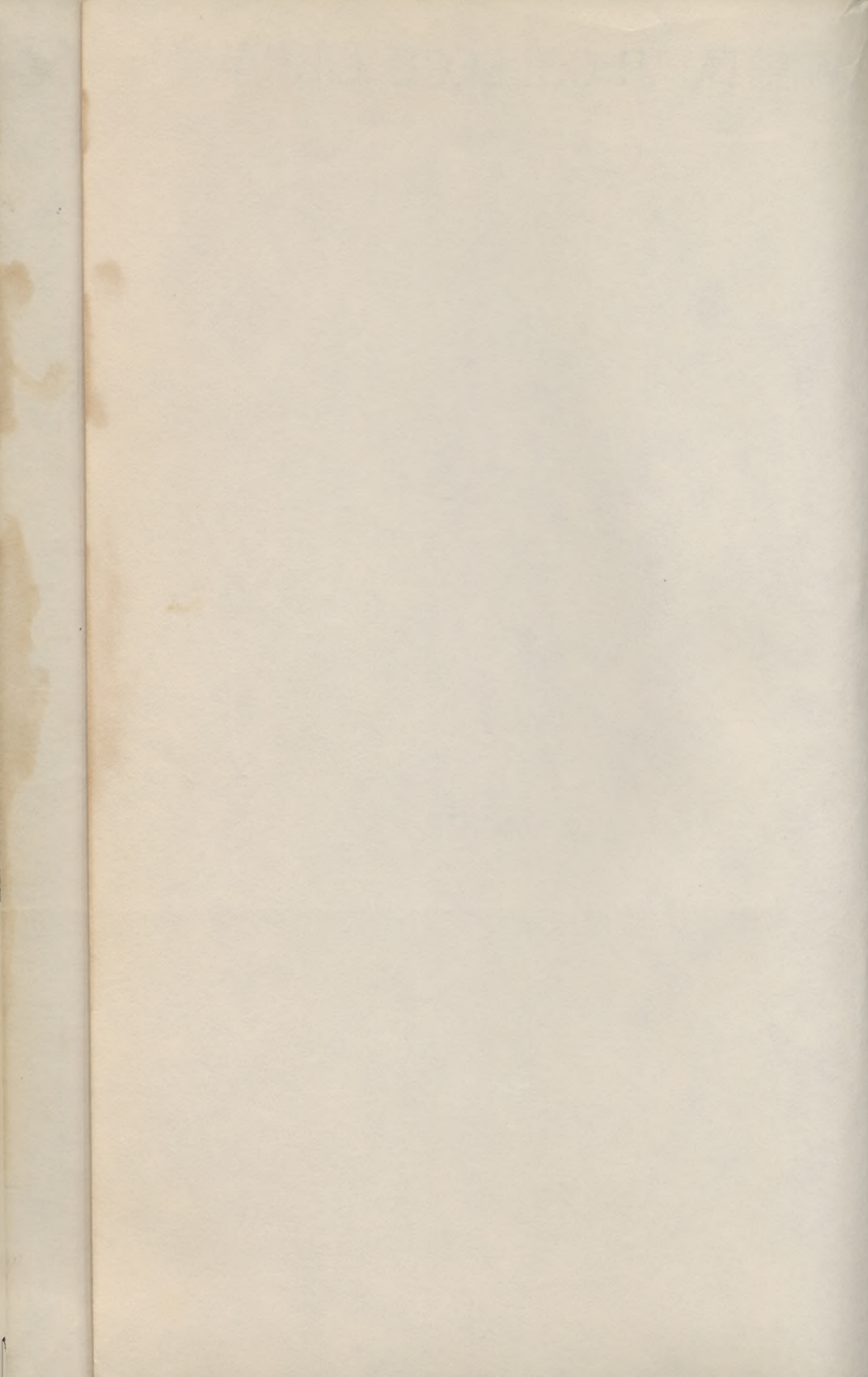
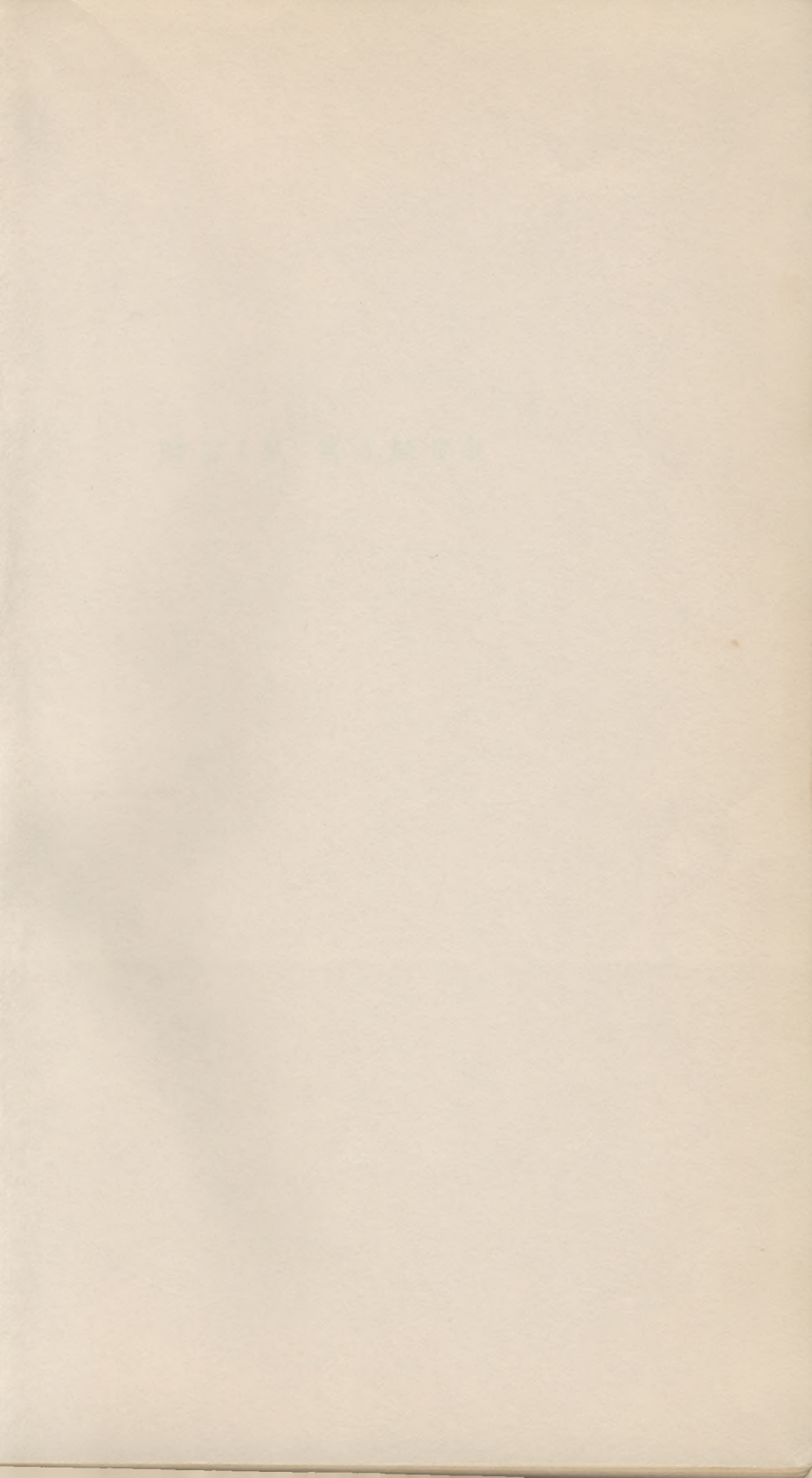
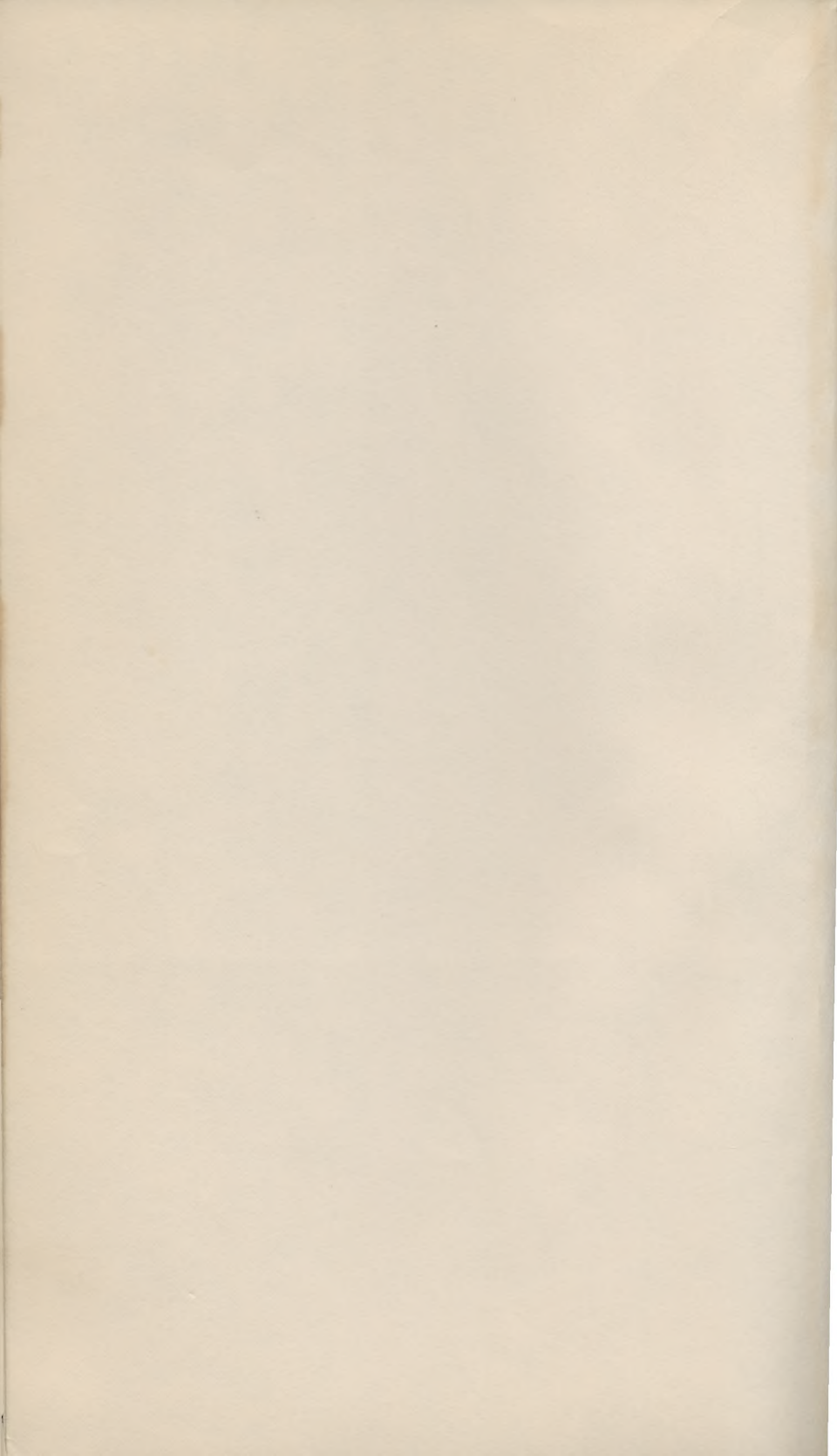


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MEIN KAMPF

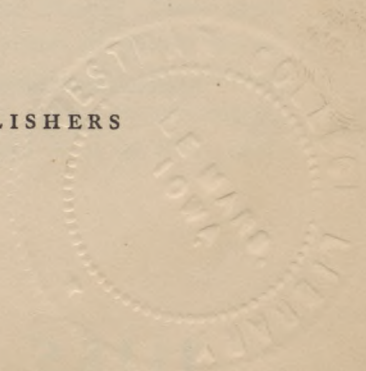
THE END

MEIN KAMPF

BY ADOLF HITLER

*The first complete and unexpurgated
edition published in the English language*

STACKPOLE SONS PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK CITY



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PREFACE TO THE FIRST UNEXPURGATED
EDITION IN ENGLISH

I DOUBT whether any book has been as frequently mentioned as MEIN KAMPF, or as widely quoted in this or any other country in the last five years. I cannot conceive of any book of which I more positively disapprove, but I consider it vitally important for every intelligent American to acquaint himself at first hand with the theories on which the National Socialist state is founded. It is important because the ideas of Hitler's MEIN KAMPF are the warp and woof of the education of Germany's youth, creating in them economic, political and historic concepts that will exercise a baleful influence on world happenings for at least a generation to come; because it seems to me that the publication of an unexpurgated translation of this significant book is an undertaking that will meet with the approval of all those who, because of their unfamiliarity with the German language, have never had a chance to read the original version which is still the acknowledged credo of Germany's Nazi regime.

In a series of *Commentaries for the Use of School and Home* published by the German Ministry of Culture, Dr. Koenig, the well known German educator describes MEIN KAMPF as follows:

“. . . By its varied and fascinating style, by its design, its composition and its contents, this work is a classical masterpiece. Boys and girls in their teens must acquire a proper insight in order to understand this new Bible of the People. They must become acquainted and familiar with the lines of policy traced therein by the master's hand. The grown-ups must, by reading this book, purify and strengthen their civic consciousness. Fathers must teach the thoughts contained in it to their children . . .”

These are not the words of a boot-licking sycophant. They express the reverent attitude of a large portion of the German public toward the words of their Fuehrer. That this fantastic book, with its atrocious style and its countless contradictions, could become the testament of the German nation, is in itself illustrative of the state of mind that made Hitlerism possible. Today a large part of Germany accepts Hitler's contention that human existence is controlled by the laws of an eternal conflict and struggle upward. Man must understand says Hitler, "that in a world in which planets revolve about the sun and moons about planets, in which force is master over weakness and either makes it an obedient servant or encompasses its destruction—that in such a world there cannot be special laws for the human race. It too must bow before the eternal verities of the final truth . . . In this eternal struggle humanity has grown to greatness—in eternal peace it will go down to destruction . . ."

Who are the strong? Hitler develops his race theory to find the answer. It is, says he, "the key, not only to world history but to all human culture." He violently disavows the Marxist principle that "Man equals man," and in its place postulates a conception of race that sees in the Aryan the Divine instrument that must guide the destinies of our civilization. "What we see before us today of human culture, of the products of art, science and technical achievement, is almost exclusively the creative produce of the Aryan."

On closer examination, however, we find the author qualifying this sweeping statement. Actually it is only the German Aryan who will attain to world leadership. To other nationalities Hitler reserves unto himself the right to give the accolade, as a great ruler bestows special recognition on deserving subjects. Nor is it sufficient for a people to use the German language as the background of its cultural life. "A racially alien people," says Hitler discussing the 'Germanization of the Polish element,' "which expresses its alien thoughts in the German tongue, comprises the greatness and the dignity of our national heritage by its own inferiority." Later he defines National Socialism as a

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“world concept which aims, while denying the idea of democratic mass rule, to give this earth to the best of its peoples, to the highest of the human race . . .” This insistence on Germanic—not Aryan—supremacy appears again at the end of the book when Hitler sums up his political dogma in the sentence: “Just so Germany must inevitably win the position on this earth that it can justly claim as its own, if it is led and organized in accordance with these principles. That state which, in this age of race poisoning, devotes itself to the cultivation of its best racial elements, must one day become the ruler of the earth . . .”

Is it necessary to enlarge on this absurd grandiloquence for an American public? Undoubtedly, it is! Ten years ago one would have been mad to believe that the German people would accept such postulates as that “Parliamentarism is the instrument of that race whose innermost aims make it fear the sun, today and forever”; that “Marxism is the product and the instruments of Jews”; that Freemasonry is an “excellent instrument for the defense and realization of Jewish aims.” Today we wonder. Who knows what America will believe tomorrow?

It is natural, I suppose, that one should think of Nazi anti-Semitism first when one discusses Hitler. It is also unfortunate. In its preoccupation with the tragic problem of the German Jew the world at large overlooked much of the significance of the Third Reich's more far-reaching activities. Hitler withdrew from the League of Nations; Hitler marched into the Rhineland; Hitler repudiated German disarmament; Hitler won the Saar and established a National Socialist government in Danzig; Hitler joined Mussolini in Spain and marched into Austria; Hitler forced Chamberlain to accept the treacherous Munich pact.

Each time the world found what comfort it could in the thought that this would be the last of Nazi aggressions. Yet a simple perusal of *MEIN KAMPF* should have shown it the truth. As long as Hitler rules Germany there can be no peace. “Peaceful competition among nations,” he says, “has never existed. There is only the peaceful possibility of mutually acknowledged brigandage . . .” “Even as a boy I was never a pacifist,” he as-

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sure his readers. The World War found him "overwhelmed with stormy enthusiasm. I sank to my knees and thanked heaven out of the fullness of my heart that it had granted me the good fortune to live at this time . . ."

