

Album by George Grosz :

Abrechnung folgt ! (We'll settle accounts !)

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Abrechnung folgt! - 57 politische Zeichnungen von George Grosz.
(We'll settle accounts! - 57 political drawings by George Grosz.)
Berlin, Malik-Verlag, 1923.

Some annotations about the drawings

1. Schwarz-weiß-rot bis in den Tod

"Black-white-red until death"

- Black-white-red:

From 1867 on the colors black-white-red constituted the flag of the North German Union (Norddeutscher Bund), then from 1871 to 1919 as well as from 1933 to 1945 served as the colors of the German Empire. In 1919 the National Assembly of Weimar decided that the national colors be black-red-gold, but the monarchist, conservative and national-socialist groups went on flying the colors black-white-red.

- "Stolz weht die Flagge Schwarz-Weiß-Rot"

"Proudly flutters the banner Black-white-red": This is the first line of a song known under the title "Deutsches Flaggenlied" ("Song of the German Banner"), dating back to 1886, the beginning of which goes as follows1:

Stolz weht die Flagge Schwarz-Weiß-Rot
von uns'rer Schiffe Mast
Dem Feinde Tod, der sie bedroht
Der diese Farben haßt
Sie flattert an der Heimat Strand
im Winde hin und her
und weit vom deutschen Vaterland
auf sturmbewegten Meer

Ihr woll'n wir treu ergeben sein
getreu bis in den Tod
Ihr woll'n wir unser Leben weih'n
der Flagge Schwarz-Weiß-Rot
Hurra!

Translation:

Proudly flutters the banner Black-white-red
from the mast of our ship
Death to the enemy who poses a threat to it
Who hates these colors
Waved by the wind
it flutters on the seashore of the homeland
and far from the German fatherland
on storm-tossed seas

Devoted to it we want to be
faithful until death
Dedicate our live to it we want

to the banner Black-white-red
Hurray!

2. Was heißt Reparationsschuld. Ich werde mir doch nicht den Sitz unterm Arsch wegziehen lassen!

"Reparation debt, how so? Don't imagine I would let my seat be moved away from under my ass!"

3. "Armut ist ein großer Glanz von Innen" (Rilke)

"Poverty is a great radiance from within"

- Rainer-Maria Rilke:

German author. The sentence is quoted from the poem "Das Buch von der Armut und vom Tode" ("The Book of Poverty and Death") which is part of the collection "Das Stundenbuch" ("The Book of Hours") published in 1903, from which here is an extract:

[...]
Denn, Herr, die großen Städte sind
verlorene und aufgelöste;
[...]
Da leben Menschen, leben schlecht und schwer,
in tiefen Zimmern, bange von Gebärde,
geängsteter denn eine Erstlingsherde;
und draußen wacht und atmet deine Erde,
sie aber sind und wissen es nicht mehr.
[...]
Denn sie sind reiner als die reinen Steine
und wie das blinde Tier, das erst beginnt,
und voller Einfalt und unendlich Deine
und wollen nichts und brauchen nur das Eine

so arm sein dürfen, wie sie wirklich sind.

Denn Armut ist ein großer Glanz aus Innen...

[...]

Translation:

[Translated by us. The intention is not to recreate a proper poetic version in English, but rather to render literally the basic signification of the words.]

[...]

For, Lord, the big cities are
lost and dissolved,

[...]

There people are living, living straitened and arduously,
in basements, anxious of gesture,
more fearful than a newborn herd;
and outside your earth is awake and breathing,
while they, though existing, no more do know about it.

[...]

For they are purer than the pure stones
and like the blind animal which just begins,
and full of naivety and infinitely yours
and don't want anything and only need the one

be allowed to be as poor as they really are.

Poverty is a great radiance from within

[...]

4. Durchhalten

"Sticking it out"

5. Obwohl an der Ruhr erkrankt, schmeckt's ihm nicht schlecht

"Although sick with dysentery, he nevertheless pigs out quite well"

- Ruhr:

The German word *Ruhr* means *dysentery*. With respect to the Ruhr in the geographical sense, this industrial region (Rheinland-Westfalen in administrative terms) experiences various torments in the beginning of the 1920s. In January 1923, under pretext of Germany being behind with deliveries owed as reparations, French and Belgian troops enter the Ruhr. The German government tries to avert this violation of its sovereignty, but ends up surrendering in September 1923. Nevertheless, the period is marked by strike movements and sabotage acts. Previously, reacting to the Lüttwitz-Kapp putsch, the Ruhr had been, in March-April 1920, the center of an insurrectional movement launched by the workers of the region.

6. Fest sitzt und schnarcht die Republik

"The Republic is firmly established and snoring."

7. "Sportklub Harmonia"

"Sports club Harmonia"

8. MARLOH JETZT -

Was ein Haken-kreuzritter werden will...

"Marloh now -"; "Whoever wants to become a crusader of the Swastika..."

- "Haken-kreuzritter"

"Hakenkreuz": "Swastika" (hooked cross); "Kreuzritter": "crusader" (knight of the crucifix).

- Otto Marloh:

Otto Marloh was a member of the volunteer corps "Brigade Reinhard", formed after November 1918 by Colonel Wilhelm Reinhard. In December 1918 the latter is appointed as military commander of Berlin by Gustav Noske (SPD) who within the governing organ called "Council of People's representatives" (Rat der Volksbeauftragten) is in charge of the army and the marine. The Reinhard Brigade plays an important role in suppressing the insurrectional movement in Berlin in January 1919, during which Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are assassinated. The Brigade also intervenes in crushing the movements which resurge in March. In June the volunteer corps is integrated into the official army (Reichswehr).

It is during the combats of March 1919 that Otto Marloh makes his soldiers execute 29 soldiers of the Volksmarineteilung, the dissolution of which just had been pronounced by the government. Following this he underwent a trial but was acquitted. In 1930 he joined the NSDAP³.

9. - UND EINST

...übt sich bei Zeiten

"- and then"; "...practices early enough"

- "übt sich beizeiten"

This is a proverbial expression frequently used in sentences starting "He who wants to become" an expert in this or that.

10. Schwimme, wer schwimmen kann, und wer zu schwach ist, gehe unter

"Let those swim who can - the heavy may sink."

- "Schwimme, wer schwimmen kann, und wer plump ist, geh unter!"

This phrase is extracted from the play "The robbers" by Friedrich Schiller⁴.

- Album "Die Räuber"

This drawing also is included in the album "Die Räuber" ("The robbers") published in 1922, accompanied by the following phrase, also extracted from the same play⁵:

Even lions and tigers nourish their young. Ravens feast their brood on carrion.

11. Abrechnung folgt

"We'll settle accounts"

- "The hour approaches to settle accounts." ("Die Stunde der Abrechnung naht.")

Such announcement is formulated in a declaration published by the government (composed of members of the SPD, notably Friedrich Ebert, Philipp Scheidemann and Gustav Noske) on 8th of January, 1919. The threat aims at the Spartacus League⁶: "Spartacus now struggles for the whole power. [...] Where Spartacus rule, any personal freedom and security is abolished. [...] The government takes all necessary measures to smash this reign of terror and to prevent once for all its return. [...] The hour approaches to settle accounts."

12. Hochverräter

"Guilty of High Treason"

13. Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein

"Dear fatherland, may you be reassured"

- "Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein":

Line extracted from a song know under the title "Die Wacht am Rhein" ("The Guard at the Rhine"), dating back to 1840, from which here is an extract⁷:

Es braust ein Ruf wie Donnerhall
wie Schwertgeklirr und Wogenprall.
Zum Rhein, zum Rhein, zum deutschen Rhein!
Wer will des Stromes Hüter sein?
Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein
Fest steht und treu die Wacht, die Wacht am Rhein!

Translation:

A call howls like a roll of thunder
like clashing of swords and crashing of waves.
To the Rhine, to the Rhine, to the German Rhine!
Who wants to be the custodian of the stream?
Dear fatherland, may you be reassured
Firmly and devotedly stands the guard, the guard at the Rhine!

14. Meine Rente -

"My pension..."

15. = eine Havana!

"= one Havana!"

16. Gesang der Intellektuellen: Nehmen Sie den Leib, Gute, Ehe, Kind und Weib, der Geist muß uns doch bleiben!

"Chant of the intellectuals: Take body, belongings, marriage, child and spouse, the spirit will fatally remain ours all the same!"

17. Völker Europas, wahrt eure heiligsten Güter

"Peoples of Europe, protect your most sacred possessions"

- "Völker Europas, wahrt eure heiligsten Güter"

This is the title of a lithography that in 1895 the Emperor Wilhelm II had elaborate by Hermann Knackfuß and which is supposed to represent the danger embodied in the Asian peoples of China and Japan. About this matter, Wilhelm II speaks of the "yellow peril". He has this work sent to the Czar of Russia, Nicolas II, as a present.

18. Für die Reichen ist die Beute, Für das Volk die Not der Kriege

"For the rich, the booty, For the people the misery of war"

19. Trotz Hunger und Schmach, wir lassen uns nie und nimmer in die Knie zwingen!

"Despite hunger and disgrace, never ever we will let us be forced to our knees!"

20. Der Bürger hetzt -

"The bourgeois organizes the hate campaign -"

In the speech bubbles, is written:

"Die Hand ist noch nicht verdorrt" ("The hand not yet is withered") et "immer feste druff" ("go ahead, always tough")

- "Die Hand ist noch nicht verdorrt":

In February 1919 Philipp Scheidemann (SPD) is chancellor of the government formed to replace the "Council of people's representatives" (Rat der Volksbeauftragten), governmental organ constituted in November 1918. He is opposed to the conditions stipulated by the Treaty of Versailles, and resigns from his post on 12th of May, day when the National Assembly is to pronounce itself about the Treaty. It's him who in his speech uses the expression about the withered hand:

I ask you: who as an honest man - let alone speaking of a German - only as honest man, loyal to treaties, can agree to such conditions? What hand would not be bound to wither, that might put itself and us in such chains? [...] According to the opinion of the Government of the Reich, this treaty is unacceptable.

- Withered hand":

The reference to wither is a traditional figurative expression about illness meaning paralyze. It can be found for instance in the texts of the Bible.

- "Immer feste druff":

This is a common expression that may be used under all sorts of circumstances. In particular it suits the patriotic propaganda. Here are two illustrations.

Postcard:



It is written:

"Japan - Serbien - Frankreich - Russland - England - Belgien - Marocco. Immer feste druff!! Nur nicht drängeln, Ihr kommt alle 'ran-!"

("Japan - Serbia - France - Russia - England - Belgium - Morocco. Let's go ahead, always tough!! Don't shove. Everybody will get his turn-!"

Operetta "Immer feste druff", created in 1914.

