GERMAN PRESS, RADIO, FILM AND THEATRE
AS A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT OF THE HITLER
GOVERNMENT.

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INTRODUCTION

The National Socialist Party had from the time that it appeared likely that they would take over the government, made definite plans for putting the press, radio, film and theater under their supervision. They had already in the course of 1931 and 1932 established special departments in the party itself which could on the moment of grasping power supply men with sufficient special knowledge to assume leadership in the existing organizations. A number of skeleton organizations therefore had been built up, so that when time came they could immediately be made the principal instruments in the hands of the new Government.

In building these organizations the lessons taught by the Russian and Fascist revolutions were applied; and the structure of these organizations was remarkably similar in character to the propaganda organizations which the Soviets and Fascists had built up after years of experimenting. Every effort was made, especially shortly before taking over the power, to make these organizations so efficient that when the time came, the new National Socialist Government could transform the old free press, radio, and film into its own instruments. This transition was effected within a few months. The Russians and Italians required four years to complete this process.

The plan of campaign of the National Socialist Government was in most cases the same whether it was dealing with a purely cultural institution like the theater or with more industrialized apparatus like the film industry or the radio. The first step was to put National Socialists in the places of the old leaders. If one or the other of the old
leaders was not wholly objectionable, or if it was not possible to replace him for the time being, he was kept in office; but he was given a reliable National Socialist assistant to control his work and to see whether it was in line with National Socialist theories or not. In many cases these National Socialist assistants after having obtained sufficient insight into the organization took over the job of the old leader.

In order to understand the purpose of the National Socialists in seeking to control all cultural institutions like the press, radio, film, and theater, one must consider what the National Socialists mean when they speak of a "Total State". The idea of a "Total State" has been borrowed from Italian Fascism. A "Total State" is, according to the National Socialists, a state in which all economical and spiritual activities are subordinated to one idea - the increase of power and the greatness and Germanic homogeneity of the nation. All spiritual and cultural life must serve this one idea and the different forms of spiritual and cultural expression must therefore be coordinated to a degree unknown to the so-called democratic liberal states. The idea of the supremacy of the state must permeate into every field, economical or cultural, and even the pure sciences may not remain unaffected. Philosophy, history and the natural sciences must serve the state in a similar manner as they served the Church in the middle ages. On innumerable occasions National Socialist writers and cultural leaders have pointed out that Germany of the years before 1500, especially under the Hohenstaufen emperors, was a perfect state because it was a "total" state. The "Total State"
according to National Socialists is compared to a living organism like the human body; the press, the radio, the theater, industry and trade, all are but the limbs of this body and they must act harmoniously if the body is to function and obey the central mind.

THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT AND PROPAGANDA

The Hitler Government, immediately after assuming office gave the propaganda apparatus of the National Socialists an official status and made it a government department. On March 13, 1933, the Propaganda Ministry was established with the National Socialist Propaganda Chief, Dr. Goebbels, as Propaganda Minister, and Mr. Funk, former editor of the nationalist Berliner Börsen Zeitung, as secretary of state in that ministry. Dr. Joseph Goebbels to whom the National Socialist Party owes the major part of its success created the propaganda machine of the party.

Former propaganda activities of the German Government were scattered among various ministries. The Ministry of the Interior, the Foreign Office, and the Prussian Ministry of Education and Culture each had a propaganda department. The state broadcasting service was technically and financially attached to the Postal Ministry, which also collected the monthly fees from the owners of receiving sets; politically it was under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. All these organizations with the exception of the technical management of the Radio are now centralized in the Ministry of Propaganda. The activities of this Ministry, according to the National Socialist idea are based on the idea that an entire nation can be trained to have the same mental reaction with regard to political and social matters; and that its thoughts regarding all national problems
problems will become unified and that in future there will exist but one public opinion. For this purpose every device of modern propaganda technique is being used and special attention is being paid to the development of broadcasting, press, film, and theater. All propaganda will be done according to a common plan. The various fields of activity will be covered by the following seven sub-divisions of the Ministry of Propaganda:

Department 1. Budget Administration

2. General Propaganda (general policy, coordination of the other departments, and establishment of branch offices.

3. Radio
4. Press
5. Film
6. Theater
7. Education.

The Propaganda Ministry will be self-supporting; its principal source of income will be the radio fees, which annually amount to about 50 million reichsmarks.

Recently thirteen district offices and eighteen sub-district offices of the Ministry of Propaganda have been created in all parts of Germany. (A diagram showing the complete arrangement of the State propaganda organization is attached to this report).
Prior to the advent of National Socialism the German press was lined up with the political parties. There existed a Social-Democratic press syndicate which was closely affiliated with the Social Democratic Party and a Communist press syndicate controlled by the mystery man of the Communists, Willi Münzenberg, a supposed multi-millionaire. The press of the Center Party and its Bavarian section, the Bavarian People's Party, was in the hands of a number of private and party-owned press syndicates which, however, were joined in two loose central organizations which assumed a uniform editorial policy. The liberal press was completely in private hands. There was no party press and no organization which assured uniform policy although the attempt to build up an effective organization had been made. The largest and most powerful press syndicate is that of Germany's newspaper and cinema king, Herr Hugenberg. Hugenberg not only owns a great number of provincial and Berlin newspapers himself but through his news agency, the "Telegraphen Union", and especially the "Wipro" organization which supplies finished matrices to small provincial papers, his influence was, formerly, enormous. At least 800 dailies are directly and indirectly under his control. As head of the German National Party, he used all these organizations for the propaganda medium of his party.

In times past, the whole German press was influenced by party politics to a degree unknown in the United States. There existed only a few newspapers in Germany where the accent was on the word "news". As most Germans are subscribers and
and the street sale plays only a small role, German newspaper readers did not expect so much actual news, but they did expect a definite expression of policy in their newspapers. It may be mentioned that the circulation of the socialist and communist press was comparatively small and could not be compared to the voting power of these parties. The trade unions, however, also published weekly newspapers which had a wide circulation (several millions) and which supported the socialist idea.