Naturally Hitler does not admit that Germany was beaten fairly. ". . . the Jewish financial press and the Jewish Marxist press systematically fomented hatred against Germany until one state after another abandoned its neutrality, betraying the real interests of its people, and entered the World War coalition." The world knows that it was the accumulation of economic, political and military rivalries and the violation of Belgian neutrality that drove England into the war. It knows also that it was America's entry into the war, and not the influence of world Jewry that turned the tables on the Germans in 1919. But to Hitler history is a poor thing if it cannot be twisted to suit his purposes.

To justify his *Anschluss* claims, for instance, Hitler accuses the House of Hapsburg of fostering Czechian influences in the Dual Monarchy at the expense of the German population and calls Francis Ferdinand a patron of the Austrian Slavs. The enthusiasm with which the Hungarians, the Czechs and the Slavs proclaimed their independence from Austria might be cited as proof against him, if proof were needed. He insists that "France is the permanent and inexorable enemy of the German nation; that the key to her foreign policy will always be her desire to possess the Rhine frontier and to secure that river for herself by keeping Germany broken and in ruins." "It is only in France that there is intimate agreement between the intentions of the stock exchange as represented by the Jews and the desires of the nation's statesmen who are chauvinistic by nature. This identity constitutes an immense danger for Germany and it is the reason why France is by far the most terrible enemy of Germany . . ."

"That Power," Hitler concludes his attack on France, "is our natural ally which with us resents as intolerable the domination of the French on the continent. No effort to unite with such a power should be too great, no sacrifice too heavy, if it will help

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us finally to overthrow the enemy that pursues us so relentlessly with its hatred . . .”

These and similar passages, we learn, are to be deleted from the first authorized version of MEIN KAMPF to be published in France. It is important to keep in mind that they still stand, however, in the MEIN KAMPF that is published in Germany's home consumption.

Hitler defines the foreign policy of a National Socialist state in a passage so significant that it should be written in letters of red on the wall of every foreign office in Europe. “Beware always of the creation of two continental powers in Europe. Resist every effort to create a second military power on Germany's borders, or even the creation of a state capable of becoming a military power, as an attack against Germany, and regard it not only as your right, but as your duty to prevent the erection of such a state, with armed resistance, if need be, or to destroy it altogether . . .”

The normal reader's first reaction to this book will be one of incredulous amazement. It is possible that a highly cultured, sensitive people can be duped by this outpouring of wilful perversion, clumsy forgery, vitriolic hatred and violent denunciation? But think back a moment. Is our own past so entirely free of mass hysteria? Have we forgotten how clever propaganda turned the enthusiasm that re-elected Woodrow Wilson to the Presidency “because he kept us out of war” into a frenzy of chauvinistic hatred overnight? Today many an American is ashamed of that madness, but it was real and sincere while it lasted.

Something of the sort is happening in Germany, but on a much more gigantic scale. The German people in 1933 were in a mood that made them dangerously susceptible to the fascist bacillus. They had tried to find a way back to normal living and national self-respect and had found the way blocked by prejudice and blind misunderstanding. The great nations were interested only in reparations. The German labor parties which might have helped were split into half a dozen warring camps. All this was

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played against a background colored by a century of high pressure nationalism.

The German people had reached a point where order and security seemed to matter more than a political freedom that had become synonymous with brawls and bloodshed. Hitler understood these things and used them for his purposes, aided by a phenomenal capacity for organization and propaganda and by the readiness of Germany's great industrialists to finance his campaigns. Once established, the German's innate respect for authority made it simple to establish Fascist leadership.

Anti-Semitism, concentration camps and political oppression, however, are no more characteristic of the German people than fever and delirium are normal in the healthy human body. They are the symptoms of a virulent disease and they will disappear when that disease has run its epidemic course.

When will that be? Who knows! Perhaps the last chapter of Hitler's *MEIN KAMPF* is still to be written. The present version makes no mention of the Fuehrer's plans of conquest and penetration in the Western Hemisphere. If it did, we might read this book with a clearer conception of its ultimate significance.

Ludwig Lore

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION

The translation in this volume, the first unexpurgated version in English, has been made from the two-volume first edition of MEIN KAMPF, the first volume of which was published in 1925, the second in 1927.

Where Adolf Hitler made changes in later editions to modify or change his meaning, the translator has adhered to the original version. Occasionally, however, Hitler's alterations were made in order to clear up meaning and correct his language. In such cases the present translation has adopted the changes.

FOREWORD

On April 1, 1924, by decision of the Munich People's Court under that date, I was to start serving my sentence in the fortress of Landsberg on the Lech.

For the first time in years of uninterrupted work this opened to me the possibility of undertaking a task frequently asked of me, and one which I myself felt was useful for the Movement. I therefore decided to write two volumes, not only explaining the aims of our Movement, but portraying its development. This will be more instructive than any purely doctrinary dissertation.

At the same time I found opportunity to describe my own growth in so far as it serves toward the understanding of both volumes and toward the destruction of the vile legends built up around my person by the Jewish press.

In writing, I address myself not to strangers, but to those adherents of the Movement who belong to it with their hearts, and whose intelligence now seeks more intimate enlightenment.

I know that men are won less by the written than by the spoken word; and that every great movement in this world owes its growth to great orators, not to great writers.

Nevertheless, for the uniform and unified propagation of a doctrine, its principles must be laid down for all time. These two volumes, then, are meant to serve as stones which I hereby add to the common structure.

THE AUTHOR

Landsberg on the Lech
Prison Fortress

On November 9, 1923 at 12:30 P. M., the following men in the true belief in the re-resurrection of their people fell in front of the Feldherrnhalle as in Munich in the courtyard of the Kriegsministeriums:

Alfarth, Felix, Salesman, born July 5, 1901
Bauriedl, Andreas, Hatmaker, born May 4, 1879
Casella, Theodor, Bank Official, born August 8, 1900
Ehrlich, Wilhelm, Bank Official, born August 19, 1894
Faust, Martin, Bank Official, born January 27, 1901
Hechenberger, Ant., Locksmith, born September 28, 1902
Körner, Oskar, Salesman, born January 4, 1875
Kuhn, Karl, Headwaiter, born July 26, 1897
Laforce, Karl, Engineering Student, born October 28, 1904
Neubauer, Kurt, Servant, born March 27, 1899
Pape, Claus von, Salesman, born August 16, 1904
Pfordten, Theodor von der, *Rat* of the Supreme Court, born May 14, 1873
Rickmers, Joh., Cavalry Captain a.D., born May 7, 1881
Scheubner-Richter, Max Erwin von, Doctor Engineering, born January 9, 1884
Stransky, Lorenz Ritter von, Engineer, born March 14, 1899
Wolf, Wilhelm, Salesman, born October 19, 1898

The so-called national, constituted authorities refused the dead heroes a common grave.

Therefore, I dedicate to their common memory the first volume of this work, whose martyrdom served first to gleam forever before the adherents to our movement.

Landsberg a.L., Prison Fortress, October 16, 1924.

Adolf Hitler.

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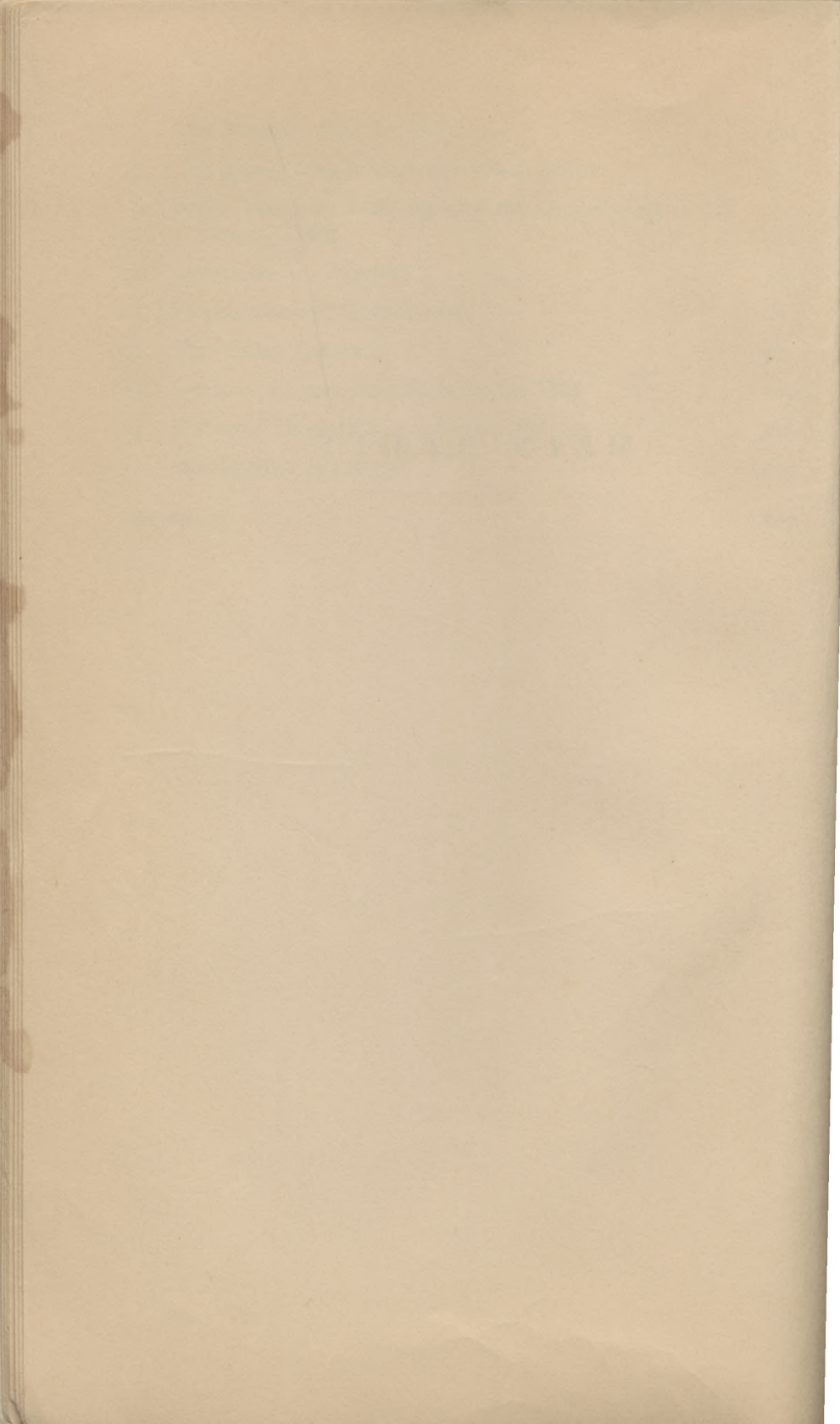
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M E I N K A M P F



FIRST VOLUME:

An Accounting

WEST TOWN

IN

1. CHILDHOOD HOME

TODAY I regard it as a happy change that Fate chose Braunau on the Inn as my birthplace. For this little town is on the frontier of the two German states whose reunion, at least for us younger men, is a life work to be accomplished by every means.

German Austria must come back to the great German mother country, and this not because of any economic considerations. No, no: even if economically the union were a matter of indifference, even if it were harmful, it must still take place. *Like blood belongs in one common realm.*

The German people has no moral right to take part in colonial politics so long as it cannot even unite its own sons in a common state. Only when the boundaries of the Reich include the last German, without affording assurance of supporting him, does the need of the people give a moral right to acquire foreign soil. The plough will be the sword, and the bread of posterity will be watered by the tears of war.

Thus this little frontier city seems to me the symbol of a great task. But in another connection also it rises to warn the present age. More than a hundred years ago this humble place had the privilege of being immortalized in the annals at least of German history as the scene of a tragic catastrophe which shook the whole German nation. It was the day of our Fatherland's deepest degradation; and here the bookseller Johannes Palm, a citizen of Nuernberg, obdurate "Nationalist" and Francophobe, fell for the Germany which he loved passionately even in her misfortune. He had stubbornly refused to name his fellow—or rather chief criminals. Like Leo Schlageter. And, like Schlageter, he was denounced to France by a government representative. An Augs-

burg police director won this unenviable fame, and thus furnished the prototype of modern German officialdom in the Reich of Mr. Severing.

This little city on the Inn, gilded by the rays of German martyrdom, was Bavarian by blood, Austrian by state. Here my parents lived in the late eighties of the last century, my father a conscientious employee of the state, my mother occupied with the household, and above all devoted to us children with unchanging loving care. I remember but little of that period, because within a few years my father had to leave the little frontier town of which he had become so fond, to go down the Inn and take a new post at Passau—in Germany itself.

But it was the fate of an Austrian customs official in those days to travel often. Soon afterward my father went to Linz, and at length was pensioned there. This was far from meaning rest for the old gentleman. He was the son of a poor, petty cottager, and even in his earliest days had not been happy at home. Not yet thirteen, the small boy strapped up his knapsack, and ran away from his home in the forest district. Despite the advice of "experienced" villagers he had gone to Vienna to learn a trade. This was in the fifties of the past century. It was a hard decision to take the road into the unknown with three crowns to travel on. But by the time the thirteen-year-old was turned seventeen, he had passed his journeyman's examination, but had not won contentment. Rather the contrary. The long period of distress at that time, of eternal misery and wretchedness, strengthened his determination to give up his trade after all, in order to become something "better." The poor boy in the village had once thought that the pastor embodied the highest possible summit of human aspiration; this eminence was replaced in the metropolis, which had vastly enlarged his outlook, by the dignity of being a state official. With all the endurance of a man grown old through grief and distress while still half a child, the seventeen-year-old took a grip on his new determination—and became an official. When he was almost twenty-three, I believe, the goal was reached. Now, too, the requirement seemed fulfilled for a vow which the poor

boy had once taken, a vow not to go back to his native village until he had become somebody.

Now his goal was reached; but no one in the village remembered the little boy of years before, and he himself found the village had grown strange to him.

When at last he retired at fifty-six, he could never have stood his retirement a single day as a "do-nothing." He bought property in the neighborhood of the Upper Austrian market town of Lambach, farmed it, and thus completed the circle of a long and hard-working life by going back to the origins of his fathers.

Probably about this time, my first ideals were taking shape. Constant romping around outdoors, the long road to school, and an association with extremely robust boys which sometimes gravely worried my mother all combined to make me anything but a stay-at-home. So, if I had scarcely any serious ideas about my future life work, at any rate my tendency was by no means toward my father's career. I believe that even then my oratorical gift was being schooled by more or less violent disputes with my playmates. I had become a little ringleader, who learned easily and well at school, but otherwise was fairly hard to handle.

In my free time I had singing lessons at the Canons' Chapter in Lambach, and thus had ample opportunity to be intoxicated by the solemn pomp of the splendid church festivals. What more natural, then, than that as my father had once looked upon the little village pastor, so now I should think the abbot an ideal to be striven after? At least for a time this was so. But since my father understandably did not think highly enough of his quarrelsome boy's oratorical talents to draw from them any pleasing conclusion regarding the future of his offspring, he had no feeling for such youthful ideas either. He must have watched anxiously this discord of nature.

And, in fact, my temporary longing for that calling soon disappeared to make way for hopes better suited to my temperament. In rummaging through my father's library I had come upon various books of a military nature, among them a popular edition of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Two volumes of an il-

lustrated magazine from those years now became my favorite reading. It was not long before the great heroic battle had become my greatest spiritual experience. From then on I was more and more enthusiastic over anything at all connected with war or at least with soldierhood.

In another way, too, this was to be important to me. For the first time, vaguely though it was, the question forced itself upon me whether there was a difference between the Germans who fought these battles and other Germans, and if so, what? Why did not Austria fight in the war, why not my father and all the others?

Were we not the same as all the other Germans?

Did we not all belong together? This problem began to stir my young brain for the first time. With hidden envy I learned, in answer to cautious questions, that not every German was so fortunate as to belong to the Empire of Bismarck.

I could not understand it.

I was to begin my studies.

Judging by my whole character, and even more by my temperament, my father concluded that the humanistic *Gymnasium* would run counter to my natural bent. He thought a *realschule*, a non-classical school, would be more suitable. His opinion was confirmed by my noticeable ability in drawing—a subject which he believed was neglected in the Austrian humanistic schools. And perhaps his own hard working life made him think less of classical studies, which he considered impractical. But on principle he intended that, like him, his son of course should, nay must, become a state employee. His hard youth quite naturally made his later attainments seem the greater, since after all they were the product solely of his own iron energy and industry. The pride of the self-made man led him to wish the same, or if possible a higher situation in life for his son—the more so since his own hard work could make the progress of his child so much easier.

The idea of my refusing what had been his whole life was to him quite inconceivable. So my father's decision was simple, def-

inite and clear, and, in his eyes, a matter of course. Lastly, a lifetime's struggle for existence had made him domineering, and he would have thought it intolerable to leave the final decision in such matters to a boy whom he thought inexperienced and thus not yet responsible. This would, besides, have seemed to him reprehensible weakness in the exercise of his proper paternal authority and responsibility for his child's future, and impossible to reconcile with his concept of duty.

And yet all was to end differently.

I was barely eleven. For the first time in my life I was forced into opposition. Hard and determined as my father might be in carrying out plans he had once fixed his mind on, his son was no less stubborn and refractory in refusing an idea which appealed to him little or not at all.

