

Growth of Nazism can be understood only if emotional background is recognized. Emotions transformed into action only under stress of real economic forces: but directions not given by economic needs.

First element: nationalism in Central Europe. Mutual hate unbelievable: perhaps in remote times economic roots, but just as in Ireland to-day entirely independent of economics. Some instances: Austrian harbor of Trieste lived absolutely of Austrian trade which was cut off the moment Trieste became Italian, nevertheless all the Trieste merchants and shippers were strongly irredentistic. Same again in Danzig at time when idea that entire Poland would be swallowed by Germany didn't enter minds. That was problem of Austrian Monarchy and so-called states of succession that economic necessities all the time contradicted emotional wishes of peoples.

This nationalism much increased by peace treaties, Not so much because of real injustices: these were relatively few and unimportant and for the greatest part remedied before advent of Nazis: especially reparations and (in principle at least) armament equality. But idea that small Eastern nations which were regarded as culturally much below German level enjoyed greater international prestige than Reich was insupportable. On other hand, this idea of greater prestige induced these nations to behave exactly like carpet-baggers after Civil War. But not only or even merely in economic way: defense of German words on street of Prague with 30,000 Germans (many of them of Jewish descent) had no economic importance, neither for Germans nor for Czechs, but even after Munich not removed. Even worse in Italian Tyrol where any use of German language was and is forbidden, including the teaching of German in private. Result large illiteracy in country which had none at all before war.

Similar with anti-Semitism. To large extent purely emotional: fostered for long time before war by Catholic church for reasons of ideology, because Jews as minority group for tolerance and abstention of church interference in political matters. Gained momentum after war because of immigration from East, groups which were despised just as all Eastern people were. Same trend in this country with Jewish immigration in 1890ies and recently. That economic motives not decisive, seen by fact that anti-Semitism heaviest in countries where Jews were absolutely unimportant like rural districts of Styria and Salzburg, or even where Jewish summer-guests provided main source of revenue: dislike for deep reasons into which not to go to-day but for which economic reasons provided only ulterior rationalization, not real motive. Characteristic that official program of Nazis asked first of all for expulsion of Eastern Jews which were economically as harmless as mass of clothing workers in New York, and that measures against economic power of Jews were taken practically only in 1938 when power of Jews entirely broken and motive was avowedly raising of revenue.

But these ideas might have continued to express themselves in social and political talks if economic pressure had not been added. Nazism followed curve of unemployment of youth. In 1923, after great inflation which destroyed economic middle class and with it real conservatism, first flaring up: from 1925 to 29 under pseudo-prosperity due to American credits complete collapse. After Great depression again more and more powerful. Same in other Central European countries: Austria until 1930 practically immune: not a single deputy in spite of proportionate representation which favored new small parties. But beginning with 1932 danger.

Turning point: in ideology failure of last democratic attempt to get old idea of Austro-German collaboration: customs' union. Shattered belief in international justice through peaceful means and wish of Allied to help Austria. Socialism compromised through apparent failure of Russian system: number of unemployed had gone there and returned deeply impressed. So despair turned to only other mean which to some extent conformed to old emotional prejudices. Effect of propaganda overrated: only mistake Austrian made was to believe that Hitler really wanted peace. Remarkable that in spite of all this only about 40pc. Nazis at time of seizure: that seizure had to be made by force rather than - as Hitler had wished - by spontaneous movement of people.

Resistance impossible: first overwhelming force. Secondly moral forces of anti-Nazism badly shaken by anti-democratic regime of Dollfuss which had alienated only real support of anti-Nazi forces, working class. Thirdly, no opposing ideology: another proof that ideology more important than economic behavior. Important point for view that fascism can be conquered only if opposed by clear-cut democratic program, not by another brand of same commodity.

Sudetenland only country where people really voted for Hitlerian majority. Don't know whether this provided excuse or real reason for Munich. But this majority came about only through especially stupid handling of question by Czechs who didn't recognize that prestige was less important than satisfaction of minority. Emotional background again visible for Sudetenland bound to rest of Czechoslovakia, and again conquest of entire territory not contemplated by masses. Another instance for relative lack of importance of Jewish question for Nazism: in Sudetenland, the Czechs provided sufficient "enemy" for emotional purposes, therefore no official anti-Semitism until spring of 1938 when official adoption of entire Nazi-program. Up to that date many important Jewish leaders in favor of Nazi party.

Emotional character shown in fact that youth movement. Youth in general not given to overvaluation of economic motives, and not to ripe judgment of economic necessities. Romantic spirit of secret societies, sworn to obedience. Wish to play soldiers which had been forbidden by peace treaties. Idea of ridding government from corruption inevitable under democracy - perhaps not more so than under any other system. Most important: youth had something to hope for.

This stressing of emotion shall not mean that Nazism less business-minded than other regime. True Nazis terribly shocked by way they behaved for instance in Austria where wholesale robbery officially protected. By the way, somebody who tried - mostly unsuccessfully - for six months to protect Austrians against Nazi robberies willingly believes everything about way in Poland and Bohemia: who behaved that way towards "racial comrades", may expect to refrain from nothing against others. Especially if idea of elementary justice which still prevailed in Austria is shattered by idea that one is at war.

But even propaganda among adults derived most force - except in case of unemployment - not from economic arguments. But from ability of perverting century old philosophical thoughts to Nazi use. Consequence that some believe Nazism to be something specific German. Nonsense if considered tradition of German classicism which is as anti-Nazi as can be. Even Hegel and Nietzsche who are invoked most frequently have practically nothing in common with Nazi nihilism. And for instance German settlers in this country (Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Minnesota) staunchest defenders of progressive democracy.

* Anti-clericalism - positive Christianity; "true democracy";
- true liberty; "true socialism"

Central Europe one point of attack which distinguishes from this country: lack of tradition in politics. Real affection to political system doesn't grow in ten or fifteen years. Especially of government was not fought for but imposed by enemies and in spirit always related to humiliating peace. If under conditions like these able political leaders can persuade people that they may satisfy their emotional needs, at the same time remain true to old ideals, and in addition reap economic benefits, and if this comes about in times when economic troubles disturb clear judgment and no other practical way out seems to be open: then any people would fall under spell of this philosophy. This may be the true danger of it. But it may also mean that if at least some of these danger signals are absent, the attack may be repulsed as long as sheer force is not used. How to defend against the threat of force, however, is another chapter which cannot be discussed here and to-day.

$$a + 4a = 5a$$

$$(a + n) - (4a - u) = 1$$

$$2n - 3a = 1$$

$$n = \frac{3a + 1}{2}$$

$$a = 1 \quad a = 3$$

$$n = 2 \quad u = 5$$

$$x = 5 \quad x = 15$$