The National Socialists upon taking over the government suppressed the Socialist and Communist press entirely. The liberal press resisted a short time, but by forbidding the various ones for a period of two or three months whenever they published anything detrimental to the government or even mildly criticized it, they were soon brought into line.

The suspension of these liberal papers was also used as a means of putting through the anti-Jewish policy of the National Socialists; as many of the papers were in Jewish hands and controlled by partly Jewish editorial staffs. The most important Jewish-owned publishing houses are the well-known Ullstein and Mosse concerns, the second and third largest private newspaper concerns in Germany.

The ban on these newspapers was lifted whenever they dismissed the members of the editorial staff who had published the distasteful article or who were Jews. By this method two ends were arrived at: first, these newspapers were forced to support the government, and secondly, many jobs were made available to National Socialists. Especially hard hit were old liberal papers like the "Berliner Tageblatt" and the "Frankfurter Zeitung." The Berliner Tageblatt has now a nearly
nearly complete National Socialist staff, and nearly all Jewish editors have been removed. The financial difficulties of this paper were utilized also to get rid of the Jewish ownership; so that now this organ differs only in name from the official National Socialist organs.

Not only were liberal papers affected by the coordination policy of the National Socialists; but also independent papers of the right wing were brought in line when they voiced any kind of criticism. The "Taegliche Rundschau", organ of the intellectual circles of the nationalistic academic youth, which supported National Socialism and which in fact gave National Socialism its theoretical fundamentals has been forbidden twice. The first time an article appeared against the suppression of free academic teaching in the universities. It was forbidden for three months. The ban was lifted when the brilliant journalist and economist, Hans Zehrer, the writer of the article and editor in chief of the paper was removed from the staff. The Taegliche Rundschau was again forbidden a few weeks ago, and has not appeared since. Often the suppression of a newspaper has only been used as a pretext to get rid of some objectionable editor. This was the case when the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", a paper which has supported the National Socialists strongly, was forbidden for three months when an article condemning the government's policy against Austria was published. The paper was immediately permitted to reappear when the editor in chief, Herr Klein (a Jew), was removed.

Hugenberg has on the whole followed the path of least resistance and has in all his publications come out strongly for the government. Only once was one of his papers suppressed.
suppressed. The "Deutsche Zeitung" was suspended because in an article it had said that the Italian Air Minister, Balbo, was a baptised Jew. Although the statement was not disproved, the paper was forbidden because such a statement would possibly strain the relations between Germany and Italy. The responsible editor was removed and the paper again appeared.

Periodicals of a political and economical nature suffered the same fate as the dailies. The leading German economical periodicals have now editors who support the National Socialist economic theories and the National Socialists have now a periodical of their own, the "Deutsche Volkswirtschaft" (German Economy), published by the economic specialists of the party, W. Daitz and H. Humke, who are now slightly in disfavor. The eminent editor of the leading German economic weekly, the "Deutsche Volkswirt" (German Economist), Gustav Stolper, who is a Jew and probably sympathizer with Socialism, has been removed and the periodical now is edited by National Socialists.

The trade union publications are now in the hands of the German Labor Front (Deutsche Arbeitsfront) in which all the old trade unions and the employers' organizations are joined. The organ of the National Socialist Factory Cell Organization (NSBO), "Arbeitertum" (The Workman), has a compulsory circulation of four or five million copies and is probably the biggest periodical in the world. The organ of the old Catholic trade unions, now dissolved, "Der Deutsche" (The German), has been transformed into the official daily organ of the German Labor Front.

The National Socialists have their own party-owned
daily press. Despite the growth of National Socialism and despite the fact that many people, especially teachers and civil servants are forced to subscribe to National Socialist papers, the circulation of National Socialist papers has not grown to an extent which one might have expected. This compulsory system of enlisting subscribers and advertisers for National Socialist newspapers has lead to interesting results. Party members who refused to subscribe to official Nazi papers have been threatened with exclusion from the party and even with violence. This went too far, even for the National Socialist Party leaders; and in several local decrees they have ordered their followers to resist from such coercive measures. The Viceroy of Thuringia, Sauckell, for instance, declared:

"We will punish all party comrades without mercy who use party membership as a means of threatening and exerting pressure when enlisting subscribers and advertisers for National Socialist papers and periodicals. Every party member may read whatever local paper he sees fit." (Berliner Boersen Courier of August 17, 1933).

The National Socialists have directly taken over a number of former opposition papers, most important among these are the former Communist sheet in Berlin "Welt am Abend", which is being edited as a kind of workers' evening sheet, and the "Duesseldorfer Generalanzeiger", formerly a liberal paper, which is now the private organ of Minister Goering. Whether directly owned by the party or not, the entire German press is now after six months of National Socialism entirely controlled.

The press writers' organizations have been purged of Jews and Socialists and the leaders of these organizations are now all Nazis. The most important press writers' organization
nization is the "Federal Association of the German Press" which is now headed by Captain Weiss, chief editor of the Berlin edition of the National Socialist organ, the "Voelkische Beobachter". The daily press conferences between the government and the press have been abolished. There will now be only informal receptions of the press which will take place from time to time.

The only organization which up to the present has retained a certain measure of independence is the Association of the Foreign Press in Berlin previously headed by the well-known American journalist, Mr. Edgar Mowrer, correspondent of the Chicago Daily News. Mr. Mowrer has written a book on the German political situation under the title "Germany turns the clock back". In this book, published before Hitler's rise to power, the background of the Hitler movement is discussed in a vivid manner. The new German Government has from the very beginning put pressure to bear on the Foreign Press Association in order to force the Association to drop Mr. Mowrer because of his book. The Association, however, remained firm and refused to be coerced and the Government broke off all connections with the Association. On August 2nd, however, Dr. Paul Goldmann, a German, one of the founders of the Association and correspondent of the Viennese "Neue Freie Presse" was arrested on political charges. The Police agreed to free Dr. Goldmann under the condition that Mr. Mowrer resign his post. This was successful and Mr. Mowrer resigned. Dr. Goldmann has now been set free and the Government will again take up connections with the Foreign Press Association.

