at heart a monarchist.

Weimar was dubbed ''a republic without republicans.'' While this facile quip oversteps the mark, it accurately suggests that many of the regime's dedicated leaders—for example, Walther Rathenau* and Gustav Stresemann*—came to support and labor gallantly for a regime that they accepted, at least initially, only with reluctance. Since such people viewed the Republic as the best from a list of poor possibilities, the term suggests a Republican ''by intellectual choice rather than passionate conviction'' (Peter Gay). Although this disposition was

first linked to Stresemann by Party colleague Wilhelm Kahl, it also describes Thomas Mann,* Max Weber,* Friedrich Meinecke,* and even Carl Schmitt*—all individuals who sought to preserve prewar aristocratic trappings within the new republican framework. Finally, while one can easily identify political parties pledged to Weimar's demise, one should also note that no party was passionately committed to its future. When it expired in 1933, many Germans faced the future with foreboding; few mourned the Republic.

REFERENCES: Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture*; Peukert, *Weimar Republic*; Turner, *Stresemann*.

VERSAILLES TREATY. German opinion of the settlement that ended World War I was clear from the outset. ''The Saar* basin . . . Poland,* Silesia, Oppeln . . . 123 milliards to pay and for all that we are supposed to say 'Thank you very much,' '' an embittered German delegate cried over the telephone from Versailles upon learning of the treaty terms. Thus began a pattern of thought and behavior, embodied in the 20 June 1919 resignation of the cabinet of Philipp Scheidemann*—''what hand would not wither which placed this chain upon itself and upon us?''—that exemplified an almost unanimous denunciation of the ''Versailles *Diktat*.'' Although the treaty forced many to face the reality of defeat, many others refused to accept that reality. Refusal was often combined with nonacceptance of the November Revolution,* thereby linking defeat and the Republic.

The complex treaty signed on 28 June 1919 may be divided into four basic categories: territorial issues, disarmament* demands, reparations,* and assignment of guilt. Although the territorial issues (Articles 27–158) included the liquidation of Germany's colonial empire—over one million square miles and 14 million people—of greater import was reduction of its European land mass and population. In the west, Versailles made official the forfeiture of Alsace-Lorraine,* already required by the Armistice.* Although French claims included the Saar* and much of the Rhineland,* Britain and the United States resisted such ambitions on the basis of national self-determination. But because of Germany's destruction of French coal mines at the end of the war, sovereignty over the Saar was yielded to the League of Nations for a period of fifteen years, during which France was allowed to exploit the region's mines. At the end of fifteen years a plebiscite was planned whereby the Saarlanders would determine their sovereignty. With regard to the Rhineland, the Rhineland Agreement (technically separate from the treaty) called for a fifteen-year inter-Allied occupation to a point fifty kilometers east of the Rhine; the same area was to remain permanently demilitarized. Also in the west, Germany surrendered the approximately four hundred square miles of Eupen-Malmédy to Belgium (about 64,000 people) as well as a piece of northern Schleswig, with about 100,000 inhabitants, to Denmark. Of lesser import, Luxemburg was removed from the German customs union. Losses in the east were more profound. France viewed a resurrected Poland* both as a barrier to Bolshevism and as a substitute for Russian power.

An early draft of the treaty assigned Danzig,* the Posen district, West Prussia, Upper Silesia,* and much of East Prussia to Poland. Notwithstanding Britain's demand for alterations—Danzig and Memel were ceded to the League and plebiscites were approved for Upper Silesia and a portion of East Prussia—the loss of more than 3 million people from the core of old Prussia* embittered Germany.

A further blow to Junker* pride was Allied resolve to slash the German military. Although this issue generated discord in Paris, the delegates soon drafted the treaty's disarmament clauses (Articles 159–213). They called initially for an army of 200,000 men, but the number was eventually cut to 100,000 men, including no more than 4,000 officers. Both officers and men were expected to be enlistees, with officers serving twenty-five years and other ranks twelve. Germany was to destroy all fortifications in the west and to demilitarize the aforementioned zone extending fifty kilometers east of the Rhine. An air force, tanks, poison gas, and heavy artillery were forbidden, as was the General Staff. Germany's 21 June 1919 scuttling of forty-nine warships at Scapa Flow did much to settle the status of the navy. The treaty stipulated a navy of no more than six old battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, and twelve torpedo boats. Submarines and dreadnoughts were prohibited. The navy was allowed a force of 15,000 officers and men, all long-term volunteers. Bases on the islands of Heligoland and Dune were to be dismantled. Finally, an Inter-Allied Military Control Commission was formed to monitor treaty execution.

In his 1920 history of the Paris Peace Conference, Harold Temperley wrote that for ''her own unjust ends Germany had provoked a war, which brought on the world unparalleled loss and suffering. In defeat it was right that, like any other wrongdoer brought to justice,* she should make all amends within her power.'' This verdict, adopted by the Allies, sustained the demand for reparations. But while it was instituted through Article 19 of the Armistice,* transforming it into a total bill or payment plan proved impossible at Paris. What was the extent of Germany's liability? How might one evaluate its capacity to pay? What should be the form and duration of payments? Since rhetoric had recast an economic problem as a political one, the treaty (Article 233) postponed a decision on reparations by entrusting the issue to a commission; formed in February 1920, the Reparation Commission was to reach its determination by 1 May 1921. In the meantime, Article 235 dictated that Germany make an initial installment of 20 billion gold marks (about $4.5 billion) by 1 May 1921.

The invasion of neutral Belgium, the wanton destruction of cities, the execution of civilians, the use of submarines; in short, the manner in which Germany had waged war convinced the Allies that the issues of guilt and punishment must be addressed. Thus a Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and the Enforcement of Penalties was formed on 25 January 1919. Articles 227–230 called for Kaiser Wilhelm's trial by a ''special tribunal'' and identification of others, jointly or as individuals, who might be tried for violating the laws and customs of war. Given the impasse over reparations, war

guilt was conferred by Article 231, the article opening the reparations section. This clause proclaimed ''the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies.'' While the territorial articles angered the Germans, no provision created as much rancor as Article 231, the ''war guilt'' clause. Articles 227–231, identified collectively as the ''shame paragraphs,'' may have addressed a need to assign blame or exact vengeance after four years of carnage; unfortunately, they also inflamed passions while failing to provide an appropriate means for exacting punishment.

REFERENCES: Kent, *Spoils of War*; *Major Peace Treaties*; Mayer, *Politics and Diplomacy*; Schmidt, *Versailles and the Ruhr*; Stevenson, *French War Aims*; Temperley, *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*; Gerhard Weinberg, ''Defeat of Germany.''

VIKING LEAGUE. *See Organisation Consul.*

VIOLENCE. *See* Assassination.

VÖGLER, ALBERT (1877–1945), industrialist; a leading champion of horizontal industrial concentration. He was born near Essen in Borbeck; his father advanced in the coal industry from miner to production manager. After an apprenticeship, Vögler took a doctorate in engineering. He joined the *Union AG für Eisen- und Stahlindustrie* in 1902 as a metallurgical engineer and was promoted to company director in 1912. Hugo Stinnes* made him *Generaldirektor* of his *Deutsch-Luxemburgische Bergwerks- und Hütten-AG* in 1915. In December 1918 he helped organize the DVP. He was elected to the National Assembly* and served in the Reichstag* until May 1924. After Stinnes's death in 1924 he was the DVP's principal heavy industrialist.

Vögler was a talented, if conservative, businessman with ample technical skill. He and Stinnes differed on the wisdom of vertical concentration (combination of diverse industries). After Stinnes died, Vögler and Fritz Thyssen* launched talks that led in 1926 to creation of the United Steel Works or Vestag (*Vereinigte Stahlwerke*), a massive cartel comprised of four giant firms (Rhein-Elbe-Union, Thyssen, Phoenix, and Rheinische Stahlwerke). Vögler served as the trust's *Generaldirektor*. In 1927 he helped organize an antilabor offensive aimed at frustrating compulsory arbitration; in 1928 he joined the *Ruhrlade*, a secret industrial clique founded by Paul Reusch.* He also helped found DINTA (German Institute for Technical Education and Training), for which he was also *Generaldirektor*. Aiming to counter the overly theoretical work carried out by the Kaiser Wilhelm Society,* DINTA used job-training centers and publications to divert workers from ''materialism''—that is, from wage and class struggle. By 1933 its programs, sponsored by Alfred Hugenberg,* were located at many of Germany's largest firms.

Vögler shares with Reusch a reputation as Weimar's most politically reac-

tionary industrialist. Yet his politics were murky. Some believe that he masked his radicalism. He was certainly on the Right of the DVP and, fearing socialism, lobbied for cooperation with the DNVP. His stance on foreign policy vacillated. An early opponent of the fulfillment policy* (and thus of DVP leader Gustav Stresemann*), he acknowledged that negotiations with France were requisite in 1923 to end the Ruhr occupation.* But in May 1929, as an expert at the Young Plan* deliberations, he abruptly resigned his position, claiming that the plan would increase foreign ventures in German industry; his action made him an instant hero with nationalists. He professed to regret the collapse of Hermann Müller's* cabinet in 1930 and generally supported that of Heinrich Brüning,* who offered him the Economics Ministry. But his link with DNVP leader Hugenberg is most revealing. He belonged to Hugenberg's *Wirtschaftsvereinigung*, a group that funneled political subsidies from the coaling community; he was fond of saying that the DVP and the DNVP marched separately but worked for the same goals. Ever closer to the DNVP, he claimed in 1930 that it was the bastion of social and fiscal responsibility in the national opposition. Cognizant of the NSDAP's burgeoning power, he began advising Hugenberg to work with Hitler* in early 1932. But while he approved a Hitler-led regime, he was an elitist who hoped to reconcile Nazi ambitions with traditional conservatism.

Vögler joined the NSDAP in 1933. Heavily involved in armaments production and associated after 1942 with Albert Speer, he was facing arrest by American soldiers in April 1945 when he committed suicide.

REFERENCES: Brady, *Rationalization Movement*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Leopold, *Alfred Hugenberg*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

VÖLKISCHE PARTEI. *See* German Racial Freedom Party.

VÖLKISCHER BEOBACHTER; flagship newspaper* of the NSDAP. Founded in 1887 as the *Münchener Beobachter* in the Munich suburb of Haidhausen, this small weekly was acquired in 1900 by a Munich publisher, Franz Eher, who renamed it *Völkischer Beobachter*. Rudolf von Sebottendorff, founder of the Thule Society,* acquired both the paper and the Eher Verlag upon Eher's death in 1918. Restoring the original name, he sustained an ''above-party'' editorial policy—lending broad support, however, to anti-Semitism.* In December 1920, with funds provided largely by Franz von Epp,* the NSDAP purchased controlling interest in the paper (and the Eher Verlag) and soon reinstated the name *Völkischer Beobachter*. Dietrich Eckart,* who facilitated the deal, became publisher and editor. In April 1922 Max Amann* took over as publisher and managing director, while Alfred Rosenberg* became editor in February 1923.

VB remained a precarious enterprise for several years. Yet amidst difficulties it became a daily and adopted a large format in 1923. Banned after the Beerhall Putsch,* it reappeared in 1925. With about 4,000 subscribers, its plight led Hitler* to implore Party members to support ''the most hated paper in the land.''

But it was Amann, a tight-fisted business virtuoso, who ensured its survival during the NSDAP's lean years (1925–1929). In 1928, when the NSDAP owned thirty-one publications, *VB* was its only daily.

VB was chiefly a purveyor of anti-Semitism and radical propaganda. Amann later bragged that after passage of the Law for the Protection of the Republic,* it was banned thirty-four times for harassing the ''Weimar system.'' Yet the courts rarely hampered it. *VB* did not focus exclusively, however, on propaganda and ridicule—roles that, inherently repetitive, would have lost the paper its readership. It used photos and cartoons, it included light reading and ''racial science,'' and it provided cultural coverage and a smattering of pseudopornography. Moreover, since Rosenberg wanted it to pass as a traditional newspaper, it used commercial agencies—generally Alfred Hugenberg's* *Telegraphen-Union*—to relay daily news, entertainment, and sporting information. It was a rich source for crime and sensational news, especially where Jews* were involved. But Hitler always viewed it less as a news source than as a transmitter of ideology; indeed, *VB* failed to acquire a seat in the Reichstag's* press gallery until 1932. But through repetition, simplification, and distortion it became an effective purveyor of propaganda.

The size of the Nazis' publishing endeavor mushroomed with the depression.* Assisted by rapid sales of *Mein Kampf*,* the NSDAP supported nineteen dailies in 1930; the figure rose to fifty-nine by 1932. *VB*, meanwhile, was never a source of great wealth; even in 1931, when the NSDAP was the Reichstag's second party, circulation reached only 128,000. Moreover, other Nazi papers persistently competed with it for readership (Joseph Goebbels* recommended that north German Nazis read *VB* only after buying *Der Angriff*). Only with Hitler's rise to power did circulation surge; it reached 1.2 million in 1941.

REFERENCES: Eksteins, *Limits of Reason*; Fliess, *Freedom of the Press*; Hale, *Captive Press*; Layton, ''*Völkischer Beobachter*.''

VOLKSNATIONALE REICHSVEREINIGUNG. See Jungdo.

VOLUNTEER FORCES. *See* Freikorps.

VORWÄRTS; flagship daily of the SPD. Founded as the Party organ of the Socialist Workers' Party in 1876, the early newspaper* was edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Hasenclever in Leipzig. Banned by Bismarck's anti-socialist laws, it was covertly published during 1884–1891 as the *Berliner Volksblatt*—words added to the title when *Vorwärts* reappeared in 1891. Once *Vorwärts* formed its own firm in 1894, the SPD began printing books and evolved a superior publication apparatus. By 1927 *Vorwärts* was the most important of 187 Party dailies that reached a total of 1.2 million subscribers.

Before World War I *Vorwärts* was a forum for the internecine debates over tactics and Marxist revisionism. While the paper favored the SPD's vote for war credits in August 1914, it soon took an antiwar stance (and was regularly sus-

pended by the censors). As this failed to conform with either SPD or trade-union* policy, it was seized from its editors in October 1916. Henceforth it was tightly controlled, and criticism of SPD policy was rarely expressed in its pages. Under the direction of Friedrich Stampfer,* editor during 1916–1933 (with Curt Geyer* from 1924), it supported the war until 1918.