Among the songs, as example, may be mentioned "Auf der Banke, an der Panke" ("On the bench, on the bank of the Panke"), a dialog between two figures, Schliephake and his spouse Minna, that recalls the postcard shown above. Here is an extract (first, it is her who speaks):

- Mein Maxeken, du schöner Mann, Ach nimm mich doch mit dir
- Zuerst muss der Franzose schnell Eins kriegen auf den Hut.
- Denn zieh' dem Russen ab det Fell, Na Junge, du hast Mut.
- Zulezt hau ich den Englischmann Die Jacke mächtig voll.
- Wat fang' ich bloß alleene an, ick lieb Dir ja wie doll.
- Ach ja, ach ja, bald bin ick wieder da.

Translation:

- My Max, you handsome man, oh so take me with you.
- At first, the French quickly must get a beating.
- Next skin the Russian. Well my boy, you have courage.
- To finish off, I administer a hiding to the English.
- But what I'll do all alone, since I love you wildly.
- Oh well, oh well, soon I am here again.

21. - und der Prolet muß bluten

"...and the prole must bleed"

On the newspaper, is written:

as title "Deutsche Zeitung" ("German Newspaper"), then "Mögen sie nur kommen!" ("May they come after all!").

- Deutsche Zeitung:

This is the organ of the most rightist wing of the German-National Peoples' Party (Deutschnationale Volkspartei, DNVP). The DNVP was formed in November 1918 on the basis of the Deutschkonservative Partei and the Deutsche Reichspartei, that represented the conservative circles under the monarchy. In the creation of the DNVP also take part Christian-social, German-popular (deutschvölkische) and anti-Semite groups. The program of the DNVP plans the return to monarchy.

"Mögen sie nur kommen!":

In July 1870 breaks out the war between Prussia and France, which terminates in January-February 1871 with the German victory. This war at the same time provides the frame of the foundation of the German Empire: In January 1871, Wilhelm I, king of Prussia, is proclaimed Emperor. In 1876 he presides over the inauguration of a monument (commonly called "Hermanns-Statue") constructed near Detmold (capital of the Dukedom of Lippe) in memory of Arminius, chief of the Cherusci tribe who in the year 9 of our era conducted a victorious battle against the Romans. The construction had been started in 1841 on the impulsion of a certain Ernst von Bandel. A parallel is drawn between the historical event thus commemorated on the one side, and the victory of Germany over France on the other. Already previously the figure of Arminius had served as element of patriotic propaganda. This is attested for example by the song dating back to 1847 which precisely contains the phrase "Mögen sie nur kommen!", and moreover mentions the ongoing construction of the Hermanns-Statue. Here are some extracts¹⁰:

Als die Römer frech geworden
zogen sie nach Deutschlands Norden
Vorne mit Trompetenschall
ritt der Generalfeldmarschall,
Herr Quintilius Varus
[...]
Als das Morden war zu Ende,
rieb Fürst Hermann sich die Hände,
und um seinen Sieg zu weih'n,
lud er die Cherusker ein
zu 'nem großen Frühstück.
[...]
Und zu Ehren der Geschichten
tat ein Denkmal man errichten,
Deutschlands Kraft und Einigkeit
kündet es jetzt weit und breit:
"Mögen sie nur kommen!"
[...]

Translation:

When the Romans had become impudent
they marched to the north of Germany
Ahead with trumpets' sound
was riding the General Field Marshall,
Sir Quintilius Varus

[...]

When the murdering had come to an end
Prince Hermann rubbed his hands,
and to consecrate his victory
he invited the Cherusci
to a big breakfast.

[...]

And in honor of these histories
a memorial was erected,
now it bears witness far and wide around
of Germany's force and unity:
"May they come after all!"

[...]

- The umbrella:

In this drawing and the preceding one, that go together, appear persons exhibiting an umbrella. This may be seen as an allusion to a commonly used slogan describing the Emperor as "Deutschlands Schirm und Schutz" ("Shield and protection of Germany"). In German the word *Schirm* in the general sense signifies something which protects isolates. Thus *Schirm* may mean *Shield*, but also, for instance, *Umbrella* (*Regenschirm*), *parasol* (*Sonnenschirm*), *lampshade* (*Lampenschirm*).

- "Deutschlands Schirm und Schutz"

Sample postcard:



"With God for the Emperor and the Empire" - "Shield and protection of Germany"

22. Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen...

"Victoriously we intend to defeat France..."

- "Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen":

This phrase is extracted from a popular song dating back to the 19th century¹²:

Soldaten das sein lustge Brüder,
Haben frohen Mut,
Singen lauter lustge Lieder,
Sein den Mädchen gut.

Spiegelblank sein unsre Waffen,
Schwarz das Lederzeug,
Können wir beim Mädchen schlafen,
Sein wir kaiserreich.

Mut im Herzen, Geld im Beutel

Und ein gut Glas Bier,
Das soll uns die Zeit vertreiben.
Lustig und auch fröhlich sein!

's giebt nicht immer Schweinebraten,
's giebt auch trocknes Brot,
Lustig singen wir Soldaten
Bei Wasser und bei trockenem Brot.

Unser Hauptmann steigt zu Pferde,
Zieht mit uns in's Feld.
Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen,
Sterben als ein tapfrer Held.

Haben wir drei Jahr gedienet,
Ist die Dienstzeit aus,
Dann schickt uns der Hauptmann
wieder ohne Geld nach Hans.

Translation:

Soldiers are party-hearties,
have jovial temperament
sing all kinds of cheerful songs
really like girls.

Our arms are well polished
and black the leather gear,
if we can spend the night at the girl's place
we are as rich as the Emperor.

Courage in the heart, money in the purse
and a good glass of beer,
that's to pass the time.
Be cheerful and merry too!

Not always there's pork joint,
there's dry bread too.
Cheerful we soldiers do sing
with water and with dry bread.

Our captain mounts on horse,
takes the field with us.
Victoriously we intend to defeat France,
die as brave heroes.

After three years of service
the time of service comes to an end,
then the captain sends us
back again home without money.

23. Gegen den Kommunismus sind sie einig!

"Against communism they do agree!"

24. Die Familie ist die Grundlage des Staates

"The family is the foundation of the state"

- "Die Familie ist die Grundlage des Staates":

Bringing to the fore the idea that assigns to the family the role of foundation of the state, is very widespread throughout various conservative courants, and is notably supported by religions. As for the period after the 1st world war, one may note some particular manifestations of this fact.

In 1923 comes out the book "Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion und die jüdische Weltpolitik" ("The protocols of the Sages of Zion and the Jewish world politics") by Alfred Rosenberg. The latter is member of the NSDAP since 1920, author

of various anti-Semite texts, and in 1923 he takes up the function of editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, organ of the NSDAP. The following year, Adolf Hitler who is imprisoned designates him to replace himself. Analyzing the supposed protocols, Rosenberg writes¹³:

Here the elevated European ideal of individual liberty, in the larger sense of self-determination of a people, is distorted to the anarchist conception with the purpose to undermine family as the foundation of the state.

As for catholic church, the theologian Heinrich Pesch develops an interpretation designated as “Solidarismus” which aims at refuting both individualist liberalism and collectivist socialism. Pesch's vision is actively taken into account by politicians, notably Matthias Erzberger. (Erzberger is member of the Zentrum Party; 1919-1920 minister of Finances; assassinated in 1921 by representatives of the extreme right.) Here is how Pesch, in one of his main works, refers to the role of family in relation with state¹⁴:

The family is the foundation of the state. Within it are found the five pillars of life in society: religious spirit, obedience, respect before authority, sense of sacrifice, sense of community.

25. Ein halbes Jahrhundert Sozialdemokratie

"Half a century of Social-democracy"

26. Vorsicht, nicht stolpern

"Caution, don't stumble"

27. Ein trautes Weib, ein herzig Kind, das ist mein Himmel auf der Erde

"A faithful spouse, a cute child, that's my heaven on earth"

Words coming out of the mouth of the woman at the piano:

"Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht" ("quiet night, holy night"). (In the English version of this Christmas song: "Silent night, holy night".)

- "Ein braves Weib, ein herzlich Kind, das ist mein Himmel auf der Erde":

This is the refrain of a popular song dating back to the 19th century, from which here is the first strophe:

Ich wär so gern, so gern daheim,
Daheim in meiner stillen Klause,
Wie ist es doch dem Herzen wohl
Das süße traute Wort zu Hause.
Denn nirgends in der weiten Welt
Fühl ich so frei mich von Beschwerde,
Ein braves Weib, ein herzlich Kind,
Das ist mein Himmel auf der Erde.

Translation:

Oh, how I would like to be at home
at home in my quiet room,
Oh, how the sweet and familiar word at home
does good to the heart.
For nowhere in the wide world
I feel so free from worry,
A worthy spouse, a cute child,
that's my heaven on earth.

28. Einheitsfront

"United front"

29. Die Religion muß dem Volke erhalten bleiben!

"Religion must remain preserved for the people!"

In the speech bubble, is written:

"Seid fruchtbar und mehret Euch" ("Be fruitful and multiply", Bible, Genesis, 1.28, and similar formulations elsewhere in the text.)

30. Wissen ist Macht

"Knowledge is power"

On the board, is written:

"In der Blüte des Unternehmertums liegt die Zukunft der Arbeiterschaft", "10 % Lohnabzug", "Einheitsfront", "Akkord", "12-Studentag"
("In the blossoming of enterprise business lies the future of the whole of the workers", "10 % wage deduction", "United front", "piece-work", "12 hours day")

The face of the "teacher" may bring to mind Hugo Stinnes (cf. No. 37).

31. Ans Vaterland, ans teure, schließ dich an!

"Bind yourself to the fatherland, that dear land!"

- "Ans Vaterland, ans teure, schließ dich an!"

This phrase is extracted from the play "William Tell" by Friedrich Schiller¹⁶.

32. Der Regisseur -

"The director -"

This drawing also is included in the album "Die Räuber" ("The robbers"), published in 1922.

It is accompanied by the following phrase, extracted from the play "The robbers" by Friedrich Schiller¹⁷:

I will root up from my path whatever obstructs my progress towards becoming the master.

33. - und seine Puppen

"- and his puppets"

This drawing also is included in the album "Die Räuber" ("The robbers"), published in 1922.

It is accompanied by the following phrase, extracted from the piece "The robbers" by Friedrich Schiller¹⁸:

They thunder forth from their clouds about gentleness and forbearance, while they sacrifice human victims to the God of love.