The Press Department of the Ministry of Propaganda

The Press Department of the Ministry of Propaganda holds
holds a position of special prominence among the different departments of this Ministry. Dr. Goebbels, a man of quite unusual capacity, both as propagandist and as journalist, takes a special interest in this department as he looks on himself as the highest liaison officer between the Press and the Government. His secretary of state, Mr. Funk, who is at the same time the head of the Government Information Service, is in charge of this department. This department coordinates all activities in the field of the press, which up to now have been rather disconnected and have mostly resulted from local party quarters. The Press Department of the Propaganda Ministry is cooperating in the codification of a new press law which will be promulgated in the near future and will assist in the formation of a press chamber on a similar basis as the other chambers (Radio, Film, etc.) discussed in other sections of this report.

Minister Dr. Goebbels announced that he believes that there can be in the future no absolute freedom of the press. The right of criticism must be subordinated to the needs of the nation and the policy of its leaders. As Dr. Goebbels declared:

"During this period of rebuilding the nation out of chaos the highest duty is not criticism but creation of unity of intellect and volition."

This department is to become not only a bureau for the political control of the press but intends to organize a highly efficient information service. This information service will, however, not restrict its activities to the German press but also to the foreign press.

Foreign Propaganda

At the beginning of August a sub-department for the foreign press was attached to the Press Department. The purpose
purpose of this department is to establish a link between the German Government and the press of other nations. The Press Department of the Foreign Office will not be abolished. The difference between these two press departments is that the Press Department of the Ministry of Propaganda operates more along propaganda lines whereas the Press Department of the Foreign Office is purely informative. It is the purpose of the Press Department to create understanding abroad as to why Germany had to become National Socialist and why only National Socialism could save the German people. It is one of the duties of the Foreign Press Department to approach foreigners living and traveling in Germany and to tell them about the aims of the German Government. Special care is taken to suit the propaganda to the nationality of the foreigner. The Propaganda Ministry is to give press teas for the foreign journalists.

The press is now an absolute instrument of the National Socialist Government; and nothing is published that has not been approved of. The result has been a uniformity of the press which makes it most boresome reading. One paper is like the other, nearly every political article is syndicated, and the different newspapers do not change even a word.

Already in Italy this uniformity has had as a result a great falling-off in circulation, and Minister Goebbels has in various speeches exhorted the different newspapers to retain a definite personal character. Probably the same method will be applied as exists in Russia. There a valve has been created for public opinion in the form of the so-called "Workers' Correspondent". These are special columns in which small complaints are brought forward by amateur correspondents where improvements in administrations are discussed in a manner acceptable to the government. In the afore-mentioned "Welt am Abend" experiments along these lines are being made.
No means of propaganda has in the last months proved so effective as the radio. Herr Hitler's speech held on the occasion of the opening of the Reichstag and the famous 'Peace' Speech held May 17th reached the ears of more than 25 million people in Germany as well as many more abroad. The German people have since the first days of the Hitler regime been bombarded by radio propaganda of all kinds. Talks regarding the benefits of labor camps, lectures on military training, the anti-unemployment campaign of the government and the general principles of National Socialism have been pouring in on radio listeners.

The German radio public consists of about four and a half million owners of licensed radio sets; this means that if every set is used by about four people, a total of from 16 to 15 million listen in.

**ORGANIZATION OF GERMAN RADIO**

As is known, the entire German broadcasting chain consisting of nine central stations and 27 local "hook-up" stations is under Federal control. Each one of the central stations is hooked up with about three or four "locals" and each one of the central stations together with its dependent stations forms a separate company. There exist at present the following companies:

- Funkstunde A.G., Berlin
- Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (Central Germany)
- Sueddeutscher Rundfunk (South Germany)
- Suedwestdeutscher Rundfunk (South-west Germany)
- Nordischer Rundfunk (Northern Germany)
- Schlesischer Rundfunk (Silesia)
- Ostmarken Rundfunk (East Prussia)
- Westdeutscher Rundfunk (Western Germany)
- Deutsche Welle (All German Short Wave Superstations).
All these companies are united in the German Broadcasting Corporation which controls the administration of the separate companies and distributes their surplus. The capital of the different radio companies is in the hands of both private interests and the State. The State, however, holds the majority of the stock and has full political control. The principle applied to the German broadcasting system is one of decentralization. The distinctive cultural interest of the different regions of Germany were considered best served by a system decentralized as to structure of the programs but centralized as to financial and business management. The National Socialists have in accordance with their policy of promoting regional cultural interests and their "back to the land" movement even increased programs in local dialects and of local character.

COORDINATION OF THE RADIO

The National Socialist Party had, before taking over government, created all over Germany a special apparatus for the control of the radio. In each district a radio specialist and party man officiated who bore the title "Radio Guardian" (Funkwart). These men saw to it that National Socialist propaganda found its way into the radio program and that all National Socialist listeners-in and amateurs were organized in a National Socialist organization. Out of this organization the Nazis chose many of the men who were put in charge of the radio system upon their assuming control of the State. This organization is being extended and the official publication of the "Radio Guardians" has been made the official organ of the Central German Radio Fans Organization (Reichsverband der Funkhoerer), a former-
ly neutral organization. The workers (Socialist) radio clubs have also been put under the control of the "Radio Guardians", if they were not dissolved.

The method applied by the National Socialists in coordinating the radio system with their general policy was somewhat different from that used in other fields. It must, however, be remembered that broadcasting in Germany is a State monopoly and that members of the staff, especially the technical staff, of the German broadcasting system, were adherents of the old government. Lack of technical experience made it impossible to dismiss the old staff immediately. Only very gradually were they dismissed and whenever indispensable they were retained.