I would not enter the civil service.

Neither pleading nor reasoning with me affected my resistance. I would not be an official, no and again no. Every attempt to arouse my liking for that calling by descriptions of my father's past life had the contrary effect. I yawned myself sick at the thought of sitting some day in a government office, no master of my own life, but a slave devoting my entire existence to filling out forms of one kind and another.

And what effect must this have had on a boy who was certainly anything but "good" in the ordinary sense? I did my school work with ridiculous ease, and had so much free time left that I was outdoors more than in. When my political opponents scrutinize my life with such loving care today, searching back even into my childhood for the satisfaction of discovering what devilry this fellow Hitler was already up to in his youth, I thank heaven for providing me through them with a few more memories of that happy time. Field and forest were the battleground on which the ever-recurring differences in opinion were fought out.

Even the attendance at the *realschule* which followed did little to restrain me.

But now another difference had to be fought out.

So long as my father's intention to make me into an official

clashed only with my general dislike of the career itself, the conflict was quite tolerable. I could withhold my private views, and I did not have to make a continual issue of them. My own fixed determination never to become an official was enough to give me inward calm. This determination I clung to inalterably.

X
 ✓ The question was more difficult when a plan of my own arose to oppose that of my father. This happened when I was still only twelve. How it happened I cannot now say, but one day it was clear to me that I would be a painter, an artist. My talent for drawing had been demonstrated, and was in fact one of my father's reasons for sending me to the *realschule*; but he would never in the world have thought of giving me professional art training. On the contrary. Finally when I rejected my father's pet idea once again, he asked me for the first time what I myself wanted to be. I popped out rather suddenly with my decision, which in the meantime had become immovable, and for a moment my father was speechless.

"A painter? An artist?"

He doubted my sanity, and thought he had not understood correctly. But when I explained it to him, and he felt the seriousness of my determination, he turned against it with all his characteristic decisiveness. His decision here was very simple; consideration of any talents I might have simply did not enter into the question.

"An artist—no; never so long as I live." But since his son had inherited, among various other qualities, a stubbornness like his own, his answer was just as stubborn. Only of contrary significance, naturally.

Both sides stuck to their guns. My father held to his "never," and I redoubled my "nevertheless."

The results, indeed, were not altogether pleasant. The old gentleman was embittered, and, much though I loved him, so was I. My father forbade me ever to hope to study painting. I went a step further, and declared that then I would learn nothing more at all. Of course I came off second best with such "declarations," since the old gentleman began ruthlessly to assert his

authority. So I kept silence in the future, but I carried out my threat. I thought, when once my father saw my lack of progress in the *realschule*, that he would have willy-nilly to let me pursue the happiness I dreamed of.

I do not know whether my calculation would have proved correct. The only thing sure for the moment was my obvious failure in school. Whatever I enjoyed, I learned—principally things I thought I should need later as a painter. Whatever I thought unimportant in that connection, or whatever failed to attract me, I sabotaged altogether. My report cards at that time were always in extremes. Beside "Good" and "Excellent" were "Passing," and even "Below passing." By far my best performances were in geography, and particularly in world history—the two favorite subjects in which I excelled.

When I examine the results of that time now, so many years later, I see two outstanding facts as particularly significant:

First, I became a nationalist. Second, I learned to understand the meaning of history.

Old Austria was a "State of nationalities."

A subject of the German Reich could not—at least then—really grasp the meaning of this fact in terms of individual daily life. After the wonderful triumphal march of the army of heroes in the Franco-Prussian War, the Reich Germans had gradually become estranged from Germanity elsewhere, and, in fact, sometimes proved unable to value it properly, or were no longer acquainted with it. In reference to the German Austrians, particularly, they all too easily confused the decayed Imperial dynasty with the basically sound and healthy people.

They did not understand that if the German in Austria had not been really of the best blood he would never have had the force to put his stamp on a state of 52 millions in such a manner that the mistaken notion could take root (especially in Germany) that Austria was a German state. This was nonsense with the gravest consequences, but still a brilliant tribute to the ten million Germans in *Ostmark* (Austria). Very few in the Reich had any idea of the constant implacable struggle for German language,

German schools, and German character. Today this sad compulsion has been put upon millions of our people from Germany itself, who dream under foreign rule of the common Fatherland, and in their longing for it try at least to preserve the sacred right to their mother tongue. Now at last people begin to realize in greater numbers what it means to have to fight for one's nationality. And now perhaps a few here and there can appreciate the greatness of the German population in Ostmark which wholly on its own resources, shielded the Reich on the east for centuries, then waged an exhausting guerrilla warfare to maintain the German language frontier in an age when the Reich cared for colonies, but not for its own flesh and blood before its doors.

As always in every combat, there were three groups in the language struggle of old Austria: the fighters, the lukewarm, and the traitors.

Even in school the sifting process began. The most remarkable thing about the language battle, perhaps, is that its waves beat hardest upon the schools, the nursery of coming generations. The war is waged over the child, and the first war-cry of the struggle is addressed to the child: "German boy, do not forget that you are a German," and "Girl, remember that you are to be a German mother."

Anyone who understands the soul of youth will realize that young people are the very ones to receive this battle-cry most joyfully. In a hundred ways they carry on the struggle, in their own fashion and with their own weapons. They refuse to sing un-German songs; they are the more wildly enthusiastic over the grandeur of German heroes, the more anyone attempts to suppress it in them; they go hungry to gather pennies for the war-chest of their elders; they have an incredibly sensitive ear for an un-German teacher, and are as refractory as they are acute; they wear the forbidden badges of their own nation, and are happy to be punished or even beaten for it. In other words they are a faithful image in miniature of their elders, except that their feeling is often better and more straightforward.

I, too, had opportunity to share in the struggle for nationality

in old Austria while I was still quite small. Money was collected for *Südmark* by school associations; cornflower and black-red-gold badges proclaimed our sentiments; "Heil" was our greeting, and instead of the Imperial anthem we would sing *Deutschland über alles* despite warnings and punishments. All this trained young people politically at a time when citizens of a so-called national state still knew very little more about their own national characteristics than their language. That I was not among the lukewarm, even in those days, will be understood. I was soon a fanatical German Nationalist—naturally not the same thing as the present party of that name.

My development in that direction was very rapid, so that by the time I was fifteen I realized the difference between dynastic "patriotism" and the "nationalism" of the people; and for me even then only the latter existed.

Anyone who has not taken the trouble to study internal conditions in the Hapsburg Monarchy may find such a development puzzling. But in Austrian schools, instruction in world history was bound to sow the seed of this feeling, for there is after all scarcely any specifically Austrian history worth mentioning. The fate of that State is so completely bound up with the life and growth of Germany as a whole that it is unthinkable (for instance) to divide history into German and Austrian history. Nay more, when at last Germany began to split into two spheres of authority, this very separation was German history.

The insignia of a former Imperial splendor, preserved at Vienna, seem to go on exercising their spell as a pledge of everlasting common life.

The elemental cry of the German Austrian people for union with their German mother country in the days of the Hapsburg state's collapse was but the product of an ache slumbering deep in the people's heart—a longing for this return to the unforgotten home of their fathers. But there would be no explaining this if the historical training of the individual German Austrian had not caused such a general nostalgia. In that training is a fountain that never runs dry, a silent reminder in times of forgetfulness,

through momentary prosperity, whispering of a new future by recalling the past.

True, the teaching of world history in the so-called intermediate schools even today is in a sad state. Few teachers realize that the special object of historical teaching is never to memorize and rattle off historical dates and events; that it is not important for a boy to know exactly when some battle was fought, some general born, or when some (usually insignificant) monarch was crowned with the diadem of his ancestors. No, God knows, that is hardly what counts.

To "learn" history means to seek and discover the forces which cause the effects we observe as historical events.

The art of reading and of learning, here as always, consists of remembering essentials, forgetting non-essentials.

Quite likely my whole later life was decided by my good fortune in having a teacher in history, of all subjects, who was almost unique in his ability to teach and give examinations on that principle. My professor, Dr. Leopold Pötsch of the Linz *realschule*, was the very embodiment of this idea. He was an old gentleman, kindly but decided in manner, whose brilliant eloquence not merely fascinated us, but absolutely carried us away. I am still touched when I think of this grey-haired man, whose fiery descriptions often made us forget the present, conjuring us back into vanished days, and taking dry historical memories from the mists of centuries to make living reality. In his class we were often red-hot with enthusiasm, sometimes even moved to tears.

My luck was the greater in that this teacher was able not only to illuminate the past by the light of the present, but to draw conclusions for the present from the past. More than anyone else, he gave us an understanding of the current problems which absorbed us at the time. Our little national fanaticism served him as a means to educate us; an appeal to our sense of national honor would bring us hobbledehoys to order more quickly than anything else ever could.

This teacher made history my favorite subject. I became even then, no doubt without his wishing it, a young revolutionary.

And indeed who could study German history under such a teacher without becoming an enemy of the State whose ruling house had so catastrophically influenced the destiny of the nation?

Who, finally, could still preserve his allegiance to the emperors of a dynasty which had betrayed the interests of the German people again and again for its own petty advantage?

Did we not know even as boys that this Austrian state had no love for us as Germans, indeed *could* have none?

Historical insight into the work of the Hapsburgs was strengthened by daily experience. In the north and in the south the poison of foreign peoples ate into the body of our nation, and even Vienna was obviously becoming more and more an un-German city. The House of the Archdukes favored Czechs wherever possible; it was the hand of the goddess of eternal justice and implacable retribution that overthrew the deadliest enemy of Austrian Germanity, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, by the very bullets he had helped to cast. After all, he was the patron and protector of the attempt to slavicide Austria from above.

The burdens laid upon the German people were enormous, unheard-of its sacrifices in taxes and blood; and yet anyone not altogether blind must have realized it would be all in vain. What hurt us most was the fact that the whole system was morally screened by the alliance with Germany; thus the gradual extirpation of Germanity in the old monarchy was to a certain extent sanctioned by Germany itself. Hapsburg hypocrisy, giving the outside world the impression that Austria was still a German state, fanned hatred for that house into blazing indignation and contempt.

Only in Germany itself the elected members of the government even then saw none of all this. As if smitten with blindness they walked beside a corpse, even thinking they discovered in the symptoms of decay signs of "new" life.

In the fatal alliance of the young German Empire with the Austrian sham state lay the seeds of the World War, but also of the collapse.

In the course of this book I shall have to deal at length with

the problem. It will suffice here to point out that fundamentally I arrived in my earliest youth at an insight which never left me afterward, but only grew deeper:

That the safety of Germany first required the destruction of Austria, and that, further, national feeling has nothing to do with dynastic patriotism; above all, the Hapsburg house was fated to bring misery on the German nation.

Even then I drew the inescapable conclusions from this realization—warm love for my German Austrian homeland, profound hatred for the Austrian state.

The way of historical thinking thus taught me in school I did not abandon in the days that followed. More and more world history became my inexhaustible source of understanding for the historical action of the present, that is for politics. In this way I did not mean to “learn” history; history was to teach me.

If I thus soon became a political revolutionary, I became one in the arts no less quickly.

The Upper Austrian capital at that time had a theater which was fairly good. They put on nearly everything. When I was twelve I saw *Wilhelm Tell* for the first time; a few months later my first opera, *Lohengrin*. I was captivated. My youthful enthusiasm for the master of Bayreuth knew no bounds. Again and again I was drawn to his works, and it seems to me now my special good fortune that the small scale of the provincial performances made possible a later heightening of the impression.

All this—especially once I had got through my hobbledehoy years (a very painful process with me)—confirmed my deep-seated aversion to the calling my father had chosen for me. More and more I came to the conviction that I could never be happy in the civil service. And now that my talent for drawing was recognized at the *realschule*, my determination was but the more fixed.

Neither prayers nor threats affected me. I was going to be a painter, and not for anything in the world an official. The only curious thing was that as I grew older I took an increasing interest in architecture. At the time I thought this the natural complement

to my aptitude for painting, and was merely pleased at the expansion of my artistic interest.

That it was all to turn out differently I never dreamed.

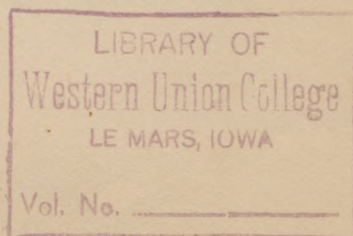
Yet the question of my calling was to be decided sooner than I could have expected.

When I was thirteen I lost my father suddenly. An apoplectic stroke felled the vigorous old gentleman, painlessly terminating his earthly career, and plunging us all in deepest grief. That for which he longed most, to give his child a livelihood and spare him his own bitter struggle, must have seemed unfulfilled. But he had sown the seeds, if quite unconsciously, for a future which neither he nor I would then have understood.

For the moment there was no outward change. My mother felt obliged to continue my education according to my father's wishes, to have me study for a civil position. I myself was more determined than ever not to become an official under any circumstances. In just the degree, then, that the intermediate school departed from my standard in subject and treatment, I grew more indifferent. Suddenly an illness came to my assistance, deciding within a few weeks my future and the constant subject of dispute at home. I had serious lung trouble, and the doctor urgently advised my mother against putting me into an office for any reason whatever. My attendance at the *realschule*, likewise, must be interrupted for at least a year. What I had secretly pined for so long, what I had always fought for had now through this event, become reality almost of its own accord.

Under pressure of my illness, my mother at last agreed to take me out of the *realschule*, and to let me go to the Academy. The happy days seemed to me almost like a beautiful dream; and a dream they were to remain. Two years later my mother's death put a sudden end to all my fine plans.

Her death was the termination of a long, painful illness, which from the first had left little room for hope. Yet the blow, especially to me, was fearful. I had honored my father, but I had loved my mother.



Need and hard reality now forced me to a quick decision. My father's small means had been largely used up by my mother's grave illness; my orphan's pension was not enough even to live on; and so I was compelled to earn my own bread somehow.

With a bag of clothes and linen in my hand, in my heart an indomitable will, I set off for Vienna. What my father had accomplished fifty years before, I, too, hoped to wrest from fate; I, too, would be "something," but never an official.

2. YEARS OF LEARNING AND SUFFERING IN VIENNA

WHEN my mother died, Fate had already made its decision in one respect.

During the last months of her life I had gone to Vienna to take the entrance examination for the Academy. Armed with a thick bundle of drawings I had set out, convinced I would find the examination mere child's play. In the *realschule* I had been far the best draftsman in my class; since then my ability had gone on developing in quite extraordinary fashion, so that my own satisfaction led me to hope proudly and happily for the best.

There was one single fly in the ointment: my talent for painting often seemed to be exceeded by my ability as a draftsman, in almost every department of architecture particularly. And my interest in architecture kept growing. The process had been speeded up since the time when I, a boy not yet sixteen, made my first visit of a fortnight to Vienna. I went to study the art gallery of the Court Museum, but I had eyes almost solely for the museum itself. From early morning until late at night I trotted from one sight to another, but only the buildings really held my attention. I could stand for hours looking at the Opera House, and for hours admire the Parliament buildings; the whole Ringstrasse seemed to me like an enchantment out of the *Thousand and One Nights*.

Now I was in the beautiful city for the second time, waiting, all afire with impatience and proud confidence, for the result of my entrance examination. I was so sure of success that my rejection struck me like a bolt from the blue. And yet so it was. When I went to call on the head of the Academy, and asked the reasons why I had not been admitted to the School of Painting, he assured me that my drawing showed unmistakably my inaptitude for

painting, and that my ability obviously was in the field of architecture. There could be no question of the School of Painting, but only of the School of Architecture for me. At first they could not understand that I had never attended an architectural school or had any instruction.

As I left Hansen's magnificent building on the Schillerplatz, I was at odds with myself for the first time in my young life. What I had heard about my abilities now seemed with a lightning flash to illuminate a discord from which I had long suffered without being able to explain to myself its why and wherefore. And within a few days I knew I would some day be an architect.

Still the path was enormously hard; what I had been too stubborn to learn in the *realschule* was now to take its bitter revenge. Admission to the Academy School of Architecture depended on attendance at the Technical School of Architecture, and admission here was based on graduation—the *Matura*—from an intermediate school. All this I lacked entirely. In all human probability, therefore, my dream of art was now impossible.

When after the death of my mother I made a third journey to Vienna, this time to stay for years, I had regained my calm and determination. My earlier spirit of defiance had returned and I had fixed my eye once and for all on my goal. I would be an architect. Obstacles do not exist to be capitulated to but to be overcome. And overcome those obstacles I would, always with the image of my father before my eyes, who had fought his way up from farm and shoemaker-boy to state official. After all, my soil was richer than his, my battle that much the easier; and what then seemed to me the unkindness of Fate I am now thankful for as the wisdom of Providence. When the Goddess of Trouble embraced me and often threatened to crush me, the will to resistance grew, and at last the will was victorious.

I owe it to that period that I have grown hard, and am able to be hard. And even more than for this I thank it for snatching me from the emptiness of a comfortable life; for pulling mother's boy out of the featherbeds, and giving him Dame Care as a new mother; for throwing my reluctant self into the world of misery

and poverty, and making me acquainted with those for whom I was later to fight.