34. Die Arbeiter machen der Obrigkeit so viel zu schaffen -

"The workers cause a lot of trouble to the authorities to the point -"

35. - daß es ihr nicht möglich ist die Schieber zu fassen

"- where it is impossible for the latter to apprehend the black marketers"

36. Zwei Schlote und eine Seele

"Two chimneys and one soul"

- Hugo Stinnes (cf. also No. 37):

Son of a family of enterprise businessmen in the sector of coal in the Ruhr region. In 1890 he takes charge of the direction of the family companies, and in 1892 he founds a company of his own. Then he takes an important part in the constitution of other companies: the Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk AG (RWE); with August Thyssen, the Mülheimer

Bergwerksverein AG; the Deutsch-Luxemburgische Bergwerks- und Hütten AG (“Deutsch-Luxemburg”). In 1902 he becomes president of the supervisory board of RWE. In 1910 Deutsch-Luxemburg acquires the Dortmunder Union AG and becomes one of the biggest consortiums of Germany in the branch of coal and steel. In 1920, Stinnes joins the German Party of the People (Deutsche Volkspartei, DVP) and becomes member of the National Assembly (Reichstag). In July of the same year he is on the German delegation to the international conference of Spa. Together with Albert Vögler he constitutes the consortium Rhein-Elbe-Union GmbH. Stinnes dies in April 1924.

- Louis Loucheur¹⁹:

In 1899 Loucheur together with Alexandre Giros founds a company of public works named Giros et Loucheur. In 1908 they transform it to Société générale d'entreprises (SGE). In September 1917 Loucheur is designated at the head of the ministry of armament and war fabrications, which in November becomes ministry of industrial reconstruction. He occupies this poste until January 1920. Afterwards, from January 1921 to January 1922, he is minister of liberated regions.

- Stinnes, Loucheur and the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923:

In December 1922 the victorious Allied Powers notify the German government that they impute to it an intentional fault of execution concerning some deliveries due as reparations. Referring to this advertisement, the French and Belgian governments, on 11th of January 1923, move troops in to the Ruhr.

Stinnes had in advance announced that his main preoccupation was not to avoid this course of events. On 18th of June 1922 the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, mouth-piece of Stinnes, informs: "Mister Stinnes, though, is under any circumstances unequivocal opponent of a continuation of the politics of fulfillment, even at the risk that things end up in an occupation of the Ruhr region. It is high time to ensure that the adversary gains consciousness that the eternal menaces with the occupation of the Ruhr are bound to come to an end one day²⁰."

Seen from a certain angle, the occupation of the Ruhr by France constitutes an attack carried out in connivance by the French and German capitalists against the German proletariat of the region, to suppress its resistance in face of exploitation. In effect, Stinnes relies on the economic difficulties related to the obligations of reparations - in particular after the occupation of the Ruhr - to demand of the German government to substantially increase the length of work day and week, and a prolonged prohibition of strikes²¹. He also conducts negotiations in this sense with the French authorities. Moreover he seeks to conclude contracts for delivery of coal to French companies despite the fact that the German government, in the frame of its politics of "passive resistance" to occupation, has pronounced a prohibition with this respect²².

In October 1923 a commission composed of six members representing the union of entrepreneurs of mines, with Stinnes as spokesman, negotiates with the commander of the French occupation troops, general Jean Marie Degoutte²³. The Chancellor Gustav Stresemann (DVP) initially is opposed to the dealings, but cannot prevent it and ends up according his official acceptance.

On 29th of September 1923, Stinnes in concert with the representatives of the German heavy industry asks the Chancellor Stresemann to abolish the eight hours limit of daily work. The following day, at Unna-Königsborn, is held a meeting of the main leaders of the coal and iron industry of the Ruhr region. Decision is taken to reinstate from 1st of October on the length of work as before war. On 5th of October representatives of the heavy industry negotiate with general Degoutte. In addition to Stinnes, these are Albert Janus (president of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Kohlensyndikat), Peter Klöckner (president of the supervisory board of Klöckner-Werke AG), Georg Lübsen (director of Gutehoffnungshütte AG), Otto von Velsen (general director of Bergwerks-Gesellschaft Hibernia), Albert Vogler (president of the council of administration of Deutsch-Luxemburgische Bergwerks- und Hütten-AG). When the chancellor and the industrials denies that such negotiations have been held, Otto Wels (SPD), on 20th of November in the National Assembly (Reichstag), cites textually the minutes of the meeting held at Unna-Königsborn²⁴:

Industry shares the conviction that it was a grave error to give in to the socialist influences and after a lost war, on top of that, to introduce shortened working hours. It would have been possible to avoid many difficulties, if more coal had been mined for, and it should be our task to mine once again enough coal so to be able to supply in addition to Germany, also France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. Therefore the mining sector in Rheinland-Westfalen has decided to reintroduce next Monday the working hours from before war, that is eight hours and a half including going down and up for those working underground and ten hours for the others. However the industry is not in the position to carry out its intentions without the support of the occupation powers, and this is one of the reasons for our visit.

The position of Degoutte is in harmony with that of Stinnes²⁵. He considers "the German people as degenerated and especially the workers as hopelessly gone to the dogs²⁶". In the same spirit the commander of the troops staying in Düsseldorf, general Simon, asserts that "the attitude of the German rabble, who voluntarily persist in holidays, is the main obstacle to the reestablishment of a normal life²⁷".

The attitude of "passive resistance" initially adopted by the German government implies on the part of the workers in the occupied territories, refusing to do their work in the conditions imposed in the context of administration of the companies by the French authorities. In consequence the latter apply measures of massive expulsion of German workers to the zones which are not occupied. Here are the conditions laid down by Degoutte with a view to a possible change of position in October 1923, transmitted to a delegation of the trade unions²⁸:

1. Abolition of the law about employee representative committee;
2. Introduction of ten hours work and piece-work;
3. Acceptation of any assigned work, otherwise follows expulsion;
4. For the railway employees apply the already announced conditions;
5. Suppression by armed force of any rebellion;
6. Intensification of the city protection.

[Point 4 refers to the obligation for the railroad workers to place themselves at the disposal of the French railway administration under pain of expulsion²⁹.]

However, despite of these common points, each of the fractions of the bourgeoisie, German and French, pursues its own objectives which, although determined in accordance with common principles, are divergent, at least partially. Relations of cooperation are established in various forms, but they are subject to factors of competition which may in parallel give rise to more or less marked hostility. Some projects go so far as to envisage the constitution of a Franco-German consortium in the combined sectors of steel and coal. In that case the quest of relation of cooperation tends to turn into conflict. Stinnes refuses agreements which would give preponderance to the French capitalists, whereas the latter can rely on the occupation of the Ruhr to insist on their demands.

(Cf. below.)

- The agreement known as "of Wiesbaden"³⁰:

In the course of 1920, the French government elaborates a plan concerning the problem of reparations, inspired by Jacques Seydoux, vice-director of political and commercial affairs within the Ministry of foreign affairs. That plan is aimed at favoring the deliveries in nature and integrating them within the commercial mechanisms tying the French companies directly up with the German providers. The project, in the light of certain aspects of its dispositions, comes up against the negative position of the representatives of private economy, French as well as German, and also the opposition from Great Britain. On 12th of June 1921 start, with a similar approach, negotiations between Walther Rathenau (cf. below, No. 41) and Louis Loucheur. An agreement is concluded on 6th of October at Wiesbaden, it is to come into effect on 29th of June 1922. But its success is blocked by the same factors which before hindered the carrying out of the plan of Seydoux. It should be noted that the Wiesbaden agreement is conceived in the idea that the German government as well as the trade unions be associated to the conclusion of delivery contracts, but that a later arrangement, called Ruppel-Gillet, eliminates these dispositions³¹.

- The agreement between Stinnes and de Lubersac³²:

In August-September 1922, Stinnes negotiates an agreement with two French representatives, Louis Guy de Lubersac (banker, senator of the Aisne and president of the Confédération Générale des Coopératives de Reconstruction) and his

brother Odon. The objective is to install a Germano-French consortium participating in the reconstruction of destroyed factories in the North of France. The agreement treats with deliveries in nature, under a form which reaches considerably beyond the dispositions of the Wiesbaden agreement (cf. above). On the French side, it is in favor neither with the government nor the industrials of the Comité des forges³³. Stinnes tries to go further. In October he elaborates in consultation with de Lubersac a plan of a more general range and obtains the consent by president Friedrich Ebert (SPD) that a group of four representatives of the German heavy industry placed under his direction negotiate with the French government as official representatives of Germany³⁴. The plan envisages that Germany take charge of the reconstruction of the devastated regions in the North of France, simultaneously accompanied by the retreat of the French troops from Rheinland and Saar as well as the giving up on behalf of France demanding other reparations. To allow the reconstruction of Germany, a certain number of measures should be implemented, of which here is the summary³⁵:

1. All Germans do overtime without higher pay, till Germany again disposes of a balance of trade surplus.
2. Securing of the interest payment and amortization of a gold loan, with which shall be achieved the reconstruction of France and Belgium, and the stabilization of the German currency.
3. The German government abolishes all controls about domestic and foreign business transactions.
4. Germany, once it works again with normal salaries and under normal conditions, obtains everywhere in the world the most-favored-nation clause and access to all raw materials and colonial territories regardless of the colors they fly and under the same conditions as the rest of the world.
5. For a period of five years will be prohibited all strikes in the areas vital for the national economy.
6. After the stabilization and after the securing of a reparation loan the Mark will be allowed to "find" its international rate.
7. Those persons of middle class and those pensioners, who have been deprived of their basis of livelihood by the inflation, shall be taken care of temporarily by the state through annual benefits.

- Projects of a Franco-German consortium:

Since 1920, sectors of the French coal and steel industry endeavor to carry out negotiations with a view on a understanding with the German coal producers³⁶. Notably Robert Pinot, the general secretary of the Comité des Forges, seeks to obtain that the French government asks Germany to cede parts of capital so to allow controlling the coal companies which are providers of the producers of minette in Lorraine. As minister of reconstruction, Louis Loucheur initially is in favor of such projects. Around September 1922 the press reports negotiations between Stinnes and Jules Bernard, a representative of the heavy industry of Lorraine, on the subject of exchange of coke from the Ruhr for minette and semi-finished products from Lorraine³⁷. He would negotiate with Stinnes on the following bases: cessation of construction by the German steel industry of new blast furnaces supplied by Swedish and Canadian ore; guaranty that the factories of Lorraine be supplied by coke from the Ruhr; delivery of semi-finished products to the German industry by certain factories od

Lorraine; transfer to the German industrialists of one quarter of the capital of these factories of Lorraine. The negotiations do not come off, as the German industrialists and in particular Stinnes demand a Franco-German parity in the matter of capital participations.

After the occupation of the Ruhr by France, Stinnes continues his dealings³⁸. In April 1923, he carries out conversations with Émile Haguenin who directs the press and information bureau in Berlin on behalf of the French ministry of foreign affairs. He exposes to him a plan concerning the reparations which envisages establishing mechanisms at a large scale conceived with a view on the exploitation of the French colonies.