The first step of the new Government in radio control was to get rid of the Federal Radio Commissioner, Herr Bredow, an extremely capable man, to whose power of organizing Germany owes the entire structure of its radio system. The man who replaced Dr. Bredow was Dr. Krukenberg, a member of Hugenberg's party. When Hugenberg was dropped from the Federal Cabinet, Krukenberg had to leave also and was replaced by the radical Nazi, Hadamowsky, a young man twenty-nine years of age who since the beginning of the Hitler regime had been the party Federal Director of Radio Programs (Reichssendeleiter). The Federal Radio Commissionership was up to a few weeks ago attached to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, thereby giving the Minister of the Interior full political control over the radio system. Already on March 22nd the office of the Federal Radio Commissioner was detached from the Ministry of the Interior and put under the administration of the newly created Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. Shortly afterwards the financial administration
administration of the radio, which was formerly a part of the Ministry of Posts's scope of duties, was also transferred to the Ministry of Propaganda. Now only the Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels, can exert dictatorial control over the radio. National Socialists now head the different district radio companies. Most of these men are Nationalist writers and journalists, little known outside of the party itself. The most prominent of these men are the National Socialist writers such as Mr. Beumelburg, director of the South German Radio Company, Mr. Arenhoevel, director of the Berlin Radio Company, and Goetz Otto Stoffregen, director of the All German Radio Station "Koenigswusterhausen".

None of these names, with the probable exception of Mr. Beumelburg, is known beyond the German frontiers.

At all German central radio stations there is an institution known as a Council of Programs. This is a council composed of artists, musicians, writers and educators, formed for the purpose of controlling the artistic standard of the radio programs. All members who could in any way be suspected of sympathizing with the old democratic regime were removed and National Socialists put in their place. Not all of the new members are National Socialist Party members; but this is only due to the fact that National Socialists of cultural prominence were originally very rare; only recently have leading writers and artists affiliated themselves "per force major" with National Socialism.

The performers who appear before the microphone must now also be all Nationalists. Military bands and military plays fill up a good part of the program. Jews as performers...
ers are, of course, entirely excluded and even composers who are Jews have, with the occasional exception of a work of Chopin and Bizet, disappeared from the program.

As mentioned before, the only posts held in the radio by persons who are not National Socialists of long standing are those of a technical character. It seems doubtful, however, if even these men will retain their jobs for any length of time. Many have already been removed and only recently several higher engineers and administrative officers have been discharged without notice as is possible now under the new Law Governing the Employment of Government Officers (Beamengesetz).

Those that still remain will have to go; not so much because they are politically objectionable (the majority have never taken any active part in politics) but because the pressure brought to bear by the old party members looking for jobs is just at present enormous, so that Minister Goebbels will have to satisfy their demands if he does not want an increase of dissatisfaction in his own ranks.

It has been one of the favorite methods of the present Government to popularize their change and innovation by showing how corrupt conditions were before the arrival of National Socialism. This method has been also utilized in regard to the radio. On August 5th the old heads of the broadcasting service, with the exception of the former Radio Commissioner Bredow, were arrested and delivered under the most humiliating conditions to the Concentration Camp at Oranienburg near Berlin. These men, among whom were Professor Knoepfle, former director of the German Broadcasting Corporation, Dr. Flesch, director of the Berlin Station,
and Alfred Braun, the famous Berlin announcer, who played a role in Germany similar to that of Graham McNamee or "Roxy" in America. When these men were delivered at the Concentration Camp all the inmates had to line up to receive them. The five men arrested were lined up to face them and were thereupon photographed like criminals. These photographs were published in the press. The charge brought against them was misappropriation and waste of funds. Expenditures, which in 1928, 1929, and 1930, comparatively prosperous years, appeared quite normal, now under the present circumstances appear enormous, and it is, therefore, very easy to construe a charge of misappropriating public funds. It is interesting to note (according to press reports) that Dr. Bredow, who was not arrested, had the courage to demand that he receive the same treatment as these deserving men. Up to the present nothing has been undertaken against him.

THE NEW RADIO POLICY

Minister Dr. Goebbels on the occasion of the introduction of Mr. Badarowsky into the office of Federal Radio Commissioner, on July 13th, held a speech in which he explained the new policy of the radio. Dr. Goebbels in his speech first attacked those men who believed that by quickly changing their party affiliations they could retain their jobs in the radio. He then went on to say that National Socialism is not any more a party but a life philosophy and that the radio must, therefore, propagate the new ideas and that new men must do this work of propagation. Only men with "a good deal of cruelty" could reform the radio. Art and culture must not be neglected despite the fact that the radio
radio has a definite political tendency. This is not, he said, a political tendency in the old sense of the word but the guiding idea of the whole German people.

Even more interesting than the speech of Dr. Goebbels is a speech held recently by Mr. Hadamowsky, the new Federal Commissioner and Radio Dictator, before the German press at Leipzig. This speech, which needs no commentary, clearly defines the aims of the National Socialists regarding the radio; especially it makes clear that the radio will be little else than a National Socialist propaganda machine. A propaganda machine which, as the recent radio conflict with Austria showed, will even try to exert its influence beyond the German border.

The following are the most important passages of Mr. Hadamowsky's speech:

"Although we must cultivate amusement programs in the radio, and must grant to the light music a rank of preference, the radio is principally a political instrument. Its own artistic laws, however, cannot be merely shoved aside. If we do not conform to these artistic laws the radio hearer will run away and try to get another station. We would thereby arrive at just the opposite from what we really wanted. We would chase the radio hearer abroad; and we do not want that. We will give them light programs but we will preserve the political character of the radio. That is to say, we will keep this instrument sharp for all party actions and we will attain that the whole German people has through the radio a contact with its spiritual and intellectual leaders. We consider the radio as the means of the future with which we can direct the public opinion of Germany in the sense of the leaders of the State. The problem of the radio is therefore not an aesthetic one. The radio is being coordinated that the political apparatus of the party assumes leadership both over the radio-public and the State radio service.

"What

Over the Munich radio, the former German Press Attaché of the German Embassy in Vienna, who had been deported, violently attacked the Dollfus Government even inciting the Austrians to revolution.
"What I have said here in a few short sentences are the political principles governing the German radio. They are of tremendous importance to the political development and they should not be discussed by art critics. These fundamental principles ought to show that we want to direct the radio as National Socialists, but not according to a pattern which only preaches party politics."