At that time my eyes were opened to two perils whose very names I had scarcely known, and whose awful importance for the German people's existence I certainly had not understood: Marxism and Jewry.

Vienna, the city so widely considered the very essence of innocent gaiety, the festive home of happy crowds, is to me, unfortunately, but a living reminder of the saddest period in my life. Even today the city calls forth none but gloomy thoughts in me. Five years of misery and wretchedness are to me contained in the name of this Phæacian city. Five years when I had to earn my bread as a laborer, then as a small painter—my truly meager bread, which was never enough even to satisfy my ordinary hunger. In those days hunger was my faithful attendant, the only one that almost never left me, dividing with me share and share alike. Every book I bought roused his interest; one trip to the opera would give me his company for days; it was a never-ending battle with my unsympathetic friend. And still I learned in those days as never before. Except for my architecture, and a rare ticket to the opera, saved at the expense of my stomach, books were my only remaining pleasure.

I read enormously, and that thoroughly. "Whatever free time I had left from my job I used to the last minute for study. In a few years I thus laid the foundations of a knowledge which I am still living on today."

But more than this, I formed at that time an image and a concept of the world which have become the rock-ribbed foundation of my present activity. I have had but to learn a little beyond what I then created; there was nothing I had to change.

On the contrary. Today I firmly believe that all creative ideas usually appear in youth, in so far as they exist at all. I distinguish between the wisdom of age, which can be only greater thoroughness and caution forced by a long life's experiences, and the genius of youth, pouring out thoughts and ideas with inexhaust-

ible fertility, but prevented from developing them by their very number. This genius furnishes the building materials and the plans from which a wiser old age picks, dresses, and builds the stones into a structure—so far, that is, as the so-called wisdom of age does not choke the genius of youth.

My life at home had differed little or not at all from that of everyone else. I could await the coming day without a care, and for me no social problem existed. My youth was lived in petty bourgeois circles, that is in a world having but little touch with pure hand-workers. For, strange as it may seem at first glance, the chasm between this level (economically in a far from brilliant position) and that of workers with their hands is often deeper than one thinks. The reason for this (we might almost say) enmity is that a social group which has just recently lifted itself from the ranks of hand-workers fears lest it fall back into the old estate, or at least be counted as one with it. In many cases, besides, there is the repugnant memory of cultural poverty among this lowest class, the frequent roughness of social intercourse, so that no matter how humble one's position any contact with this outgrown level of life and culture becomes unbearable.

Thus it often happens that a man from the higher levels can more naturally descend to a plane with the last of his fellow-men than seems even thinkable to the "parvenu."

For after all a parvenu is anyone who fights his way by his own energy from one position in life to a higher one.

But eventually this battle, often very bitter, kills off human sympathy. One's own painful struggle for existence destroys his feeling for the misery of those left behind.

In this respect Fate took pity on me. By forcing me back into the world of privation and insecurity which my father had once abandoned, it took from my eyes the blinders of a limited petty bourgeois education. Not until now did I learn to know men, and learn to distinguish hollow sham or brutal exterior from its inner nature.

Even by the early years of this century Vienna was among

the most socially unhealthy of cities. Glittering wealth and revolting poverty alternated abruptly. In the center and in the inner districts one really felt the heart-beat of the empire of fifty-two millions, with all the dangerous magic of this State of nationalities. The Court's blinding magnificence was like a magnet to the wealth and intelligence of the rest of the State. On top came the extreme centralization of the Hapsburg Monarchy in and of itself.

It offered the only possibility of holding this stew of peoples together. But the result was an extraordinary concentration of high government offices in the capital and Imperial residence.

Vienna was, however, not only the political and intellectual but also the economic capital of the old Danube monarchy. Contrasting with the army of high officers, officials, artists and scholars was a yet larger army of workers—against the wealth of aristocracy and trade a bleeding poverty. Before the palaces of the Ringstrasse lounged thousands of the unemployed, and below this *via triumphalis* of old Austria the homeless lived in the twilight and slime of the sewers.

There was hardly a German city where the social question could have been better studied than in Vienna. But we must not be misled. This "studying" cannot be done from above. No one who has not himself been in the clutches of this viper can know its venom. Otherwise there is no result but superficial chatter or untruthful sentimentality. Both are harmful the one because it can never reach the heart of the problem, the other because it passes it by. I do not know which is more devastating—to ignore social privation as do most of those favored by fortune or even elevated by their own exertions, or graciously to condescend in a fashion as haughty as it often is tactlessly intrusive, like certain women of fashion in skirts and in trousers who "feel for the people." In any case these people sin more greatly than their mere intelligence, aided by no instinct, will ever allow them to understand. And for that reason the result of the "social-mindedness" they promote is, to their astonishment, always zero, often actually indignant refusal—which they then regard as proof of the people's ingratitude.

Minds of this sort do not readily take in the fact that welfare activity has nothing to do with this, and that it has no claim whatever to gratitude, since it is not distributing bounty, but restoring rights.

I was preserved from learning the social question in this way. It drew me into its magic circle of suffering, and thus seemed not to invite me to "learn," but to try its strength on me. No credit to it if I, the guinea pig, survived the operation safe and sound.

If now I try to reproduce my sensations of that time, I can never do so in any way approaching completeness; only the essential, to me often the most staggering impressions are to be described here, along with the few lessons I could see in them at that time.

I seldom had much difficulty in finding work as such, since I was not a skilled worker, but had to earn my bread as best I could as a so-called helper, and often as a day laborer.

I took the attitude of the men who shake the dust of Europe from their feet in indomitable determination to build a new life and a new home in the New World. Freed of every previous hampering preconception of occupation and estate, of background and tradition, they grasp any means of earning which is offered, go at any job, and gradually arrive at the realization that honest labor is no disgrace, no matter what kind of labor it may be. I too was thus determined to leap with both feet into a world new to me, and to hew my way through.

I soon learned that there is always some kind of work; but I learned just as quickly how easy it is to lose again.

The insecurity of one's daily bread soon grew to be in my eyes one of the darkest aspects of the new life.

No doubt the skilled worker is turned out on the street less often than the unskilled; but even he does not altogether escape that fate. Instead of losing his livelihood through lack of work, he is locked out, or he strikes.

Here the insecurity of earning a living is reflected catastrophically in the whole economic system.

The peasant boy who goes to the metropolis—drawn by supposedly or actually easier work and shorter hours, but chiefly by the brilliant light which a great city does give off—is accustomed to a certain amount of security. He has never left one place without having another at least in prospect. Finally, the shortage of farm labor is great, and the probability of continued unemployment therefore very slight. Now it is a mistake to think that the young fellow who goes to the metropolis is naturally made of baser stuff than the one who goes on taking an honest living from the soil. No, quite the contrary—experience shows that emigrant groups are more likely than not to be made up of the healthiest and most energetic individuals. And these “emigrants” include not only the man who goes to America but also the young farm hand who leaves his native village to move to the distant metropolis. He too is prepared for an uncertain fate. Usually he comes to town with some money, so that he need not despair the very first day if ill luck does not bring him work at once. But things are worse if he soon loses a job he has found. Finding a new job is especially difficult, if not impossible, in winter. The first few weeks are still tolerable. He receives unemployment benefits from his union, and makes his way as best he can. But when his last penny is gone, and he has been out of work so long that the union ceases to pay benefits—then comes the real pinch. He wanders hungrily about, perhaps pawns and sells his last possessions; thus his clothes grew fewer and worse, and drag him down externally into surroundings which corrupt him not only physically but spiritually. If on top of this he becomes homeless, and that (as is often the case) in winter, his suffering is really intense. At last he finds some sort of work again. But the game begins all over again. He is hit a second time; the third time it may be yet worse, so that gradually he learns indifference to his perpetual insecurity. At length the repetition becomes a habit.

Thus an otherwise hard-working man's whole attitude toward life grows slack, and gradually matures him into a tool of those who will merely use him for their own base advantage. He has been unemployed so often through no fault of his own that one

time more or less of unemployment is unimportant, even though it be a matter not of winning economic rights but of destroying political, social, or cultural values. If he has not become strike-minded, at least he is indifferent to strikes.

I have watched this process a thousand times with my own eyes. The longer I saw the game go on, the greater was my aversion to this city of millions, which first greedily sucked men in, then cruelly wore them to pieces.

When they came they still belonged to their nation; if they stayed, they were lost to it.

I too had been thus flung around by life in the great city; I had had a chance to feel the whole force of such a fate on body and soul. I discovered something else as well: rapid alternation of work and unemployment and the consequent perpetual seesawing of income and expenditure eventually destroyed many people's sense of thrift and intelligent planning. Apparently the body gradually becomes used to living high in good times and starving in bad. Nay more, hunger destroys all good intentions of sensible planning in better times; it surrounds its victim with a constant mirage of well-fed prosperity. This dream grows to such morbid intensity that there is no more self-control the moment wages allow it. That is why a man who can scarcely get any work whatever stupidly forgets all planning, and instead lives greedily for the moment. In the end his tiny weekly income is upset, since he cannot plan even here; at first it lasts five days instead of seven, then only three, then scarcely a day, to be at last squandered the first evening.

There are likely to be wife and children at home. Often they too are infected by this way of life, particularly if the man is naturally kind to them, and even loves them in his way. Then the week's pay is jointly dissipated in two or three days at home; they eat and drink as long as the money holds out, and go through the remaining days together on empty stomachs. Then the wife slinks about the neighborhood, borrowing a bit here and there, contracting little debts with the shopkeeper, and trying thus to survive the awful later days of the week. At noon they all sit

at table on short rations, or perhaps on nothing at all, waiting for the next pay-day, talking of it, making plans; and while they starve they are already dreaming of the good fortune to come.

Thus the children from their earliest days grow familiar with this wretchedness.

But things end badly if the man goes his own way from the beginning, and the wife opposes him for the children's sake. Then there are quarrels and bad blood, and the more the husband drifts apart from his wife, the nearer he drifts to alcohol. Every Saturday he begins to be drunk; and in self-preservation for herself and the children his wife fights for the few pence she can snatch from him, and those are mostly what she can get on his way from factory to saloon. When at last he comes home himself on Sunday or Monday night, drunk and brutal, but always relieved of his last penny, there are likely to be scenes that would wring tears from a stone.

I saw all this going on in hundreds of cases. At first I was disgusted or indignant; later I came to realize the tragedy of this suffering, to understand its deeper causes. They were the unhappy victims of evil circumstances.

Almost worse in those days were the housing conditions. The housing situation of the Viennese laborer was frightful. I shudder now when I think of those wretched living-caverns, of houses of call and mass dormitories, of those sinister pictures of refuse, disgusting filth and worse.

What was bound to happen, what is yet bound to happen, if the flood of slaves set loose from these squalid caves pours down upon the rest of the world, upon its thoughtless fellow-men!

For thoughtless this other world is. Thoughtlessly it lets things drift; no instinct tells it that sooner or later fate will move toward retribution unless mankind placates destiny in time.

Thankful indeed am I to a Providence which sent me to that school. There I could not sabotage what I did not like. It gave me a quick and a thorough upbringing.

If I was not to despair of the people who then surrounded me, I had to learn the distinction between their outer character and

life, on the one hand, and the causes of their development on the other. Only thus could I bear it all without giving up in despair. Thus it was no longer human beings who rose before me out of unhappiness and misery, out of squalor and physical degradation, but the sad products of sad laws. At the same time my own fight for life, no easier than theirs, preserved me from capitulating with pitiful sentimentality before the degraded products of this development.

No, that is not the way this is to be understood.

Even then I saw that only a two-fold path can lead to the improvement of such conditions:

A deep feeling of social responsibility for the establishing of a better basis for our development, paired with brutal determination in the destruction of incorrigible human excrescences.

Just as Nature concentrates not on preserving what exists but on breeding a new generation to perpetuate the species, so in human life we cannot be so much concerned to improve artificially what exists and is bad (which in the nature of man is a thing 99% impossible) as to assure healthier paths from the very beginning for coming development.

Even during my struggle for existence in Vienna I realized that *the task of social activity can never be giddy welfare schemes, as ridiculous as they are useless, but must be the overcoming of fundamental lacks in the organization of our economic and cultural life—lacks bound to lead to perversions of individuals, or at least capable of doing so.*

The difficulty of advancing with the final and most brutal weapons against a criminal class hostile to the state consists not least in uncertainty of judgment concerning the inner motives or courses of such phenomena.

✗ This uncertainty is only too well founded in a feeling of personal guilty responsibility for such tragedies of degradation. But uncertainty cripples any serious and firm resolve, and thus helps to render vacillating (and therefore weak and half-done) even the most essential measures of self-preservation.

Only when there comes an age not haunted by the shadow

of its own guilt will there be both the inward calm and the outward power brutally and ruthlessly to prune the suckers, to uproot the weeds.

As the Austrian state had practically no social legislation or administration of justice at all, its weakness in suppressing even the worst excesses was conspicuous.

I do not know what horrified me most at that time—the economic misery of my companions, their moral coarseness, or the low state of their intellectual development.

How often does our bourgeoisie rise up in righteous indignation when it hears some wretched tramp say he does not care whether he is a German or not, that he is equally happy anywhere so long as he has what he needs to live on!

This lack of “national pride” is deeply deplored, and abhorrence for such sentiments most vigorously expressed.

But how many have really asked themselves the true cause of their own better sentiments? How many realize the vast number of individual reminders of the grandeur of the fatherland, the nation in every field of cultural and art life, which taken together make up a justified pride in belonging to so fortunate a people?

How many people can imagine the extent to which pride of fatherland depends on knowledge of its greatness in all these fields? Have the members of our bourgeoisie considered the laughable extent to which this prerequisite for pride in the fatherland is made available to the “people?”

There is no resorting to the excuse that “it is just the same in other countries,” but that the worker there holds to his nationality “nevertheless.” Even if this were so, it would be no excuse for one’s own shortcomings. But it is not so. For what we call the “chauvinistic” upbringing of, for instance, the French people is nothing more than excessive emphasis on France’s greatness in every department of culture, or as the Frenchman says, of “civilization.” The young Frenchman is simply not trained to objectivity, but to the most subjective attitude imaginable wherever the political or cultural greatness of his fatherland is concerned.

This education has to be confined to large, general considerations, which, if necessary, must be pounded into the people's memories and feelings by perpetual repetition.

But with us, in addition to the negative sin of omission, there is positive destruction of what little the individual is lucky enough to learn at school. The rats of political infection gnaw even that little out of the hearts and memories of the great mass of our people, and privation and wretchedness have done their share beforehand.

For instance, imagine this:

In a basement dwelling of two stuffy rooms lives a laborer's family of seven. Among the five children a boy of let us say, three. This is the age when a child first becomes conscious of impressions. Gifted people carry memories of that period far into old age.

The very smallness and overcrowding of the space produce an unfortunate situation. It is enough in itself often to produce quarrels and bickering. The people are not living with one another, they are squeezed together. Every argument, no matter how trifling, which in a roomy dwelling can be smoothed out simply by separation, here leads to an endless, disgusting quarrel. Among the children this may be tolerable; in such conditions they quarrel constantly, and forget it quickly and completely. But if the battle is fought between the parents, and this almost daily, in ways whose inward coarseness is extreme, the results of such an object lesson are bound to appear in the children, no matter how slowly. What these results must be if the dispute takes the form of father's brutality to mother, of drunken maltreatment, a person who does not know the life can hardly imagine. By the time he is six the pitiable little boy has a notion of things which must horrify even an adult. Morally infected, physically undernourished, vermin in his poor little scalp, the young "citizen" goes to primary school. With great difficulty and to-do he gets to the point of reading and writing, and that is about all. Studying at home is out of the question. On the contrary. Father and mother talk unprintably, and that to the children, about teachers and school, and are much readier to talk roughly to

them than to turn their young hopeful over their knees and bring him to reason. And nothing else that the little fellow may hear at home can strengthen his respect for his fellow human beings. Not a good word is said for humanity, no institution is inviolate, from the school teacher to the head of the state. No matter whether it is religion or morals, state or society, everything is vilified and dragged obscenely in the muck. When the boy leaves school at the age of fourteen, it is hard to tell which is greater—his incredible stupidity where knowledge and skill are concerned, or his biting insolence of manner, united with an immorality even at that age which makes one's hair stand on end.

Even now he holds scarcely anything sacred; he has never met true greatness, but he does know every abyss of life; what position can he possibly occupy in the world which he is about to enter?

The three-year-old child has become a fifteen-year-old despiser of all authority. Aside from filth and uncleanness he has as yet known nothing which might stir him to any high enthusiasm.

Now he goes through the advanced grades of this existence. He begins the same life he has learned about from his father all the years of his childhood. He roves about, comes home heaven knows when, by way of diversion beats the tattered creature who once was his mother, curses God and the world, and finally on some particular ground is sentenced to a prison for juvenile delinquents.

Here he gets a final polish.

His dear fellow-citizens, however, are astonished at this young "citizen's" lack of "national enthusiasm."

They see theater and movies, trashy literature and yellow press day by day pouring out poison by the bucket upon the people; and then they are surprised at the low "moral tone," the "national indifference" of the masses of that people. As if movie trash, cheap journalism and the like would produce the foundations for recognizing the greatness of the fatherland! To say nothing of the early education of the individual.