At the end of 1923 Arnold Rechberg (cf. below) submits to Stinnes a plan consisting in proposing to the French government, as payments of reparations, a participation in the capital of German enterprises³⁹. He calls up a rate of participation of thirty percent in exchange to the evacuation of the Ruhr and the Rheinland⁴⁰. Rechberg's proposition is supported by the French member of parliament Paul Reynaud⁴¹. But Stinnes conceives the possible establishment of participations exclusively within the frame of mutual participations, between respectively German and French industry. In November-December 1923 two representatives of Stinnes converse with French enterprising businessmen⁴². They report that Robert Pinot and the steel industrialist Arthur Vermot feel favorably to the idea of bilateral relations. In February 1924 other conversations take place, between Pinot and Jacques Seydoux on the one side, and representatives of Stinnes on the other. Pinot submits a proposition similar to that brought up in autumn 1922 (mentioned above); it comprises the following points: long-term agreements about delivery of coal destined to the French blast furnaces located outside of Lorraine, transfer of the capital of the German mines within the companies of Lorraine on the level necessary so to satisfy their needs of coal. For Stinnes and the other German industrialists, these measures are unacceptable.

- Arnold Rechberg⁴³:

Arnold Rechberg is the brother of Fritz Rechberg, an important industrialist of the potash branch, as president of the supervisory board of the Kali-Industrie AG and at the same time president of the Gewerkschaft Wintershall, of which he owns around 40 % of the capital. The company from which originates the Gewerkschaft Wintershall has been founded in 1894; it is in 1899 that it adopted the legal form of "Gewerkschaft" (comparable to the form of limited partnership). During the years 1910-1911 the Gewerkschaft Wintershall acquires the majority of the actions and parts in several other companies. In December 1921 with the support of the Dresdner Bank, is constituted the Kali-Industrie AG, to which Gewerkschaft Wintershall contributes all its participations, while simultaneously taking 49 percent of the actions of the new company.

- Extract from the political diary of William R. Castle, chief of the section for Western Europe of the US State Department⁴⁴

[On 30th of October 1922 Castle has conversed with Hugo Stinnes on the occasion of a dinner organized by the US ambassador Alanson Houghton.]

- November 19. In any discussion of reparations or of reconstruction, personalities and their ambitions must be taken into account. In Germany the outstanding personality is without doubt Hugo Stinnes, a man of vast power, of tremendous imagination, of a vigorous strength that suggests Bismarck. President Ebert says that politically Stinnes is a child. This is to some extent true in that he fails to understand he cannot manipulate peoples as he manipulates his own workmen. But with his almost unbelievable, if still partly potential wealth, which is not concentrated in one industry, one place or even one country, he may be able to move communities at will in a way that would appear impossible. The man who is childish in his ideas, in the opinion of the trained politician, may sooner or later make himself the master of politicians. Stinnes has a genius for organization and for coordination of great interests that carries him far beyond the sphere of the mere industrial magnate. He is consolidating his interests throughout Germany and Austria, acquiring interests in Italy and Czechoslovakia and Silesia with a view of recreating, along industrial rather than military lines, the old German Empire. His agreement with Lubersac contemplates not only the rebuilding of the devastated regions and the evacuation of the Rhine Territories, but the inauguration of great Franco- German cartels which would mean the elimination of competition, industrial peace between the two countries, the certain enrichment of the French industrials (the appeal to the French pocketbook must be strong). But it means also a gigantic trust, a German trust with a French tail, which would certainly attempt to dominate the world. The vision of Stinnes reaches far. He sees the road to the East opening again; the disappearance of Poland; German exploitation of Russia and Italy. It is peaceful and reconstructive in purpose. Would it not all lead to another war eventually, unless we and the rest of the world are willing to put ourselves under German suzerainty? I am not sure of this but the idea is worth considering. Stinnes, furthermore, seems to be making the mistake which Bismarck made years ago. He wants to dominate, to be himself the State. His idea approximates socialism - little as the socialists would admit it - because State control must mean personal control, as it does now in Russia. The plan of Stinnes, like socialism, kills personal initiative and the safety and progress of the world seem to me to depend largely on the building up of as many strong and independent personalities as possible. The strongest man in Germany, Stinnes seems to me, as I think of our long talk, one of the truly dangerous men of the world.

- November 21 (Cont'd) The Stinnes-Lubersac plan of reconstruction of the devastated regions as full French reparation with the immediate evacuation of the occupied regions and the Saar, and the removal of restrictions against the Germans will be accepted by Poincare if the United States will take the guarantee of Germany not to go to war. Whether this means that France is in more desperate straits financially than we realize or whether it means that Poincare has acquired common sense, it at least bears out the idea that the French are looking for a formula which will enable them to back down gracefully. The pressure that we can bring to bear is through Europe's debt to us. Cancellation, even if it were immediately possible, would seem to me stupid and would get us nowhere [...] If [...] some arrangement can be

made by which we can give France the security against renewed German invasion, the technical form of which would save the face of the French Government, thereby permitting the Stinnes-Lubersac plan to take effect, the reparation question is in a fair way of settlement [...]

37. Stinnes und sein Präsident

"Stinnes and his president"

- Hugo Stinnes (cf. also No. 36):



45

During 1921-1924, Stinnes takes care to impose himself as inescapable figure within the negotiations Germany is conducting with the Victorious Allied Powers, at least as far as the economic aspects are concerned. In July 1920, on his own demand, he is integrated into the German delegation at the international conference of Spa. Peremptorily he declares that it is not conceivable to satisfy the demands of the allied powers concerning the coal deliveries. In November 1922, he overtly announces that he will stand up to any attempt to stabilize the Mark. He negotiates with foreign political and economic leaders, in particular French and American, bypassing the government and disregarding the agreements concluded by the latter. Thus is the case in relation with the Wiesbaden agreement (cf. above). Deliberately he places himself above the governmental authorities. The US ambassador Alanson Houghton recounts that in October 1922, when the Chancellor du Reich Joseph Wirth (Zentrum) envisages constituting a new government and with respect to this seeks advice from Stinnes, the latter refuses pointing out that he desires negotiating exclusively with the President Ebert⁴⁶.

It occurred to Gustav Stresemann, Chancellor of the Reich from August to November 1923, to allude with irony to the pretention of Stinnes, in terms of influence over governments⁴⁷. On day in public, when Stinnes pointed out that he had addressed a letter to the government, Stresemann contributed to the conversation in jest: "A note, Mister Stinnes, not a letter." And responding to the interrogation that the remark originated with Stinnes, Stresemann made it clear: "Within the relations from great power to great power, isn't it, there only are notes⁴⁸."

38. Ueb immer Treu und Redlichkeit Bis in dein kühles Grab

"Always practice faithfulness and honesty, Up into your cool grave"

- "Üb' immer Treu und Redlichkeit, Bis an dein kühles Grab":

This is the first line of the poem by Ludwig Höltz titled "Der alte Landmann an seinen Sohn" ("The old farmer to his son"), dating back to 1776, of which here is the beginning⁴⁹:

Üb' immer Treu und Redlichkeit,
Bis an dein kühles Grab;
Und weiche keinen Fingerbreit
Von Gottes Wegen ab.
Dann wirst du, wie auf grünen Aun,
Durchs Pilgerleben gehn;
Dann kannst du, sonder Furcht und Graun,
Dem Tod' ins Auge sehn.

Translation:

Always practice faithfulness and honesty,
Up to the edge of your cool grave;
and don't step aside not even by one inch
from the ways of God.
Then you will go, like on green pastures,
through a life of pilgrim;

Then you can, without fear and horror
Face death.

N.B: The poem says "Bis an dein kühles Grab" ("*Up to the edge of your cool grave*"), whereas the title of the drawing says "Bis in dein kühles Grab" ("*Up into the cool of your grave*")

39. Unser täglich Brot gib uns heute

"Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread"

Bible verse (Matthew 6:11).

40. Die Republik - ein Spatzenschreck

"The Republic - a scarecrow"

41. Plakat anlässlich des Mordes an Rathenau

"Poster on the occasion of the murder of Rathenau"

It is written:

Das Deutsche Kaiserreich ist die Sehnsucht unsrer Zukunft (Helfferich) Im Reichstag 22. VI
Wenn einst der Kaiser kommen wird Schlagen wir zum Krüppel den Wirth Knallen die Gewehre - tack, tack, tack Auf
schwarze und aufs rote Pack! (Aus einem Nationalgesang der Reaktionäre)
Arbeiter! Besteht darauf dass diese Gesellschaft unschädlich gemacht wird!!

[The German Empire is the yearning of our future (Helfferich) In the Reichstag (National Assembly) 22. VI
When one day the Emperor will come We will cripple Wirth The rifles ring out - tack, tack, tack On the black rabble and
the red one! (From a national song of the reactionaries)
Workers! Insist that this society be eliminated!!]

- Walther Rathenau:

In 1883, his father founds the Deutsche Edison-Gesellschaft (German Edison-Company), that in 1887 is renamed Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (General Electricity-Company, AEG). In 1904, he integrates the supervisory board of AEG, of which he becomes president in 1912. At the death of his father in 1915 he obtains special powers as president of AEG. In 1919 he takes part in the foundation of the German Democratic Party (Deutsche Demokratische Partei, DDP). In May 1921, he integrates the government of Joseph Wirth (Zentrum) as minister of reconstruction; at this time he abandons all his enterprise business functions. On the subject of reparations he advocates the implementation of an "Erfüllungspolitik" ("politics of accomplishment"). With the resignation of the first government Wirth in October, he loses his post as minister but rests in charge of missions as a negotiator. In February 1922, he integrates the second government Wirth as minister of foreign affairs. In April, he concludes the Rapallo Treaty with Russia. On 24th of June he is assassinated by militants of the extreme right.

- Excerpt from an article by the member of the National Assembly (Reichstag) Wilhelm Henning, of the German-national Party of the People (Deutschnationale Volkspartei, DNVP)50:

[The article was published in June 1922 in the *Konservative Monatschrift*, under the title "Das wahre Gesicht des Rapallo-Vertrages" ("The true face of the Rapallo Treaty"). The author reproaches Rathenau with having given up demanding reparation with respect to the assassination of the German envoy Wilhelm von Mirbach in July 1918 by Russian social-revolutionaries.]

As soon as the international Jew Rathenau got his fingers on the German honor, there we are, nobody talks about it anymore [the assassination of Mirbach] [...] The German honor is not a merchandise to haggle over through international Jewish trafficking! [...] The German honor will be atoned for. However, you, Mister Rathenau, and those acting behind you will be called to account for by the German people.

- Karl Helfferich:

He joins the German-national Party of the People (Deutschnationale Volkspartei, DNVP) in 1919. On 23rd of June 1922 he makes a speech in the National Assembly (Reichstag), of which is extracted the phrase cited on the drawing by Grosz51:

Then, from all the mistreatments which are at present allowed to be done to us without punishment, emerged before our eyes the image of the respected and eared German empire, the happiness of our past and the yearning of our future.

