



German National Bolshevism 1918 to 1932

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At present, when political tendencies in West Germany, groups or individuals are described as "national-Bolsheviks" (with the intention of creating controversy and a pejorative undertone, as for "trozkisti" or "titisti"), we mean East-oriented and pro-Russian tendencies, groups or people, or at least sympathizers. But this definition is not enough to characterize the movement that, between the end of the First World War and Hitler's seizure of power, attracted the attention of the theoretical-political spheres, to the "extreme right" as well as to the "extreme left" in many ways and with the same name.

On both sides, the movement was fundamentally based on internal political motivations: the revolutionary socialists rallied around the idea of the nation because they saw it as the only way to put socialism into practice. The staunch nationalists tended towards the "left" because, according to them, the destinies of the nation could only be entrusted through trust to a new ruling class. Left and right united in a common hatred of everything they called Western imperialism, the main symbol of which was the Treaty of Versailles and the guarantor, the "Weimar system". So it was almost inevitable that we would turn, in foreign policy, to Russia, which had not taken part in the Treaty of Versailles. The "national" circles did so with the intention of continuing the policy of Baron von Stein, of the Tauroggen Convention and finally that of Bismarck's "counter-insurance"; the dissenting left, for its part, despite the often violent criticisms it formulated against the international communist policy of the Soviet Union, remained convinced of the socialist character, therefore related to it, of the USSR, and awaited the formation of a common front against the Bourgeois and capitalist West.

National Bolshevism thus included in its ranks German nationalists and socialists who, by introducing a growing social-revolutionary intransigence into German politics, were counting on Russian help to achieve their ends.

German national Bolshevism appears for the first time in a discussion between some factions of the revolutionary workers' movement. His first occasions were on November 6, 1918 and June 28, 1919. It was on November 6, 1918 that, in the "Field of the Holy Spirit" near Hamburg, Fritz Wolffheim called the people to the "German revolution" "which, under the aegis of the red flag, would continue the struggle against Western imperialism". On June 28 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was signed, which Scheidemann and Brockdorff-Rantzau had refused to sign.

Fritz Wolffheim and Heinrich Laufenberg, president of the Hamburg Council of Workers and Soldiers, led the fight against the defeatist slogans of the Spartacus group and preached the "Jacobin" war of socialist Germany against the Diktat of peace. As head of the peace delegation, German Foreign Minister Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, had intended to address the German National Assembly with a warning speech, stressing that "unjust peace" would strengthen revolutionary opposition to capitalism and imperialism, and thus prepare for a social-revolutionary explosion. The speech was not delivered and its content was published only later.

When the Frankish corps of General von Lettow-Vorbeck entered Hamburg, the leader was invited to join the revolutionary workers in this struggle against an "unjust peace". A Free Association for the Study of German Communism, founded by communists and young patriots - the Günther brothers actively participated - tried to demonstrate to the socialists and nationalists the need for this common struggle, waged in the interest of the nation and socialism. Although local contacts took place in some cities, the movement never had any real influence on the masses.

During the "party days" in Heidelberg in 1919, the newly founded Communist Party declared the exclusion of the "left" in Hamburg, grouped around Wolffheim and Laufenberg, and that of the Spartacus Group and a few others

(the two movements had joined the Communist Party). This measure was due to the anti-parliamentary and "trade union" deviations of the interested parties. Wolffheim and Laufenberg then joined the nascent Communist Party of German Workers. But there was a total lack of cohesion and the lack of ideological unity soon led to the party's dismemberment. The faithful of Wolffheim remained grouped in the League of Communists, which bore the unofficial subtitle of the National - Communist League. Lenin and Radek had put all their prestige in the balance (Lenin's warning against "radicalism" was aimed above all at the Hamburgers) to support Paul Levi, Wolffheim's opponent within the German Communist Party. The Hamburgers were isolated and their range was reduced to a fraction of the left.

It was also impossible to gather enough right-wing activists. Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau left for Moscow in 1922 as ambassador of Germany. He wanted to "repair the misfortune of Versailles from there". It is to his efforts that we owe the Treaty of Rapallo of April 16, 1922 (which his friend Maltzan had planned) and the Treaty of Berlin of April 1926.