Vorwärts focused during the Weimar era on current events, reporting and analysis, and announcements of concern to Social Democrats. It featured sports, entertainment, a business section, and women's* issues. Its solid editorial board included Stampfer, Geyer, Richard Bernstein, Erich Kuttner, Ludwig Lessen, Viktor Schiff, and Josef Steiner; its art critic was Max Hochdorff. Although it was never radical during the Republic, it reflected opinion somewhat to the left of official Party sentiment. In the Armistice* period, for example, its distaste for the military made it difficult for Friedrich Ebert* and Gustav Noske* to cooperate with the army. After the Kapp* Putsch it rejected the claim that most of the Reichswehr* had stood with the Republic, and an article by Kuttner helped induce Noske's resignation. When it published an account of secret military dealings with the Soviets in December 1926, the news helped undermine Otto Gessler,* Noske's successor as Defense Minister. Although it generally opposed coalition endeavors that included the DVP, such opposition was half-hearted. While it condemned Heinrich Brüning's* Presidential Cabinet* (1930–1932) as a ''concealed dictatorship,'' it came to view the unpopular Brüning as the last barrier against fascism; indeed, it was repeatedly suspended under Brüning's successor, Franz von Papen.* By late 1931 it had eased its attacks on the Soviets in the futile hope of forming a loose anti-Nazi alliance with the KPD.

On 28 February 1933, in response to the Reichstag fire, the NSDAP banned *Vorwärts*. It reappeared as *Neuer Vorwärts* in Prague during 1933–1937 and in Paris during 1938–1940. After fleeing to the United States in 1940, Stampfer printed it in New York. In 1955 it was reestablished as a Party weekly under the title *Neuer Vorwärts*.

REFERENCES: Fliess, *Freedom of the Press*; Hale, *Captive Press*; Richard Hunt, *German Social Democracy*; Schorske, *German Social Democracy*; Taddey, *Lexikon*.

VOSSISCHE ZEITUNG. *See* Newspapers *and* Ullstein Verlag.

W

WALDEN, HERWARTH, born Georg Levin (1878–1941), writer, publisher, and art dealer; chief promoter of Expressionism.* Born to a Berlin* doctor, he studied music* in Florence and at Berlin's Stern Conservatory and won a Liszt stipendium as a pianist. Initially pursuing a career in music composition, he founded the *Verein für Kunst* (Society for Art) in 1904, in which young authors—for example, Heinrich Mann,* Rainer Maria Rilke, Frank Wedekind, and Else Lasker-Schüler* (Walden's wife during 1901–1911, who convinced him to change his name around 1900)—read their manuscripts. He was employed during 1908–1910 by the theater* magazine *Der neue Weg*, which released him as too radical. Committed to the idea that culture is a moral force, he founded *Der Sturm* in March 1910 as a weekly for art and criticism; it was published until 1932. *Sturm*'s first article, written by the Viennese critic Karl Kraus, contained a statement evocative of German art for two decades: ''The world becomes more rational every day, which naturally renders its utter stupidity more and more conspicuous.''

With his background in music and theater, Walden was originally little interested in visual art, but he was soon Berlin's most progressive art connoisseur. *Sturm* began featuring drawings and paintings in its pages, initially focusing on the work of Oskar Kokoschka* but by 1912 providing reproductions from the *Brücke* and *Blaue Reiter* groups. Walden opened the *Galerie der Sturm* in March 1912 with a *Blaue Reiter* exhibition and soon was circulating shows to towns and cities throughout Western Europe. Between them, the journal and the gallery formed the hub of many Expressionist, Cubist, and Futurist innovations before, during, and after World War I. While Walden had his rivals—*Die Aktion*,*

edited by Franz Pfemfert; *Die weissen Blätter*, edited by René Schickele*; and Paul Cassirer's *Pan—Sturm* held its own until 1919 as the center of modern art in Berlin.

Although *Sturm* evolved during World War I into a school, a publishing house, a lecture series, and a theater, Walden's influence was short-lived after 1918. He was stretched financially: his journal, a monthly in 1918, became a quarterly in 1924, and the theater, lectures, and school were discontinued. Critical of endeavors such as the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*,* he became increasingly enamored of communism. A member of the Society of Friends of Soviet Russia, he emigrated to Moscow in 1932, where he worked as a language teacher and editor of the émigré periodical *Das Wort*. He was arrested in March 1941 and died shortly thereafter in prison.

REFERENCES: Bruhl, *Herwarth Walden*; Long, *German Expressionism*; Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*; Weinstein, *End of Expressionism*.

WALTER, BRUNO, born Bruno Walter Schlesinger (1876–1962), conductor; the last great exponent of German romanticism. Born in Berlin,* he began studying music* at the Stern Conservatory in that city when he was eight. Although he gave a piano recital at age nine, the next year he decided on a conducting career. He was engaged at seventeen by the Cologne Opera and went to Hamburg in 1894 to work with Mahler (who advised that he drop the name Schlesinger). After conducting briefly in Breslau, Pressburg (now Bratislava), and Riga, he returned to Berlin in 1900 and then joined Mahler at Vienna's Court Opera in 1901; in 1911 he took Austrian citizenship. After Mahler's death, Walter premiered the composer's *Das Lied von der Erde* (The song from the earth) and the Ninth Symphony. During 1913–1922 he directed the Munich Opera (his ''most beautiful and most rewarding'' years), premiering Hans Pfitzner's* *Palestrina* in 1917 and launching the Mozart-Wagner festivals; he was also interim conductor in 1919 of the Berlin Philharmonic. His postwar tours (he first visited New York in 1923) won him international recognition. In 1925, the year he became music director of the Berlin City Opera, he began directing the Salzburg Festival Orchestra. In 1929 he established the Bruno Walter Foundation for needy musicians and succeeded Wilhelm Furtwängler* as conductor of Leipzig's Gewandhaus Orchestra.

Of Jewish ancestry, Walter was forced to resign his German positions in 1933, an event that provoked worldwide protest. Living from 1933 in Vienna, he conducted the Vienna *Staatsoper* and the Salzburg Festival Orchestra until 1938 and was associate conductor of Amsterdam's Concertgebouw Orchestra during 1934–1939. He settled briefly in France after the *Anschluss* (he was granted French citizenship), emigrated to the United States in 1939, and served for several years as a celebrated guest conductor. His interpretations of Mozart and Mahler were widely acclaimed.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Thomas Mann, ''To Bruno Walter''; *New Grove*, vol. 20; Schonberg, *Great Conductors*; Wellesz, ''Bruno Walter.''

WAR GUILT. *See* Versailles Treaty.

WARBURG, ABY (1866–1929), cultural historian; employed his family's banking fortune to amass a superb library of art history. Born the eldest of seven children to the Hamburg banker Moritz Warburg, he was raised in an orthodox Jewish home. Although he broke with Judaism, he never embraced Christianity and remained proud of his heritage. A student of art history, he took a doctorate (writing on Botticelli) in 1891.

At age thirteen Warburg rebuffed the world of finance and contracted a pact with his younger brother whereby, in exchange for Aby's birthright to the family firm, Max Warburg* would purchase any book he ever wanted. For Aby, scholarship was the one means to rationality in a complex and irrational environment. His interest centered on how an art object reflected its cultural surroundings. Although he was little known for his writings (he published only a few essays), his erudition was nonetheless dazzling; for example, he established the intellectual link between Renaissance Florence and Flanders. In 1902, after several years in Italy, he began building his library in earnest. Having amassed 15,000 volumes by 1911, he enlisted Fritz Saxl as his personal librarian. Since he was increasingly tormented by mental illness in his last two decades, Saxl's importance to the library grew. Warburg was additionally so committed to founding a university in Hamburg that in 1911 he rejected a university chair at Halle. Soon after the University of Hamburg was opened in 1919, his library was attached to the institution (in a sanatorium at the time, Warburg was named honorary professor in 1921). Thereafter, Ernst Cassirer* and Erwin Panofsky* became his well-known collaborators. In 1926 the university dedicated the Warburg Library of Cultural Science. In his last years, between lengthy trips to Italy, Warburg evolved into a revered lecturer and one of Hamburg's public figures.

Philosophically, Warburg believed that the principle of order governing society, the rationality that explains the apparently irrational, is embodied in classical thought and culture. Although he was professedly unpolitical, he worried that reason could at any time succumb to the irrational (he rebuffed the idea of progress). His anxiety, magnified by World War I, was one cause of his mental collapse in 1918. The dualism between reason and the dark side of the psyche also sustained his interest in astrology and symbols. The irrational could only be exorcised by comprehending it rationally—thus his commitment to scholarship. His library, numbering 80,000 volumes, survived the book burning of May 1933 and was transferred to London as the Warburg Institute.

REFERENCES: Chernow, *Warburgs*; Ferretti, *Cassirer, Panofsky, and Warburg*; Peter Gay, *Freud, Jews, and Other Germans*; Felix Gilbert, ''From Art History''; Gombrich, *Aby Warburg*; Podro, *Critical Historians of Art*.

WARBURG, MAX (1867–1946), banker; a leader of Hamburg's Jewish community who controlled one of Germany's oldest and most respected banking houses. Second son of Moritz Warburg and head of the family-owned Hamburg

banking house M. M. Warburg, he apprenticed at banks in Frankfurt and Holland before studying in Paris and London. In 1892 he became *Prokurist* and a year later part owner of the family firm. From 1895 he ran the firm with his brother Paul, who relocated to New York in 1902. His annual business trips often resulted in transactions that transformed the bank into a worldwide enterprise. Encouraged by his friend Albert Ballin, he became publicly active. He held a seat on the General Council of the Reichsbank and on the managing board of the Hamburg-Amerika Shipping Line. By World War I he was favored by the Kaiser and was active on behalf of the Foreign Office and the War Food Office. He was an advisor to Prinz Max* von Baden in October 1918 and accompanied the German delegation to Versailles. That M. M. Warburg prospered in postwar Germany was due to his international connections.

Warburg was driven by his belief that Jews* would be fully assimilated into German society. He entered Hamburg's *Bürgerschaft* (city council) in 1903, and in 1919 he joined the DVP. But he shunned public positions, including that of Ambassador to the United States. An anti-Semitic target, he played discreet roles—for example, as advisor to Walther Rathenau.* Yet he retained his council seat with the Reichsbank and formed a friendship with Hjalmar Schacht.* (His distinguished partner, Carl Melchior,* played a more prominent role.) In 1930, upon Schacht's resignation as Reichsbank President, he lobbied on behalf of Hans Luther's* appointment to the post. Because of his unique connections (his brother Paul was vice president of the American Federal Reserve), he played a crucial role in gaining Germany credit during the 1931 banking crisis.

Warburg was not a practicing Jew; however, he embraced his religion for its social and ethical values. Whereas he feared the NSDAP, he falsely assumed that its success would be short-lived. Although his hopes were dashed by 1935, he still believed that Jews could weather the Third Reich (with tragic consequences, he convinced many friends to remain in Germany). Finally, he liquidated his holdings at less than 0.5 percent of their value and left for the United States in August 1938. He remained in New York until his death.

REFERENCES: Chernow, *Warburgs*; Gombrich, *Aby Warburg*; *Internationales Biographisches Archiv*; Karlauf, *Deutsche Brüder*; Niewyk, *Jews in Weimar Germany*.

WARBURG INSTITUTE. *See* Aby Warburg.

WARMBOLD, HERMANN (1876–1976), bureaucrat; served as Economics Minister for Heinrich Brüning,* Franz von Papen,* and Kurt von Schleicher.* Born in Klein-Heinstedt, near Hildesheim, he took a doctorate in agriculture and then joined the civil service.* He was *Generalsekretär* in 1907–1910 for both Hanover's Agricultural Assembly (*Landwirtschaftskammer*) and the General Agriculture and Forestry Association in Lüneburg. In 1911 he went to Reval as financial expert for the Estonian Knights (*Estländische Ritterschaft*) and then worked as economic advisor during 1913–1917 for the central directorate of the knights (*Hauptritterschaftsdirektion*) in Berlin.* In 1918 he was appointed *aus-*

serordentlicher Professor and director of the Agricultural Institute in Hohenheim. He was appointed director in Prussia's* Agriculture Ministry in 1919 and was Agriculture Minister (without party affiliation) in Adam Stegerwald's* Prussian cabinet in 1921. An expert on fertilizers, Warmbold joined the managing board of ASFL (*Anilin- und Soda-Fabrik Ludwigshafen*) in January 1922; he retained his office until 1932 under the newly constituted IG Farben.*

While Warmbold was never a pivotal figure in the business community, he was a spokesman for the free-trade wing of industry and a respected opponent of agrarian demands for import quotas (he censured the inefficient Junker* estates). In October 1931, after a nine-year hiatus, he returned to public life as Brüning's Economics Minister. Soon disenchanted with Brüning and opposed to the policies of cabinet colleagues, he resigned his office on 6 May 1932; when the cabinet collapsed three weeks later, Warmbold's reputation was unimpaired. He reappeared in Papen's cabinet in June as Economics and Labor Minister and worked ineffectually to balance industrial, trade-union,* and agrarian interests. Since he was targeted by the Nazis as an agent of IG Farben and ''international finance capital,'' his public career did not survive Schleicher's removal. He was a private citizen in Berlin during the Third Reich.

REFERENCES: David Abraham, *Collapse of the Weimar Republic*; Bracher, *Auflösung*; *Internationales Biographisches Archiv*; Kosch, *Biographisches Staatshandbuch*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

WASSERMANN, JAKOB (1873–1934), writer; Thomas Mann* called him ''a world-star'' of the novel. Born in Fürth to the Jewish owner of a small general store, he graduated from *Realschule* and served one year of a business apprenticeship. However, attracted since childhood to writing, he abandoned both his family and his heritage to be a ''good German.'' Thereafter he struggled to account for his decision. Meanwhile, as an editor for *Simplizissimus*, he gained entry to influential literary circles in Berlin* and Munich. After marrying the daughter of a Viennese entrepreneur, he settled in Austria* and formed friendships with Arthur Schnitzler and Hugo von Hofmannsthal.