- Couplet full of hatred widespread in those days in the circles of extreme right⁵²:

Wenn einst der Kaiser kommen wird,
schlagen wir zum Krüppel den Wirth,
knallen die Gewehre, tack, tack, tack,
aufs schwarze und das rote Pack.
Haut immer feste auf den Wirth!
Haut seinen Schädel, daß es klirrt!
Knallt ab den Walther Rathenau,
die gottverfluchte Judensau.

Translation:

When one day the emperor will come?
We will cripple Wirth,
The rifles ring out, tack, tack, tack,
On the black rabble and the red one.
Thump always tough on Wirth!
Beat his head so to hear rattling!
Blast Walther Rathenau,
this goddamned Jewish swine.

- "Wenn einst der Kaiser kommt":

In March 1919 Rathenau publishes a writing under the title "Der Kaiser" ("The Emperor"), in which he cites a remark he presumably had made himself during the first days of the war: "Never will come the moment when the Emperor, as victor of the world, will cross the Brandenburger Tor [monument constructed in Berlin in 1788-1791 under the reign of the king Friedrich Wilhelm II], parading with his cohorts on white steeds⁵³."

- "aufs schwarze und das rote Pack":

Black color is related mainly to the Center Party (Zentrumspartei), that has been formed in the years 1869-1871 as organization of the political Catholicism. In addition to the ecclesiastic institutions, it later relies on the Christian trade unions set up in 1894. In November 1918, in Bavaria, the region Zentrum transforms itself into a separate party, the

Bavarian Party of the People (Bayrische Volkspartei, BVP). As for the red color, in the reactionary vocabulary, it designates both communists as well as social-democrats together.

42. Wer gut frißt...

"He who has good feast..."

Words coming out of the mouth of the figure who is cheering: "Hoch hoch der Kaiser" ("Cheer, cheer for the emperor")

43. ...uns leicht vergißt

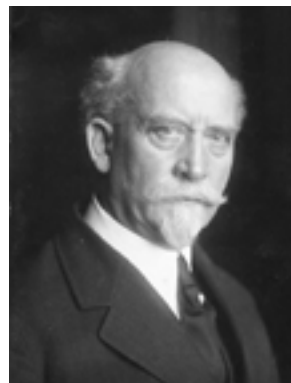
"...easily forgets us"

44. Das Görlitzer Programm -

"The Görlitz Program -"

Figure at the left: Hugo Stinnes. (Cf. No. 37)

Figure behind, with the goatee: Philipp Scheidemann.



Words coming out of the record player: "Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein"

Piece of paper sticking out of the pocket of H. Stinnes: "Deutsche Allg..."

Piece of paper sticking out from behind the two figures: "Die Glocke", "Parvus"

- The Görlitz Program:

In September 1921 is held a congress of the Social-democratic Party of Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD) in Görlitz⁵⁵. It is to adopt a new program, replacing the one which came out of the Erfurt congress, in 1891. A commission charged with the preparation of the text submits a project in July 1921. Its contents are strongly influenced by Eduard Bernstein, although he is not member of the commission. The project arouses strong critics with respect to the fact that it does not mention at all the terms of working class and class struggle. The program finally adopted by the congress, on 23rd of September, reintroduces passages on this subject. Nevertheless, it constitutes one more step towards total abandoning of the basic principles of communism.

One of the characteristic features resides in the fact that it ratifies the existent political system as the definite frame of the political and economic transformations to perform⁵⁶:

With the democratic Republic it [the working class] disposes of the form of State of which the preservation and the building up is an essential necessity for its struggle for freedom. [...] The Social-democratic Party is determined to give its all for the protection of the hard-won freedom. It considers the democratic Republic as the form of state given irrevocably by the historical development, and any attack on it as an aggression against the vital rights of the people.

- Eduard Bernstein at the Görlitz congress of the SPD⁵⁷:

The German Party of the People has social power; it actually is the party of the German bourgeoisie. Behind it is placed the German finance, the German big industry and the intelligentsia in Germany. We need to try to harness this party in front of the car of the Republic.

- Philipp Scheidemann at the Görlitz congress of the SPD⁵⁸:

That we only can enter a government with Parties that respect the constitution, this is self-evident. But does this mean that we only can enter a government with Parties which have voted for the constitution? I say: no. For otherwise going together with the USP [Unabhängige Sozial-demokratische Partei Deutschlands, USPD] would be impossible, and we

have, though, offered it in honest conviction to come together into the government. Like the Independent, the same the German Party of the People has voted against the constitution. For us, it must not be decisive what a party has done earlier, but what it is ready to do. [...] Thus at each constitution of a government we must formulate a determined minimal program. Parties which are ready to accept such a program and to let us have determined ministries, cannot lastingly be rejected from participation in the government.

- "Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein"

cf. No. 13.

- "Deutsche Allg...", c'est-à-dire *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (DAZ)*

Newspaper founded in 1861 as *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in Berlin, from 1863 on subsidized by the State, becomes *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1918. The DAZ is linked to the German Party of the People (Deutsche Volkspartei, DVP), founded on 15th of December 1918. In 1920 Hugo Stinnes acquires the publishing house issuing the newspaper; after the death of Stinnes the DAZ several times changes proprietor and finally is acquired by Hugo Stinnes Jr. in 1932.

- "Die Glocke", "Parvus"

Parvus is the pseudonym of Alexander Helphand, born in Russia⁶⁰. In 1891 he arrives in Berlin and joins the social-democrats. He also enters into contact with the Russian social-democrats; he is in Russia at the moment of the 1905 Revolution. In 1907 he comes back to Germany. As from the launching of the war he places himself overtly on the sides of the German government. In Berlin he founds the newspaper *Die Glocke* which defends chauvinist positions. During the war he lives in Copenhagen and organizes all sorts of lucrative transactions, then in 1920 he once again comes to Berlin. He continues his links with the social-democrats, in particular Philipp Scheidemann. From 1922 on, he finances together with H. Stinnes a publication issued in 5 languages, "Der Wiederaufbau". He dies in 1924.

45. - und seine Folgen

"- and its consequences"

46. Der deutsche Spießler ist ein Darm, Gefüllt mit Furcht und Hoffnung, daß Gott erbarm (Herwegh)

"The German philistine is a gut filled with fear and hope, May it move God to pity"

- Der deutsche Spießler:

Grosz gives Georg Herwegh credit for the phrase about the German philistine. However this evaluation can be found already in the works of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe⁶¹:

Was ist ein Philister?
Ein hohler Darm,
Mit Furcht und Hoffnung ausgefüllt.
Daß Gott erbarm!

Translation:

What is a philistine?
A hollow gut,
filled up with fear and hope.
May it move God to pity!

- Georg Herwegh⁶²:

German writer and journalist. In 1839 he leaves Germany to go to Switzerland. In 1841 he publishes a collection of poems "Gedichte eines Lebendigen" (Poems of one being alive), which earns him to be qualified as "standard-bearer of the political orientation of the literature"⁶³. The same year he starts a friendship to last thirty years with Ludwig Feuerbach, and in Paris he meets Heinrich Heine. In 1842 he becomes collaborator of the *Rheinische Zeitung* which Karl Marx runs in Cologne; he also meets Mikhail Bakunin, whose anarchist positions have quite an influence on him. In 1843 he enters in contact with the German Handwerkervereine - associations of craftsmen with cultural objective - and gets acquainted with August Becker and Wilhelm Weitling. Then he settles in Paris. He encounters Marx, Bakunin, Moses Hess, Arnold Ruge, Victor Hugo, George Sand, Alphonse Lamartine, Pierre Jean de Béranger. At the time of the February Revolution of 1848, of Paris, he becomes president of the "Deutsche demokratische Gesellschaft" (German democratic society) and when an insurrection outbreaks in the province of Bade, this committee forms the "Deutsche demokratische Legion" (German democratic legion) which supplies a small armed troop to reinforce the rebels. The undertaking fails, Herwegh is forced to flee and settles in Switzerland. In 1860 he initiates a friendship with Ferdinand Lasalle. In 1863 he becomes representative

in Switzerland of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein (General German Workers Association). In 1866 he again settles in Germany. He is designated as honorific correspondent of the 1st International; he cooperates in the newspaper of the social democracy, the *Volksstaat*, and publishes political poems. He dies in 1875.

47. ...diese Kriegsverletzten wachsen sich nachgerade zur Landplage aus!

"...these disabled veterans escalate straight out into a positive plague!"

48. Eigner Herd ist Goldes Wert

"There's no place like home"

- "Eigner Herd ist Goldes Wert":

The complete saying goes: "Eigner Herd ist Goldes wert; Ist er gleich arm, hält er doch warm." ("A stove of one's own is worth gold; be it miserable, nevertheless it keeps warm.")

49. Juden raus!

"Jews out!"

50. Der Dolchstoß von rechts

"The stab from right"

On the arm, is written: "Wucher" ("profiteering").

- "Dolchstoß-Legende"⁶⁴:

During the years after the war the propaganda of the extreme right among other themes stresses the "Dolchstoß-Legende"

(the myth about the stab). It attacks the left political forces about being responsible of the defeat of 1918, in relation with the defeatist attitude, brought to fruition in particular by the strikes organized during the war as well as the insurrection of November 1918.

Paul von Hindenburg, on 18th of November 1919 to a fact finding commission of the national assembly concerning the causes of the military defeat, speaks of secret and methodical dealings generating the disintegration of the marine and the army. He asserts that the German army has been "finished off by a stab in the back"⁶⁵.

However, the social democracy implicitly places itself within that same vision. When Friedrich Ebert on 10th of December 1918 welcomes troops coming back to Berlin, he declares⁶⁶: "No enemy prevailed over you."

51. Vier Jahre Mord

"Four years of murder"

52. Wenn die Soldaten nicht solche Dummköpfe wären, würden sie mir schon längst davongelaufen sein (Fridericus Rex)

"If the soldiers weren't such goofballs, they since long would have run off from me (Fridericus Rex)"

This drawing alternatively has as title "Alles kehrt einmal wieder" ("Everything comes again one day")

- Fridericus Rex:

This is king Friedrich II of Prussia (surnamed also "der alte Fritz", that is "the old Fred"), who reigned from 1740 to his death in 1786. In 1920, 1921 and 1923 are produced successively four films which form a series titled "Fridericus Rex" which are about the life of this king. It represents propaganda in favor of the restoration of the monarchy.

- "Fridericus Rex, unser König und Herr:

Song dating back to 1832, of which here the last strophe⁶⁷:

Friedricus, mein König, den der Lorbeerkrantz ziert
Ach hättest du nur öfters zu plündern permittiert
Friedericus Rex, mein König und Held
Wir schlügen den Teufel für dich aus der Welt!

Translation:

Friedericus Rex, my king, whom the laurel wreath adorns,
Oh, if only more often you had allowed to loot,
Friedericus Rex, my king and hero,
For you we would knock the devil out of the world!