The revolutionary variant of a German National Bolshevism had failed. After Rapallo, the evolving form of this National Bolshevism continued in the form of multiple contacts between the leaders of the Reichswehr (Seeckt and his successors) and the Soviet Union. We cannot go into the details of this collaboration here.

The ideas of Wolffheim and the "Red Count" continued their underground journey.

The "People's Communist Union"

The Communists took the second step on the road to a common, patriotic and socialist front against the West. On June 20, 1923, during the session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International, Karl Radek delivered his famous speech on "Leo Schlageter, wanderer of nowhere", where he bowed before the sacrifice of the nationalist saboteur and encouraged his comrades to continue alongside the revolutionary working class, the common struggle for the national freedom of Germany.

Discussions about Die rote Fahne and the German populist magazine Der Reichswart followed: Moeller van den Bruck, Count Reventlow, Karl Radek and others addressed the topic: "A long road together?". Occasionally meetings were held. The "national movement", in which there was increasing talk of Adolf Hitler, Captain Ehrhardt and the peoples of the Wulle-Gräfe group, remained on the sidelines.

The Communist Party's "national" slogan sounded false. Fundamentally, it has always seemed wrong to most national activists. In August-September 1930, the German Communist Party had again announced a program of "national and social liberation of the German people". Furthermore, under the name of the former lieutenant of the Reichswehr and the Nazi Richard Scheringer, he had gathered several hundred former Nazis, officers and men of the Freikorps, in Aufbruch circles, around the homonymous magazine. However, Communist Party-controlled "national-Bolshevism", ie "derivative", never became, either inside or outside the communist movement, a factor capable of determining the political strategy and tactics of the mass movement. He was never more than a tool on the fringes of the NSDAP, charged with the work of disintegration. True national-Bolshevik tendencies reappeared in a completely different direction.

The "third party"

Under the Weimar Republic, there was a "young-national" rebellion movement in Germany. This movement was on the "far right", alongside conservative national parties, National Socialism, various "populist" groups sometimes competing with it, and national defense associations. From 1929 to 1932 it took concrete forms and its "right" label soon had nothing in common with that used in parliamentary geography. We have called ourselves "national revolutionaries", we have formed our groups, we have edited our newspapers or magazines, or we have tried to exert moral influence on defense associations, political groups, youth movements to train them for a complete revolution of the state.

Afterwards, as before, we remained nationalist, but we were increasingly inclined to anti-capitalist and socialist claims, even partially Marxist.

These "right-wing leftists", as Kurt Hiller called them, first sought to establish, "above associations", the relations between the radicals of the left and right, taking as a basis their "common anti-bourgeois, social-revolutionary

attitude". When the weight of the party apparatuses made these efforts fail in both poles, the interested parties decided to create their own revolutionary platform in national-revolutionary groups and newspapers. The union, in 1930, the Wolffheim Group to the Group of social-revolutionary nationalists who, in the magazines *Die Kommenden* and *Das Junge Volk* he had begun to build such a platform, and the fusion, in the "resistance" of the young socialists of Hofgeismar with the Oberland group, gave new vigor, on a higher level, to the theses of the Hamburg national communists. This was also the case with some pro-socialist tendencies which manifested themselves in some groups of right-wing radicals who played an active role in Upper Silesia or in the Ruhr resistance.

National-revolutionary groups have always remained numerically insignificant (for a long time the public opinion designated them only with the very clear term "national-Bolsheviks!"); but, ideologically, there was a kind of genuine fusion between "right" and "left" conceptions. National Bolshevism did not want to be left or right. On the one hand, he proclaimed the nation "absolute value" and, on the other, he saw socialism as the means to realize this notion in the life of the people.

Moeller van den Bruck was the first conservative young theorist to profess such ideas. It was for purely advertising reasons that he titled his main work *The Third Reich*, a formula that the Hitler movement would usurp later. Moeller himself would have liked to have called his book "The Third Party". His guiding idea was the opposite of Hitler's theories. Moeller van den Bruck gave an ideological foundation to the political theories of national Bolshevism. Starting from the principle that "every people has its own socialism" it was trying to develop the main lines of a "German socialism" free from any internationalist schematism. Prussian style "it seemed to him the best attitude; therefore Moeller's position, turning east, even on the political level, was only the logical consequence of this spiritual kinship. He wanted to be "conservative" as opposed to "reactionary", "socialist" in opposition to "Marxist", "democratic" as opposed to "liberal." It was here that formulas first appeared which, subsequently, radicalized, simplified and partly used in a summary way, constituted a sort of common basis for all national groups. Bolsheviks.