I understood soon and thoroughly something I had never even dreamed of:

The question of "nationalizing" a people is among other things primarily a question of creating healthy social conditions in order to make possible the education of the individual. Only when upbringing and school training have taught a man the cultural and economic, but, above all, the political greatness of his own fatherland can and will he acquire an inward pride in the privilege of belonging to such a people. And you can fight only for something you love, love only what you respect, and respect only what you at least know.

When my interest in the social question was awakened, I began to study it with great thoroughness. A world hitherto strange thus opened itself to me.

In 1909 and 1910 my own situation had changed in so far as I no longer needed to earn my daily bread as a laborer. I had begun to work independently as a draftsman and water-colorist in a small way. Hard as this was financially—in truth it hardly sufficed to keep body and soul together—it was a splendid thing for my chosen profession. Now I was no longer dead tired when I came home from work in the evening, unable to look at a book without dozing off. My new work paralleled my future profession. And as master of my own time I could now plan it better than before. I painted to earn a living, and learned for pleasure.

I also found it possible to round out with the necessary theoretical equipment my object lessons on the social problem. I studied pretty much everything I could lay hold of in the way of books on the subject, and plunged myself in my own thoughts besides.

I think my acquaintances then must have thought me an eccentric.

It was natural that I should at the same time passionately pursue my love of architecture. Along with music, I thought architecture the queen of the arts; under such circumstances it was no "work" to spend time on it, but the height of happiness. I could read or

draw far into the night; it never tired me. And so my faith was strengthened that my lovely dream of the future would become reality after all, even though it took years. I was firmly convinced that I would make a name as an architect.

The fact that I also took the greatest interest in anything having to do with politics did not seem to me significant. On the contrary, I regarded that as the commonplace duty of all thinking people. Anyone who did not feel that way simply lost all right to criticize or complain.

Here too, then, I read and learned much.

It is true that by "reading" I may mean something different from what the average member of our intelligentsia means.

I know people who "read" enormously, book after book, word for word, and yet whom I would not call well-read. They do have an enormous mass of "knowledge," but their brain does not succeed in dividing up and cataloguing the material they have acquired. They lack the art of dividing the book into parts valuable and worthless for them, and of keeping the one part in their heads forever, but of not seeing the other part at all, or at any rate not lugging it along as useless ballast.

Reading, after all, is not an end in itself, but a means. In the first place it should help to fill out the framework which inclination and ability give to each individual. Then it may furnish the tools and material which a man needs in his occupation, no matter whether of simple physical providing or of fulfilling a high destiny. In the second place it should give a man a general picture of the world.

But in either case what is read must not simply be stored in the memory in the order of the book or series of books read; the facts, like bits of a mosaic, must have each its proper place in the general image of the world, thus helping to shape this image in the reader's head. Otherwise there will be a mad confusion of stuff learned, whose worthlessness vies with its effect in making the unhappy possessor conceited. He, of course, seriously believes he is "cultivated," that he has some understanding of life, possesses some knowledge; whereas in fact each new bit of "cul-

tivation" takes him further away from the world, until not infrequently he ends either in a sanatorium or as a "politician" in a parliament.

No man with a mind of this sort can ever fetch out from his jumbled "knowledge" what is appropriate for the needs of a given moment; his intellectual ballast is stowed not by the lines of life, but in the chance order in which he has read the books, and as the contents happen to have landed in his head. If in its daily demands Fate were to remind him of the proper use of what he has learned, it would have also to cite volume and page, or the poor wretch could never in all eternity find what he needed. But since Fate does not do this, these learned gentry are fearfully embarrassed at every critical juncture; they search frantically for analogies, and of course take the wrong prescription with unflinching certainty.

If this were not so, the political achievements of our learned government heroes in highest posts would be incomprehensible, unless we decided to assume base rascality instead of a pathological condition.

But a person who has mastered the art of right reading can, in reading any book, magazine or pamphlet, spot immediately everything he believes suited for retention, either because it fits his purpose or because it is generally worth knowing. What he has acquired in this way takes its proper place in the image formed by his imagination of the matter in hand; and thus its effect is either to correct or to complete the image—to increase its rightness or its clarity. If now life suddenly presents some question for examination or solution, the memory stored by this way of reading will instantly resort to the already imagined picture as a standard, and will bring out individual bits of information on the subject which have been collected through decades, as a basis for the intellect to clarify or answer the question.

Only thus are there sense and purpose in reading.

A speaker, for instance, who does not thus give his intelligence the materials to back it up will never be able, if contradicted, to fight effectively for his opinion, though it be a thousand times

true. In every discussion his memory will betray him; he can find reason neither to enforce what he maintains nor to confute his opponent. When the result is merely a matter of personal ridiculousness, as with a speaker, this may not be fatal; but it becomes grave indeed if Fate places one of these incompetent know-alls at the head of a state.

From earliest youth I have taken pains to read rightly, and have been helped in the happiest fashion by memory and understanding. Considered in this light, the Viennese period in particular was fruitful and valuable. The experiences of daily life stimulated me to ever-renewed study of the most varied problems. Being thus at last in a position to support reality with theory, and to test theory by reality, I was saved from either stifling in theories or growing superficial amid reality.

My experience of daily life guided and stimulated me to make a thorough theoretical study of two vital questions, aside from the social question. Who knows when I would have become absorbed in the doctrines and character of Marxism if my life at that time had not simply rubbed my nose in it!

What I knew in my youth of Social Democracy was little indeed, and that most erroneous.

That the Social Democrats were fighting for universal secret suffrage I found pleasing. Even then my reason told me that this must weaken the hated Hapsburg regime. I was convinced that the Danubian state could never be maintained except by sacrificing the German element, but that even at the price of slowly slavizing the German element there was no guarantee of an empire fitted for survival, since the preservative force of Slavism is highly doubtful. Therefore I greeted with joy any development which I thought would lead to the collapse of this impossible state that condemned to death the Germany of ten million people. The more the language uproar gnawed at the parliament, the nearer must come the hour of collapse of this Babylonian Empire, and thus the nearer the freedom of my German Austrian people. This was the only way in which union to the old mother country could some day come about.

And so I found this activity of the Social Democrats not unattractive. I thought it was also rather in their favor than otherwise that they were trying (as I was then innocent and stupid enough to believe) to improve the living conditions of the workman. What most repelled me was their hostile attitude toward the fight for the preservation of Germany, their pitiful wooing of the Slavic "comrades," who did indeed accept this courtship in so far as it meant practical concessions, but otherwise maintained an arrogant and haughty reserve, thus giving the importunate beggars their just reward.

At the age of seventeen, then, I was but little acquainted with the word *Marxism*, while I thought *Socialism* and *Social Democracy* were identical ideas. Here too the hand of Fate was necessary to open my eyes to this unheard-of fraud on the people.

So far I had encountered the Social Democratic Party only in my capacity of spectator at a few mass demonstrations, without gaining the least insight into the mentality of its adherents or the nature of its doctrine; now at one blow I was brought in contact with the products of its training and "world-concept." In the course of a few months I gained something which might have been delayed for decades: an understanding of a pestilence masquerading as social virtue and love of one's neighbor, a pestilence from which humanity must soon free the earth, lest the earth soon be freed of humanity.

My first encounter with Social Democrats was on a construction job.

It was not altogether pleasing from the very first. My clothes were still in good order, my language was cultivated, my manner reserved. I had so much to do in coping with my own fate that I could trouble myself but little with the world around me. I was looking for work only to avoid starving, and so that I might have thus the possibility of going on educating myself, no matter how slowly. Perhaps I would have paid no attention to my new surroundings if an event had not taken place on the third or fourth day which compelled me at once to adopt some attitude. I was asked to join the organization.

My knowledge of the trade-union organization at that time was zero. I could have proved neither its usefulness nor its uselessness. As I was told I must join, I refused. I gave as my grounds that I did not understand the situation, but would not be forced to do anything whatever. Perhaps the former was the reason why they did not throw me out at once. They may have hoped they could convert me or wear me down within a few days. In any case they were deeply mistaken. But within a fortnight I had reached the end of my ability, even if I had wanted to go on. In that fortnight I came to know my surroundings better, so that no power in the world could have forced me to join an organization whose members I had seen in such an unfavorable light.

The first few days I was annoyed.

At noon some of the men went to near-by public-houses, while others stayed on the lot, and there consumed a (usually quite pitiful) lunch. These were the married men, whose wives brought them their midday soup in miserable dishes. Toward the end of the week their number kept growing; why, I understood later. Then they would talk politics.

I would drink my bottle of milk and eat my piece of bread somewhere aside, and would cautiously study my new surroundings or ponder my wretched lot. But still I heard more than enough; and it often seemed to me that people sidled up to me deliberately, perhaps with the intention of forcing me to make my attitude clear. In any case, what I heard in this fashion was calculated to irritate me to the extreme. They were against everything—the nation, as an invention of the “capitalistic” (how often had I to hear that word!) classes; the Fatherland, as a tool of the bourgeoisie to exploit the workers; the authority of law, as a means to oppress the proletariat; the schools, as an institution to train up a body of slaves, and of slave-owners as well; religion, as a means of stupefying the people marked for exploitation; morals, as a symbol of stupid, sheep-like patience; and so on. There was simply nothing which they did not drag in the muck of a fearful baseness.

At first I tried to maintain silence. But finally I could do so no

longer. I began to express my attitude, and began to contradict. Then I realized that this was quite useless until I knew something definite about the points under dispute, so I began to go to the sources from which they drew their supposed wisdom. Book after book, pamphlet after pamphlet had its turn.

On the building lot there were now often heated arguments. I went on struggling, growing day by day better informed than my adversaries were, until one day the means was used which most easily vanquishes reason: terrorism, violence. Some of the spokesmen of the opposition forced me either to leave the job at once or to fly off the scaffolding on my head. As I was alone, and resistance seemed hopeless, I preferred to follow the former advice, richer by one experience.

I left, filled with disgust, but at the same time so agitated that it would have been quite impossible for me to turn my back on the whole affair. No; after the flaming up of the first indignation, my stiff neck once more got the upper hand. I was absolutely determined to find another construction job just the same. My decision was strengthened by the privation which closed me in its heartless embrace a few weeks later, after I had eaten up what little wages I had saved. Now I had to, whether or no. And the game began all over again, only to end as it had before.

I struggled with myself: were these human beings, worthy of belonging to a great people?

It was a painful question. If the answer were yes, the struggle for a national body was really not worth the effort and sacrifice which the best individuals must make; but if the answer were no, our people was poor indeed in human beings.

I was restless and uneasy during those days of brooding and puzzling, as I saw the mass of people who could not be counted among their own nation grow into a menacing horde.

With what new feelings, then, did I watch the endless rows of men marching in a mass demonstration of Viennese workmen that took place one day! For almost two hours I stood with bated breath, watching the enormous human serpent twisting its way past. At last, depressed and uneasy I left the square and walked

homeward. On the way I saw in a tobacco shop the *Workers' Times*, the *Arbeiterzeitung*, the official organ of the old Austrian Social Democratic Party. It was also available at a cheap café where I often went to read the papers; but I had never succeeded in bringing myself to read the wretched sheet (whose whole tone affected me like intellectual vitriol) for more than two minutes at a time. Now, under the depressing effect of the demonstration, an inner voice pushed me on to buy a copy and read it thoroughly. I did so that evening, fighting down frequent rage at this concentrated essence of lies.

By reading the Social Democratic press daily I could study the inner nature of its train of thought better than from any theoretical literature. What a difference between the glittering phrases in the theoretical writings—freedom, beauty and dignity, the illusory shuffle of words apparently with difficulty expressing profound wisdom, the disgustingly human morality, all written with a brazen front of prophetic certainty,—and the brutal daily press of this doctrine of salvation of a new humanity, hesitating at no vileness, working with every resource of slander and an absolutely stunning virtuosity in lying! The one is intended for stupid gulls of the middle and upper “levels of intelligence,” the other for the masses.

To me, absorption in the literature and press of this doctrine and organization meant finding my way back to my own people.

What had before seemed to me an impassable gulf now created a love greater than ever before.

Only a fool, knowing this enormous work of corruption, could still condemn the victims. The more independent I grew in the next few years, the more my insight into the inner causes of Social Democratic success grew. Now I understood the meaning of the brutal demand that only Red newspapers be subscribed for, only Red meetings be attended, only Red books be read, etc. With sparkling clarity I saw before me the inevitable result of this doctrine of intolerance.

The soul of the great masses is receptive to nothing weak or half-way.

Like woman, whose spiritual perceptions are determined less by abstract reason than by an indefinable longing for complimentary strength, and who therefore would rather submit to the strong than dominate the weakling, the masses love the ruler more than the petitioner, and inwardly find more satisfaction in a doctrine which tolerates no other beside it than in the allowance of liberalistic freedom. And the masses are seldom able to make much use of such freedom, indeed are likely to feel neglected. They are as little conscious of the impudence with which they are intellectually terrorized as of the outrageous maltreatment of their human liberty; after all, they have no inkling of the whole doctrine's inward error. They see only the ruthless strength and brutality of its expression, which eventually they always yield to.

If to Social Democracy we oppose a theory more truthful, but equally brutally carried through, the new theory will win, even if after a desperate battle.

In less than two years I had a clear understanding of both the doctrine and the technical methods of the Social Democrats.

I realized the infamous intellectual terrorism that this movement employs, chiefly on the bourgeoisie (which is neither morally nor spiritually a match for such attacks), by laying down a regular barrage of lies and slander against the individual adversary it considers most dangerous, and keeping it up until the nerves of those attacked give way, and they sacrifice the hated figure to have peace and quiet again. But the fools still do not get peace and quiet. The game begins anew, and is repeated until fear of the wild cur becomes a hypnotic paralysis.

Since the Social Democrats well know the value of power from their own experience, their storming is directed mainly at those persons in whose character they scent something of this quality, so rare in any case. Conversely, they praise every weakling on the other side, now cautiously, now loudly, according to the intellectual qualities they see or suspect.

They fear an impotent, weak-willed genius less than a forceful nature, though its intellect be modest. Their highest recommendation goes to weaklings of mind and vigor together.

They succeed in giving the impression that this is the only way to win peace and quiet, while they go on quietly, cautiously, but unerringly, conquering one position after another — now by quiet extortion, now by actual theft at moments when public attention is on other things, either unwilling to be interrupted or considering the affair too small for a great to-do which would provoke the angry foe anew.

These are tactics planned by exact calculation of every human weakness, whose result is almost mathematically sure success unless the other side can learn to fight poison gas with poison gas.

To weakly natures it can only be said that this is a simple question of survival or non-survival.

To me equally plain was the significance of physical terrorism toward the individual and toward the masses. Here too was exact calculation of psychological effect.

Terrorism on the job, in the factory, in the meeting-hall and at mass demonstrations will always be successful unless equal terrorism opposes it.

Then, indeed, the party screams bloody murder, and — old despiser of state authority that it is — yells for help from that quarter, in most cases, only to gain its end after all in the general confusion. That is to say, it finds some jackass of a high official who, in the silly hope of making the dreaded enemy perhaps more kindly disposed some day, helps to break down the adversary of this universal pestilence.

The impression of such a success on the great mass of both adherents and antagonists can be realized only by a man who knows the soul of a people not from books but from life. While its partisans regard it as a triumph of right for their cause, the beaten opponent usually despairs of success for any future resistance.

The better I learned to know the methods of physical terrorism in particular the more did I beg the pardon of the hundreds of thousands who succumbed to it.

That is the thing for which I am most profoundly grateful to that period of suffering: it alone gave me back my people, and I learned to distinguish the victims from the deceivers.

The products of this seduction of mankind can be described only as victims. For if in some pictures I have striven to draw the character of these "lowest" strata from the life, it would not be complete without my assurance that in these depths, again, I found light in the shape of often extraordinary self-sacrifice, faithful comradeship, contentment in adversity, and thoroughgoing modesty, especially among what were then the older workmen. Even though these virtues were disappearing more and more in the younger generation through the very influence of the metropolis, there were still many whose good, healthy blood mastered the low vilenesses of life. If in politics these kind, honest people nevertheless joined and helped to fill the ranks of our people's deadly enemies, it was because they neither could nor did understand the vileness of the new doctrine; because nobody else troubled to pay them any attention; and finally because social conditions were stronger than any will to the contrary. The privation whose victims they were bound sooner or later to be would yet drive them into the Social Democrats' camp.

Countless times the bourgeoisie in a manner as clumsy as it was immoral, had formed a united front even against demands justified in ordinary humanity, and had done this without so much as profiting or having any expectation of profit by their attitude. Hence even the most decent of workmen was driven from the trade-union organizations into political activity.

Millions of workers were surely inwardly hostile to the Social Democratic Party at first, but their resistance was overcome by the manner, often quite insane, in which the bourgeois parties opposed any demand of a social nature. The simply hidebound obstruction of all attempts to improve working conditions, of safety devices on machines, of prevention of child labor and of protection for women at least during the months when she carries the future comrade of the people beneath her heart — all this helped to drive the masses into the nets of Social Democracy, which gratefully seized upon every case of similar contemptible sentiments. Our political citizenry, our bourgeoisie, can never make good such past sins. For by resisting all attempts to cure

social ills it sowed hatred, and apparently justified the claim of the deadly enemies of the whole people that the Social Democratic Party alone represented the interests of the working people.