Wassermann's first novel, *Die Juden von Zirndorf* (Jews of Zirndorf), appeared in 1897. It was followed by copious work that culminated in a pathos-filled trilogy completed just before his death: *Der Fall Maurizius* (The Maurizius case, 1928), *Etzel Andergast* (1931), and *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz* (Joseph Kerkhoven's third existence, 1934; banned in Germany). Preoccupied with injustice and the darker side of human nature, he was quite popular during the Weimar era. His 1908 novel *Caspar Hauser* depicts an innocent youth persecuted by people unable to tolerate his beautiful character; the widely celebrated *Gänsemännchen* (Gooseman, 1915) treats both the perpetual conflict of German and Jew* and a world verging on insanity. Both works engaged the sense of cultural crisis representative of turn-of-the-century Germany.

Wassermann was incapable of escaping his ethnic heritage. Yearning to be a German, he distanced himself from *Ostjuden*,* condemned Zionism, and boasted of six hundred years of Franconian forebears. Yet he despised rootless Jews (he

called them *Kulturjuden*), of which he was one, because they lacked solidarity with fellow Jews. He became increasingly pessimistic; his most interesting work is the 1921 autobiography *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* (*My Life as German and Jew*), in which he eloquently assailed German hatred of Jews while clinging to his own birthright as German and Jew. But by accenting the presumed existence of several ''Jewish traits''—cunning, instability, and materialism—*Mein Weg* reinforced stereotypes. Wassermann associated these characteristics with Jews involved in the revolutionary turmoil of 1918–1919—the ''outsiders'' who could not find comfort in middle-class German life.

Although Wassermann is now largely forgotten, many Germans (both Jews and non-Jews) believed him Thomas Mann's equal in the 1920s. Tragically, he lived to see his books burned. Current neglect of his work is due to a cliché-ridden, introspective style that did not endure World War II.

REFERENCES: Peter Gay, *Freud, Jews, and Other Germans*; Liptzin, *Germany's Stepchildren*; George Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism*; Wassermann, *My Life*.

WEBER, ALFRED (1868–1958), economist and sociologist; his ''synoptic sociology'' stressed intuition over reason. Born in Erfurt, the second son of a lawyer who sat in the Prussian *Abgeordnetenhaus*, he was the younger brother of Max Weber.* He took a doctorate in 1895 at Berlin* under Gustav Schmoller, completed his *Habilitation* in 1899, taught economics at Berlin, then was appointed full professor at Prague in 1904. He moved to Heidelberg in 1907 and remained there until his retirement. In 1909 he published *Über den Standort der Industrien* (Theory of the location of industries), an important analysis of the factors influencing the location of German industry after 1860. With his brother, he dominated the sessions of the Association for Social Policy (*Verein für Sozialpolitik*) for several years.

Weber worked for the Treasury Office during World War I and was prominent in founding the DDP in November 1918. With his friend Theodor Wolff,* he sat on the DDP's *Hauptvorstand* and was assigned to the Socialization Commission.* However, his unfounded accusations that Fritz Thyssen* and Hugo Stinnes* were negotiating with the Allies to establish a Rhenish state brought speedy demotion in December 1918. Despite his failed political career, he used his public experience to develop a sociology of politics that appeared in *Deutschland und die europäische Kulturkrise* (Germany and the European cultural crisis, 1924) and *Die Krise des modernen Staatsgedankens in Europa* (The crisis of the modern conception of the state in Europe, 1925). A refined version of Oswald Spengler's* ideas, his writings portrayed Germany's collapse in 1918 as a European catastrophe. He predicted the end of European predominance and feared the exploitation of public opinion in modern society.

Weber was forced to retire in 1933. He lived in isolation during the Nazi era and continued to write (albeit, his books were banned). His *Das Tragische und die Geschichte* (The tragic and history, 1943), judged his best work, is a rich blend of sociology and history. After 1945 he was deemed ''the grand old man

of Heidelberg.'' He was a member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and received the *Pour le Mérite* in 1954.
REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Demm, *Liberaler*; *IESS*.

WEBER, AUGUST (1871–1957), politician; Reichstag* faction leader for the DStP. Born in Oldenburg, he took a doctorate in law and became leaseholder for an estate in the Berlin* suburb of Teltow. A committed democrat, he served in the Reichstag during 1907–1912 as a leftist member of the National Liberal Party (NLP). In December 1918 he proposed that the NLP disband and merge with the new DDP.

Upon rejection of his proposal, Weber joined the DDP but retired from active politics. He engaged in private business and prospered as both landowner and small industrialist. In June 1928, following the DDP's poor showing in the May Reichstag elections, the *Liberale Vereinigung* (Liberal Association) invited him to succeed Ernst von Richter* (DVP) and Otto Fischbeck (DDP) as its chairman. Devoted to middle-class unity, he accepted the offer in hopes of achieving a united liberal party. While he gained widespread backing from the DDP and the DVP—including Erich Koch-Weser* and Gustav Stresemann*—the effort was futile. The depression* induced him to resume a political role. In October 1930, after Koch-Weser's resignation as Party chairman, he became vice chairman of the new DStP. A Reichstag deputy from September 1930 until July 1932 and faction chairman throughout, he supported Heinrich Brüning* and was an eloquent opponent of the NSDAP on the floor of the chamber. Convinced that the DStP should dissolve after the July 1932 elections, he resigned his Party membership in November.

Under Hitler* Weber attempted to live in Berlin as a private accountant. However, after being imprisoned on six occasions, he and his Jewish wife fled to England in February 1939. He was thereafter engaged in anti-Nazi propaganda activities.
REFERENCES: Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*; Max Schwarz, *MdR*.

WEBER, HELENE (1881–1962), politician; member of the Center Party's* Reichstag* faction and a leader in the Catholic* women's* movement. Born in Elberfeld (now in Wuppertal), she trained as a teacher and then taught at a *Volksschule* until 1905. In 1909, after further education, she became mistress (*Studienrätin*) of a secondary school. During the war she helped found the Social Women's School of the Catholic Women's Alliance (*Katholische Frauenbund*) and became its deputy chairman in 1917 when it relocated from Cologne to Aachen.

Weber expanded her purview in 1919, assuming a position with the Prussian Welfare Ministry in Berlin.* While still active in the Catholic Women's Alliance, she entered the National Assembly,* served in the Prussian Landtag during 1921–1924, and sat in the Reichstag during 1924–1933. An advocate for social

issues, especially those relating to the education of women, she was chairman of her Party's women's advisory board.

Shaken by the depression,* Weber opposed *Doppelverdiener* (two careers in one household) and drew up a motion in 1931 demanding the dismissal of married women from government employment as a contribution toward solving unemployment. In 1932 she gave outspoken support to a similar measure submitted by Heinrich Brüning.* She was among a minority of her Party's faction to oppose Hitler's* Enabling Act* in March 1933. Leaving the Reichstag in November 1933, she continued her welfare work and was loosely engaged in resistance activities. After World War II she returned to politics with the Christian Democratic Union.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Pregardier, *Helene Weber*; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*

WEBER, MAX (1864–1920), sociologist; the widely acknowledged father of modern sociology. He was born the first of eight children in Erfurt; his father was a lawyer who served as an Erfurt magistrate. From age five he grew up in Berlin* (his father had entered the Prussian *Abgeordnetenhaus*), where his home hosted academics and politicians. He began studies in law, history, and economics in 1882, took a doctorate at Berlin in 1889, and wrote his *Habilitation* in 1891 on Roman agrarian history. After stints as *Privatdozent* and *ausserordentlicher Professor*, he became Professor of Economics at Freiburg in 1893. Three years later he moved to Heidelberg. In 1903, the year he began *Die protestantische Ethik und den Geist des Kapitalismus* (The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism), Weber left the classroom due to recurring mental problems. He lived as a private scholar and teacher, became coeditor in 1904 of the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (Archive for social science and social policy) and, with the proposed Kaiser Wilhelm Society* as his model, founded the German Society for Sociology in 1909 with Ferdinand Tönnies,* Georg Simmel, and Werner Sombart.* In 1918 he returned to the classroom at Vienna.

Weber's prolific writings ranged from history to law. In 1913 he was separately researching the sociology of religion, the foundations of social economics, and the sociology of music.* His early investigations focused on agricultural life in eastern Germany, which he deemed a clash of two cultures: a residual feudal order and a new market economy. *Protestantische Ethik* was inspired by Ernst Troeltsch,* who was exploring the link between Calvinist theology and capitalist ethics. Weber's scholarship always endeavored to combine scientific rigor with concern for the vagaries of human nature. He is best remembered for his typology of legitimate authority and administration as outlined in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Economy and society). An erstwhile admirer of Bismarck, he professed the superiority of hierarchies and argued that political power should rest in the hands of a few—an elite derived from the socially secure middle classes. Even in a democracy, he argued, the inarticulate mass never governs; rather, it is governed. While he accepted Marx's view that the privileged possess

a disproportionate influence on policy formation, he rejected the notion that this was unacceptable. He believed that while political and economic leadership was exercised by a progressive elite, the success of a modern state necessitated bureaucratic officials selected for their technical ability. But he saw a distinction between political leaders (elite decision makers) and bureaucrats (expert advisors). The state must be served by its bureaucrats, not governed by them. A strong Reichstag* would hold the bureaucracy in check. Meanwhile, his ideal leader, a man of charisma, while elected by the masses, was immune to popular pressure and largely free to be an independent actor.

Weber's politics, embedded in his scholarship, were quite complex. Both realist and nationalist, he was a liberal with little faith in the masses and a monarchist who chastised the Kaiser. His wife (née Marianne Schnitger) was involved in the women's* movement. Consistently moving leftward, he urged liberalism but never retained a party allegiance for long. He held that Germany should pursue world power; yet, believing that the country must cooperate with England, he viewed German diplomacy from 1890 as a series of blunders. He supported Friedrich Naumann's* vision of *Mitteleuropa*, whereby a central European confederation under German leadership would stand against threats from both Western and Eastern Europe.

At the outbreak of World War I Weber was an officer with the Military Hospitals Commission. While he was enthusiastic in August 1914, he despaired after Germany's conquest of Belgium. Because of his veneration of the nation-state, Germany's defeat filled him with gloom; fearful of German dismemberment, he proposed a popular uprising to prevent the loss of eastern territory. He was embittered by the November Revolution* and, despite sitting on Heidelberg's Workers' and Soldiers' Council,* despised the council movement. Hoping to save the monarchy, he proposed a plebiscite to determine if Germans preferred a republic to a monarch. A *Vernunftrepublikaner*,* he quickly adjusted to the Republic, formed ties with the DDP, and in December 1918 became an advisor to the liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung*, for which he wrote on constitutional issues. As part of a preliminary constitutional committee, he recommended the popular, rather than parliamentary, election of the President. Yet he was deemed too radical by the DDP's leadership—he claimed in early 1919 to stand ''close to the Independent Socialists''—and his failure to get elected to the National Assembly* prevented him from advancing his ideas. In May 1919 he went to Versailles with the peace delegation. He moved to Munich in the spring of 1919 to assume Lujo Brentano's chair in economics, but died in 1920 of pneumonia.
REFERENCES: Gerth and Mills, *From Max Weber*; H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*; Käsler, *Max Weber*; Mitzman, *Iron Cage*; Wolfgang Mommsen, *Max Weber.*

WEGENER, PAUL (1874–1948), actor and director; Bertolt Brecht* deemed him one of Berlin's* two delights (the other being the underground railway). Born in the West Prussian town of Arnoldsdorf, he was an experienced actor when he joined Max Reinhardt* in 1906. While he worked with Reinhardt into

the 1920s, he was captivated by cinema (he claimed that ''light and darkness in the cinema play the same role as rhythm and cadence in music'') and was making films* before World War I. In *Student von Prague* (1913) he introduced the psychological motif of the *Doppelgänger*—the unobtrusive person with an independent, evil existence.

The possibilities of light effects inherent in the camera led Wegener to the Golem theme, based on a sixteenth-century legend from the Prague ghetto in which a rabbi creates a clay giant who is magically brought to life in order to help the Jewish community. Wegener modernized the legend. In his 1915 *Golem* (the first of three), the statue becomes a destructive monster when it is frustrated in its love for a girl. In the 1920 version, which uses macabre combinations of light and shadow, the monster is overcome by the innocence of a child. Wegener starred in several Ernst Lubitsch* films (e.g., *Sumurun* in 1920 and *Weib des Pharao* in 1922), worked for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer during 1925–1926, and then returned to Germany to be typecast in pathological roles. In 1928, as a scientist in *Alraune* (*Unholy Love*), his character experiments with artificial insemination to create an evil human being.

A powerful stage presence, Wegener performed in 1929 in Erwin Piscator's* *Rasputin* and in the 1932 production *Gott, Kaiser, und Bauer* (God, Kaiser, and peasant). Although contemporary testimony suggests that he rejected Nazism—his pacifistic book *Flandrisches Tagebuch* (Flanders diary) appeared in 1933—he remained in Germany during the Third Reich and directed two propaganda films. He was active in the theater* after 1945.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; *Masterworks of the German Cinema*; Thomson, *Biographical Dictionary of Film*.

WEHBERG, HANS (1885–1962), lawyer and scholar; noted pacifist and international jurist. Born in Düsseldorf to a socially committed physician, he took a doctorate in law at Bonn under Philipp Zorn (legal advisor at the 1899 Hague Conference) and then entered the Prussian civil service.* He was soon recognized as an eminent scholar in support of pacifism and human rights and was a founder in 1911 of the *Verband für internationale Verständigung* (Union for International Understanding). He coedited the *Zeitschrift für Völkerrecht* (established in 1906) from 1912. He hoped to write his *Habilitation* for Marburg's Walther Schücking,* but was denied admittance in 1912 due to his pacifism.