Aside from Oswald Spengler and his book *Prussianism and Socialism*, which very quickly ceased to fascinate when it was recognized as purely tactical, two social democratic intellectuals contributed to the penetration of socialist ideas into the ranks of the young-national bourgeoisie: August Winnig and Hermann Heller. As the worker poet Karl Broeger had done to some extent, Winnig and Heller had close ties, during the time of the Ruhr resistance, with the national secession movement known as Hofgeismar, which emerged from the youth movement of the SPD. Winnig's "Faith in the Proletariat" and "Nation and Socialism" by Heller were the starting point for fruitful encounters between socialists (who had recognized the value of nationalism) and nationalists (who had recognized the need for socialism).

The "new nationalism"

Furthermore, rebel voices have also been raised in the national field of the "front generation". First in the context of the *Stahlhelme* (Steel Helmet), then on the sidelines, finally with the curse of this movement, they expressed themselves in magazines such as *Standarte*, *Arminius*, *Vormarsch*, *Das Reich*, opposing the national movement with a "new nationalism" bourgeois and especially the NSDAP. When all hope of exerting influence within large associations, groups and parties was lost, they resolutely opposed all the slogans of the "popular community". "We are tired of hearing about the nation and seeing only the regular income of the bourgeoisie. We are tired of confused what is bourgeois and what is German. We will not fight again so that the big banks and funds can administer the German state 'with order and calm'. We nationalists do not want, a second time, to form a united front with capital. The fronts begin to separate!"

For the first time in the social-revolutionary movement, the line is broken between the purely military "new nationalism" and true national Bolshevism. The anti-imperialist slogans in foreign policy were only the logical consequence.

The spiritual leader of the "new nationalism" was Ernst Jünger. First known for his realistic war novels, he then drew from the results of the First World War his philosophy of "heroic realism", which removes the old antagonism between idealism and materialism. With his vision of the worker, the "first fashion" Jünger encouraged the young rebels who turned to the world where the "domination and form" of the proletariat is on the march - although he expressly elaborated the figure of this worker outside of sociological data - after having, in total mobilization, analyzed and declared inevitable the arrival of a new collectivist social order. Jünger was not part of any group, he

was known everywhere and until 1932 he published articles in many magazines that represented these trends.

The revolutionary social platform

The theories professed in these circles were anything but Cartesian. Franz Schauwecker said: "We had to lose the war to win the nation". We talked about "Reich", presumably characterized by "power and interiority". But the program included, in addition to metaphysics, realistic strengths. Appreciating the class struggle, some - moreover inspired more by the models of self-management offered by the history of Germany than by the Russian example - supported the system of "councils". We tried to get in touch with the anti-Western movements outside Germany: the Irish independence movement, Arab, Indian, was against the League of Nations. The idea of a Russo-German alliance was vigorously defended, the need for a German revolution, for a common front with the revolutionary proletariat was proclaimed. All radical social-revolutionary claims had the same starting point: opposition to the Treaty of Versailles. Ernst Niekisch once said: "The minority is determined to renounce everything in favor of national independence, and if it is impossible to obtain it otherwise, also to sacrifice the current social, economic and political order".

These circles viewed National Socialism as "belonging to the West". Prussianism, socialism, Protestantism - and even, to a certain extent, neo-paganism - were used against National Socialism and its aims "with Catholic and counter-reformist tendencies", it was argued that this had upset socialist and national ideas by orienting them in the direction of fascism. Although in the last years before 1933 the struggle against the Hitler movement increasingly became the main objective of the National Revolutionaries, public opinion at that time considered, precisely for the reasons just mentioned, the national-Bolshevik tendencies as a real danger for the Republic.

The movement was never centralized. The different groups and newspapers have never managed to acquire real cohesion; they confined themselves to ferocious individualism, until Hitler eliminated them all by banishing them and having their leaders arrested, exiled or killed. Although the "youth action" against the Young Plan has had at least some success with the press, the groups have failed to agree on the choice of Claus Heim as a common candidate for the presidency of the Reich. It was the same, in late 1932, with the efforts to create a single national-communist party.