In the course of this speech Mr. Hadamowsky made two highly important announcements; first, that a radio chamber was to be founded, and secondly, that the leading German radio manufacturers had cooperated in producing a cheap single-price radio receiver. These two measures were to fulfill the aim of National Socialism to bring a radio set into every German home.

THE RADIO CHAMBER

The formation of trade chambers is an important objective of the National Socialists. The Radio Chamber which was founded on July 4th, is typical of such a trade chamber. Not only the radio trade and industry are represented, but also the radio press and the organized radio fans. The following organizations are represented in the new Radio Chamber:

Industry and Trade

1. Union of Radio Manufacturers
2. Federal Association of Radio Retail Dealers
3. Federal Association of Radio Wholesalers

Science and Culture

1. Association of Licensed Radio Hearers
2. Federal Association of Radio Journalists and Critics
3. The Radio Corporation of Germany
4. German Radio Technical and Scientific Association
5. Association of German Short Wave Amateurs

The Radio Chamber has at present the status of a private association but it is certain that it will soon receive public
public character, somewhat along the lines of a German chamber of commerce, which also is a public institution. The Radio Chamber is to act according to a definite political and economic program. The President of the Chamber is appointed by the Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels. The first man to be appointed President of the Chamber was Mr. Beumelburg, the director of the South German Radio Company. Although the seat of the Chamber is in Berlin, Mr. Beumelburg continues at his post as director of the South German Radio Company. Mr. Beumelburg is assisted in his duties by an acting committee of two persons. The Chamber itself consists of ten members, five representing the organizations of trade and industry and five representing culture and science.

The following are the officially announced aims of the Radio Chamber:

(1) Cooperation of all groups of the German radio in order to promote the National Socialist idea of responsibility and national unity;

(2) Coordination of technical and economical aims of the radio with the aim of achieving the political goal of uniformly directing public opinion;

(3) Safeguarding of good receiving conditions in the interest of the German public;

(4) Safeguarding of the free creative possibilities of the German radio performer and spiritual worker within the limits of National Socialist interests;

(5) Awakening of public understanding for the problems facing the radio industry, the radio inventor, the manual and spiritual worker, and the radio wholesale and retail trade.
(6) Protection of German work and products of German industry against unfair public attacks;

(7) Subventionary measures for the regulation of the radio market; as also manufacture and distribution of technically first class and cheap radio receiving sets for the whole German radio market, especially for the working classes;

(8) Protection against excessive foreign influence on the German radio market and the flooding of the German market with foreign products;

(9) Preparation of future technical development of the radio as a means of forming public opinion. Special consideration is to be given television.

It is evident that the National Socialist Government is planning to make the Radio Chamber a powerful instrument for propagating the radio. There are, as mentioned before, about 4 1/2 million licensed radio hearers in Germany, and the number of "radio bootleggers" is negligible. England, however, a country with only 46 million inhabitants as compared with Germany's population of 65 millions, has nearly six million licensed hearers. In 1932 England issued about one million new licenses whereas the German figure increased only by 320,000. This proves that the German market is far from the saturation point. The Radio Chamber will, therefore, in the interest of National Socialist propaganda do everything in its power to increase the number of radio sets in operation. Its peculiar composition makes it possible to attack the market both from the manufacturer's and from the consumer's side and to coordinate these two movements.

APPARATUS

The German manufacturers under the leadership of the Ministry
Ministry of Propaganda have taken the first step towards bringing a radio set into every German home. Within the Union of the German Radio Industry, in which all manufacturers of radio apparatus and accessories are joined, the 28 largest manufacturers of radio apparatus, who have a practical monopoly of the German market, have formed a special association called the WIRUPA (Wirtschaftssteile fuer Rundfunkfabriken G.m.b.H. = Economic Association of Radio Plants). Every member of the Wirufa has, according to an agreement arrived at between the Ministry of Propaganda and the Wirufa, taken upon himself the task of producing a certain quota of a standard type of cheap radio apparatus. The standards of manufacture and the price of this apparatus are fixed by the Radio Chamber and constitute the Chamber's first important act. The technical design was developed by the Hertz Institute (State Laboratory for Wave Research) together with the Radio Chamber. Heinrich Hertz, after whom this laboratory is named, is Germany's greatest radio scientist without whose discoveries the entire development of radio would have been impossible. Hertz was a Jew.

The new standard radio set has been given the name "VE301". This name has a symbolic meaning. V.E. means "Volks-Empfaenger" (The People's Radio) and the 30th day of the first month of the year was the day (30.1) when Hitler assumed power. The apparatus is a very modern two tube apparatus with a built-in dynamic loudspeaker; the price is 76 RM ($18.09 at the normal rate) and is below the price of any other set. It is possible to receive 20 stations in the loudspeaker with this apparatus. The new standard apparatus made its first appearance at the
the Berlin Radio Exhibition opened August 17th. At the stand of everyone of the twenty-eight leading German radio firms the VK301 formed the center of the display.

A great deal of resistance to the introduction of the VK301 is being offered by the 28 manufacturing companies themselves. The earning margin on these very low-priced sets is insignificant and they expect that they will suffer a loss regarding sales of the more expensive sets (the next in price costs 150 RM) which make the actual earnings, as the cheap VK301 is drawing many customers away. Now the manufacturers have started a whispering campaign against their own cheap product. Secretly the firms are pointing out the deficiency of the new set such as its lack of selectivity and its small range of distance. However, it is believed that the Radio Chamber has sufficient power to combat this campaign and to force the firms to propagate this apparatus. At the Radio Exposition in Berlin about 170,000 of these apparatus were sold and orders for 100,000 more were given.

It is certain the the Radio Chamber will take further measures to supply cheap radios to the public. As Mr. Hadamowsky said in the aforementioned speech before the Berlin press:

"The Radio Chamber is an economic necessity because we have not a socialized radio. Just as we have a socialized railway, a socialized telephone, it is theoretically possible that the State would have an interest to put a radio set into my house, so that I can have contact with the heads of the nation. Therefore, we created the first great piece of cooperation work, the VK301. This receiver is a social achievement of private industry which can not be rated high enough. In all fields, in artistic, economic, and political life we have, by creating the VK301, initiated a movement which will more than normally increase the number of radio hearers. We will perform such deeds also in the future until we have brought a radio into every German home."
"I believe that under the direction of Walter Beuvelburg the Chamber will, after this first act of creating the VHSOL, show further development of the German radio market and of television."