Wehberg was a member of the German Peace Society* and joined the new *Bund Neues Vaterland* (renamed the *Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte* in January 1922) during World War I. Embracing the charge of treason, he wrote *Als Pazifist im Weltkrieg* (As a pacifist in the World War) in 1919. During 1917–1919 he served on the staff of Kiel's Institute on World Economy. After the war he was president of the German Association for the League of Nations and was on the executive of the new Peace Cartel (*Friedenskartell*). Upon joining the council of Geneva's International Peace Bureau in 1923, he championed German admission to the League in hopes of rectifying what he viewed as

injustices meted out in the League's covenant. In 1924 he became editor of *Friedenswarte*; under his direction until 1962, *Friedenswarte* became a respected voice for peace and human rights. Less driven by pacifism than by advocacy of international law and arbitration, he found himself increasingly out of step with the radicals in the German Peace Society. Disillusioned with German pacifism, he welcomed appointment in 1928 as Professor of International Law at the Institut Universitaire des Hautes Études Internationales in Geneva, a status he retained until 1959. After World War II he served as president of the Institute of International Law.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Chickering, *Imperial Germany*; Kuehl, *Biographical Dictionary of Internationalists*.

WEHRVERBÄNDE. *See* Freikorps.

WEIGEL, HELENE. *See* Bertolt Brecht.

WEIL, FELIX. *See* Max Horkheimer.

WEILL, KURT (1900–1950), composer and musician; best known for his collaboration with Bertolt Brecht.* Born in Dessau to a Jewish cantor, he was soon drawn to music* and began studies with Albert Bing, music director at Dessau's court theater,* when he was fifteen. In 1918 he studied with Engelbert Humperdinck; in 1921 he joined Ferruccio Busoni's* composition master class at the Prussian Academy of Arts.

A champion of modern music, Busoni had a profound impact on Weill, who composed his first symphony in 1921. Weill soon became interested in musical theater and collaborated in 1925 with the playwright Georg Kaiser* on *Der Protagonist*, a one-act opera (he met the actress Lotte Lenya, his future wife, through Kaiser). He was also music critic from 1925 for *Der deutsche Rundfunk*, a weekly broadcasting journal. But he was above all Brecht's collaborator. From 1927, in five years of uneasy alliance, he created ballads and jazz to match Brecht's lyrics about murder, bourgeois morality, and prostitution. The famed *Threepenny Opera** (*Die Dreigroschenoper*) appeared in 1928; *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (Rise and fall of the city of Mahagonny) was completed in 1929, as was *Happy End*. He also wrote incidental music (e.g., *Mahagonny Songspiel*, *Kleine Dreigroschenmusik*, and songs for Brecht's *Mann ist Mann*). Although Arnold Schoenberg* quipped that Weill's ''is the only music in the world in which I can find no quality at all,'' by 1930 *Die Dreigroschenoper* had been performed more than 4,200 times throughout Europe.

The final Weill-Brecht collaboration, *Die Sieben Todsünden* (The seven deadly sins), premiered in Paris in June 1933. Of Jewish ancestry and a composer whose music epitomized *Kulturbolschewismus** to the NSDAP, Weill was facing arrest when he escaped to France in March 1933. In 1935 he emigrated to the United States. One of the few émigrés to prosper abroad, he refused to

pine for Berlin. Indeed, he so embraced New York that old associates accused him of selling out to Broadway. Actually, he understood that Americans were not interested in his German music. It took Lenya's efforts after his death for Americans to appreciate *The Threepenny Opera*; his mellow American compositions—for example, ''September Song,'' ''Mile after Mile,'' and ''Speak Low''—were quite popular in the 1930s and 1940s.

REFERENCES: Drew, *Kurt Weill*; Gilliam, *Music and Performance*; Sanders, *Days Grow Short*; Schebera, *Kurt Weill*; Ronald Taylor, *Kurt Weill*.

WEIMAR ASSEMBLY. *See* National Assembly.

WEIMAR COALITION; a parliamentary alliance comprising the SPD, the DDP, and the Center Party.* It originated in July 1917 when an interparty Reichstag* committee of the SPD, the Center, and the Progressive Party (precursor to the DDP) was created to draft a peace resolution and constitutional reforms. The coalition became a governing alliance when Philipp Scheidemann* formed the Republic's first cabinet in February 1919. Representing three-fourths of the National Assembly,* Scheidemann's cabinet united on the following issues: international disarmament; compulsory arbitration of disputes; educational opportunities for all Germans; creation of a democratic army; freedom of speech and the press; and freedom of religion and the arts. The partners struggled over socialization.

At the national (Reich) level, the coalition's viability deteriorated in the wake of the Versailles Treaty* and the Kapp* Putsch. Preserved under Gustav Bauer* and Hermann Müller,* the coalition lost its majority in the Reichstag elections of June 1920. Thereafter a key element of stability was missing because cabinet creation was complicated by the need either to embrace parties whose opinion of the Republic was ambivalent or to form minority cabinets. After June 1920 only four of Weimar's cabinets (two under Joseph Wirth* and the two Great Coalition* cabinets) included representatives from each of the coalition partners.

Politics in the state of Prussia* stood in stark and meaningful contrast to those at the Reich level. A Weimar Coalition (or a Great Coalition) governed Prussia under an SPD Prime Minister (Otto Braun* from 1920) from March 1919 until July 1932 (with brief interruptions in 1921 and 1925). Prussia's experience illustrated that consistent and clearly defined policies could lead to parliamentary success—and success at the polls. It also proved that coalition stability had less to do with a party's platform, which invariably changed, than with the pragmatism of individual ministers. Gustav Stolper* remarked in 1929 that what ''we have today is a coalition of ministers, not a coalition of parties'' (Kolb). In fact, from 1920 the coalition parties either feared cabinet responsibility (the SPD) or grew increasingly unreliable in their attitude toward the Republic (both the Center and the DDP).

REFERENCES: Frye, *Liberal Democrats*; Halperin, *Germany Tried Democracy*; Larry Jones, *German Liberalism*; Kolb, *Weimar Republic*.

WEIMAR CONSTITUTION. *See* Constitution.

WELS, OTTO (1873–1939), politician; on 23 March 1933, before the Reichstag,* he bravely condemned Hitler's* proposed Enabling Act.* Born to a Berlin* restaurant proprietor, he apprenticed as an upholsterer. At seventeen he joined the SPD and became Brandenburg's Party secretary in 1907 and chairman of the *Vorwärts** press organization in 1908. He was also a trade-union* activist. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1912 and, working with Friedrich Ebert* during World War I, he championed the SPD's promotion of *Burgfrieden* with the Kaiserreich.

Wels sat with the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* during the November Revolution.* As Berlin's commandant, charged with defending the Council of People's Representatives,* he was arrested by revolutionary sailors on 23 December 1918 for refusing to meet pay demands. When his life was threatened, the council's three SPD members (Ebert, Philipp Scheidemann,* and Otto Landsberg*) rescued him with Imperial Army troops. The action provoked the resignation of the council's three Independent Socialists.*

A political pragmatist, Wels promoted coalition politics. He entered the National Assembly* and remained in the Reichstag until 1933; throughout, he was a member of the SPD's *Parteivorstand*, a position he had held since 1913. With Carl Legien,* he incited the general strike during the March 1920 Kapp* Putsch that toppled the illicit regime; in the putsch's aftermath he forced Gustav Noske's* resignation as Defense Minister, but then rejected the Defense portfolio. Wary of the Reichswehr,* he championed the *Reichsbanner.**

From 1921 Wels was the perennial cochairman of the annual SPD congress. In 1931 he succeeded Hermann Müller* as senior Party chairman and Reichstag faction leader. Afraid of fomenting civil war or a military dictatorship, he came out against a general strike in the wake of Franz von Papen's* July 1932 coup against the Prussian government. Yet he was Hitler's outspoken opponent; on 23 March 1933, in response to the proposed Enabling Act, he exclaimed that no blessing would accrue from ''a peace imposed by violence''; ''one can take our freedom and our lives, but not our honor.'' He was fortunate to escape the chamber and soon fled Germany. He lived initially in Prague and led the exiled SPD in Paris from 1938. He died shortly after the outbreak of World War II.
REFERENCES: Brecht, *Prelude to Silence*; Breitman, *German Socialism*; Richard Hunt, *German Social Democracy*; Stachura, *Political Leaders.*

DIE WELTBÜHNE; a Berlin* weekly, identified with neo-Kantian idealism, that embraced the Left's quest for a socialism stripped of mundane materialism. Established in 1907 by Siegfried Jacobsohn* as *Die Schaubühne*, it was among Berlin's leading theatrical publications by 1912. While its attention remained focused until World War I on the arts, it was already cultivating an interest in politics before 1914. Increasingly absorbed by public issues, Jacobsohn changed the title in April 1918. Thereafter, its writers unveiled such sensational stories

as Weimar's illegal rearmament, the creation of a Black Reichswehr,* and the antirepublican bias of the judiciary. Not surprisingly, *Weltbühne* was repeatedly engaged in litigation. Its circulation rose, however, from 1,200 in 1917 to 20,000 in the early 1930s.

Jacobsohn edited *Weltbühne* until his death in 1926. His place was briefly assumed by Kurt Tucholsky,* its premier author, but Carl von Ossietzky* was editor during 1927–1933 (during Ossietzky's 1932 imprisonment, Hellmut von Gerlach* edited the journal). The members of its team of contributors—for example, Max Alsberg,* Alfred Döblin,* Lion Feuchtwanger,* Kurt Hiller,* Erich Kästner,* Heinrich Mann,* Walter Mehring,* René Schickele,* Helene Stöcker,* Ernst Toller,* and Arnold Zweig*—were largely of Jewish origin. Both editors and writers espoused sexual equality, the lifting of restraints on human rights (including homosexuality and abortion), a purge of the judiciary and bureaucracy, and pacifism. But their idealism made them poor judges of reality. For example, with Kantian enthusiasm, *Weltbühne* produced a manifesto in November 1918 demanding the linking of moral ideals with Marxism and the creation of a ''council of the wise'' composed of an unelected elite possessed of an ''ethical power of will.'' The Workers' and Soldiers' Councils* ignored such appeals.

Although the *Weltbühne* crowd was committed to socialist unity, it subverted that unity's achievement. Having formed a political affinity with the USPD, *Weltbühne* was politically estranged when a majority of the USPD fused with the KPD at the end of 1920; it rejected the notion of a proletarian dictatorship. Simultaneously, it was contemptuous of the SPD, branding Friedrich Ebert* a traitor. Its naïveté was exemplified in Ossietzky's claim that Weimar was a ''state without an idea, having a permanent case of bad conscience'' and Hiller's peculiar assertion that pragmatism is the substitution of fact collecting for speculation. Finally, its inability to analyze critical issues was manifested when it endorsed Ernst Thälmann* in the 1932 presidential elections; until this point it had ridiculed the Marxist orthodoxy adopted by Thälmann.

Weltbühne discounted Hitler* until it was too late, viewing Alfred Hugenberg*—villain of monopoly capitalism—as more dangerous to Germany's future. George Mosse maintained that its writers were critics par excellence; as such, they could only be enemies of the Republic. Rather than make constructive proposals for a new society, they focused on censuring remnants of the old Kaiserreich. On 7 March 1933 the journal's offices were seized by the SA.* At the infamous book burning of 11 May 1933, the Nazis enumerated the crimes of fifteen authors; thirteen had contributed to *Weltbühne*.

REFERENCES: Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; George Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism* and *Germans and Jews*; Wurgaft, *Activists*.

WERTHEIMER, MAX (1880–1943), psychologist; principal founder of Gestalt psychology. He was born in Prague. His father had been a successful Jewish banker who resigned to teach business; his mother was an accomplished pianist.

Given broad artistic interests and a circle of literary friends (including Max Brod and Franz Werfel), he struggled to select a career. After beginning legal studies in 1900, he took a doctorate in 1904 in criminal psychology at Würzburg. Of affluent means, he became an independent researcher and focused for a time on alexia at Vienna's Neuropsychiatric Clinic. He arrived in Frankfurt in 1910; his 1911–1912 experiments in perception at the Psychological Institute (with Wolfgang Köhler* and Kurt Koffka) gave rise to Gestalt theory, based on the premise that learning and perception form a single mental process.

Wertheimer, a captain in the German army, worked during the war on a direction finder for locating sounds. While the instrument illustrated Gestalt principles of auditory perception, it was used to aim shells. He was a *Privatdozent* at Berlin* during 1916–1929, where his brilliant lectures attracted students and faculty. He founded the journal *Psychologische Forschung* in 1921 and served as editor until 1935. In 1929 he became full professor at Frankfurt; he conducted research in experimental psychology and taught a philosophical seminar with Kurt Riezler, Paul Tillich,* and the neurologist Adhemar Gelb.

Wertheimer left Germany for Marienbad, Czechoslovakia, in March 1933. Receiving an invitation to join the New School for Social Research in New York, he took his family to the United States in September 1933. Although he was distressed when people linked *Gestaltpsychologie* with National Socialism, his classes inspired considerable interest in social psychology. He took American citizenship in 1939 and helped organize the Voice of America. His research on learning disorders appeared posthumously as *Productive Thinking*.

REFERENCES: Ash, ''Gestalt Psychology''; Henle, ''Rediscovering Gestalt Psychology''; Newman, ''Max Wertheimer''; Watson, ''Wertheimer.''

WESSEL, HORST (1907–1930), SA* leader; his murder by a member of the KPD, one of the infamous episodes in the struggle for Berlin's* streets, induced the Nazis to turn him into a martyr. Born in Bielefeld to a Lutheran pastor, he went to Berlin to study; instead, he joined the NSDAP in 1926. A leader of the SA in Berlin's Friedrichshain district, a KPD stronghold, he was shot and killed on 17 January 1930 by Albert Höhler, a Communist and pimp who had fought with Wessel over a prostitute. Within days of Hitler's* seizure of power, Höhler was killed by members of the SA.

Wessel is best remembered for the lyrics to the *Horst-Wessel Lied*, first published in September 1929 as a poem in *Der Angriff*.* A renowned Nazi marching song, it vied in importance during the Third Reich with the national anthem *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*. Joseph Goebbels* transformed the murdered Wessel into a ''blood witness'' for the movement. The Nazis later named numerous streets for him.

REFERENCES: *ETR*; Liang, *Berlin Police Force*.