The anti-capitalist intelligentsia

In 1932, however, there was general concern, and one wondered - especially in the bourgeois press - whether the words of Albrecht Erich Guenther contained some truth: "The strength of national Bolshevism cannot be assessed in terms of number of members, of a party or group, nor according to the circulation of magazines. You have to feel how ready radical youth are to unreservedly join national Bolshevism, to understand how suddenly such a movement can extend from small circles to people". Gregor Strasser's threatening phrase about the "anti-capitalist nostalgia of the German people" continued to ring unpleasantly in the ears of some, especially on the right. 1932 had become the decisive year. The NSDAP and the Communist Party were marching against the state. Then suddenly a third movement arose out of the sociological no-man's land that not only it appealed to national passion, but it also brandished the threat of a complete social revolution - and all this with a fanaticism that seemed more serious than that of National Socialism, whose formulas seemed identical to the eyes of a superficial observer.

In circles that had nothing to do with activists in national-revolutionary circles, similar theses suddenly appeared, even though the language seemed more measured, more objective and more realistic. The young intelligentsia of all parties, threatened with never having a profession, was increasingly in danger of falling prey to radicalizing, anti-capitalist and partly anti-bourgeois slogans. These trends were manifested by the sudden fame of the Die Tat group, gathered around the monthly magazine of the same name. This magazine, born from the former free German youth movement, was edited by Hans Zehrer, former foreign policy editor at the Vossische Zeitung. He warned against the sterile dogmatism of left and right radicals and supported the essential demands of national revolutionaries. The magazine supported Ferdinand Fried's attacks on the capitalist order and sided with him for a planned economy and guaranteed national sovereignty - autarchy - thus appropriating the slogans of the Hitler movement.

This "moderate national-Bolshevism", if you allow yourself to express it in this way, became almost a real factor. Die Tat's magazine reached figures hitherto unknown in Germany; the influence of his balanced and scientific analyzes far exceeded that of traditional National-Bolshevik groups.

At a certain point, General Schleicher began to make contact with the trade unions and with Gregor Strasser who, since the disappearance of his brother Otto's "revolutionary National Socialists", represented the "left" tendencies within the NSDAP; he wanted to establish in the mass the "general socialism" for which he had made a rather clever propaganda and whose sensational slogan was this: "The Reichswehr is not there to protect an obsolete property regime." Die Tat then leaned on that doctrine. Zehrer took over the management of the former Christian-social newspaper Tägliche Rundschau he defended a Third Front centered on Schleicher. After having launched the slogan: "The Young Front stays out!" some time earlier, this "Third Front" turned out to be a simple "reformist" variant "of the anti-capitalist youth front from right to left", represented by national revolutionary circles. The brutal dismissal of Schleicher by President Hindenburg also put an end to this campaign.

Under the aegis of the black flag

National revolutionaries had never worked on the masses. A few thousand young idealists gathered around a dozen magazines and the leaders of a few small groups. When Otto Strasser founded his group in 1930, later called the Black Front, the national revolutionaries tried to contact him, but soon gave up. Not unlike the Scheringer Group, the Strasser Group has never been a truly national revolutionary. But the movement that Strasser indirectly triggered by leaving the NSDAP resulted in many adhesions to national Bolshevism. From before 1933, SA and Hitler Youth groups formed in some cities under the - illegal - aegis of national revolutionaries. But these were isolated cases, not mass works.

Only once the symbol of national revolutionaries, the black flag (Moeller van den Bruck proposed it as an emblem and all Bolshevist national groups accepted it) played a historical role under the Weimar regime: in the Schleswig rural movement - Holstein (which has had ramifications in Württemberg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, etc.). Claus Heim, a wealthy and experienced peasant, became the center of the peasants' defense against the Weimar "system". At that time the national revolutionary intellectuals had in their hands the ideological education of the peasant masses who, of course, were by no means "national-Bolsheviks". Bruno and Ernst von Salomon, and many others, tried, especially through organs of the rural movement, to give a "German revolutionary" meaning and going beyond local interests, to the bombs thrown against the Landratsämter, to the expulsions of civilian tax servants who had come to collect taxes from farms, the forced ban on auctions.