As the Radio is an important source of revenue for the present Government, it is possible that in a similar manner as subscribers were enlisted for National Socialist newspapers, National Socialist party members and others will be coerced into buying radio sets and paying the monthly license fee on the ground that it is their political duty.

PROGRAMS

The average daily program has now an entirely different character than in former years. At least one hour a day is given to extolling the achievements of the present Government. At about seven in the afternoon the so-called "Daily Watchword" (Tageslosung) is given, which consists of a passage out of a speech or book of some national leader or writer. The "Daily Watchword" is followed by the National Hymn and the Horst Wessel Song. The intermission signals of the German stations are now usually a few bars out of some Nationalist hymn. The Berlin signal is taken from the anti-semitic hymn "Volk ans Gewehr" (To the arms, people). Talks on race-eugenics, which are a form of disguised anti-semitic lectures, are held over every German station, especially over the All-German Short-Wave Station "Koenigsuusterhausen". Even the children's hour is used for political propaganda. Dance music does not appear as often as formerly in the programs, but military music plays an important role. Radio-plays usually have a national or military theme. All events regarded as of political consequence like the "State Act" in Potsdam on the occasion of the opening of the new Reichstag, the "State Funerals" in honor of Na-
tional Socialists killed in street fighting, political parades, speeches by members of the Government, the party convention, which took place in Nuremberg a few days ago, are broadcast over all German stations with a view to making as many persons as possible close participants in these political events.
The precarious financial position of the German film and the hopeless financial condition of the German theater made it easy for the National Socialist Government to gain full control of these two institutions. Despite a number of amalgamations and the closing down of a large number of unprofitable enterprises the condition of both film and theater continues poor.

The German film industry was, just about the time when Hitler came into power, in desperate need of financial assistance. The Hitler Government was willing to give such assistance; but it demanded in return that the film industry give up entirely its independence and subject itself to the control of the government. Two definite steps completed this aim of the government: the foundation of the Filmkredit Bank and the establishment of the Film Chamber which, unlike the Radio Chamber, immediately received a charter as a public institution under a special law.

**The Filmkredit Bank**

Already as early as April 8th the principal film lending firms, the Tobis Verleih and the Cinema Film Vertriebs G.m.b.H., joined to found the Cinema A.G., a company with a nominal capital of 200,000 RM which was to finance film producers. But the capital behind the new firm was not sufficient to revive the film market to any noticeable extent because of the lack of good films and the still very high entrance prices. Cinema attendance went back at an appallingly rate. The need for immediate assistance which Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels, had definitely promised at former occasions became urgent. On June 1st under the leadership of
of Secretary of State Dr. Funk of the Ministry of Propaganda, the Filmmkredit Bank was founded.

The nominal capital of this bank is 200,000 RM and the banking firms behind it for the time being have put at the new bank's disposal a credit of 10 million marks. The capital was taken over by the Central Association of the Film Industry (which comprises the entire German film industry), the Reichskredit Gesellschaft A.G., the Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft, the Dresdner Bank, and the Commerzund Privatbank. In the press it was stated that in founding the Filmkredit Bank one had avoided the obnoxious system of state subventions. This is, however, only superficially true; the Reichskredit-Gesellschaft A.G. is the Government's own financing corporation, and Germany's three big private banks, which are all three represented in the Filmkredit Bank, are today private banks only in name. Since the crisis of the summer of 1931 state influence has been steadily growing in the banks. The Filmkredit Bank may therefore be well considered a state subventioned enterprise.

The Filmkredit Bank is to supply sound business ventures in the film producing industry with capital and at the same time to prevent the unhealthy market conditions, which have brought about the ruin of the German film. The Filmkredit Bank will certainly also use its position of financial monopoly in influencing the film trade to produce films propagating the National Socialist idea. These films are now appearing.

THE FILM CHAMBER

The second important step of the National Socialist Government in consolidating the film industry under the Swastika flag was the creation of the Film Chamber. The establishment
establishment of the Film Chamber was preceded by a simplification of the existing central organizations. All the simplified organizations were put under new National Socialist leadership and Jews were expelled from all important positions. In the future only one central organization is to exist for each branch of the film trade, so that the Film Chamber could be constructed along clear and simple lines.

The Film Chamber is (unlike the Radio Chamber) not a private but a public institution. The two Federal laws creating this institution date from the 14th and 22nd of July (Federal Gazette I.3. 483) and bear the signature of Secretary of State Funk, as representative of Dr. Goebbels. The following groups of organizations are joined in the Film Chamber according to Article 3 of the Law of July 22.

a. The Filmkredit Bank.

b. Production of Films (production of dramatic, educational, and advertising films, as also the management of studios and the production of raw films).

c. Film Treatment (plants for making copies).

d. Distribution of Films (foreign and domestic).

e. Moving Picture Houses.

f. Selling and buying of copyrights and patents pertaining to the film.

g. Film creators (actors, extras), directors, technicians, and other employees.

The Film Chamber, which in its present form is only provisional, has a board of governors, consisting of three members. The Chairman of the Board represents the Chamber in public. The Board of Governors is appointed by the Minister of Propaganda. The Minister of Propaganda and the Minister of Public Economy each delegate a representative to the Board.
The Film Chamber will in a similar manner as the Radio Chamber serve the interests of National Socialism. It will, however, to a greater extent than the Radio Chamber be a parliament of economic interests. In all matters of importance pertaining to the film trade the Film Chamber will have to be consulted before final action is taken. The Film Chamber will use its influence in setting up programs of production along National Socialist lines. It will regulate the working condition of the employees (actors, etc.) of the film trade and will assist in the making collective wage agreements. The Film Chamber has of late taken measures against the excessive salaries of stars and against stardom in general. Giving stars too prominent a place in the announcements is now forbidden. In billboards and press announcements the name of the star may not precede the name of the film. If following the name of the film, the name of the star must not be in larger print than that of the other principal actors. A register of film titles has been established. The Film Chamber will train the coming generation of actors and directors by establishing training schools and experimental studios.