Above all the bourgeoisie in this fashion furnished the moral excuse for the existence of the unions, which have always been the greatest feeders for the political party.

During my Viennese apprentice years I was forced to adopt some attitude, whether I would or no, toward the union question.

As I considered them an inseparable part of the Social Democratic Party in itself, my decision was swift — and wrong.

As a matter of course I unhesitatingly rejected them.

In this infinitely important question, too, Fate itself instructed me. The result was an overturn of my first judgment.

At twenty I had learned to distinguish between the union as a means to defend the employee's general social rights and to win better living conditions in detail, and the union as a tool of the party promoting the political class struggle.

The fact that the Social Democrats realized the enormous importance of the trade-union movement assured them of this instrument, and thus of success; that the bourgeoisie did not understand, cost it its political position. The bourgeoisie believed they could sweep aside a logical development by an impudent "denial," only to force it in reality into illogical paths. For it is nonsense and an untruth to say that the union movement is in itself hostile to the fatherland. The contrary is nearer the truth. If union activity envisages and attains the goal of improving the position of a class that belongs to the pillars of the nation, its effect not only is not hostile to state or fatherland, but is "national" in the truest sense of the word. It is helping, after all, to lay the social groundwork without which no generally national education is thinkable. It deserves the highest credit for destroying social cancers by attacking both intellectual and physical bacilli, and thus contributing to the general health of the body of the people.

The question of the unions' necessity, therefore, is really superfluous.

So long as there are among employers persons with little

social understanding, even with a faulty sense of justice and propriety, it is not merely the right but the duty of their employees (who after all form a part of our nation) to protect the public interest against the greed or unreasonableness of individuals; for the preservation of honor and faith in a nation is a national interest just as much as the preservation of the people's health.

Both now are seriously threatened by unworthy enterprisers who do not feel themselves members of the people's community. The evil effects of their greed or ruthlessness cause grave harm for the future.

To remove the causes of such a development is to do the nation a service, rather than the reverse.

Let no one say that every individual is free to draw his own conclusion from a real or supposed injustice, *i. e.* decide to go away. No! This is shadow-boxing, and must be regarded as an attempt to divert attention. Either the correction of bad and unsocial processes is in the nation's interest, or it is not. If so, war must be made upon them with those weapons which give some promise of success. But the individual worker is never in a position to defend himself against the strength of the large enterpriser, since this can never be a question of victory for the juster cause — if the justice of the cause were admitted, the whole dispute would have no excuse, and would not exist — but a question of power. Otherwise people's sense of justice alone would end the dispute honorably, or rather things would not get to the point of a dispute.

No; if unsocial or unworthy treatment drives people to resist, the struggle can be decided (so long as legal and judicial machinery is not created to meet this difficulty) only by superior strength. But this makes it obvious that the individual person and thus the concentrated force of the enterpriser must be opposed by a group of employees united into a single person, if all hope of victory is not to be abandoned in advance.

Thus union organization may lead to a strengthening of the social idea in its practical effect on daily life, and so to the re-

removal of irritations which keep producing dissatisfaction and complaints.

The fact that this is not so must be blamed very largely on those who have managed to obstruct all legal regulation of social maladjustments, or by their political influence have prevented it.

To just the degree that the political bourgeoisie failed to understand the importance of union organization, or rather did not want to understand it, and actively opposed it, the Social Democrats assumed control of the labor movement in conflict. They were far-sighted enough to lay a firm foundation which has already proved to be their last bulwark on several critical occasions. In the process the inner purpose disappeared, to make way for new aims.

The Social Democrats never thought of holding the movement they had embraced to its original assignment. No, that was not what they had in mind.

Within a few decades their practised hands had turned a means of defending human social rights into an instrument for destroying the national economy. The interests of the workers did not hinder them in the least. Even in politics the use of economic pressure always allows extortions, so long as there is sufficient lack of conscience on one side and sufficient stupid, sheep-like patience on the other. In the present case both requirements are fulfilled.

Even by the turn of the century the union movement had long ceased to serve its original purpose. From year to year it was drawn increasingly into the sphere of Social Democratic politics, until finally it served only as a battering-ram in the class struggle. It was supposed by continual blows to make the whole painfully-developed economic structure tumble, so that the state, bereft of its economic foundations, would more easily suffer the same fate. The representation of the working people's real interests played less and less part; finally political shrewdness made it seem no longer desirable to relieve the social and

cultural distress of the great masses at all. Otherwise, after all, there would have been danger that the masses, their desires satisfied, might not be permanently useful as an army with no will of its own.

Intuitively scenting this development, the leaders of the class struggle fell into such a panic that eventually they simply refused to bring about any really beneficial social improvement, nay took a decided stand against it.

They had no need to be embarrassed for an explanation of such seemingly incomprehensible behavior. By constantly increasing their demands, they made any proposed betterment seem so trifling that they could always convince the masses this was but a diabolical attempt at cheaply-bought weakening or even crippling of the workers' impact by such a ridiculous sop to their most sacred rights. Considering the slight thinking-power of the masses, the Social Democratic success is not surprising.

The bourgeois camp were outraged at these obviously untruthful Social Democratic tactics, but quite without drawing from them the slightest conclusions to guide their own actions. The Social Democrats' very fear of any real step in raising the working class from its previous abyss of cultural and social misery ought to have led their opponents to make supreme efforts in this direction, thus gradually twisting the weapon from the hands of the conductors of the class struggle.

But this did not happen.

Instead of attacking and capturing the enemy position themselves, they preferred to be squeezed and jostled, finally resorting to quite insufficient palliatives, which remained ineffective because too late, and which were easily rejected because too trifling. Thus everything remained actually just as formerly, only dissatisfaction was greater than before.

Even then the "free trade-union" already hung like a menacing storm-cloud on the political horizon and over the existence of the individual.

It was one of the most fearful of terrorist instruments against

security and independence of national economy, solidity of the state and freedom of person. It was this above all which turned the idea of democracy into a ridiculous and disgusting cliché, outraging freedom, and imperishably mocking brotherhood in the sentence, "And if you won't be a comrade too, it means a broken skull for you."

Thus it was that I came to know these friends of mankind. In the course of years my views on them broadened and deepened; to change I had no need.

The more insight into the outward nature of Social Democracy I gained, the more I longed to grasp the inward core of the doctrine.

The official party literature, indeed, was of but little use here. It is incorrect in proposition and proof when treating with economic questions; in so far as political aims are dealt with, it is untruthful. Besides, I was particularly repelled by the new pettifogging style of expression and the manner of presentation. At an enormous cost in words of vague content and unintelligible meaning, sentences are put together whose intended cleverness matches their senselessness. Only our decadent metropolitan bohemia could possibly feel at home in this intellectual maze, scraping from the Dadaistic literary dung some "spiritual experience," assisted by the proverbial humbleness of part of our people, who scent the deepest wisdom in what they personally find most incomprehensible.

But, balancing the theoretical untruth and nonsense of this doctrine with its actual outward appearance, I gradually got a clear picture of its inner intent.

At such moments gloomy forebodings and horrid fear crept over me. I saw before me a teaching compounded of egoism and hatred, which according to mathematical law may lead to victory, but is then bound to lead also to the finish of humanity.

During this time I had learned the connection between this doctrine of destruction and the nature of a people which so far had been practically unknown to me.

Only a knowledge of Jewry offers the key to a grasp of the inward, that is the real, intentions of Social Democracy.

If one knows this people, the veil of misconception about aim and meaning of the party fall from his eyes, and the ape-like face of Marxism rises grinning from the fog and mist of social talk.

Today I find it difficult, if not impossible, to say when the word "Jew" first gave rise to any special thoughts in my mind. I do not remember hearing the word so much as mentioned at home during my father's lifetime. I think the old gentleman would have considered it uncultivated to emphasize the designation at all. In the course of his life he arrived at more or less cosmopolitan views, which had not only survived along with most extreme nationalist sentiments, but to some extent colored my feelings.

At school too there was nothing to change my inherited conception. I did meet a Jewish boy at the *realschule*, whom we all treated with caution, but only because his taciturnity led us to somewhat mistrust him, being somewhat the wiser for various experiences. Neither I nor the other boys thought much about this.

Not until I was fourteen or fifteen did I often encounter the word "Jew," partly in connection with political talks. I felt a faint aversion to it, and could not help an unpleasant feeling which always came over me when I became involved in religious wrangles. But at that time I did not see the question in any other light.

Linz had but few Jews. In the course of centuries they had become outwardly Europeanized, and looked human; in fact I even thought they were Germans. The ridiculousness of this notion was not evident to me because I believed their only distinguishing mark was a different religion. That they should be persecuted on this account, as I supposed, often brought my aversion to hostile comments about them almost to the boiling-point.

I did not yet dream of the existence of any planned opposition to Jews.

Then I came to Vienna. Burdened by a wealth of new impressions in architecture, oppressed by the difficulty of my own lot, I had at first no eye for the real stratification of the people in the vast city. Although at that time Vienna already had among her two millions nearly two hundred thousand Jews, I did not see them. My eyes and mind were not equal to the rush of so many values and ideas in the first few weeks. Only when calm was gradually restored and I began to see the teeming scene more plainly did I look more closely at my new world, and thus encounter the Jewish question.

I cannot say that the way I made its acquaintance was particularly agreeable. I still saw in the Jew his religious confession alone, and for reasons of human tolerance, therefore, even in this case I maintained my opposition to religious antagonism. The note struck particularly by the Viennese anti-Semitic press seemed to me unworthy of the cultural tradition of a great people. I was oppressed by the memory of certain happenings in the Middle Ages which I hoped not to see repeated. As the newspapers in question were not generally considered outstanding—I did not then know exactly why—I thought them the product of angry envy rather than the result of a principle, even if a wrong one.

My belief was strengthened by what I considered the infinitely more dignified way in which the really great newspapers answered those attacks, or—this I thought even more laudable—did not even mention them, but greeted them with dead silence.

Eagerly I read the so-called world press (the *Neue Freie Presse*, the *Wiener Tagblatt*, etc.), and I was astonished both at the extent of what they offered the reader and at the objectivity of their treatment in detail. I admired their dignified tone; only their high-flown style sometimes did not quite satisfy me, or even displeased me. But I thought this might be implicit in the rush of the cosmopolitan city.

Since at that time I considered Vienna such a city, I thought

this home-made explanation might be a sufficient excuse. But the way in which these newspapers laid siege to the Court's favor did repel me more than once. There was scarcely an event at the Hofburg which they did not communicate to the reader in tones of rapt ecstasy or grief-stricken mournfulness. Especially when this to-do dealt with the "wisest Monarch" of all times, it was almost like the coupling of woodcock.

The whole thing seemed to me artificial. To my eye this revealed flaws in liberal democracy. To crawl for the Court's favor, and in such indecent ways, was to betray the dignity of the nation. This was the first shadow that darkened my intellectual relation to the "great" Viennese press.

As always before, so now in Vienna I followed every event in Germany with burning concentration, whether political or cultural matters were in question. In proud admiration I compared the rise of the Reich with the sickness and decline of the Austrian state. But if happenings outside Austria were mostly a source of unalloyed pleasure, the less agreeable events at home often brought worry and gloom. The struggle then being carried on against William II did not have my approval. I saw him not only as the German Emperor, but chiefly as the creator of a German fleet. I was extraordinarily annoyed when the Reichstag forbade the Emperor to speak; the prohibition came, after all, from a place which had no call to object, considering the fact that these parliamentary ganders chattered more nonsense in a single session than a whole dynasty of emperors, including its very weakest members, could produce in centuries.

I was indignant that the heir of the Imperial crown could receive "reprimands" from the shallowest chattering-institution, of any age, in a state where every half-wit not only claimed the right to criticize, but might even be turned loose on the nation as a "lawgiver." But I was yet more indignant when the very Viennese press which bowed and scraped to the last court charger, and was beside itself at a chance switch of the tail, now expressed misgivings about the German Emperor in an apparently solicitous fashion, but, I thought, with ill-concealed malice. Far be

it from them to mix into the affairs of the German Empire—no, heaven forbid—, but in laying a friendly finger on these sores they were both doing the duty required by a spirit of mutual alliance and practising journalistic truthfulness, etc. And with that the finger dug deeper into the sore to its heart's content.

Cases like this made the blood rush to my head. This was what gradually made me begin to regard the great press with more caution.

And I did have to admit that one of the anti-Semitic papers, *Das deutsche Volksblatt*, behaved with more decency on such an occasion.

Another thing that got on my nerves was the revolting cult of France which the big papers were then propagating. It was enough to make one ashamed of being a German to see the pæans to the "great civilized nation." More than once this wretched Francophilia made me lay down one of the "world papers." In fact I began often to turn to the *Volksblatt*, which I thought much smaller, indeed, but in such matters somewhat cleaner. I disliked the sharp anti-Semitic tone, but I did occasionally read arguments which gave me something to think about.

At any rate such occasions gradually made me acquainted with the man and the movement which then governed Vienna's destiny—Dr. Karl Lueger and the Christian Socialist Party.

When I came to Vienna I was hostile to both. In my eyes the man and the movement were "reactionary." But a sense of common justice forced me to change my opinion by degrees as I had an opportunity to know the man and his work; and gradually my fair estimate grew into unconcealed admiration. Today more than ever I consider the man the greatest German mayor of all times.

But how many of my preconceived views were upset by this change in attitude toward the Christian Socialist movement!

My opinions on anti-Semitism also slowly succumbed to the whirligig of time, and this was the most difficult change I ever went through. It cost me the severest of all my spiritual

struggles, and only after a battle of months between understanding and feeling did victory alight on the side of reason. Two years afterward feeling followed understanding, to be from then on its most faithful watchman and guardian.

During the bitter struggle between emotional training and cold reason, the streets of Vienna offered me priceless object-lessons. The time had come when I no longer walked blindly through the vast city as at first; I kept my eyes open, and looked at people as well as buildings.

Once as I chanced to be strolling through the inner City, I suddenly encountered a figure in a long kaftan, with black curls. "Is that a Jew too?" was my first thought.

They did not look like that in Linz. I covertly observed the man, but the longer I stared at that alien face, scrutinizing feature after feature, the more my first question changed form: "Is that a German too?"

As always in such cases, I now tried to resolve my doubts through books. For a few hellers I bought the first anti-Semitic pamphlets of my life. But unfortunately they all went on the theory that the reader to a certain extent grasped or at least was familiar in principle with the Jewish question. And then their tone was usually such that I felt new doubts owing to the often shallow and unscientific proofs adduced for their statements. I would have relapses of weeks, sometimes of months. The matter seemed to me so monstrous, the accusation so unrestrained that I was plagued by fear of being unjust, and again became timid and uncertain.

Still, even I could no longer well doubt that this was a question not of Germans of a particular persuasion, but of a people in itself. Since I had begun to occupy myself with the question, and to pay attention to the Jew, Vienna had appeared to me in a new light. Wherever I went now I saw Jews, and the more I saw, the more clearly my eye distinguished them from other people. Especially the inner City and the Districts north of the Danube Canal teemed with a people which had not even an outward likeness to the Germans.

But if I had still doubted, my vacillation would have been ended by the attitude of part of the Jews themselves. A great movement among them, of considerable extent in Vienna, sharply emphasized the special character of Jewry as a people: Zionism.

To outward appearances, indeed, only a part of the Jews approved this attitude while the great majority condemned, nay inwardly rejected such a limitation. But on closer inspection this appearance melted away in an evil fog of purely expedient excuses, not to say lies. For so-called liberal Jewry rejected the Zionists not as non-Jews, but as Jews who were impractical, perhaps dangerous in their public adherence to Judaism. It made no difference to the inner fact of their oneness.

This seeming struggle between Zionist and liberal Jews very soon disgusted me; after all, it was untrue through and through, sometimes actually untruthful, and little in character with the constantly asserted moral elevation and purity of that people.

The moral and purity of that people was a special chapter anyway. That they were no water-lovers one could tell from their mere exterior—often, I am sorry to say, even with eyes closed. Later I was frequently nauseated by the smell of these kaftan-wearers. In addition there were their unclean clothing and scarcely heroic appearance.

All this was not attractive in itself; but one was positively repelled on suddenly discovering, beyond personal uncleanliness, the moral mud-stains of the chosen people.

Nothing had made me so thoughtful in so short a time as my slowly growing insight into the character of the Jews' activity in certain fields.

Was there any offal, any form of shamelessness whatever, especially in cultural life, in which at least one Jew did not have a part?

One had only to cut cautiously into such an abscess to find a Jew-boy like a maggot in rotting flesh, often quite blinded by the sudden light.

In my eyes a great burden of guilt fell upon Jewry when I came to know its activity in the press, in art, literature and the

theater. All their unctuous asseverations now meant little or nothing. It was enough to look at one of the billboard pillars, and study the names of the originators of the awful movie and theatrical perpetrations which were advertised there in order to be hardened for a long time.