WESTARP, KUNO GRAF VON (1864–1945), politician; chairman of the DNVP during 1926–1928. Born in Ludom in Posen (now in Poland), the scion

of Junker* aristocrats, he studied law before launching a civil-service* career. He was a *Landrat* in 1893–1902 and was police commissioner in Schöneberg and Wilmersdorf (Berlin* suburbs) during 1902–1908. From 1908, when he entered the Reichstag,* he was a senior judicial official in Berlin. As leader of the Conservative Party's parliamentary faction during the war, he demanded extreme annexations and was a vehement defender of Prussia's* three-class electoral system.

Westarp helped found the DNVP in November 1918. He was elected to the National Assembly* and remained in the Reichstag until July 1932. A diehard conservative, he deeply regretted the passing of the monarchy. Although he was embroiled in the March 1920 Kapp* Putsch, he salvaged his career after the coup collapsed. In articles written for the monarchist *Kreuzzeitung* he needled the army's leadership for its ''slavish subservience'' to the Republic; late in 1923 he was among those who urged Hans von Seeckt* to make himself dictator. When Seeckt, to his credit, laid aside dictatorial powers granted him in November 1923, Westarp was outraged. The Westarp-Seeckt relationship remained one in which the general was more reasonable and politically astute than the politician.

Although Westarp never warmed to parliamentary democracy, he increasingly cooperated with the Republic for economic reasons. Elected DNVP faction leader in February 1925 and Party chairman in March 1926, he led the DNVP into coalition cabinets in January 1925 (Hans Luther's* first cabinet) and January 1927 (Wilhelm Marx's* fourth cabinet), gestures that linked him with Gustav Stresemann's* foreign policy. Such pragmatism alienated him from Party radicals, led by Alfred Hugenberg.* Hugenberg exploited the DNVP's poor showing in the May 1928 elections to launch an offensive against the old Conservatives. Westarp retired as Party chairman in October 1928 and then resigned as faction leader in December 1929 (Hugenberg succeeded him in both posts). Although he contested the Young Plan* during 1929, he resigned from the DNVP in July 1930 over Hugenberg's radical opposition to Chancellor Heinrich Brüning*; with Gottfried Treviranus,* he thereupon founded the KVP. He was one of four KVP members elected to the Reichstag in September 1930 and retained his seat until July 1932. Failing to gain election in April 1932 to the Prussian Landtag, he ended his political career and retired to Berlin as a writer. In June 1945, weeks before his death, he was arrested by the Red Army.

Westarp was not a *Vernunftrepublikaner*.* He was friendly with Paul von Hindenburg* (although he accused him of culpability in the Kaiser's abdication), and his cooperation with the Republic coincided with the *Feldmarschall*'s election as President. His compromises with the Republic were based on the hope that Hindenburg would institute an authoritarian system. Brüning's Presidential Cabinet* appealed to him largely because it subverted the Reichstag.

REFERENCES: Bracher, *Auflösung*; Chanady, ''Disintegration''; Dorpalen, *Hindenburg*; Grathwol, *Stresemann and the DNVP*.

WIENE, ROBERT. *See The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari.*

WIESBADEN AGREEMENT; an accord finalized on 7 October 1921 between Germany and France whereby Germany agreed to pay reparations* in kind for the reconstruction of France. While the Wiesbaden concept responded to problems inherent in the London Ultimatum (*see* Reparations), it originated with Konstantin Fehrenbach's* government and thus preceded disclosure of the ultimatum. Negotiated at Wiesbaden on 12–14 June, the accord was the work of Walther Rathenau,* the new Reconstruction Minister, and Louis Loucheur, France's Minister of Liberated Territories. On 2 June Rathenau renewed Fehrenbach's April proposal that Germany supply equipment and workers for French reconstruction. Not only did the French respond promptly and positively, they urged formation of a private corporation for a program of deliveries and in-kind payments.

Hardly more than a tentative and partial solution to reparations, Wiesbaden was reviled in Germany, but it was important for several reasons. First, it was an effort, albeit negligible, to make reparations an economic rather than a political issue. Second, it revealed a willingness in France and Germany to negotiate bilaterally without recourse to the Reparation Commission. Third, while it reinforced the absurdity of the London Payment Schedule, it underscored Germany's honest effort to meet its obligations.

Above all, Wiesbaden was a subtle piece of Chancellor Joseph Wirth's* scheme of achieving revision of the Versailles Treaty* through a policy of fulfillment.* As a psychological ploy, it had some success; provisional relief on reparations was forthcoming. But as a practical arrangement, it failed. The final accord, scheduled to expire in May 1926, called for the transfer of a broad range of products—the equivalent of seven billion gold marks over four and one half years—with Germany receiving up to 35 percent in reparation credit for any one year, to be repaid after 1926. But French businessmen feared a flood of reparations deliveries, German businessmen were loath to give up potential exports just as inflation* was heating up, and the Reparation Commission pleaded incompetence to rule on the accord. When Rathenau resigned in October 1921, it was largely due to Wiesbaden. Carl Bergmann,* the German reparations expert, christened the agreement an unworkable piece of ''political window dressing.''

REFERENCES: Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 1; Feldman, *Great Disorder*; Felix, *Walther Rathenau*; Fink, *Genoa Conference*; Kent, *Spoils of War.*

WILHELM II. *See* Monarchism.

WINNIG, AUGUST (1878–1956), labor leader, politician, and writer; an erstwhile socialist expelled from the SPD for supporting the Kapp* Putsch. Born in Blankenburg am Harz to the family of a gravedigger, he apprenticed as a

mason and was a trade-union* activist before 1900. He became deputy chairman of the construction union in 1913, the year he entered Hamburg's *Bürgerschaft* (City Assembly). He joined the patriotic *Deutsche Gesellschaft 1914* and supported the SPD's right wing during the war (he was a soldier in 1915–1916); after he opposed the July 1917 Peace Resolution, he was tagged a ''social imperialist.'' During the November Revolution* (which he detested) he was emissary to the Baltic provinces.* He became East Prussia's *Oberpräsident* after his election to the National Assembly.*

Winnig soon nurtured ties with the Freikorps* and was steadily drawn to radical nationalism. After he supported Kapp in March 1920, Prussia* stripped him of his office and the SPD expelled him. He then settled in Potsdam, studied history and economics during 1922–1924, and was increasingly linked with neoconservatism. He was a contributor to the rightist *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*; his essays supported Hugo Stinnes* while condemning an allegedly Jewish-inspired effort to foster class war among German workers. With Ernst Niekisch,* he resigned from the Young Socialist movement in 1925 to form the *Widerstandsbewegung* (Resistance Movement), a group identified with National Bolshevism.* Again with Niekisch, he formed a splinter group in 1927 called the *Alte Sozialistische Partei*. Although he was an apologist for the Kaiserreich, his book *Das Reich als Republik* poignantly observed that ''when the Republic took the place of the Monarchy, nobody opposed the Republic in order to die for the Monarchy.'' With Paul Lensch, another renegade socialist, he published the biweekly *Der Firn*, a journal that opposed communism while promoting nationalist revolution. Although Winnig joined the KVP in 1930, he was drawn to the NSDAP; in 1932 he described Nazism as ''a German necessity.'' He was enthusiastic when Hitler* seized power, but failed to join the NSDAP and slowly became a Christian-conservative critic of the regime. His autobiographical writings (e.g., *Frührot*) were examined by the Gestapo, but were not placed on an index of forbidden books.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Schumacher, *M.d.R.*; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

WIRTH, JOSEPH (1879–1956), politician; the youngest Chancellor (forty-two) in German history and one of the few Catholic* leaders to give unequivocal support to parliamentary democracy. Born to a machinist in Freiburg, he was raised in a home that engaged in political debate; an older brother joined the DDP, while a younger one represented the SPD in Baden's Landtag. After taking a doctorate in mathematics in 1905, he taught from 1908 at Freiburg's Realgymnasium. But social issues led him to the Center Party,* and he entered the city council in 1911. He was elected to Baden's Landtag in 1913 and won a Reichstag* seat the next year in a runoff election; he remained in the national chamber until 1933.

Wirth was soon linked with Matthias Erzberger,* the Center's most progressive voice (the two men were never close colleagues). When the Kaiserreich

collapsed, Erzberger and Wirth were identified as the Party's ''new men,'' although neither had called for the Kaiser's abdication. Wirth became Baden's Finance Minister after the Armistice* was signed, a position he retained until March 1920. Soon after the Kapp* Putsch Hermann Müller* named him Reich Finance Minister. Preserving the policies of his predecessor, Erzberger, he supported a progressive tax that might solidify Germany's weak finances. But the task grew onerous when finances were aggravated by reparations* while he was Finance Minister under Konstantin Fehrenbach* (June 1920–May 1921).

Wirth did not enjoy deep support in his Party (his opponents included Adam Stegerwald* and Heinrich Brauns*), but when Fehrenbach's cabinet collapsed in May 1921, senior Party leaders Peter Spahn and Karl Trimborn endorsed a Wirth government. Once in office, he showed an enthusiasm unmatched by Center colleagues. His optimism and republicanism also set him apart from Catholic cohorts, many of whom viewed the Chancellorship as a burden, not an honor. He also enjoyed an excellent relationship with Hans von Seeckt*; taking office amidst a crisis in Upper Silesia,* he facilitated the use of Freikorps* units to combat Polish insurgents in the province.

Wirth was a lightning rod for controversy. Throughout his two cabinets (May–October 1921 and October 1921–November 1922), he allowed Seeckt to pursue secret talks aimed at enhancing military cooperation with Soviet Russia, and he shielded President Ebert* from the details. His enmity toward Poland* encouraged an ambivalent foreign policy. Although he was identified with fulfillment,* he equivocated between East and West, prompting Walther Rathenau,* his friend and Foreign Minister, to sign the Rapallo Treaty* with Russia. His final months as Chancellor were plagued by worries. Rathenau's murder led him to denounce the Republic's ''enemies on the Right'' (''*Dieser Feind steht rechts!*''). His subsequent Law for the Protection of the Republic* alienated conservatives and sharpened conflict with Bavaria.* Finally, his own cabinet disparaged both Rapallo and his reparations policy.

Out of office, Wirth became a loner, identified more with the SPD than with his own Party. As a leading republican, he opposed the Center's entry into Hans Luther's* cabinet in 1924—a cabinet that included four members from the DNVP. When in August 1925 his faction supported a DNVP bill for agricultural tariffs, he announced his desire to organize Center deputies supportive of the Republic; the result, his *Republikanische Union*, alienated Catholics fearful that he might split the Party. Publicly supportive of the *Reichsbanner*,* he warned Catholics that the future of democracy depended upon their loyalty to the Republic. In 1927, while he was denouncing a bill to increase civil-service* salaries, his censure of Wilhelm Marx* was so extreme that Marx, the Party chairman, threatened to have him disciplined.

After serving as Minister of Occupied Territories in Hermann Müller's* second cabinet, Wirth became Heinrich Brüning's* Interior Minister. By this point he had lost his spark and no longer spoke against his Party. In 1930 he severed his ties with the *Reichsbanner* and disbanded the *Republikanische Union*. In

October 1931, at President Hindenburg's* request, he was dropped from Brüning's cabinet.

Although Wirth was one of the few Catholics ready to vote against Hitler's* March 1933 Enabling Act,* he maintained Party discipline and helped pass the law. He soon moved to Switzerland, where he associated with the resistance. When he died, an embittered old man, his passing went unnoticed—a sad epilogue for a political rebel so devoted to the Republic.

REFERENCES: Ellen Evans, *German Center Party*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, 2 vols; Freund, *Unholy Alliance*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Knapp, ''Joseph Wirth.''

WISSELL, RUDOLF (1869–1962), politician and trade-union* official; the Republic's first Economics Minister. Born in Göttingen to a chief helmsman (*Obersteuermann*), he apprenticed as a metalworker. He joined the SPD in 1888 and took a job in Kiel in 1893, where he became active in the local metalworkers' union. In 1901 he became union secretary in Lübeck (he sat on the city assembly during 1905–1908). He moved to Berlin* in 1908 as second secretary in the Central Workers' Secretariat and he succeeded Robert Schmidt* in 1910 as first secretary, a post he retained until 1918. In March 1918 he gained a Reichstag* seat.

During the November Revolution* Wissell served Carl Legien* as deputy chairman of the General Commission of German Trade Unions. When the USPD withdrew in December 1918 from the Council of People's Representatives,* he entered the interim cabinet with responsibility for social policy. He was elected to the National Assembly* and became Economics Minister in February 1919. In ensuing weeks he and Wichard von Moellendorff* drafted a plan for a quasi-corporatist economy that they submitted to the cabinet in May. Industrialists were ambivalent about the plan: while it appealed to their desire for self-government, it limited their freedom of action. Although the SPD provided spirited support, the cabinet struggled with the plan for two months. Finally, upon its rejection by the new cabinet of Gustav Bauer,* Wissell indignantly resigned his ministry on 12 July.

A skilled writer who had edited a key trade-union newspaper* since 1916, Wissell retained sizable influence in labor circles. In January 1920 he entered the managing board of the new General German Trade Union Federation (ADGB) and took charge of its social-policy section. Succeeding years found him immersed as an arbitrator in labor disputes. He was a power in the Reichstag from 1920 and served in 1928–1930 as Labor Minister in Hermann Müller's* second cabinet. But his determined opposition to a bill reducing unemployment benefits doomed Müller's coalition in March 1930. Following imprisonment in May–June 1933 he lived in retirement in Berlin. After World War II he resumed his union and political activity.

REFERENCES: Barclay, ''Insider as Outsider'' and *Rudolf Wissell*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Breitman, *German Socialism*; Feldman, *Great Disorder*.