It was evident from the start that a number of films with a definitely nationalistic propaganda tendency would swamp the German film market. However, the poor financial success of the first of these films has for the time being arrested production along these lines. Minister Goebbels has stated that although ideas hostile to the ethical standards of National Socialism will not be permitted, the film industry may produce what the general public wants to see. Recently, however, a play (Der Fidele Bauer) was forbidden on the grounds that a character of the play, a peasant, was
was the object of practical jokes and that this would discredit the agricultural population and harm the idea of national unity. It was Minister of Agriculture, Darre, himself who, after having seen it, caused the play to be forbidden.

The following films with propagandistic contents have as yet been produced, of which the first three have already had their first showing:

1. Blutendes Deutschland
2. Flammende Grenzen
3. S. A. Mann Brand
4. Horst Wessel
5. Hitlerjunge Quex.

The film, "Blutendes Deutschland" was produced already prior to the Hitler revolution but it could not be shown in public until after Hitler's rise to power. "Blutendes Deutschland" is merely a collection of news reels of the events since 1916 which led to the Hitler revolution. Not all of the pictures are authentic, some of them have been posed. High lights of the film are the Spartacus revolution in 1919, the Hitler coup d'état in 1923, the Ruhr conflict, the execution of the national terrorist Schlageter, etc. Scenes of the Hitler revolution of this year were added.

The two films "Hitlerjunge Quex" (Hitler-boy Quex) and "S. A. Mann Brand" (S.A. Comrade Brand) have the same subject. They deal with episodes of the Hitler fight against the Communists. In both these films the hero is shot down in an ambush by Communist bullets. In the film "Hitlerjunge Quex," which has been produced chiefly for juveniles, the hero is only fourteen or fifteen years old.

The film "Horst Wessel," which is to be the film epia of National Socialism, deals with the life and death of Horst
Horst Wessel, the national hero of present Germany. Horst Wessel, a student worker, was the first to form Nazi organizations in workers' districts. He was supposed to have been killed by Communists. However, a good deal of mystery surrounds the killing. It has, in fact, been claimed that he was "put on the spot" by members of the Berlin underworld who had been his associates. In this film more than 50,000 extras, all S.A. men, were used. The most impressive scene is the march of the Hitler troops through the Brandenburger Tor in the night when Hitler assumed power. This is the apotheosis of the film, and it was actually taken at the Brandenburger Tor with 5000 real S.A. men marching. Episodes of the student life and the funeral procession of Horst Wessel, which was attacked by Communists, are further important scenes.

The theme song is of course the "Horst Wessel" hymn to which Horst Wessel composed the words and which now together with "Deutschland ueber alles" is the National anthem.

Nowhere, however, is the influence of the present Government more noticeable than in the news reel. Two thirds of every news reel show National Socialist parades and demonstrations. The Propaganda Ministry exerts a great influence on the composition of these news reels, but this influence has up to now no legal basis; it merely results from the fact that in the management of all the German film companies there are now National Socialists in important positions and that the film industry is financially so dependent on the present Government that it can not do enough to please the present regime. This is the same condition as in the press where no paper dares to omit any item of official news or official propaganda. A special press law
law, however, makes it possible for the government to impose forced publication of a certain article in any and all newspapers. In the course of time such a law will also be passed for the news reel which is also a form of journalism.

The financial measures of the government seem to have borne fruit. Through the assistance of the Filmkredit Bank it has been possible to supply the German market with sufficient German films. Cinema attendance which, however, as the inflation years showed, is no sign of economic improvement, has increased about 15 per cent, as compared with last year. Net earnings have, however, not increased as the prices of tickets have also gone down.

JEWISH QUESTION

No industry with the exception of the textile industry has been so hard hit by the anti-semitic campaign as the film industry. A great number of Jews were employed in all branches of the film industry. Some of Germany's greatest actors and directors were Jews. The decree of June 20th of the Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels, which limits the import of foreign films, in article 2 contains a provision which, if applied rigorously, would practically exclude films produced by Jews, in which Jewish actors appear, or which give music composed by Jews. Article 2 provides that films in which Jewish actors perform, which are directed or produced by Jews, or which have music composed by Jews, are not to be considered as films produced in Germany, but as films falling within the scope of the foreign contingent regulations. Up to the present time special permits (Befreiungsscheine) have been given to firms employing Jews, but sooner or later these regulations, which make the employment of Jews practically impossible, will be put in full
full force. Even at present most firms will avoid employing Jews, fearing that sharper anti-semitic measures may make the showing of a film with Jewish actors, etc., impossible.

**GENERAL POLICY**

The policy of the film is entirely determined by National Socialism. Minister Goebbels in one of his first speeches on March 28th before the Central Organization of Film Actors, Writers, Directors, etc. (Deutschorganisation Filmschutzender Künstler) clearly defined the position of the film. He said that the Government does not intend to take draconic measures, if the film industry remembers its national duty. Minister Goebbels admonished the film industry not to produce films according to a stereotype nationalistic pattern. He said: "That is not possible, because art is free and must remain free. But under one condition! Art must be bound to certain ethical, political, and philosophical rules which make life in a national community possible. Between the production of a film and the political censorship there remains sufficient space for artistic creation."

Propaganda against American films, although not officially promoted, is again being heard. In the Boersen Zeitung of May 7, and August 11, and in other publications the American film is attacked. It is stated that the American film is unprincipled immortality and therefore foreign to the sentiments of the German people. The more the German film gets a national character the more must films of the American mentality be avoided. The American film is hackneyed, soulless, and without real feeling.

The "trite production of America" it is suggested be supplanted by films of Scandinavian origin which are true
to the Nordic spirit. The Italian film "The Black Shirts" is much closer to the German mentality than the "nothingness" of American films.