Here they were infecting the people with a pestilence, an intellectual pestilence worse than the Black Death of ancient days. And in what quantities this poison was produced and distributed! Naturally, the lower the intellectual and moral level of these art manufacturers, the more boundless is their fertility; such a fellow flings his offal in the face of humanity rather like a centrifugal machine. Besides, we must remember their unlimited number; remember that for every one Goethe nature plants at least ten thousand of these slimy creatures in the pelt of humanity, and they, disease carriers of the worst sort, poison souls.

It was a fact dreadful but inescapable that the Jew seemed specially chosen by nature in tremendous numbers for this horrible destiny.

Are we to suppose that this is the way in which he is "chosen"?

At that time I began carefully to examine the names of all the producers of these unclean products in the world of art. The result was ever more damaging to my previous attitude toward the Jews. Though my feelings were outraged a thousand times, my reason must still draw its conclusions. That nine-tenths of all the literary filth, artistic trash and theatrical nonsense must be debited to a people constituting scarcely a hundredth of all the country's inhabitants could not simply be denied; it was a plain fact.

I now began to scrutinize even my beloved "world press" from this standpoint. But the deeper I probed, the more the object of my former adoration shrank. The style grew ever more intolerable, I objected to the content as flat and shallow, the objectivity of treatment now seemed to me rather a lie than honest truth; but the authors were—Jews.

A thousand things which I had once scarcely noticed now struck me as remarkable, while others, which had already given

me something to think about, I came to grasp and understand.

I now saw the liberal sentiments of this press in a new light; the dignified tone in replying to attacks as well as the silence in answer to them, was now revealed to be a trick as shrewd as it was low. Their enraptured theatrical criticisms always favored a Jewish author, while their disapproval never fell on anyone except a German. The persistence of their quiet sneering at William II showed deliberate method, as did their advocacy of French culture and civilization. The trashy content of the short stories now became an indecency, and in the language I caught sounds of an alien people; but the general sense was so plainly harmful to everything German that it could only be intentional.

But who had an interest in this? Was it all mere chance? Gradually I became uncertain.

My development was speeded by the insights I gained into a series of other matters. This was the general conception of manners and morals which one could see held and openly displayed by a great part of Jewry.

Here again the street offered often truly ugly object-lessons. The relation of Jewry to prostitution and even more to white slavery itself could be studied in Vienna as in probably no other Western European city, with the possible exception of southern French seaport towns. If of an evening one walked the streets and alleys of the Leopoldstadt, at every step one witnessed, willy-nilly, things which remained hidden from the great majority of the German people until the war gave the soldiers on the Eastern front an opportunity, or rather forced them, to see similar happenings.

When I first recognized the Jew as the manager, icily calm and shamelessly businesslike, of this outrageous trade in vice of the offscourings of the metropolis, it sent a chill down my spine.

But then I blazed. Now I no longer evaded discussing the Jewish question—no, now I sought it. But having learned to find the Jew in every quarter of cultural and artistic life in its various expressions, I suddenly encountered him in a spot where I would least have expected him.

When I recognized the Jew as the leader of Social Democracy, the scales began to fall from my eyes. With this a long spiritual struggle came to an end.

Even in daily contact with my fellow-workmen I was struck by the extraordinary chameleon power by which they took several attitudes toward a single question, often within a few days, sometimes even within a few hours. I could scarcely understand how people who, taken singly, still held reasonable views could suddenly lose them the moment they came under the spell of the masses. Often it was enough to drive one to despair. I would argue for hours, and finally believe that this time at last I had broken the ice or cleared away some piece of nonsense, and would be feeling heartily glad of my success; and then the next day I would be grieved to find that I had to begin all over again. It had all been futile. The madness of their opinions seemed always to swing back again like a perpetual pendulum.

I could understand everything; that they were dissatisfied with their lot, cursed Fate, which often dealt them such hard knocks; hated the business men, who seemed to them the heartless tools of this Fate; railed at government offices, which in their eyes had no feeling for the workers' situation; that they demonstrated against food prices, and marched through the streets in support of their demands—all this one could still understand without referring to reason. But what I could not understand was the boundless hatred they felt for their own people, the way they despised its grandeur, defiled its history, and dragged great men in the gutter.)

This struggle against their own kind, their own nest, their own homeland, was as senseless as it was incomprehensible. It was unnatural.

They could be temporarily cured of this vice, but only for days, for weeks at most. If later one met a supposed convert, he had fallen back into his old self. His unnatural tendencies would have him again in their grip.

√ That the Social Democratic press was conducted predominantly by Jews I gradually came to realize; but I attached no

particular importance to this circumstance, since after all the situation was the same at the other newspapers. Only one thing was perhaps remarkable; there was not one paper where Jews worked which could have been called really national in line with my conception and training.

I forced myself to try to read this sort of Marxist journalism, but the more I did so the more boundless my aversion grew; so I now sought closer acquaintance with the manufacturers of these concentrated rascalities.

From the editor on down, they were all Jews. I got hold of every Social Democratic pamphlet I could, and looked up the author's name: Jews. I noticed the names of almost all the leaders; by far the most of them were also members of the "chosen people," whether they were representatives in the government or secretaries of the unions, chairmen of organizations or street agitators. The same uncanny picture was forever repeated. I shall never forget the names of Austerlitz, David, Adler, Ellenbogen, etc.

One thing was plain to me now: the leadership of the party with whose petty representatives I had had to fight my most violent battles for months was almost exclusively in the hands of an alien people (for already I had the happy satisfaction of knowing definitely that the Jew was no German).

Now for the first time I became thoroughly familiar with the corrupter of our people.

One year of my life in Vienna had been enough to convince me that no worker is too hidebound to yield to greater knowledge and superior enlightenment. I had gradually become an authority on their own doctrine, which I used as a weapon in the battle for my convictions. Almost always success was on my side.

The great mass of people could be saved, even if only by the utmost sacrifice of time and patience. But no Jew could ever be freed from his opinion.

In those days I was still childish enough to try to explain to them the madness of their doctrines; in my own little circle I

talked my tongue sore and my throat hoarse, and thought I must surely succeed in convincing them of the ruinousness of their Marxist madness; but I produced the very opposite result. Growing insight into the destructive effect of Social Democratic theories and their accomplishment seemed only to increase these people's determination.

The more disputes I had with them, the better acquainted I became with their dialectics. First they would count on the stupidity of their adversaries, and then, if there was no way out, they pretended stupidity themselves. If all else failed, then they claimed they did not understand correctly, or, being challenged, instantly jumped to another subject, and talked truisms; but if these were agreed to they at once applied them to entirely different matters, and then in turn, being caught again, they would dodge and have no exact knowledge. No matter where you seized one of these apostles, your hand grasped slimy ooze, which poured in separate streams through the fingers, only to unite again the next moment. But if you really gave a man such a shattering defeat that, observed by others, he could do nothing but agree, and if you thought this at least one step forward, how great was your surprise the following day! The Jew had not the slightest memory of yesterday, and went on repeating his old mischievous nonsense as if nothing at all had happened. Being indignantly taxed with this he would pretend astonishment, and could remember nothing at all except the truth of his statements, which after all had been proved the day before.

I was often simply paralyzed. One did not know which to admire more—their fluency or their artistry in lying.

Gradually I began to hate them.

This all had one good result: my love for my own people was bound to grow in just the degree that I got sight of the real props or at least the propagators of Social Democracy. After all, considering the diabolical adroitness of these seducers, who could condemn the wretched victims? How great, indeed, was my own difficulty in mastering the dialectical mendacity of this race! And how futile was such a success with people who twisted the truth

in one's mouth, and flatly denied a sentence just spoken, only to claim it for themselves the next moment!

No. The better I became acquainted with the Jew, the more I felt obliged to forgive the worker.

I now felt that the chief guilt belonged not to him, but to all those who thought it not worth the trouble to take pity on him, and with iron justice give to the son of the people what was his, and nail the seducer and corrupter to the wall.

Stimulated by the experience of daily life I now began to search for the sources of the Marxist doctrine itself. I had come to understand its effect in detail; its success daily struck any attentive eye, and with a little imagination I could depict its results. The only remaining question was whether the founders had foreseen the results of their creation in its final form, or whether they themselves were victims of error. I felt that both answers were possible.

On the one hand it was the duty of every thinking person to force his way into the front ranks of the accursed movement, thus perhaps to prevent it from going to extremes; on the other hand, however, the actual creators of this national disease must have been true devils. Only in the brain of a monster—not of a human being—could the plan take shape for an organization the eventual result of whose activity must be the collapse of human civilization and the desolation of the world.

In this case the last hope was battle, battle by every weapon which the human mind, understanding and will could grasp, no matter to whom Fate then gave its blessing.

I therefore began now to familiarize myself with the founders of this doctrine, in order thus to study the foundations of the movement. The fact that I got results sooner than perhaps even I had dared to hope I owed to my new, if not yet profound, knowledge of the Jewish question. That alone allowed me to compare its realities with the theoretical shuffling of the founding apostles of Social Democracy, since it had taught me to understand the language of the Jewish people, who talk to conceal their thoughts, or at least to veil them. Their real purpose is often not on the page, but sleeping snugly between the lines.

This was the time of the greatest upheaval which my spirit ever went through. I had turned from a weakly cosmopolitan into a fanatical anti-Semite.

Only once more—the last time—uneasy and oppressive thoughts came to me in my profound anxiety.

I had scrutinized the work of the Jewish people through long periods of human history, and suddenly I was struck by the alarming question whether, for reasons unknown to us pitiable human beings, inscrutable Fate had not inalterably determined upon the final victory of this little people. It is a people which lives for this earth alone; could they have been promised the earth as their reward?

Have we an objective right to fight for self-preservation, or has even this only a subjective basis in ourselves?

I buried myself in the teachings of Marxism, and thus gave calm, clear consideration to the work of the Jewish people; and Fate itself gave me my answer.

The Jewish doctrine of Marxism denies the aristocratic principle of Nature, and sets mass and dead weight of numbers in place of the eternal privilege of strength and power. Thus it denies the value of personality in man, disputes the significance of nation and race, and so deprives mankind of the essentials of its survival and civilization. Marxism as a foundation of the universe would be the end of any order conceivable to man. And as the result of applying such a law in this greatest recognizable organism could only be chaos, so on earth would their own destruction be the only result for the inhabitants of this planet. If by help of his Marxist faith the Jew conquers the peoples of this world, his crown will be the burial wreath of mankind; our planet will again move uninhabited through the ether, as it did millions of years ago.

Eternal Nature takes implacable revenge for violation of her commandments.

Thus I believe I am acting today in the spirit of the Almighty Creator: *by resisting the Jew I am fighting for the Lord's work.*

3. GENERAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF MY VIENNA PERIOD

I AM convinced today that in general, making exception for persons of extraordinary talent, a man should not be publicly active in politics before his thirtieth year. He should not do so because up to this time he has usually been building a general platform, from which he can examine the various political problems and definitely determine his own attitude to them. Only after he has thus gained a fundamental world-concept, and so has stabilized his own way of looking at the individual questions of the day, should the man, now at least inwardly mature, be allowed to take part in the political guidance of the community.

Otherwise he is in danger some day of having either to change his previous attitude in fundamental questions, or, contrary to his better knowledge and insight, to cling to a view which his understanding and convictions have long since rejected. The first alternative is very painful to him personally, since, being himself undecided, he can no longer rightfully expect his adherents' faith in him to have the old unshakable solidity; but to his followers such an about-face of their leader means complete confusion in addition to their feeling a certain shamefacedness toward those they have previously attacked. The second alternative brings about a result which is particularly common today: the less the leader continues to believe in what he says, the more hollow and superficial grows his defense, and the viler his choice of means. Then he no longer dreams of working seriously for his political revelations (no one dies for something he does not himself believe in), and his demands upon his followers grow proportionately greater and more impudent, until at last he sacrifices his remaining fragment of leadership, to end up as a "politician." He

has joined the class of persons whose only real conviction is absence of conviction, coupled with insolent obtrusiveness and an often shamelessly developed virtuosity at lying.

✓ If, unluckily for decent people, such a fellow goes so far as to get into parliament, we should realize from the beginning that for him the essence of politics consists only in a heroic battle for permanent possession of this nursing-bottle for his life and his family. The more wife and child cling to him, the more stubbornly he will fight for his seat. If only for this reason he is the personal enemy of every other man with political instincts; in every new movement he scents the possible beginning of his end, and in every greater man a danger which may probably threaten him. I shall have much to say later about this sort of parliamentary vermin.

Even the man of thirty will yet have much to learn in the course of his life, but what he learns will merely fill out and complete the picture which his fundamental world-concept presents to him. His learning will not be merely re-learning of principles, but learning more, and his followers will not have to choke down the uneasy feeling that hitherto he has instructed them falsely. On the contrary the visible organic growth of the leader will give them satisfaction, since his learning seems only the deepening of their own doctrine. In their eyes this is an argument for the rightness of their previous views.

A leader who has to abandon the platform of his general world-concept because he sees it is false acts honorably only if, realizing his previously faulty understanding, he is ready to draw the final conclusions. He must then give up any further public political activity. For since he has already once fallen victim to error in fundamentals, the possibility of a second lapse is always present. In no case has he any further right to assume, let alone to demand, the confidence of his fellow-citizens.

How little such ideas of honor are put in practice today we can judge from the general depravity of the mob who feel called upon in these days to "do" politics.

Many feel called, but scarcely one is truly chosen.

✓ I used to avoid making any sort of public appearances, although I believe I concerned myself more with politics than many others. Only in the smallest groups did I talk about what inwardly moved or attracted me. This talking at close quarters did me a great deal of good: I probably learned less about "speaking," but I came to know people as revealed in their often infinitely primitive views and objections. In doing so, I trained myself, wasting no time or opportunity for my own further education. There was surely nowhere in Germany any such favorable opportunity as in Vienna at that time.

General political thinking in the old Danube monarchy was, judging by its extent, larger and more inclusive than in the old Germany of that period—excepting parts of Prussia, Hamburg, and the coast of the North Sea. In the present instance I mean by Austria that part of the great Hapsburg Empire which, being settled by Germans, was in every respect the cause of that state's creation; and whose population alone had the strength to give cultural life for centuries to the nation, politically so artificial. The longer time marched on, the more the existence and future of that state depended on the preservation of this germ cell of the Empire.

If the old Patrimonial Dominions were the heart of the Empire, forever sending fresh blood into the circulation of state and cultural life, Vienna was brain and will together.

From its mere outward show alone you would have credited this city with the strength to rule as sole queen over a conglomeration of peoples, and by her own splendid beauty causing the grave signs of the whole's senility to be forgotten.

No matter how the interior of the Empire was convulsed by the bloody turmoil of individual nationalities, the world outside, and Germany in particular, saw only the charming image of this city. The illusion was the more receptive because at this time Vienna seemed to be taking perhaps its last and greatest visible rise. Under the rule of a mayor who was a true genius the august Residence of the Kaisers of the old Empire awaked once more

to a wondrous new life. The last great German born to the colonist people of the *Ostmark* was not officially counted among the so-called "statesmen"; but as Mayor of the "Capital City and Imperial Residence" of Vienna Dr. Lueger, by pulling out of a hat one unheard-of achievement after another in (we can safely say) every field of communal, economic and cultural policy, strengthened the heart of the entire Empire, and by this round-about route became a greater statesman than all the so-called "diplomats" of the time together.

The fact that the collection of races called "Austria" went to its doom casts not the slightest discredit upon the political ability of Germans in the old *Ostmark*; it was the inevitable result of the impossibility of maintaining a State of fifty million persons of various nations with ten million people for any length of time, unless certain definite principles were provided before it was too late.

The German-Austrian was more than broad in his thinking. He had always been accustomed to living within the frame of a great Empire, and had never lost his feeling for the tasks this involved. He was the only one in this state who could still see the frontier of the Empire beyond the frontier of his own smaller kingdom; more, when at last Fate parted him from the common Fatherland, he still tried to master the vast task, and to preserve for Germany what his fathers in endless battles had once wrung from the East. Besides, we must not forget that this could happen even with divided strength, for the best men's hearts and memories never ceased to feel for the common mother country, and only a fragment was left for the homeland.

Even the general outlook of the German-Austrian was comparatively broad. Frequently his economic connections embraced almost the entire manifold Empire. Almost all the really great enterprises were in his hands; he furnished the majority of the managing personnel—technicians and officials. And he conducted the foreign trade in so far as Jewry had not laid hands upon this specially characteristic domain. Politically he alone still held the State together. Even his military service now flung him far beyond

the narrow limits of his homeland. The German-Austrian recruit might join a German regiment, but the regiment itself was as likely to be stationed in Herzegovina as in Vienna or Galicia. The officers were still Germans, and the higher civil servants predominantly so. And finally, art and science were German. Aside from the trash of more recent art, which, after all could be easily done by a race of negroes, the Germans alone possessed and propagated a true feeling for art. In music, architecture, sculpture and painting Vienna was the fountain head whose inexhaustible wealth supplied the whole Dual Monarchy, without itself apparently ever running low.