WOLFF, KURT (1887–1963), publisher; with Samuel Fischer* and Ernst Rowohlt,* helped set the contours of modern German literature and twentieth-century publishing. Born in Bonn to a music* professor, he completed Gymnasium in 1906 and went to Brazil for a banking apprenticeship in São Paulo. He soon sensed that the trip was a mistake and returned home to study German language and literature. In 1908, while studying at Leipzig, he founded the first Ernst Rowohlt Verlag with Rowohlt; in November 1912, after four successful years, the partnership was dissolved and the firm became the Kurt Wolff Verlag (KWV). What followed was a period of restless expansion and accomplishment. Erik-Ernst Schwabach's *Verlag der Weissen Bücher* was acquired in 1914, and the *Verlag der Schriften von Karl Kraus* (Press for the Writings of Karl Kraus) was formed in 1916. In 1918, with Peter Reinhold and Curt Thesing, he created *Der Neue Geist Verlag*; in 1921 he purchased the Berlin-based Hyperion-Verlag from Rowohlt. Finally, owing to Germany's precarious economics, he created the Pantheon Casa Editrice in Florence in 1924. This empire allowed him to indulge diverse interests in art (Pantheon), sociology (Neue Geist), literary masterworks (Hyperion), and Expressionism* (KWV). By the mid-1920s his array of German-language authors (he also had a broad international clientele) included Lou Andreas-Salomé, Walter Hasenclever,* Kurt Hiller,* Franz Kafka, Else Lasker-Schüler,* Heinrich Mann,* Joseph Roth,* Carl Sternheim,* Fritz von Unruh,* and Franz Werfel.

Wolff held a reserve commission and was mobilized in August 1914; with Hasenclever, a friend since university, he spent two years in Belgium, Russia, and the Balkans. In September 1916, on instructions from the *Grossherzog* of Hesse, he was discharged to return to publishing. He moved KWV to Munich in October 1919 and, because of its size, incorporated it in February 1921. The inflation* crisis cost him many of his best authors. In 1930, exhausted by financial worry, he sold his holdings rather than face bankruptcy. After living abroad for two years, he settled in Berlin* late in 1932 in hopes of directing a radio station. Soon after the Reichstag fire, however, he left Germany. For eight years he lived with his family and Hasenclever in France and Italy. In March 1941, after more than a year in French internment camps, he fled to the United States. The next year he founded Pantheon Books; among its titles were English translations of Hermann Broch, Stefan George,* Robert Musil,* and Günter Grass. He resigned from Pantheon in 1960 and worked in his final years for Harcourt, Brace and World.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Ermarth, *Kurt Wolff.*

WOLFF, OTTO (1881–1940), industrialist; an iron merchant who was a trusted advisor to several Weimar politicians. Born in Cologne, he founded a wholesale firm in 1904 that dealt in scrap iron. Aided by a procurement officer, he profited in World War I from the government's high demand for steel; after the Armistice* he exploited the glut of surplus armaments to become a leading wholesaler in scrap metal. To gain an international market, he took control of

a trading company in the Netherlands to camouflage his products with a Dutch label. He also adjusted to the inflation,* using quick earnings to expand into copper mining, steel production, shipping, and machine manufacturing. Two firms in which he had large holdings, Rheinstahl and Phoenix, were major steel manufacturers; when they were absorbed in 1926 into Fritz Thyssen's* giant steel concern, the United Steel Works, Wolff joined the cartel's supervisory board. He secured control over much of the conglomerate's exports.

Despite his striking success, including inroads into the Soviet Union,* Wolff remained an outsider among Germany's heavy industrialists. Deemed an unpredictable speculator, he kept his own council (such as one-on-one dealings with France during the Ruhr occupation*) and was, consequently, distrusted by the likes of Gustav Krupp,* Paul Reusch,* and Thyssen. Moreover, his interests and politics were often out of step with those of potential business allies. Author of a solid biography of Gabriel Julien Ouvrard (a financial speculator during the French Revolution), he gave generously to Gustav Stresemann* and eventually gained access to the Foreign Minister. He was friendly with Kurt von Schleicher* and was an outspoken champion of Heinrich Brüning* (for whom he became an advisor); he promoted the cabinets of both Franz von Papen* and Schleicher.

Wolff's relationship with the Nazis remains enigmatic. During 1932 the Nazis vilified him as a war profiteer, and Wolff, in turn, counseled Schleicher against forming a connection with Hitler.* Yet testimony exists that he contributed to the NSDAP before Hitler's Chancellorship. Since he vainly pressed Schleicher to declare martial law (placing President Hindenburg* in custody) upon learning of Hitler's impending appointment on 29 January 1933, the veracity of the testimony is dubious. During the Third Reich he withdrew from his public role, but did not suffer serious economic disadvantage.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Feldman, *Great Disorder* and *Iron and Steel*; Turner, *German Big Business*.

WOLFF, THEODOR (1868–1943), journalist; editor-in-chief of the *Berliner Tageblatt* (*BT*). Born to a textile wholesaler in Berlin,* he was drawn to theater* and was active in his youth in the Naturalist *Freie Bühne* movement; two of his plays were produced by Max Reinhardt.* For twelve years (1894–1906) he was Paris correspondent for *BT*, a liberal newspaper* owned and published by his cousin, Rudolf Mosse.* His superb coverage of the Dreyfus affair won him accolades in Berlin and helped secure his appointment as editor in 1906. With his democratic convictions, he transformed *BT* into the foremost mouthpiece of a coherent progressive liberalism. He also championed a free-trade, antiagrarian perspective that appealed to a Jewish economic elite. Not surprisingly, anti-Semites* labeled the newspaper the *Judenblatt*—the organ of the ''golden (Jewish) International.'' He also advocated Anglo-German understanding and, heeding his country's drift toward war, became a severe critic of the naval policies of Alfred von Tirpitz.*

Soon after Germany entered World War I, Wolff joined the new *Bund Neues Vaterland* (a circle of internationalists) and turned *BT* into a mouthpiece for a sane foreign policy, attacking German annexations and condemning submarine warfare. Among his targets was Gustav Stresemann*—a matter of importance for the postwar era. On several occasions *BT* was banned and Wolff was forbidden to write, but he never compromised his ideals and made *BT* available to antiannexationists attached to the Progressive Party. Not surprisingly, he was berated during the Weimar era as a preeminent November Criminal.*

Wolff was already crusading for parliamentary democracy when, faced with German defeat, he convened a meeting of left-wing liberals on 10 November at the *BT* offices; it proved to be an organizational session for the DDP. Unfortunately, the war-induced antipathy to Stresemann prevented liberal unity—a misfortune for the Republic. Friendly with the DDP's Hugo Preuss,* Wolff linked *BT* with his friend's constitutional proposals, but when he failed to persuade the DDP to validate a left-liberal course, he quit the Party's *Hauptvorstand* in April 1919. Thereafter, while he remained a brilliant voice for the Republic, his impact on public affairs was negligible. Although he was an inveterate Francophile, he opposed the Versailles Treaty*; however, once it was signed, he pleaded that its terms be observed while backing moderate efforts at treaty revision. Indeed, with a large readership in the lost territories of West Prussia,* Posen, and Upper Silesia*, he was an implacable foe of the new Polish state. Horrified when three DDP deputies sponsored the Law for the Protection of Youth against Trash and Filth* (limiting the sale of pornography), he resigned from the Party in December 1926. Despite mutual hostility, there was a rapprochement with Stresemann from 1923, with Wolff increasingly supportive of the Foreign Minister's policies. In May 1928 he introduced the concept of a new liberal party led by Stresemann and Joseph Wirth.* Although he was ineffective, he continued to sponsor the idea after Stresemann's death. As a matter of expediency, he pledged support to the new DStP in 1930.

Attacks on Weimar culture and politics often referenced Wolff. A powerful intellect who retained ties with the theater, he became the subject of rumors that he was to be replaced at *BT*. But while he feuded regularly with Hans Lachmann-Mosse (Rudolf's son-in-law and owner of *BT* after 1920), it took the NSDAP to engineer his dismissal in March 1933. A republican and of Jewish ancestry, he had no illusions about the impact of a Hitler* Chancellorship. Soon after the Reichstag* fire he settled in Nice. Italian occupation police arrested him in May 1943 and delivered him to the Gestapo. After a painful prison ordeal he died in a Jewish hospital in Berlin.

REFERENCES: Eksteins, *Limits of Reason*; Köhler, *Chef-Redakteur Theodor Wolff*; Werner Mosse, *German-Jewish Economic Élite* and ''Rudolf Mosse''; Gotthart Schwarz, *Theodor Wolff*; Wolff, *Through Two Decades*.

WOMEN. Although the circumstances and attitudes of German women in the Weimar years are too diverse for simple definition, a few issues compel ex-

amination. Buoyed by a Constitution* that provided equal suffrage with men (Article 22), declared men and women ''fundamentally'' equal before the law (Article 109), and abolished discrimination against women in the civil service* (Article 128), women had reason to be proud of their achievements in 1919. But they soon learned that the Constitution was a statement of intent often violated at the national and state levels. Within the civil service, for example, married women might be pressured to resign employment; the fringe benefits provided women, whether married or not, were often lower than those for men, while salary levels were depressed by using lower grades. Although publicly employed women often worked under better conditions than those in private employ, their situations did not comply with Article 128. Of the 61,462 women publicly employed in 1923, about 60,000 were in the postal system, the great majority being telephone operators and counter clerks. This was not so much a policy of deliberate discrimination as a mentality (not confined to Germany) that women belonged in certain sectors of the economy. When Germany sank into depression,* a campaign against so-called *Doppelverdiener* (double earners) was chiefly applied to working wives in public and private sectors.

More profound than failure to enforce constitutional provisions was the attitude of women toward those provisions. Suffrage was not owed to the hard-fought battle of women—as was the case in Britain and the United States—but to military defeat and revolution. In fact, suffrage came when women least expected it. In 1914, the League of German Women's Societies (*Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*, BDF), a largely middle-class *Spitzenverband* founded in 1894, grasped the chance to be part of the war effort by setting up the National Women's Service (*Nationaler Frauendienst*). By 1917 numerous women served in vital capacities from which they had previously been barred. Yet while suffrage had been a key issue energizing the BDF in 1900, few members were focused on the vote by 1918; many more opposed it. Ultimately, suffrage was viewed as a foreign import and meant little to women who had not struggled for it; throughout the 1920s they were less inclined than men to vote. Moreover, those parties favoring equal rights—the DDP, but also the SPD and the KPD—received relatively fewer votes from women at elections. In general, women stressed party loyalty before perceived interests as women: as conservatives and middle-class liberals, they supported the *Volk* (nation); as Catholics,* they affirmed a commitment to religion; as socialists or Communists, they bolstered class issues. Not only did women support the whole range of parties irrespective of platforms on women's rights, but they voted less frequently for the SPD than men and more frequently for the male-dominated Center Party.* In general, they closed ranks with men who shared their views rather than cooperate as women across the political spectrum.

It would be misleading to claim that Germany did not possess militant feminists. Radicals—for example, Anita Augspurg, Lida Heymann, and Helene Stöcker*—campaigned in the 1920s for pacifism, social equality, and sexual freedom, but they represented a tiny minority and were largely without effect.

The posture of the BDF, on the contrary, not only spoke to the average woman throughout the Weimar era but reflected current German attitudes. Shaken by social and economic problems, men and women were united in their fear of an age that threatened their existence. The BDF publicly stated that ''selfless dedication to the whole people'' required women to return to ''tasks appropriate to their nature.'' Its focus on the national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*) led some to dub the BDF the embodiment of ''organized motherliness'' (*organisierte Mütterlichkeit*). While radicals lost their momentum, new groups, less concerned with rights than with economic interests, proliferated and joined the BDF. The largest, the Housewives' Union (*Reichsverband der deutschen Hausfrauenvereine*), had 200,000 members by 1931 and was supportive of the DNVP. Indeed, while the prewar BDF had been dominated by the Progressive Party (precursor to the DDP), the postwar BDF moved steadily to the political Right. Although Gertrud Bäumer,* a key member of the DDP who served as BDF president during 1910–1919, retained enormous influence on the BDF's executive until 1933, her liberalism became suspect. Emma Ender, president during 1924–1931, represented the DVP; Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, president during 1931–1933, voted for the DNVP and wrote of her nostalgia for the Kaiserreich. Thus, as time passed, leadership shifted to the Right and the BDF as a whole expanded its support for parties hostile to feminism. By the mid-1920s the BDF's attacks on libertarianism found substance in support for the Law for the Protection of Youth against Trash and Filth.* The BDF never campaigned actively for the rights guaranteed women by the Constitution; doing so would have offended the organization's most powerful member groups. Of course, this was self-defeating because the BDF failed to defend the interests of many of its members. For example, when the depression provoked dismissal of married female employees as a way of alleviating male unemployment, the BDF raised no objection; most no doubt perceived such action as in the interests of men and women alike.

Young women were more inclined after 1929 to join the NSDAP than the BDF. Meanwhile, Hitler* was careful never to say that women were inferior but, rather, in their own way, equal to men. Indeed, he used BDF arguments—for example, that women were performing the equivalent of military service by risking their lives in childbirth—to attract female votes. Actually, the BDF pursued aims throughout the Weimar era that had much in common with those of the NSDAP. When Hitler proclaimed that ''equal rights for women means that they experience the esteem that they deserve in the areas for which nature had intended them,'' he was echoing the BDF's program. Soon after he became Chancellor, the Nazi *Frauenfront* (Women's Front) began synchronizing the BDF. Since its constitution dictated independence, the executive dissolved the BDF in May 1933; dissolution was not an act of defiance. Its chief organ, *Die Frau*, was deemed sufficiently sympathetic to NSDAP ideals to continue publication under Bäumer's editorship until 1944.

REFERENCES: Boak, ''Women in Weimar Germany''; Bridenthal and Koonz, ''Beyond

Kinder''; Caplan, *Government without Administration*; Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics*; Richard Evans, *Comrades and Sisters* and *Feminist Movement*; Greenberg, *Literature and Sensibilities*; Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*; McIntyre, ''Women and the Professions.''

WORKERS. *See* Trade Unions.

WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCILS (*Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte*).

Inspired by the slogan ''all power to the councils'' (*''Alle Macht den Räten''*), Germany's council system was launched on 3 November 1918 by mutinous sailors in Kiel. Gaining greater support from the Revolutionary Shop Stewards* than from the Spartacus League,* the councils spread rapidly to every key city and town; the Stewards organized Berlin's first council on 9 November. In large cities executives (*Vollzugsräte* or *Zentralräte*) were formed to coordinate the work of several councils; the executive of the Greater Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils had twenty-eight members—fourteen workers and fourteen soldiers—divided equally between the SPD and the USPD. In addition to workers' and soldiers' groups, Bavaria* had peasants' councils, and there were factory and revolutionary workers' councils as offshoots of, and sometimes in competition with, preexisting groups.