THEATER

The German theater has in the last two years gone through a very serious crisis, a crisis which had its origin both in financial miscalculation and artistic mismanagement. The state theaters were comparatively little affected by this crisis, as were also the great number of municipal theaters and opera houses which existed all over Germany. These theaters, which are purely artistic undertakings, can only exist if they receive subventions. The theaters owned by theater guilds, of which there are a great number in Germany, have weathered the storm fairly well, as they could always reckon with a certain number of subscribers among workers and middle-class people. But the great majority of the private theaters have broken down. The bankruptcy of the Berlin Hotter Concern which controlled seven theaters, and of the Reinhard Chain were the sensations of 1932. When Hitler came into power the private theater was, with very few exceptions, virtually ruined. Many actors were working for nothing or had together with colleagues formed self-help organizations (theater collectives) with which they staged plays by themselves.

The Hitler Government looked upon the theater as a potential means of propaganda and dealt with it in a similar fashion as with the film and radio. From all state and municipal theaters Jews, Liberals, and Social-Democrats were immediately removed. Among these were many names of world renown, such as Jessner, Stiedry, Busch, Bruno Walter, Elizabeth Bergner, Klemperer, and innumerable others. Private theaters
Theaters are now afraid to engage Jews as they fear that reprisals may be taken against them.

**THEATER CHAMBER**

As in the radio and film the several organizations of the theater joined to form a chamber. The following organizations have joined to form the German Theater Chamber:

- The German Stage Association
- Association of Art Stage Directors
- Union of German Actors
- Union of German Chorists and Dancers
- Association of Theater Editors
- Association of German Dramatics and Composers

The Theater Chamber will in a similar manner as the Radio and Film Chambers do everything within its power to make the theater an instrument of National Socialist propaganda and at the same time will protect the economic interests of the stage. The Theater Chamber will set up regulations regarding working conditions and salaries of actors and theater personnel. It will also take charge of the training of young actors. To the office of President of the Theater Chamber Minister Goebbels appointed Ministerialrat Otto Laubinger, who only six months ago was an actor at the Berlin State Theater. The Vice President is Werner Kraus, one of Germany's greatest actors. The office of Vice President was used as bait to get this great actor to return to Berlin; he had already gone to Vienna. The principal organization among those composing the Theater Chamber is the Association of Art Stage Directors. In this compulsory organization all German stage directors must join. This organization will be the most important medium in creating a National Socialist stage. No play will be produced in Germany which has not the artistic and political approval of
of this organization. This organization will see to it that, as Dr. Goebbels said, the German stage of the future is national, heroic, and of great pathos. (The Wagner and Nietzschean superman).

As the municipal operas and theaters are not wholly dependent on the financial success of the plays they give, the production of nationalistic plays has been much larger than that of films of similar character. Most prominent and most successful of these plays was "Schlageter", a piece which dealt with the life of Albert Schlageter, who during the Ruhr occupation was shot by the French for having blown up a railway bridge. The author, Hans Johst, is director of the Berlin State Theater and an extreme Nationalist.

State Commissioner Hinkel in a recent speech indicated that the National Socialist organizations would make the attendance at theaters compulsory. Just as much as the art of National Germany must come to the people, so must the German people come to the heroic art of the Nation. It has been reported that already in National Socialist organizations many people have been forced to join the new National Socialist theater guild "The German Stage" (Deutsche Bühne). This theater guild has arrived at agreements with the Berlin State theaters and theaters of the former Socialist "People's Theater Guild", enabling the members of the league to buy cheap subscription tickets for six or more performances at the different theaters.

In the coming winter months everything will be done to revive the private stage by introducing a policy of cheap prices and popular programs; but up to now the theaters, at least
least the Berlin theaters, are very often half empty.

THE MILITANT LEAGUE FOR GERMAN CULTURE

In the same manner as the National Socialists formed associations for the propagating of National Socialism in the field of business and industry they have formed an association for the propagation of National Socialist art and culture. In the Militant Association for German Culture (Kampfbund fuer Deutsche Kultur) all National Socialist cultural organizations are joined. Theater, film, and radio, as well as the youth movement are represented in this organization. The Militant League for German Culture has been an effective ally of the Propaganda Ministry in propagating National Socialist ideas in the field of art and culture.

Leader of the organization is Alfred Rosenberg, the head of the National Socialist Party's "Foreign Office". He is assisted principally by Secretary of State Hinkel and the leader of the Hitler Youth Organizations, Baldur von Schirach. Aside from the spreading of National Socialist cultural ideas this organization has for its aim the "Gleichschaltung" (bringing into line) of existing cultural organizations, i.e., giving existing organizations National Socialist leadership. Together with the Ministry of Propaganda the Militant Association will found a "Film Bureau" which will supply the movies with political news reels. The Militant Association will hold fortnightly lectures on cultural problems.

One of the plans of the Militant League is to reorganize the Federal Association of German Writers (Reichsverband Deutscher Schriftsteller) of which the director of the All-German Radio-Station, Costz Otto Stoffregen, is now the leader. This organization is to be transformed into a compul-
compulsory organization. Without having membership in this organization, according to the new plan, an author may not publish his books in Germany. Jews, of course, may not become members of the Federal Association of German Writers. Likewise anybody else disagreeable to the Nazi leaders will be excluded. If this reform is actually carried through it would mean the end of even what freedom remains for the German writers.

The Militant Association is also planning to create an Architects Chamber and a Musicians Chamber, so that all forms of artistic expression may develop along National Socialist lines. Already a commission has been established of five prominent musicians who are to control the programs of all public concerts receiving state or municipal aid and who will investigate the participants or performers as to their racial and political purity.

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This report was prepared with the collaboration of Eric M. Albrecht, commercial investigator on the staff of this Consulate General.
ARRANGEMENT OF THE GERMAN PROPAGANDA ORGANIZATION

Federal Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.

Radio Chamber

Press Chamber (contemplated)

Theatre Chamber

Film Chamber


13 District and 18 Subdistrict offices of the Ministry of Prop.