- "Alles kommt einmal wieder"

This is the title of a song forming part of the musical spectacle "Was träumt Berlin" ("What is Berlin dreaming about?") created in 1915. Here is the first and the last strophe of the song⁶⁸:

Alles kommt einmal wieder,
wie es vor Jahren war.
Singt man erst Friedenslieder
herrlich und wunderbar,
dann wird sich alles zeigen
in einem duft'gen Kleid,
anstatt der Trommel verkünden die Geigen
das Nahen der neuen Zeit.

[...]

Nicht alle kommen wieder,
nicht alle kommen zurück.
Oft singt in Siegesliedern man von verlorenem Glück.
Deckt auch der grüne Rasen
manchen so tapferen Held,
bald werden jubelnd Fanfaren
blasen Deutschland voran in der Welt.

Translation:

Everything comes again one day
just as it was years before.
Once songs of peace will be sung
magnificent and marvelous,
then everything will appear
in an ethereal dress,
instead of drums, violins announce
the approaching of the new epoch.

[...]

Not all come again,
not all come back.
Often in songs of victory one sings about lost happiness.
Even if the green meadow covers
more than one most valiant hero,
soon jubilantly fanfares
will play in the world, preceding Germany.

53. Wenn die Arbeiter aufhören wollen Sklaven zu sein, müssen sie ihren Herren die Knute entreißen

"If the workers want to stop being slaves, they must snatch the whip from their masters"

On the handle of the whip is written: "Klassenjustiz" ("class justice").

54. Freut Euch des Lebens!

"Enjoy life!"

"Freut euch des Lebens":

Title of a song dating back to 1793, of which here the beginning⁶⁹:

Freut euch des Lebens
weil noch das Lämpchen glüht
Pflücket die Rose
eh sie verblüht!

Translation:

Enjoy life,
as the wick still glows.
Pick the rose
before it withers!

55. Die Ehe ist der Anfang und der Gipfel der Kultur (Goethe)

"Marriage is the beginning and the pinnacle of culture"

- Die Wahlverwandtschaften (The elective affinities):

The sentence about marriage is extracted from this novel by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. As in all literary works, the thoughts presented by the author as those of this or that figure may be far from his own vision. Here is what Goethe himself writes in one of his letters addressed to Friedrich Schiller⁷⁰:

With all matters things go as with marriage: one marvels about what one thinks to have achieved when one is coupled, and there the devil is off more than ever. This comes, because nothing in the world stands separately and anything effective has to be regarded not as an end, but as a beginning.

56. Wir halten fest und treu zusammen

"Solidly and staunchly we stick together "

- "Wir halten fest und treu zusammen"

This phrase is extracted from a popular song commonly called "Kaisermarsch Hipp Hipp Hurra" ("March of the Emperor Hip Hip Hurray"), of which here is the last strophe and the refrain⁷¹:

Und ruft der Feind uns einst zur Wehr
dann ziehn wir in den Streit
es findet uns zu Land und Meer
in Kampfeslust bereit
Käm er in hellen Haufen gleich
wir trotzten aller Not
Mit Gott für Kaiser und für's Reich
gehn wir gern in den Tod

Es soll Begeisterung uns entflammen
hipp hipp hurra
wir halten fest und treu zusammen
hipp hipp hurra

Translation:

And if one day the enemy calls us to resist
then we will rush up to conflict
he finds us on earth and sea
ready, plainly bellicose
Even if he comes directly in numerous bunches
we brave all distress
With God and the Emperor for the Empire
willingly we go to death

Enthusiasm shall kindle us

hip hip hurray
Solidly and staunchly we stick together
hip hip hurray

57. Wacht auf, Verdammte dieser Erde

"Wake up, damned of this earth"

- The International:

After the defeat of the Commune of Paris in 1871, Eugène Pottier writes a text titled "The International" with reference to the International association of workers (Internationale Arbeiterassoziation, known also under the designation as First International) constituted in 1864 on the basis of the essential contribution of Karl Marx. In 1888, the text is set to music by Pierre Degeyter. Later, after 1900, Emil Luckhardt writes a version in German language⁷². During the 1930s, Erich Weinert writes a version which more faithfully restitutes the whole of the French text⁷³.

"Wacht auf, Verdammte dieser Erde": This comes from the text by Emil Luckhardt.

The original text by Eugène Pottier goes: "Debout! les damnés de la terre!". "Debout" may signify the idea of getting up, waking up. But in the context of the poem it rather induces the call to "stand up", to "rise" in order to fight.

- "L'Internationale", poème d'Eugène Pottier⁷⁴:

C'est la lutte finale:
Groupons-nous, et demain,
L'Internationale
Sera le genre humain.

Debout! les damnés de la terre!
Debout! les forçats de la faim!
La raison tonne en son cratère,
C'est l'éruption de la fin,
Du passé faisons table rase,
Foule esclave, debout! debout!

Le monde va changer de base:
Nous ne sommes rien, soyons tout!

Il n'est pas de sauveurs suprêmes:
Ni Dieu, ni César, ni tribun,
Producteurs, sauvons-nous nous-mêmes!
Décrétons le salut commun!
Pour que le voleur rende gorge,
Pour tirer l'esprit du cachot,
Soufflons nous-mêmes notre forge,
Battons le fer quand il est chaud!

L'État comprime et la loi triche;
L'Impôt saigne le malheureux;
Nul devoir ne s'impose au riche;
Le droit du pauvre est un mot creux.
C'est assez languir en tutelle,
L'Égalité veut d'autres lois;
"Pas de droits sans devoirs, dit-elle,
Égaux, pas de devoirs sans droits!"

Hideux dans leur apothéose,
Les rois de la mine et du rail
Ont-ils jamais fait autre chose
Que dévaliser le travail:
Dans les coffres-forts de la bande
Ce qu'il a créé est fondu.
En décrétant qu'on le lui rende
Le peuple ne veut que son dû.

Les rois nous soûlaient de fumées,
Paix entre nous, guerre aux tyrans!
Appliquons la grève aux armées,
Crosse en l'air et rompons les rangs!
S'ils s'obstinent, ces cannibales,

A faire de nous des héros,
Ils sauront bientôt que nos balles
Sont pour nos propres généraux.

Ouvriers, paysans, nous sommes
Le grand parti des travailleurs;
La terre n'appartient qu'aux hommes,
L'oisif ira loger ailleurs.
Combien de nos chairs se repaissent!
Mais, si les corbeaux, les vautours,
Un de ces matins, disparaissent,
Le soleil brillera toujours!

Commonly sung English version⁷⁵

'Tis the final conflict
Let each stand in his place
The International Union
Shall be the human race.

Arise ye pris'ners of starvation
Arise ye wretched of the earth
For justice thunders condemnation
A better world's in birth!
No more tradition's chains shall bind us
Arise, ye slaves, no more in thrall;
The earth shall rise on new foundations
We have been naught we shall be all.

Translation of the original text by Eugène Pottier⁷⁶

'Tis the final conflict,
Let us unite and tomorrow,
The International
Will be the human race

Arise, the damned of the earth!
Arise, prisoners of hunger!
Reason thunders in its crater,
'Tis the eruption of the end.
Let's make a clean slate of the past,
Enslaved mass, arise, arise!
The world's foundation will change,
We are nothing, now let's be all!

We want no condescending saviors
To rule us from their judgement hall
We workers ask not for their favors
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell
We must ourselves decide our duty
We must decide and do it well.

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
The wage slave system drains our blood;
The rich are free from obligation,
The laws the poor delude.
Too long we've languished in subjection,
Equality has other laws;
"No rights", says she "without their duties,
No claims on equals without cause."

Behold them seated in their glory
The kings of mine and rail and soil!
What have you read in all their story,
But how they plundered toil?
Fruits of the workers' toil are buried
In strongholds of the idle few
In working for their restitution
The men will only claim their due.

There are no supreme saviors,
Neither God, nor Caesar nor tribune;
Producers, let us save ourselves,
We decree common salvation!
So that the thief should offer us his throat
So that spirit be wrested from its cell,
Let us fan the forge's flames ourselves
And strike while the iron is hot.

The state represses, the law cheats,
Taxes bleed the poor;
No duties are imposed on the rich,
The rights of the poor are empty words,
We have languished long enough under domination,
Equality wants other laws:
"No rights without duties," it says
"Equals, there are no duties without rights."

Hideous in their apotheosis,
The kings of mines and rails,
Have they ever done aught
But rob from labor?
In the safes of that gang
What is created is smelted,
By decreeing that they turn it over
The people only want what is their due.

Kings intoxicated us with smoke,
Peace among us, war on tyrants!

Let's apply the strike to armies,
Rifle butts raised on high and breaking ranks.
And if they insist, those cannibals,
On making heroes of us,
They'll soon learn that our bullets
Are for our own generals.

We toilers from all fields united
Join hand in hand with all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the workers,
No room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fattened!
But if the norsome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning
The blessed sunlight then will stay.

Workers, farmers, we are
The great party of the workers,
The earth belongs only to men,
Idlers can go someplace else.
How many on our flesh eat their fill?
But if the ravens, the vultures
One morning disappeared
The sun would shine still!

1. <http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/text2796.html>

2. http://www.rilke.de/gedichte/das_buch_von_der_armut_und_vom_tode.htm

3. http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/adr/adrmr/kap1_1/para2_56.html

4. <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Schiller,+Friedrich/Dramen/Die+Räuber/1.+Akt/1.+Szene>

Frederick Schiller: Works - Vol. 4, London, Bohn's standard library, 1849.

5. "Löwen und Leoparden füttern ihre Jungen, Raben tischen ihren Kleinen auf dem Aas."

<http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Schiller,+Friedrich/Dramen/Die+Räuber/1.+Akt/2.+Szene>

Frederick Schiller: Works - Vol. 4, London, Bohn's standard library, 1849.

6. "Spartakus kämpft jetzt um die ganze Macht. [...] Wo Spartakus herrscht, ist jede persönliche Freiheit und Sicherheit aufgehoben. [...] Die Regierung trifft alle notwendigen Maßnahmen, um diese Schreckensherrschaft zu zertrümmern und ihre Wiederkehr ein für alle mal zu verhindern. [...] Die Stunde der Abrechnung naht."

H. Michaelis, E. Schraepfer (Hg.): *Ursachen und Folgen - Vom deutschen Zusammenbruch 1918 und 1945 bis zur staatlichen Neuordnung Deutschlands in der Gegenwart* - Band 3 - *Der Weg in die Weimarer Republik*, p. 67 (Bibliographie [▶](#))

7. <http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/text1812.html>

8. "Ich frage Sie: wer kann als ehrlicher Mann - ich will gar nicht sagen als Deutscher - nur als ehrlicher, vertragstreuer Mann solche Bedingungen eingehen? Welche Hand müsste nicht verdorren, die sich und uns in solche Fesseln legte? [...] Dieser Vertrag ist nach der Auffassung der Reichsregierung unannehmbar."