When Claus Heim and his closest collaborators were put in prison during the "bomb trial", the movement lost its strength, but the Prussian police were not far from the truth when at the beginning of the investigation, suspicious, they provisionally arrested all those who had gone to the very nationalist "Salinger Salon" in Berlin. The men who frequented it were unaware of the various attacks, but they were the spiritual instigators of the movement.

National Revolutionary Fighting Groups

While the Stahlhelme was hardly subject to the influence of national-Bolshevik slogans, and the Young-German Order, based in principle on a Franco-German alliance policy, displayed unequivocal hostility towards these groups, two associations Minor soldiers of the front, belonging to the right, approached quite clearly towards these groups: the Oberland group and the Werwolf. The Oberland Group was part of the German Combat Group which, with Goering's SA, was the military backbone of the November 1923 coup. But, from the start, it was out of place. Ernst Röhm tells in his memoirs that he wanted, in one of the first "German Days", to take the opportunity to offer Prince Rupprecht the crown of Bavaria. But the leaders of the Oberland group, who informed him of his plans, clearly told him that they would come with machine guns and shoot the "separatists" at the first cry of "Long live the king"; whereupon the former head of the Reichskriegsflagge had to grind his teeth and give up his project. Another example from the history of the Freikorps shows how the Oberland was a group apart: when, after the famous assault on Annaberg in 1921, the Group, on the way back, passed through Beuthen, found the workers on strike. Since, in general, the Frankish bodies they were always ready to shoot at the workers, the leaders of the Oberland Group were asked to break the strike with the force of arms. They refused.

The Frankish corps was then dissolved and replaced by that "Oberland Group", which later edited the magazine Das Dritte Reich. Very quickly, the most important members of the group ideologically approached the National Bolsheviks; Beppo Römer, the real instigator of the Annaberg assault, even joined Scheringer's communist group. In 1931, the relatively strong Austrian sections of the group elected Prince Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, fascist

leader of the Heimwehr, as leader of the group: the national revolutionaries then left the group and, under the label of Oberlandkameradschaft, passed to the group Widerstand by Ernst Niekisch, of which they soon formed the nucleus.

A second defense group adopted some theories of the national revolutionary movement: the Werwolf (in Ludendorff's Tannenberg Group, such voices were the exception). The Werwolf changed positions for two reasons: first, this group had a relatively large number of workers in its ranks, exerting clear pressure for "non-bourgeois" nationalism; second, its leader, the studienrat Kloppe, felt the constant need to differentiate himself from the larger groups. As the "new nationalists" had fallen out of favor in the Stahlhelme, the NSDAP and the DNVP, the Werwolf approached them spectacularly. When Otto Strasser, after having launched his appeal "The socialists leave the party", he founded in 1930 the group of "true National Socialism", Kloppe, whose ideas, however, coincided perfectly with those of Strasser, did not join him: he founded a dissident group, called "possedism". This group, mostly radicals, did not take this new doctrine too seriously, but obtained that the bulletin of the group represented in general, for the Russian problem as well as at the social level, the point of view they had adopted, apart from the groups already cited, Der junge Kämpfer, Der Umsturz (organ of the "confederates"), Der Vorkämpfer (organ of the Jungnationaler Bund, Deutsche Jungenschaft) and others. In 1932, the Werwolf he suddenly decided, of his own free will, to present candidates in municipal elections, thus renouncing his anti-parliamentarian principle.

Typology of national Bolshevism

Most of the members of the national revolutionary groups were young or mature men. There was also a relatively large number of former members or activists belonging to the Jugendbewegung associations.

No significant group in the youth association was wholly national-Bolshevik. But almost every group had sympathizers or adherents to national revolutionary movements. National revolutionary bodies exerted a relatively large indirect influence on groups and, on the contrary, the romantic world of the Jugendbewegung influenced the thinking and style of national revolutionaries.

Leaving aside the revolutionary rural movement, the Oberland group and the Werwolf, almost all national-Bolshevik groups have incorporated some elements of the Jugendbewegung into the structure of their groups: elite groups based on the principle of voluntary work. The minority - but very active - was made up of former exponents of the proletarian youth, former Communists or Social Democrats, almost all self-taught; the majority included members of the Youth Association, former members of the Frankish corps and associations of disappointed soldiers, students and National Socialists with a "socialist" tendency. Only the Die Tat group had members recruited from the "center".