The spontaneous appearance of councils in the war's last days was the November Revolution's* most innovative feature. Recent studies tend to dismiss the theory that they were a reflection of their Russian counterparts (Soviets), no matter how much their appearance may have been a product of the Russian example. Because the Workers' Councils were improvised in most cities on the basis of the local workers' political orientation, they were inevitably dominated in all but a few cities by the SPD and moderate Independents. Such was the political isolation in late 1918 of the extreme Left (e.g., the Spartacists) that some Workers' Councils even had middle-class elements in their membership. The Soldiers' Councils were even less moved by the Soviet model. They often reproduced the army's structure and constituted themselves as a sort of localized General Staff. Although the inclination of these bodies was to dismiss local officials compromised by their connection with the Kaiserreich, most envisioned their role as supportive of new coalition governments in both the Reich and the *Länder* (states) whose composition would be based on parliamentary elections. To the chagrin of the Spartacists, the councils expressed their desire at the national Congress* of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils (16–21 December 1918) for the early election of a National Assembly* (a motion favoring elections on 19 January 1919 carried by a vote of 400 to 50). While war-weary members might have varied local objectives, their chief concerns were the maintenance of order, regulation of food supplies, and control of transportation.

The December vote was coupled, however, with demands for the democratization of the bureaucracy and the army and for socialization of key industries. When it became clear that such reforms were unlikely, a marked radicalization

of the workers' movement impacted council deliberations. Yet the period of revolutionary transition was essentially over by January 1919. By rejecting a socialist *Räterepublik*, the Congress underscored that the legitimacy of council rule would end with the election of the National Assembly. Whereas localized ambiguity persisted—*Räterepubliken* were formed in Bremen and Munich—most councils dissolved by early February. The bloody period in the winter and spring of 1919 was largely owed to the withdrawal of moderate socialists and trade unionists from those councils that persevered beyond February. Radicals, with a revolutionary agenda but a weaker base of support, assumed control of the rump organizations. It became a Freikorps* assignment to force fealty from these bodies. Although most had vanished by May, Berlin's executive sustained a dubious existence until August 1919.

REFERENCES: Carsten, *Revolution*; Kolb, *Arbeiterräte* and *Weimar Republic*; Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*; Morgan, *Socialist Left*; Ryder, *German Revolution of 1918*.

WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. Assembled in Geneva at the behest of the League of Nations, the meeting that opened on 2 February 1932 was the largest international gathering since the Paris Peace Conference. It aimed at a convention substantially limiting ''all national armaments.'' Years in preparation, it attracted delegates from about sixty states and was moderated by Arthur Henderson, Britain's former Foreign Secretary. Germany's delegation, while fluid, was led throughout by Rudolf Nadolny, a diplomat known for his courage and arrogance; the military was represented by Werner von Blomberg,* an NSDAP sympathizer. The proceedings attracted broad public attention, and Geneva was temporarily home to scores of pacifists and arms dealers.

Burdened domestically by reparations* and depression,* Chancellor Heinrich Brüning* faced a growing demand in 1932 for German withdrawal from the League. Thus he viewed Geneva as crucial to preserving Germany's international commitment. Although Part V of the Versailles Treaty* (Articles 159–213) had instituted rigorous demands for German disarmament, its preface noted that such disarmament would make possible ''the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations.'' In addressing the conference on 9 February, Brüning employed this statement to call for equality ''of rights and security for all peoples.'' Great Britain and the United States sympathized with his remarks. The conference's opening deliberations ended in February; its technical discussions, proceeding for months, were repeatedly interrupted and ultimately sank into a quagmire over the definition of aggressive weaponry. Yet Brüning gained a tactical victory in April 1932 when the British, American, and Italian delegates agreed to replace Part V of Versailles with an agreement abrogating limitations on German military strength. As France was concurrently embroiled in an electoral campaign, the French postponed consideration of the proposal; by the time it was reintroduced for debate, Brüning had left office.

For Brüning, Germany's moral claim at Geneva was general disarmament; however, he hoped that the conference would embrace a principle of equality.

Although he was replaced by Franz von Papen* in late May, Brüning's ambition was retained by Nadolny and Foreign Office Secretary Bernhard von Bülow.* But Papen was suspect at Geneva. Moreover, Defense Minister Kurt von Schleicher* disapproved of any concession that fell short of ''full equality''; if consensus was not possible, he recommended that Germany quit the conference. Although he was chiefly concerned with German weakness vis-à-vis France, Schleicher also hoped to neutralize the NSDAP with concessions that might allow Germany to transform the SA* into a militia under army auspices. However, this ambition entailed a revision of Versailles unacceptable to France.

Schleicher's inflexibility induced the Foreign Office, led since June 1932 by Konstantin von Neurath,* to quit the conference in September. When the Germans reappeared in December (Schleicher was then Chancellor), the conference concurred with the principle of equality within a system providing security for all nations. Hitler's* ambition was facilitated by this concession. Whether or not the conference succeeded, the issue of equality had been validated; should it fail, Germany would be entitled to rearm. When Blomberg assumed the Defense Ministry in February 1933, the Germans actually sharpened their intransigence in hopes that the conference would fail. But Hitler, still consolidating his power, dictated greater accommodation. Nonetheless, events in Geneva came to his aid. In March Britain's Ramsay MacDonald made an appeal for equality; his proposal became the basis for a formal disarmament convention. However, after a recess, France demanded that MacDonald's plan be modified. Hitler quickly exploited this demand, denouncing French intransigence and withdrawing from both the conference and the League of Nations. His move was extolled in Germany, receiving 95 percent approval in a November plebiscite. As Germany was a linchpin for the Geneva conference, Hitler's action destroyed it.

REFERENCES: Bennett, *German Rearmament*; Kimmich, *Germany and the League of Nations*; Wheeler-Bennett, *Pipe Dream of Peace*.

Y

YOUNG GERMAN ORDER. *See Jungdo.*

YOUNG PLAN; a program for the settlement of German reparations.* By 1928 it was clear that Germany could not meet the annuities of 2.5 billion marks specified by the 1924 Dawes Plan.* At the behest of Parker Gilbert, America's reparations agent, the League of Nations named a Conference of Experts to review the issue. Participating powers (Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States) were represented on the committee. Germany's principal delegates were Hjalmar Schacht,* Reichsbank President, and Albert Vögler,* *Generaldirektor* of United Steel Works; Carl Melchior* and Ludwig Kastl* were alternates. When talks opened in Paris on 11 February 1929, Owen D. Young, an American lawyer and corporate official, was selected chairman; thereafter the group was known as the Young Committee. Negotiations were tedious because the Allies refused to compromise on their figures, which the Germans insisted far exceeded their ability to pay. Difficulties stemmed largely from a greater focus on Allied indebtedness to the United States than from a genuine desire to find a reparations settlement. Exceeding his commission in April, Schacht proposed that Germany might manage a 1.6-billion-mark annuity for thirty-seven years if its prewar sources of raw materials, both colonial and in the Polish Corridor, were returned. It required all of Young's skills to prevent Schacht's remarks from ruining the meeting. Another crisis occurred on 22 May when Vögler quit the committee (he was replaced by Kastl); in a report to the German cabinet he claimed that the talks were largely an American attempt to reinforce the framework of Allied indebtedness at German

expense. Indeed, the bulk of the ''present value'' of the reparations—thirty-two billion of thirty-nine billion marks—was earmarked for the United States.

On 7 June 1929 the Young Plan was signed. The first instance in which reparations were clearly defined, it set a total bill of about 112 billion marks ($26.35 billion) to be paid over fifty-nine years. Annuities would begin at 1.8 billion marks (about $425 million) and end in 1966 at 2.4 billion marks (about $565 million), averaging 1.99 billion marks for thirty-seven years. Smaller payments, covering Allied debts, would follow until 1988. To protect Germany against unforeseen problems, the delegates divided annuities into two categories: an ''unconditional'' part (one-third of the total) had to be paid; a ''postponable'' part could be withheld for up to two years. The Young Committee abolished Allied controls over German banks and railroads, but proposed creation of a Bank for International Settlements* to administer reparations.

Although the Young Plan reduced the Dawes annuities by 20 percent and dismantled external controls, its fifty-nine-year payment scheme made it vulnerable to those who labeled it a plan to enslave Germany for two generations. When the plan was adopted on 31 August 1929 at the first Hague Conference* (days before Gustav Stresemann's* death), it also called for an early end to military occupation, a fact that drew favorable German reaction. But the DNVP and the NSDAP soon organized a campaign to defeat the Young *Diktat*. After a divisive battle, including defeat of an anti-Young plebiscite on 22 December, the Reichstag* approved the plan in March 1930. Yet by 17 May 1930, when it was activated, Germany was fully enmeshed in the depression.* Decreased revenue and rising unemployment soon undermined the plan's viability. In June 1931 Herbert Hoover proposed a moratorium for the 1931–1932 annuity, and in July 1932, at the Lausanne Conference,* the plan was scrapped.

REFERENCES: Bonn, *Wandering Scholar*; Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, vol. 2; Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Kent, *Spoils of War*.

YOUTH. *See Deutsche Studentenschaft and* Universities.

Z

DER ZAUBERBERG. *See* Thomas Mann.

ZEHRER, HANS (1899–1966), journalist; central figure in the neoconservative *Tatkreis* (Tat Circle). Born in Berlin* to a government official, he was active in the youth movement and volunteered for military duty at seventeen in 1916. While pursuing broad studies after the war, he was a Reichswehr* volunteer and helped quell the leftist uprisings that followed the Kapp* Putsch. Forced by the inflation* to abandon his studies, he took a position with *Vossische Zeitung* (*Voss*), an Ullstein* paper; he was foreign affairs editor when he began writing for *Die Tat** in 1928.

Zehrer was nostalgic for an agrarian past and believed that he personified a generation in conflict with its elders. His first piece for *Voss*, ''Krisis des Parlamentarismus'' (Crisis of parliamentarianism), embodied his dubious attitude toward democracy. When the liberal *Voss* learned in 1929 that he was secretly writing for *Tat*, it demanded his resignation. At the direction of Eugen Diederichs, long-time editor and publisher of *Tat*, he became the weekly's unofficial editor in October 1929; two years later, after Diederichs's death, he became editor and publisher. Handpicking his coworkers, he formed the *Tatkreis* with Friedrich Zimmermann (known by the pseudonym Ferdinand Fried), Horst Grüneberg, Ernst Wilhelm Eschmann, and Giselher Wirsing. Focusing on politics, economics, and sociology, the *Tatkreis* generated perceptive articles and attracted a wide readership.

Surmising that the middle class was caught in a struggle between laissez-faire capitalism and proletarian socialism, Zehrer championed corporatism. Fearing

both restoration and revolution, he proposed a ''revolution from above'' in which the army, led by Kurt von Schleicher,* would join with the trade unions* and such Nazis as Gregor Strasser* to form a broad authoritarian administration. Strasser and Schleicher were introduced at Zehrer's home in the summer of 1932. With Schleicher's resources, Zehrer assumed control of the Berlin daily *Tägliche Rundschau* and used the paper to promote Schleicher and the notion of a German revolution. Strasser's espousal of Zehrer's scheme helped provoke the former's separation from the NSDAP in December 1932.

Although Zehrer hoped to salvage his plan despite Hitler's* appointment as Chancellor, he soon grew cautious in Germany's new circumstances. In August 1933 he wrote his final article for *Tat* and then retired to the North Sea island of Sylt. Long avoiding politics, he eventually became chairman of a small Berlin publishing house. After World War II he returned to journalism, and eventually edited *Die Welt*.

REFERENCES: Lebovics, *Social Conservatism*; George Mosse, *Crisis*; Jerry Muller, *Other God*; Stark, *Entrepreneurs of Ideology*; Fritz Stern, *Politics of Cultural Despair*; Struve, *Elites against Democracy* and ''Hans Zehrer''; Von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism*.

ZEIGNER, ERICH (1886–1949), politician; Prime Minister of Saxony* during that state's confrontation with Berlin.* Born into middle-class circumstances in Erfurt, he studied law and political science and earned a doctorate before embarking upon a career in Saxony's judiciary. During August 1921 to August 1923, as Saxony's Justice Minister, he gained a reputation for a humane administration and loyalty to the Republic.

Zeigner joined the SPD in 1919. He was identified with its left wing, and his name appeared on an *Organisation Consul** death list of individuals deemed hostile to the nationalist cause. He was first elected to the Saxon Landtag in November 1922 and was appointed Prime Minister in March 1923. Although he led an all-SPD cabinet, it was supported by a KPD then pursuing a United Front* policy; Zeigner agreed, in exchange, to sponsor social measures and assist the KPD's formation of paramilitary units known as Proletarian Hundreds. Meanwhile, his censure of the army's reliance on Freikorps* units earned him the rancor of Defense Minister Otto Gessler.* On 10 October 1923, shocked by an attempted putsch of the Black Reichswehr* and the rise of extremism in Bavaria,* he formed a coalition with the Communists. With the KPD openly demanding an uprising against the Republic, and Zeigner defying orders to disband the Proletarian Hundreds, Gessler convinced Chancellor Gustav Stresemann* to depose the Saxon government; Zeigner's cabinet was dissolved on 29 October.

Zeigner reaped the hatred of the radical Right and the contempt of his own Party. In 1924 he was convicted of several crimes, including larceny and judicial corruption, committed while in office under pressure from a blackmailer. He served almost two years of a three-year sentence. With his career ruined, he left

prison to teach at a Leipzig sports college while writing occasionally for SPD newspapers.* During the Third Reich he was repeatedly arrested. Deemed a proletarian hero after World War II, he served as Leipzig's *Oberbürgermeister* until his death in 1949.

REFERENCES: Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*; Harold Gordon, *Reichswehr*; Pryce, ''Reich Government versus Saxony''; Stachura, *Political Leaders*.

ZENKER, HANS. *See* Reichswehr.

ZENTRALARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT. *See* Central Working Association.

ZENTRUM. *See* Center Party.