<http://www.deutschlanddokumente.de/vvtScheidemann.htm>

9. <http://www.akpool.de/ansichtskarten/24156922-kuenstler-ak-immer-feste-druff-kriegshumor-frankreich>

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10. <http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/text609.html>
11. <http://static.akpool.de/images/cards/50/501675.jpg>
12. Johann Lewalter (Hg.): Deutsche Volkslieder - In Niederhessen aus dem Munde des Volkes gesammelt, Heft I, Hamburg, Gustav Fritzsche, 1892.
<http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/text1906.html>
13. "Hier wird das hohe europäische Ideal der freien Persönlichkeit im weiteren Sinne der Selbstbestimmung eines Volkes, ins Anarchistische umgebogen mit dem Zweck, die Familie als Grundlage des Staates zu zersetzen."
Alfred Rosenberg: *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion und die jüdische Weltpolitik*, München, Deutscher Volksverlag, 1923, p. 74. (Bibliographie [▶](#))
<https://archive.org/details/AlfredRosenberg-DieProtokolleDerWeisenVonZionUndDieJuedische>
14. "Die Familie ist die Grundlage des Staates. In ihr finden sich die fünf Pfeiler des Gesellschaftslebens: Religiosität, Gehorsam, Achtung vor der Autorität, Opfersinn, Gemeinsinn."
Heinrich Pesch: *Lehrbuch der Nationalökonomie - Band 2*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1909, p. 204. (Bibliographie [▶](#))
15. Deutsche Romanbibliothek, Band 1, München, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1873.
16. <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Schiller,+Friedrich/Dramen/Wilhelm+Tell/2.+Akt/1.+Szene>
Friedrich Schiller: *Works - Vol. 3*, London, Oberon Books, 2005.
17. "Ich will alles um mich her ausrotten, was mich einschränkt, daß ich nicht Herr bin."
<http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Schiller,+Friedrich/Dramen/Die+Räuber/1.+Akt/1.+Szene>
Frederick Schiller: *Works - Vol. 4*, London, Bohn's standard library, 1849.
18. "Da donnern sie Sanftmut und Duldung aus ihren Wolken, und bringen dem Gott der Liebe Menschenopfer."
<http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Schiller,+Friedrich/Dramen/Die+Räuber/2.+Akt/3.+Szene>
Frederick Schiller: *Works - Vol. 4*, London, Bohn's standard library, 1849.
19. http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/sycomore/fiche.asp?num_dept=4823
20. "Unzweideutiger Gegner einer Fortsetzung der Erfüllungspolitik ist Herr Stinnes freilich unter allen Umständen, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, daß es zu einer Besetzung des Ruhrgebietes kommt. Es muß den Gegnern endlich zum Bewußtsein gebracht werden, daß die ewigen Drohungen mit der Ruhrbesetzung einmal ein Ende haben müssen."
C. Geyer: *Drei Verderber Deutschlands: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutschlands und der Reparationsfrage von 1920 bis 1924*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
21. K. Obermann: *Die Beziehungen des amerikanischen Imperialismus zum deutschen Imperialismus in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik, 1918-1925*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
22. Ch. S. Maier: *Recasting Bourgeois Europe - Stabilization in France, Germany and Italy in the Decade after World War I*, p. 387 (Bibliographie [▶](#))
23. http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/str/str1p/kap1_1/para2_6.html
R. Tschirbs: *Tarifpolitik im Ruhrbergbau 1918-1933*, S. 197 (Bibliographie [▶](#))
- H. Spethmann: *Zwölf Jahre Ruhrbergbau - Aus seiner Geschichte von Kriegsanfang bis zum Franzosenabmarsch, 1914-1925 - Band 3*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
24. "Die Industrie sei der Überzeugung, daß es ein schwerer Fehler gewesen sei, den sozialistischen Einflüssen nachzugeben und nach einem verlorenen Kriege auch noch eine verkürzte Arbeitszeit einzuführen. Viele Schwierigkeiten hätten vermieden werden können, wenn mehr Kohle gefördert worden wäre, und es müsste unsere Aufgabe sein, wieder genügend Kohle zu fördern, um ausser Deutschland auch Frankreich, Belgien, Holland und die Schweiz voll versorgen zu können. Der rheinisch-westfälische Bergbau habe sich daher entschlossen, am kommenden Montag die Vorkriegsarbeitszeit wieder einzuführen, das heisst achteinhalb Stunden einschliesslich Ein- und Ausfahrt für Untertagsarbeiter und zehn Stunden für Übertagsarbeiter. Die Industrie sei aber nicht in der Lage, ihre Absichten auszuführen ohne die Unterstützung der Okkupationsmächte, und das sei einer der Gründe für unseren Besuch."
S. G. Papeke: *Anpassung oder Widerstand? - Gewerkschaften im autoritären Staat*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
http://www.reichstagsprotokolle.de/Blatt2_w1_bsb00000045_00430.html
25. http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/str/str1p/kap1_2/kap2_111/index.html
26. Quotation retranslated from German: "das deutsche Volk als degeneriert und insbesondere die Arbeiterschaft für hoffnungslos verlottert".

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27. Quotation retranslated from German: "die Haltung des deutschen Mobs, welche freiwillig in Arbeitsfeiern beharren, das Haupthindernis für die Wiedereinrichtung eines normalen Lebens darstellt".
28. "1. Abschaffung des Betriebsrätegesetzes; 2. Einführung der zehnstündigen Arbeitszeit und der Akkordarbeit; 3. Aufnahme jeder zugewiesenen Arbeit widrigenfalls Ausweisung erfolgt; 4. für die Eisenbahner gelten die bereits bekannten Bedingungen; 5. Unterdrückung jeder Auflehnung mit Waffengewalt; 6. Verschärfung des Stadtschutzes."
http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/str/str1p/kap1_2/kap2_111/index.html
29. http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/str/str1p/kap1_2/kap2_97/para3_1.html
30. R. Blessing: *Der mögliche Frieden - die Modernisierung der Aussenpolitik und die deutsch-französischen Beziehungen 1923-1929*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
L. Gall: *Walther Rathenau - Portrait einer Epoche*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/wir/wir1p/kap1_1/para2_2.html
http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/wir/wir1p/kap1_2/kap2_100/para3_6.html
<http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?apm=0&aid=drb&datum=19220004&seite=00000625> et suiv.
31. R. Lewinsohn: *Die Umschichtung der europäischen Vermögen*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
32. H. A. Winkler: *Weimar 1918-1933 - Die Geschichte der ersten Deutschen Demokratie*, S. 182 (Bibliographie [▶](#))
S. A. Schuker (Hg.): *Deutschland und Frankreich - Vom Konflikt zur Aussöhnung - Die Gestaltung der westeuropäischen Sicherheit 1914-1963*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9802EEDB1039EF3ABC4E53DFBF668389639EDE>
- G. D. Feldman: *Hugo Stinnes - Biographie eines Industriellen, 1870-1924*, S. 781 ff, S. 910 (Bibliographie [▶](#))
- H. Michaelis, E. Schraepfer (Hg.): *Ursachen und Folgen - Vom deutschen Zusammenbruch 1918 und 1945 bis zur staatlichen Neuordnung Deutschlands in der Gegenwart - Band 4 - Die Weimarer Republik 1919-1922*, S. 411 (Bibliographie [▶](#))
33. J. N. Jeanneney: *François de Wendel en République, l'Argent et le pouvoir (1914-1940)*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
34. G. Hortschansky: *Der nationale Verrat der deutschen Monopolbarren während des Ruhrkampfes 1923*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
35. "1 Alle Deutschen leisten ohne höhere Bezahlung so lange Überstunden, bis Deutschland wieder über eine aktive Handelsbilanz verfügt.
2. Sicherung der Verzinsung und Amortisation einer Goldanleihe, mit der der Wiederaufbau Frankreichs und Belgiens und die Stabilisierung der deutschen Währung bewirkt werden soll.
3. Die deutsche Regierung hebt alle Kontrollen über den binnen- und außenwirtschaftlichen Geschäftsverkehr auf.
4. Deutschland, wieder mit normalen Löhnen und unter normalen Bedingungen arbeitend, erhält überall in der Welt die Meistbegünstigungsklausel zugebilligt und Zugang zu allen Rohstoffen und Kolonialgebieten ohne Rücksicht darauf, unter welcher Flagge sie stehen, und zu den gleichen Bedingungen wie die übrige Welt.
5. Für eine Periode von fünf Jahren werden alle Streiks in den für die Volkswirtschaft vitalen Bereichen verboten.
6. Nach der Stabilisierung und nach der Sicherung einer Reparationsanleihe wird die Mark ihren internationalen Kurs „finden“ dürfen.
7. Jene Personen der Mittelklasse und jene Rentner, die durch die Inflation ihrer Existenzgrundlage beraubt wurden, sollen vom Staat temporär durch jährliche Unterstützungen versorgt werden."
http://www.ifz-muenchen.de/heftarchiv/1979_3.pdf
36. Ch. S. Maier: *Recasting Bourgeois Europe...*, p. 387 (Bibliographie [▶](#))
37. R. Haus: *Lothringen und Salzgitter in der Eisenerzpolitik der deutschen Schwerindustrie von 1871-1940*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
- J. Bariéty: *Les relations franco-allemandes après la première guerre mondiale*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
- H. Köller: *Kampfbündnis an der Seine, Ruhr und Spree*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
- H. F. Simon: *Reparation und Wiederaufbau*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
38. A. Vallentin: *Stressemann - Vom Werden einer Staatsidee*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
39. http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/cun/cun1p/kap1_2/para2_42.html
40. R. Blessing: *Der mögliche Frieden - die Modernisierung der Aussenpolitik und die deutsch-französischen Beziehungen 1923-1929*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
41. S. Grüner: *Paul Reynaud*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

42. Ch. S. Maier: *Recasting Bourgeois Europe...*, p. 408 (Bibliographie [▶](#))

G. D. Feldman: *Hugo Stinnes - Biographie eines Industriellen, 1870-1924*, p. 910 (Bibliographie [▶](#))

E. Fimmen: *Labour's alternative - the United States of Europe or Europe limited*, (Bibliographie [▶](#)) (http://www.globallabour.info/en/2006/09/chapter_2.html)

43. L. W. Benner: *Entwicklung, finanzieller Aufbau und Finanzierungsmethoden der deutschen Kali-Industrie*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