After all, all these young people were more or less in revolt against their class: young bourgeois wishing to escape the narrowness of the bourgeois and landowning point of view, young workers determined to pass from the class to the people, young aristocrats who, disgusted by sclerotic conceptions and antiquated of the "right to command" of their class, they sought to make contact with the forces of the future. In the form of avant-garde communities similar to religious orders, outsiders classless members of the "bourgeois order" sought in the national-revolutionary movement a new basis which, on the one hand, would make use of some essential points of their old position (social-revolutionary and national-revolutionary elements of the "left" or "right") and, on the other hand, develop some separatist tendencies of a "new youth" endowed with a heightened awareness of its mission.

The men who gathered there had one thing in common: not social origin, but social experience. We are not thinking here only of unemployment, of the proletarianization of the middle classes and of the intellectuals, with all its consequences. All these facts should, during the general radicalization of the masses, lead to National Socialism or Communism. But, alongside this negative experience, there was a positive one: that of another social reality: the experience of the community in the selected environment represented by "associations" of all kinds. Furthermore - these were, with few exceptions, the generations born between 1900 and 1910 - these groups met with the silence of existing political parties when they asked them some questions.

Thus the national-revolutionary movement was, for all those who did not blindly gather under the banner of Hitler, a kind of meeting place, a forum for the elements of the right and left eliminated because of their clumsy sense of the absolute: it welcomed all the "thinking" activists who tried, often confusedly but at least in all frankness, to bridge the gap between right and left.

All this has led at times to excesses of all kinds, to a certain revolutionary romanticism, to a super-radicalism that is too often exacerbated (above all because there was no corrective for a mass democratic movement). However, it remains true that a number of young intellectuals of the "national" bourgeoisie were, thanks to this, immune to the contradictory slogans of the NSDAP. Even in the militant organizations of National Socialism, the national revolutionary movement called for objectivity and ignited the seeds of revolt.

This wave of German national Bolshevism had no political influence. The Nazi seizure of power put an end to his illusions and possibilities.

Conclusion

National Bolshevism belongs to history today. Even its latest adherents, the sacrificial resistance that many of its members clandestinely waged against the Hitler regime, the brief outbreak of Communist-inspired and Moscow-led "National Bolshevik" tactics is all history. Some of the best known national revolutionaries have capitulated to National Socialism. We remember here, instead of others, the name of Franz Schauwecker. Execution, imprisonment, concentration camps, expatriation were the fate of the resistance members belonging to the national revolutionary movement - and that of all Hitler's opponents.

As examples of active and clandestine struggle under Hitler's regime, we can cite Harro Schulze-Boysen, leader of the Gegner (Group of Hitler's opponents), and Ernst Niekisch, one of the few who, after 1945, followed the path to the end, that is to say, he joined the SED. Most of those who once represented the national revolutionary tendencies have adopted new ideas: this is the case of Friedrich Hielscher and Ernst Jünger "second way". These continued to build on the consolidated basis.

When the East German National Front (a pale copy of the "national" line of the German Communist Party represented during the war by the National Committee of Free Germany in Moscow and General von Seydlitz's Union of German Officers), the Movement "without me" [German pacifism ed.] and the propaganda in favor of conversations between representatives of all Germany "try to warn against the former national-Bolshevik movement, or on the contrary to refer to it, are in total error. Other realities of world politics have created new problems - and new goals.

The report - incomplete - that we have tried to give here does not tend to defend or demolish certain positions taken in the past. The facts speak for themselves.

German National Bolshevism from 1918 to 1932 was a legitimate attempt to shape the political will of the Germans. No one can say with certainty whether, at its peak, it would have been a positive and happy variant, or on the contrary hateful, of the impending revolt (inspired by the collectivist idea) of the intervening generations against the bourgeois state. He limited himself to bombastic, ultimately pre-political statements: he was denied the chance to test himself in everyday reality.

Most of his representatives were men of integrity, selflessness and loyalty, which perhaps makes it easier today, even for his former adversaries, to view him exclusively, in all objectivity and without resentment, as a historical phenomenon.

"Der deutsche Nationalbolschewismus 1918/1932. Ein Bericht," Außenpolitik, No. 4 (April 1952)

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