ZETKIN, CLARA, née Eissner (1857–1933), Marxist and feminist; one of the few radicals to hold an SPD office. She was born in Niederau, a village near Chemnitz. Her father was a Jewish schoolteacher; her mother awakened Clara's interest in women's* rights. She qualified as a teacher in Leipzig (1874–1878), where she also engaged in work for women's rights. Several Russian émigrés introduced her to socialism; one, Ossip Zetkin, converted her to Marxism. When Bismarck's antisocialist law of 1878 forced Ossip's expulsion, she followed him in 1882, first to Switzerland and then to Paris; exile brought contacts with notable socialists. Although she had two children by Zetkin and took his name, she never formally married him for fear of losing her German citizenship. Ossip died in 1889, and Clara, who retained his name until her death (she married an artist, Georg Zundel, in 1899), moved to Stuttgart in 1891 upon repeal of the antisocialist laws. An address she delivered before leaving Paris, ''For the Liberation of Women,'' was adopted as a manifesto of working-class women.

Despite a troubled relationship with the SPD leadership, Zetkin was the dominant female socialist until World War I and served in the Party's central control commission during 1895–1914. A member of the Party's ultraleft wing with Karl Liebknecht,* Franz Mehring, and Rosa Luxemburg,* she edited, from its founding in 1892, the women's journal *Gleichheit*, an SPD publication with 125,000 subscribers in 1914. Blaming capitalism for reducing woman's role to that of breeder and housekeeper, she engaged in trade-union* work and championed formation of a youth auxiliary free from adult control (the SPD rejected the notion). In 1914 she rebuked the Party for supporting the war. Secretary of the Women's Section of the Socialist International, she organized a conference of pacifists in Bern in March 1915; upon returning home she was arrested for antiwar activities. A founder of *Gruppe Internationale* (precursor to the Spartacus League*) and the USPD, she was forced to resign from *Gleichheit* in 1917.

A vehement opponent of parliamentary democracy, Zetkin embraced Lenin's idea of a proletarian dictatorship and was a founding member in December 1918 of the KPD, on whose *Zentrale* she served (1919–1923 and 1927–1933). In June 1920 she was one of two Communists elected to the Reichstag.* Although she

was frequently ill, she vigorously promoted a pro-Soviet, anti-Western program. While she retained an interest in feminism and antimilitarism, her energies were consumed by political tactics. She condemned efforts at revolutionary action because they garnered no mass support. From 1921, as part of the Moscow-directed Comintern, she was embroiled in the KPD's internecine feuding; in 1923 she withdrew to Moscow. Although she was friendly with Lenin, she embraced Stalin's idea of ''socialism in one country'' and became an apologist for the latter's brutalities.

Zetkin returned to Germany in 1927 and was prominent in expelling Heinz Neumann* from the KPD. Having retained her Reichstag seat throughout her Russian exile, she became more passive influence than public power. Since tradition dictated that each new Reichstag be opened by its oldest deputy, she convened the session in August 1932; after denouncing both fascism and bourgeois democracy, she oversaw Hermann Göring's* election as Reichstag President. Visiting Moscow when Hitler* seized power, she did not urge violence against the Nazis, believing that they would soon discredit themselves; she died on 20 June without comprehending her error.

REFERENCES: Foner, *Clara Zetkin*; Frevert, *Women in German History*; Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*; Steenson, *''Not One Man!''*; Thönnessen, *Emancipation of Women*.

ZIONISM. *See* Jews.

ZUCKMAYER, CARL (1896–1977), dramatist; best known for the satire *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick* (The Captain of Köpenick). He was born in the Rhineland village of Nackenheim; his well-established family (his father ran a factory that produced the tin sheathing for wine bottles) moved to Mainz when he was five. A Gymnasium student in 1914, he took emergency finals (*Notabitur*) to join the army. After he gained a reserve commission, he was dubbed the ''reading lieutenant.'' His first poetry appeared in *Die Aktion** in 1917. Although he was highly decorated, he was a pacifist by the end of World War I.

Zuckmayer was an idealist, seeking harmony—indeed, divinity—among living things. Believing that peace would bring international harmony, he entered the Workers' and Soldiers' Council* in Mainz and then joined the revolutionary students' council at Frankfurt. Although he studied economics and biology, his passion was the theater*; in 1920 his play *Kreuzweg* (Crossroads) enjoyed a short run at Berlin's* *Stadttheater*. In 1922 he became dramaturge of Kiel's municipal theater; however, his 1923 production of the comedy *Eunuchs* provoked such a scandal that he was fired. Zuckmayer never warmed to Expressionism*; while his plays contain magical and fantastic qualities, they are firmly set in reality—thus setting him apart in the early 1920s. In 1923, while he was working in Munich, his relationship with Bertolt Brecht* helped him ripen his realistic style. He joined Brecht in 1924 at Berlin's *Deutsches Theater* and premiered his play *Der fröhliche Weinberg* (The merry vineyard) the next year. An

earthy folk comedy centered on characters who meet on the estate of a vineyard owner, *Weinberg*'s refreshing realism aroused immediate praise and earned him the Kleist Prize. Focusing on ordinary people and simple emotion, and balancing tragedy and comedy, he went on to write several more popular stage works. In 1929, the year he received both the Georg Büchner Prize and the Heidelberg Festival's Dramatist Prize, he wrote the filmscript for *The Blue Angel*.

Fritz Kortner* convinced Zuckmayer to write about a 1906 incident in which a shoemaker (Wilhelm Voigt), after doing military drill for thirty years in prison, masqueraded as an army captain, arrested the *Bürgermeister* of Köpenick (a Berlin suburb), and looted the city's treasury. The play was first staged in 1931 in Berlin; its gentle ridicule of the unwarranted prestige of the army brought instant and widespread acclaim. *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick* was performed continuously throughout Germany until the NSDAP came to power.

Zuckmayer served in 1932 with the Iron Front (*Eiserne Front*), a militant branch of the *Reichsbanner** that worked for President Hindenburg's* reelection. Of Jewish ancestry on his mother's side, he fled Germany in 1933 and settled near Salzburg. Until the 1938 *Anschluss* he remained in Austria,* writing poetry and prose. He escaped to Switzerland in 1938 and eventually reached the United States, where he bought a farm in Vermont. *The Devil's General*, a poignant play about an anti-Nazi pilot serving in the Luftwaffe, was written in Vermont. His autobiography, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir* (translated as *A Part of Myself*), was completed in 1966. He returned to Europe in 1947 and lived from 1958 in Switzerland.

REFERENCES: Arnold Bauer, *Carl Zuckmayer*; Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Zuckmayer, *Part of Myself*.

ZWEIG, ARNOLD (1887–1968), writer; his antiwar novel *Der Streit um den Sergeanten Grischa* (The case of Sergeant Grischa, 1927), ranked with Erich Remarque's* *All Quiet on the Western Front*, became an international best-seller. He was born in Gross-Glogau, Silesia, to a Jewish saddlemaker; his family moved to Kattowitz in 1897. During 1907–1915 he studied literature, art history, philosophy, and psychology; his earliest fiction appeared in *Die Gäste*, a student magazine that he helped edit at Breslau. Although his romantic novel of 1912, *Novellen um Claudia*, was widely acclaimed, it was the 1914 drama *Ritualmord in Ungarn* (Ritual murder in Hungary), focusing on Jewish identity, that won him the 1915 Kleist Prize.

Zweig volunteered for the army in 1915 and served first near Verdun and then from 1917 in the press bureau on the Eastern Front. While the war made him a pacifist, his contact with Lithuania's *Ostjuden** awakened his interest in Judaism. After the war he settled initially in Starnberg in Bavaria,* but moved to Berlin* in 1923 to enhance his prospects. He briefly edited *Jüdische Rundschau* and wrote occasional essays for *Die Weltbühne*.* But his fame rests with the Sergeant Grischa stories. Both the play (*Das Spiel um den Sergeanten Grischa*, 1921) and the novel tell the story of a Russian prisoner of war whose fate

is decided in a struggle between progressive and reactionary forces in German society. Employing irony and social realism to transmit an antiwar message, *Grischa* was part of a tetralogy (with *Junge Frau von 1914*, *Erziehung vor Verdun*, and *Einsetzung eines Königs*) known collectively as *Der grosse Krieg der weissen Männer* (The great war of the white peoples).

Zweig avoided political affiliation, but began advocating partnership with the workers' movement in the early 1930s. In *Bilanz der deutschen Judenheit* (translated as *Insulted and Exiled*), written in 1933, he claimed that ''Jews* are proletarians . . . despite their luxury, their ten-room apartments, their university education, and their intellectual professions.'' He argued that since they clung to easily revokable privileges, they should abandon their dreams of equality and join the working-class movement.

Zweig fled Germany when Hitler* seized power and resided initially in southern France. He took his family to Palestine in December 1933. After fifteen years in Haifa, he returned to East Berlin in 1948 and became the German Democratic Republic's most celebrated author.

REFERENCES: Benz and Graml, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Déak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*; Salamon, *Arnold Zweig*.

GLOSSARY

Throughout the dictionary one generally finds German forms in place of their English equivalents: for example, *Herzog* for Duke, *Graf* for Count, and *Freiherr* for Baron. As many such words carry different associations in translation, it was judged appropriate to retain the original form.

Abgeordnetenhaus: Prussian lower house (''Chamber of Deputies''); technically the State Assembly (*Landesversammlung*) during 1919–1921, it was renamed the *Landtag* in 1921

Abitur: final (school-leaving) exam or certificate at a Gymnasium

ADGB: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* or General German Trade-Union Federation

AEG: *Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft* or General Electric Company

Anschluss: affiliation or union (usually related to Austro-German union)

*Arbeitsrat für Kunst**: Working Council for Art

ausserordentlicher Professor: ''extraordinary'' or associate professor

Bauernschaft: farmers*

Bürgerblock: a parliamentary coalition that included only the middle-class parties (DDP, DVP, DNVP, and Center)

Bürgermeister: mayor

Burgfrieden: literally ''peace of the fortress,'' a cessation of political debate proclaimed by the Kaiser in August 1914

BVP: *Bayerische Volkspartei* or Bavarian People's Party*

Christlichnationale Bauernpartei: Christian-National Peasants' Party

Corporatism: a mostly, if not exclusively, rightist political ideal that favors organizing political life on the basis of representation from industry, commerce, and trade unions and variously from churches, universities, and the military; Weimar-era proponents often appealed to a romantic notion of preindustrial, predemocratic, and preegalitarian social organization

DDP: *Deutsche Demokratische Partei* or German Democratic Party*

Deutsche Arbeiterpartei: German Workers' Party (precursor of the NSDAP)

Deutsche Bauernpartei: German Peasants' Party

DHV: *Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfen Verband* or German National Union of Commercial Employees

DNVP: *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* or German National People's Party*

Doktorvater: doctoral mentor or supervisor

*Dolchstosslegende**: ''stab-in-the-back legend''

DSB: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*

DStP: *Deutsche Staatspartei* or German State Party*

DVFP: *Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei* or German Racial Freedom Party*

DVP: *Deutsche Volkspartei* or German People's Party*

EA: *Encyclopedia of Architecture*

Einwohnerwehr: Home Guards; state-sponsored paramilitary units

EP: *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*

ETR: *The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*

Gauleiter: Nazi term for the leader of a district (*Gau*)

Geheimrat: privy council or councilor; executive council

Grossherzog: Grand Duke

Grüne Front: Green Front

Gruppe Internationale: precursor to the *Spartakusgruppe*

Habilitation: postdoctoral thesis required to instruct at a university (*see* Universities)

Handelshochschule: commercial institute

Hauptvorstand: managing board or committee

Heeresleitung: army command

Herrenhaus: Prussian upper house (''House of Lords'')

IEPPPN: *International Encyclopedia of Psychiatry, Psychology, Psychoanalysis, and Neurology*

IESS: *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*

Interessengemeinschaft: ''community of interest'' (IG)

Kampfbünde: paramilitary combat leagues (generally political)

KPD: *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* or Communist Party of Germany*

Kunstakademie: academy of arts

Kunstgewerbeschule: school of applied arts

Kunstverein: art association

KVP: *Konservative Volkspartei* or Conservative People's Party*

Landbund: provincial council

Landkreis: county (subdivision of a district or *Regierungsbezirk*)

Landrat: county administrator

Landtag: legislative chamber for a German state

Liberale Vereinigung: Liberal Association; an organization founded in October 1924 to reunite German, middle-class liberalism

Majestätsbeleidigung (also *lèse-majesté*): an affront to the king

NDB: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*

NSDAP: *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* or National Socialist German Workers' Party* (Nazis)

Oberbürgermeister: lord mayor

Oberpräsident: governor of one of Prussia's twelve provinces (*Provinz*); responsible to the state's Interior Minister

ordentlicher Professor: ''ordinary'' or full professor

*Osthilfe**: Eastern Aid (government assistance)

Parteivorstand: managing committee of the SPD

Privatdozent: university lecturer (unpaid)

Räterepublik: Council (or Soviet) Republic (*see* Bavaria)

RdI: *Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie** or National Association of German Industry

Regierungsbezirk: district (administrative division of a province)

Regierungspräsident: district administrator; responsible to both an *Oberpräsident* and a state's Interior Minister

*Reichslandbund**: Agrarian League

RFB: *Roter Frontkämpferbund** or Red Front

Spartakusgruppe: precursor to the Spartacus League*

SPD: *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* or Social Democratic Party of Germany*

Spitzenverband: ''peak'' or umbrella organization

Staatsrat: Prussian Privy or State Council; second chamber, replacing the Kaiserreich's *Herrenhaus*; also a senior civil service rank (privy councilor)

Städtetag: federal city chamber

Technische Hochschule: technical institute

Truppenamt: Troops Office (comparable to the General Staff)

USPD: *Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* or Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany*

Vaterländische Verbände: patriotic associations*

Verlag: press or publishing house

völkisch: racial (*see* Introduction)

Wehrverbände: paramilitary defense associations

ZAG: *Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft* or Central Working Association*

Zentrale: the ruling political and ideological body of the KPD; renamed *Zentralkomitee* in 1925, it should not be confused with the *Zentralausschuss* (central committee), a separate KPD institution established in 1920

Zentralverband der deutschen Elektrotechnischen Industrie: Central Association of the German Electrotechnical Industry

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