K. Dietrich: *Die Kaliindustrie seit der Währungsstabilisierung*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

K. Pritzkolet: *Männer, Mächte, Monopole - hinter den Türen der westdeutschen Wirtschaft*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

http://media.k-plus-s.com/pdf/wachstum_erleben.pdf

44. "- November 19. In any discussion of reparations or of reconstruction, personalities and their ambitions must be taken into account. In Germany the outstanding personality is without doubt Hugo Stinnes, a man of vast power, of tremendous imagination, of a vigorous strength that suggests Bismarck. President Ebert says that politically Stinnes is a child. This is to some extent true in that he fails to understand he cannot manipulate peoples as he manipulates his own workmen. But with his almost unbelievable, if still partly potential wealth, which is not concentrated in one industry, one place or even one country, he may be able to move communities at will in a way that would appear impossible. The man who is childish in his ideas, in the opinion of the trained politician, may sooner or later make himself the master of politicians. Stinnes has a genius for organization and for coordination of great interests that carries him far beyond the sphere of the mere industrial magnate. He is consolidating his interests throughout Germany and Austria, acquiring interests in Italy and Czechoslovakia and Silesia with a view of recreating, along industrial rather than military lines, the old German Empire. His agreement with Lubersac contemplates not only the rebuilding of the devastated regions and the evacuation of the Rhine Territories, but the inauguration of great Franco- German cartels which would mean the elimination of competition, industrial peace between the two countries, the certain enrichment of the French industrials (the appeal to the French pocketbook must be strong). But it means also a gigantic trust, a German trust with a French tail, which would certainly attempt to dominate the world. The vision of Stinnes reaches far. He sees the road to the East opening again; the disappearance of Poland; German exploitation of Russia and Italy. It is peaceful and reconstructive in purpose. Would it not all lead to another war eventually, unless we and the rest of the world are willing to put ourselves under German suzerainty? I am not sure of this but the idea is worth considering. Stinnes, furthermore, seems to be making the mistake which Bismarck made years ago. He wants to dominate, to be himself the State. His idea approximates socialism - little as the socialists would admit it - because State control must mean personal control, as it does now in Russia. The plan of Stinnes, like socialism, kills personal initiative and the safety and progress of the world seem to me to depend largely on the building up of as many strong and independent personalities as possible. The strongest man in Germany, Stinnes seems to me, as I think of our long talk, one of the truly dangerous men of the world. - November 21 (Cont'd) The Stinnes-Lubersac plan of reconstruction of the devastated regions as full French reparation with the immediate evacuation of the occupied regions and the Saar, and the removal of restrictions against the Germans will be accepted by Poincare if the United States will take the guarantee of Germany not to go to war. Whether this means that France is in more desperate straits financially than we realize or whether it means that Poincare has acquired common sense, it at least bears out the idea that the French are looking for a formula which will enable them to back down gracefully. The pressure that we can bring to bear is through Europe's debt to us. Cancellation, even if it were immediately possible, would seem to me stupid and would get us nowhere [...] If [...] some arrangement can be made by which we can give France the security against renewed German invasion, the technical form of which would save the face of the French Government, thereby permitting the Stinnes-Lubersac plan to take effect, the reparation question is in a fair way of settlement [...]"

G. W. F. Hallgarten: *Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie - Zur Geschichte der Jahre 1918-1933*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

45. http://www.dhm.de/lemo/objekte/pict/f64_1108/

46. http://www.ifz-muenchen.de/heftarchiv/1979_3.pdf

47. A. Vallentin: *Stresemann...*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

48. "Eine Note, Herr Stinnes, und keinen Brief." - "Im Verkehr von Großmacht zu Großmacht gibt es ja nur Noten."

A. Vallentin: *Stresemann...*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

49. <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Hölty,+Ludwig+Christoph+Heinrich/Gedichte/Sämtliche+Gedichte/Der+alte+Landmann+an+seinen+Sohn>

50. "Kaum hat der internationale Jude Rathenau die deutsche Ehre in seinen Fingern, so ist davon nicht mehr die Rede... Die deutsche Ehre ist keine Schacherware für internationale Judenhändler!... Die deutsche Ehre wird gesühnt werden. Sie aber, Herr Rathenau, und Ihre Hinterleute werden vom deutschen Volke zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden."

H. A. Winkler: *Weimar 1918-1933...*, S. 173 (Bibliographie [▶](#))

51. "Da trat aus allen den Mißhandlungen, die man uns heute ungestraft antun darf, das Bild des geachteten und gefürchteten deutschen Kaiserreichs vor unsere Augen, das Glück unserer Vergangenheit und die Sehnsucht unserer Zukunft."

K. Helfferich: Reichstagsreden 1920-1922 - Mit einem Anhang - Reden vom 12. und 14. November 1919 vor dem Untersuchungsausschuss der Nationalversammlung, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

52. V. Ullrich: *Fünf Schüsse auf Bismarck - historische Reportagen 1789-1945*, p. 154 (Bibliographie [▶](#))

53. "Nie wird der Augenblick kommen, wo der Kaiser, als Sieger der Welt, mit seinen Paladinen auf weißen Rossen durchs Brandenburger Tor zieht."

H. A. Winkler: *Weimar 1918-1933...*, S. 173 (Bibliographie [▶](#))

54. [http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de/archives/barchpic/search/?search\[form\]\[SIGNATUR\]=Bild+146-1979-122-29A&search\[view\]=detail](http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de/archives/barchpic/search/?search[form][SIGNATUR]=Bild+146-1979-122-29A&search[view]=detail)

55. http://www.1000dokumente.de/index.html?c=dokument_de&dokument=0004_spd&object=context

56. "In der demokratischen Republik besitzt sie die Staatsform, deren Erhaltung und Ausbau für ihren Befreiungskampf eine unerläßliche Notwendigkeit ist. [...] Die Sozialdemokratische Partei ist entschlossen, zum Schutz der errungenen Freiheit das Letzte einzusetzen. Sie betrachtet die demokratische Republik als die durch die geschichtliche Entwicklung unwiderruflich gegebene Staatsform, jeden Angriff auf sie als ein Attentat auf die Lebensrechte des Volkes."

http://www.1000dokumente.de/index.html?c=dokument_de&dokument=0004_spd&object=translation

57. "Die Deutsche Volkspartei hat eine soziale Macht, sie ist eigentlich die Partei der deutschen Bourgeoisie. Hinter ihr steht die deutsche Finanz, die deutsche Großindustrie und die Intelligenz in Deutschland. Wir müssen versuchen, diese Partei vor den Wagen der Republik zu spannen."

Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitag: cf. <http://library.fes.de/parteitage/pdf/pt-jahr/pt-1921.pdf>

(Cf. in this brochure: Speaker Bernstein p. 181 ff., Quotation: p. 182)

58. "Daß wir nur mit Parteien in eine Regierung gehen können, die die Verfassung respektieren, ist selbstverständlich. Aber heißt das, daß wir nur mit Parteien in eine Regierung gehen können, die der Verfassung zugestimmt haben? Ich sage: Nein. Denn sonst wäre ja auch ein Zusammengehen mit der USP. unmöglich, und doch haben wir ihr wiederholt aus ehrlicher Überzeugung angeboten, mit in die Regierung hineinzugehen. Wie die Unabhängigen, so hat auch die Deutsche Volkspartei die Verfassung abgelehnt. Für uns darf nicht maßgebend sein, was eine Partei früher getan hat, sondern das, was sie zu tun bereit ist. Von einer Theorie der politischen Erbsünden müssen wir uns freimachen. (Bravo!) Zu der Zeit, als die Parole ausgegeben wurde: Unter keinen Umständen mit der Volkspartei -, war sie zweifellos richtig. Wir konnten nicht mit einer Partei in die Regierung, die die Monarchie propagiert. (Sehr gut!) Wir können nicht in eine Regierung mit einer Partei, von der wir annehmen mußten, daß sie bestimmte Geldquellen, die zu erschließen wir für unerläßlich halten, ablehnt. Wir müssen also bei jeder Regierungsbildung ein bestimmtes Mindestprogramm ausstellen. Parteien, die bereit sind, ein solches Programm anzunehmen und bestimmte Ministerien uns zu überlassen, können nicht dauernd von der Teilnahme an der Regierung zurückgewiesen werden. (Sehr wahr!)"

Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitag: cf. <http://library.fes.de/parteitage/pdf/pt-jahr/pt-1921.pdf>

(Cf. in this brochure: p. 175-176)

59. S. Grebner: *Der Telegraf - Entstehung einer SPD-nahen Lizenzzeitung in Berlin 1946 bis 1950*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

Historische Kommission des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler (Hg.): *Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* - Band 2 - *Weimarer Republik* - Teil 1, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/feh/feh1p/kap1_2/para2_72.htm

http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/mu1/mu11p/kap1_2/kap2_81/para3_5.html

http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/mu1/mu11p/kap1_2/kap2_96/para3_1.html

60. <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz29615.html>

U. Daniel, I. Marszolek, W. Pyta, Th. Welskopp: *Politische Kultur und Medienwirklichkeiten in den 1920er Jahren*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

E. Kolb: *Friedrich Ebert als Reichspräsident - Amtsführung und Amtsverständnis*, S. 269 (Bibliographie [▶](#))

A. Th. Lane (ed.): *Biographical Dictionary of European Labor Leaders* - Vol. 1 - *A-L*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))

61. Poem which is part of a series of small satirical poems called "Zahme Xenien" written between 1815 and 1832. Together with others, it has been published for the first time in 1893 in the form of a collection.

[http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Goethe,+Johann+Wolfgang/Gedichte/\(Gedichte.+Nachlese\)/Zahme+Xenien/7.+\[»Deine+Werke+zu+höchster+Belehrung\]](http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Goethe,+Johann+Wolfgang/Gedichte/(Gedichte.+Nachlese)/Zahme+Xenien/7.+[»Deine+Werke+zu+höchster+Belehrung)

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62. <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Herwegh,+Georg/Biographie>
63. "Bannerträger der politischen Richtung der Literatur"
64. http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/artikel/artikel_44479
- <http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/weimar/innenpolitik/dolchstoss/>
65. "Die deutsche Armee ist von hinten erdolcht worden."
- G. Hirschfeld, G. Krumeich, I. Renz (Hg.): *Enzyklopädie Erster Weltkrieg*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
66. "Kein Feind hat euch überwunden."
67. <http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/text2884.html>
68. Monika Sperr (Hg.): *Das Grosse Schlager-Buch - deutsche Schlager 1800-heute*, Berlin, Rogner & Bernhard, 1978.
69. <http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/text627.html>
70. "Es geht mit allen Geschäften wie mit der Ehe: man denkt wunder, was man zu Stande gebracht habe, wenn man kopuliert ist, und nun geht der Teufel erst recht los. Das macht, weil nichts in der Welt einzeln steht und irgend ein Wirksames, nicht als ein Ende, sondern als ein Anfang betrachtet werden muß."
- F. Schiller, J. W. Goethe: *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe - 1794-1805 - Band 3 - 1799-1805*, (Bibliographie [▶](#))
- 71 <http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/text3330.html>
72. <http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/text986.htm>
73. <http://www.kampflieder.de/deutsches-lied.php?id=2248>
74. Eugène Pottier: *Chants révolutionnaires*, Paris, Dentu, 1887
75. <http://www.antiwarsons.org/canzone.php?id=2003>
76. <http://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/sounds/lyrics/international.htm>