Germans, finally, were the pillar of all foreign policy, if we except a numerically small body of Hungarians.

Nevertheless every attempt to preserve the Empire was futile, since the most essential prerequisite was lacking.

For the Austrian state of peoples there was only one possible way of overcoming the centrifugal forces of the individual nations. The state had to be centrally governed, and organized internally for that purpose, or it would be no more.

At occasional lucid moments this truth was realized even in "All-Highest" quarters, but usually only to be soon forgotten or set aside as too difficult to carry through. Every thought of a more federative development of the Empire was bound to go wrong because there was no strong state germ cell of dominant authority. Besides, the internal situation of the Austrian state was very different from that of the German Empire as Bismarck shaped it. In Germany it was only a question of overcoming political traditions, since a common cultural basis was always there. Above all, Germany, aside from small alien fragments, was made up of only one people.

In Austria the situation was reversed. Here, except for Hungary, the individual countries had no political memory of their own grandeur, or it had been rubbed out by the sponge of time, or it was, at least, faint and confused. Now came the age of the nationality principle, and in the various countries popular forces developed which were increasingly difficult to overcome as na-

tional states began to form along the edge of the Monarchy. The people of these states, racially related or similar to the individual Austrian fragments, now began to exert a stronger attraction than the German-Austrian could. Even Vienna could not survive this struggle indefinitely.

Budapest's development into a great city had given Vienna for the first time a rival whose task was not to hold together the whole Monarchy, but rather to strengthen one part of it. In a short time Prague was to follow this example, then Lemberg, Laibach, etc. The rise of these former provincial cities to national capitals of individual countries produced centers for a more and more independent cultural life. Only thus could popular political instincts find an intellectual footing and a new depth. The time was bound to come when these instinctive forces of the various peoples would be stronger than the force of common interest, and then Austria was done for.

The course of this development after the death of Joseph II was plainly to be seen. Its rapidity depended on a series of factors, partly inherent in the Monarchy itself, partly depending on the Empire's position in foreign politics at the moment.

If the battle to preserve the state was to be seriously undertaken and fought to a finish, only a centralization as ruthless as it was persistent could possibly succeed. In that case it was necessary above all to establish a uniform state language, thus emphasizing the purely external community, but furnishing the government with a technical tool which no unified state can exist without. Only then, in the long run, could a uniform state consciousness be produced by the schools. This was not to be attained in ten or twenty years; it was a matter for centuries. In all questions of colonization a great purpose is more important than momentary efforts.

It scarcely needs mentioning that both administration and political leadership must then be conducted with rigid unity.

I found it infinitely instructive to discover why this did not happen, or rather why it was not done. The person guilty of this omission was alone guilty of the collapse of the Empire.

Old Austria more than any other state was dependent on the greatness of its leadership. For in it the foundation-stone of a national state was lacking: a people, the basis of a national state, has still a preservative power, no matter how bad its leadership is. Thanks to the natural inertia of its inhabitants and their consequent resisting power, a unified national state can often survive astonishingly long periods of the worst administration or leadership without being inwardly destroyed. A body of this sort often seems to have no further life at all, as if it were dead and done for, when suddenly the supposed corpse rises up again, and furnishes the rest of mankind with astonishing signs of its indestructible vital force.

Not so an empire composed of unlike peoples, maintained not by common blood but by a common strong arm. Here any weakness in governing leads not to hibernation of the state, but to an awakening of all the individual instincts which are present in the blood, although unable to develop under a dominant will. Only centuries of common education, common tradition, common interest, etc., can reduce the danger. Hence state structures of this sort depend the more upon the greatness of their leadership the younger they are; in fact the work of outstanding figures of force and intellectual heroes often collapses again immediately after the death of the great, lonely founder. But even after centuries these dangers cannot be considered overcome. They are sleeping, often only to awake suddenly the moment weakness of common leadership and the force of education, the grandeur of tradition, are no longer strong enough to overcome the impetus of the native life force in the various races.

Not to have grasped this is the perhaps tragic fault of the House of Hapsburg.

For one of them alone did Fate once more hold the torch over the future of his country; then it was extinguished forever.

In fleeting alarm Joseph II, Roman Emperor of the German Nation, saw how his house, driven to the outermost edge of the Empire, was bound some day to disappear in the maelstrom of a Babylon of people unless all that his fathers had failed to do

was made good at the eleventh hour. The "Friend of Mankind" set himself with superhuman strength against the negligence of his forefathers, and tried to make up in a decade for that which centuries had neglected. If he had been granted but forty years for his task, and if but two generations had continued the work he had begun, the miracle would probably have succeeded. But when he died, worn out in body and soul, after ruling scarcely ten years, his work accompanied him to the grave, to sleep forever, without reawakening, in the Capuchin Vault. Neither the intelligence nor the will of his successors was equal to the task.

When the first revolutionary heat-lightning of a new age began to flash through Europe, Austria, too, gradually began to catch fire. But when at last the flames broke out, they were fanned less by economic, social, or even general political causes than by forces having their origin in the people.

The revolution of 1848 might have been everywhere else a class struggle; but in Austria it was the beginning of a new war of nationalities. At that time the German, forgetting or not realizing his origin, entered the service of the revolutionary uprising, and thus sealed his own fate. He helped to awaken the spirit of Western Democracy, which soon deprived him of the foundation for his own existence.

The formation of a parliamentary representative body without first determining and consolidating a common state language had laid the foundation for the end of German supremacy in the Monarchy. From that day on the state itself was lost. Everything that followed was merely the historical liquidation of an empire.

To watch the dissolution was as moving as it was instructive. This execution of a historical sentence took place in a thousand separate forms. The fact that most people walked blindly among the phenomena of decay only proved the Gods' will to destroy Austria.

I do not wish here to lose myself in details, since that is not the purpose of this book. I wish only to submit to more thorough scrutiny those processes which, as unchanging causes of the decay of people and state, still have importance for us today, and which

helped to consolidate the foundation of my political way of thinking.)

Among the institutions which most plainly showed the decay inside the Austrian Monarchy, even to the otherwise hardly keen-eyed bourgeois Philistine, the chief was the one which ought rightfully to have been strongest—Parliament, or, as it was called in Austria, the *Reichsrat*.

The model for this body was plainly in England, the land of classical "Democracy." The whole beneficent arrangement was taken thence and transported to Vienna with as little change as possible.

In the House of Deputies and the House of Lords the English bi-cameral system was resurrected. Only the "houses" themselves were somewhat different. When Barry had caused his parliamentary palace to sprout from the waves of the Thames, he had resorted to the history of the British world empire, and had got thence the decorations for the twelve hundred niches, consoles, and pillars of his splendid building. Sculpture and painting made the House of Lords and Deputies into the nation's temple of fame.

Here was Vienna's first difficulty. For when the Dane Hansen had finished the last gables on the new marble house of the peoples' representatives, by way of ornament he could do nothing but borrow from Antiquity. Roman and Greek statesmen and philosophers beautify this theater of "Western Democracy," and with symbolic irony the four-horse chariots above the two houses pull toward the four quarters of the compass, a perfect expression of what was then going on inside.

The "nationalities" had objected to any glorification of Austrian history in this building as an insult and a provocation — just as in Germany itself it was only in the thunder of the World War's battles that anyone dared dedicate the Wallot Reichstag building with an inscription to the German people.

When I, not yet twenty, first went into the splendid building on the Franzensring to see and hear a sitting of the House of Deputies, my feelings were mixed.

I had always hated the Parliament, but not as an institution in itself. On the contrary, as a lover of freedom I could imagine no other possibility of government. In view of my attitude to the House of Hapsburg the thought of any sort of dictatorship would have seemed a crime against liberty and reason.

No small factor in this was the fact that my constant newspaper-reading had innoculated me as a young man, without my realizing it, with a certain admiration for the English Parliament — an admiration I could not get rid of in a moment. The dignity with which even the lower House over there fulfilled its duties (according to the beautiful reports in our newspapers) impressed me greatly. How could there possibly be any nobler form of self-government of a people?

For that very reason I was an enemy of the Austrian Parliament. The form in which the whole thing was carried on seemed to me unworthy of its great model.

But there was also the following consideration: the fate of the German race in the Austrian state depended upon its position in the Reichsrat. Until the introduction of universal secret suffrage there was still a German majority, if an insignificant one, in Parliament. Even this was dangerous; the national attitude of the Social Democrats was unreliable, and in crucial questions concerning Germanity they always fought against German interests to avoid losing their followers among the various alien peoples. Even in those days Social Democracy could not be considered a German party. But the introduction of universal suffrage destroyed the German superiority even numerically. Then there was no longer any obstacle to the further de-Germanization of the state.

Even in those days therefore, the instinct of national self-preservation gave me no love for a representative body in which the German interest was always betrayed instead of represented. But these, like so many other things, were faults to be attributed not to the object in itself but to the Austrian state. I still believed that if the German majority were restored in the representative bodies there would no longer be any cause for opposition on principle so long as the old state continued to exist at all.

This, then, was my attitude when I entered those sacred and much-fought-over chambers for the first time. It is true that I thought them sacred only for the noble beauty of the magnificent building. It is a work of Hellenic magic on German soil.

But how soon I was outraged at the wretched spectacle that took place before my eyes! There were present several hundred of these representatives. They were expressing their opinions on a question of economic importance.

This first day alone sufficed to give me food for thought for weeks.

The intellectual content of what they said was at a truly depressing level, in so far as one could understand their chatter at all. Some of the gentlemen spoke not German but their Slavic mother tongues, or rather dialects. Now I had a chance to hear with my own ears what so far I had known only from reading the papers. It was a gesticulating mass in wild turmoil, yelling and interrupting in every tone of voice, in its midst a harmless old gaffer who was striving in the sweat of his life to restore the dignity of the House by violent ringing of a bell and by shouts now soothing, now monitory. I could not help laughing.

A few weeks later I visited the chamber again. The scene was transformed beyond recognition. The hall was almost empty. Down below people were asleep. A few deputies were in their seats, yawning at one another while one of them "spoke." A Vice-President of the House was present, and he gazed into the chamber with visible boredom.

I had my first misgivings. After that, I kept looking in whenever I could possibly find time. I watched the scene of the moment quietly and attentively, listened to as much of the speeches as was understandable, studied the more or less intelligent faces of the chosen of the nations in this sad state — and then gradually formed my own ideas.

A year of calm observation was enough absolutely to change or destroy my former opinions on the nature of the institution. I no longer objected to the mistaken form which the idea had assumed in Austria. No, now I could no longer acknowledge Parlia-

ment as such. Hitherto I had seen the ruin of the Austrian Parliament in the lack of a German majority; but now I saw destruction in the whole nature and character of the institution in general.

I saw a whole new series of questions to be answered.

I began to familiarize myself with the democratic principles of majority rule as the foundation of the whole institution; but I was equally attentive to the intellectual and moral values of the gentlemen who were supposed to pursue this object as the chosen of the nations. Thus I became acquainted with both the institution and the men who made it up.

In the course of a few years my perception and understanding allowed me to form a clear and well-rounded image of the most dignified figure of modern times: the Parliamentarian. He was impressed on me in a shape which has never significantly changed since then.

Once again the object-lessons of practical reality had preserved me from smothering in a theory which many people find so seductive at first glance, but which nevertheless belongs among the signs of decay in mankind.

The democracy of the West today is a forerunner of Marxism, which without it would be quite unthinkable. It alone gives this world plague the soil on which the pestilence may spread. Its outward form, parliamentarism, is a "preposterous creature of filth and fire," but unfortunately at the moment the fire seems to me burnt out.

I am more than grateful to Fate for propounding this question to me in Vienna; I fear that in the Germany of that time I would have made the answer too easy. If my first acquaintance with the ridiculous institution called Parliament had been in Berlin, I might have fallen into the opposite error, and, (not without apparently good reason) have joined those who saw the salvation of people and Empire solely in strengthening the power of the Imperial idea, and thus remained blind strangers to the age and to human nature.

In Austria this was impossible. Here it was not so easy to fall

from one mistake into the other. If Parliament was worthless, the Hapsburgs were worth even less—certainly not more under any circumstances. To oppose parliamentarism here was not enough, for the question would still remain, what then? The abolition of the Reichsrat would have left only the House of Hapsburg as a governing power—an idea to me especially intolerable.

The difficulty of this particular case led me to a more thorough consideration of the problem in itself than one would perhaps otherwise have given at so early an age.

The thing that first struck me and gave me most food for thought was the obvious lack of any individual responsibility.

Let Parliament take a resolution, no matter how disastrous its result, and no one is responsible; no one can be called to account. After all, is it assuming responsibility for the guilty government to retire after an unparalleled collapse? Or for the coalition to change, or even for Parliament to be dissolved? Can any vacillating majority of persons ever be made responsible? Is not the very idea of responsibility indissolubly connected with persons? And can one, in practice, make the leading figure of a government accountable for actions whose existence and execution must be blamed exclusively upon the will and inclination of a multiplicity of persons?

Again, is the task of a governing statesman not regarded as less the actual producing of a creative idea or plan than the art of making a herd of empty-headed sheep realize the genius in his plans, and then of successfully begging for their kind approval?

Is it the sign of a statesman that he be as perfect in the art of convincing as in that of statesmanlike wisdom in making decisions or laying down broad lines of conduct?

Is a leader's incapacity proved because he does not succeed in converting to a certain idea the majority of a crowd flung together by more or less savory accidents?

Has this crowd, in fact, ever understood any idea before success proclaimed its greatness? Is not every deed of genius in this world the genius's visible protest against the inertia of the masses?

But what is the statesman to do if by flattery he fails to win this

crowd's favor for his plans? Is he to buy it? Or, in view of the stupidity of his fellow-citizens, is he to abandon the tasks which he knows are vital, and retire; or is he to stay nevertheless?

In a case like this, does not a real character fall into hopeless conflict between insight and honor (or rather honorable intentions)? Where is the dividing line between duty to the community and duty to one's personal honor?

Must not every true leader decline to be thus degraded into a political juggler?

And conversely must not every juggler feel called on to go into politics, since the ultimate responsibility falls not on him, but on some intangible mob?

Must not our parliamentary majority principle lead to the total destruction of the leader idea? And can anyone believe that the progress of this world comes from the brain of majorities, and not from the heads of individuals? Or does anyone suppose that in future we can do without this essential of human civilization? Does it not, on the contrary, seem more necessary today than ever?

By denying personal authority and substituting the number of the crowd in question, the parliamentary principle of majority rule sins against the basic aristocratic idea of Nature; though we must admit that Nature's idea of nobility is by no means necessarily personified in the present decadence of our upper ten thousand.

Unless he has learned to think and examine independently, the reader of Jewish newspapers can scarcely imagine the havoc wrought by the institution of modern democratic parliamentary rule. This rule is the chief reason why our whole political life is so incredibly overrun with the inferior figures of the present day. A true leader is bound to withdraw from a political activity which must consist largely not of creative work and achievement, but of trading and haggling for the favor of a majority, while such activity is sure to suit and to attract small minds.

The more dwarfish the mind and powers of this sort of petty tradesman, and the more clearly he recognizes the wretchedness

of his own real dimensions, the more loudly he will praise a system which does not demand a giant's strength and genius, but is contented with the slyness of a village mayor, nay even prefers this sort of wisdom to that of a Pericles. Besides, that sort of ninny need not be plagued with responsibility for his actions. He is quite beyond reach of such worries, because he well knows that no matter what the results of his "statesmanly" muddling, his end has long since been written in the stars; some day he will have to give way to another and equally great mind. For it is one of the signs of such decay that the number of great statesmen increases at just the rate that the standard for individual statesmen shrinks. But the individual statesmen is bound to grow smaller with increasing dependence on parliamentary majorities, since great minds will refuse to be the hireling of silly incompetents and windbags, while on the other hand the representatives of the majority, that is to say of stupidity, hate nothing more fiercely than a superior brain.

It is always a consoling feeling for one of these town meetings of Podunk selectmen to know they have a leader whose wisdom is on a level with their own. In this way, after all, each man from time to time has the pleasure of letting his intellect sparkle; and more than this, if Jack can be boss, why not Bill?

But this invention of democracy is most truly paired with a quality which in more recent times has grown to a real scandal, namely the cowardice of a great part of our so-called "leadership." What luck—in all real decisions of any importance they can hide behind the skirts of a so-called majority! Just look at one of these political footpads carefully begging the approval of the majority for every action in order to assure himself of the necessary accomplices and thus to be always able to unload the responsibility! That is perhaps the chief reason why this sort of political activity is disgusting and hateful to any really decent and therefore courageous man, while it attracts all the contemptible characters—and anyone who will not take the personal responsibility for his actions, but hunts for cover, is a craven scoundrel.

Once let a nation's leaders be such wretches as these, and retribution will be swift. People will no longer have the courage for any decisive action, and will rather accept any dishonor, no matter how abject, than pull themselves together for a decision; after all, there is no one left who is ready on his own responsibility to stake himself and his head upon the carrying through of a ruthless decision.

One thing we must never forget: here too, a majority can never replace a man. It always represents stupidity as well as cowardice. And a hundred cowards do not mean a heroic resolve, any more than a hundred blockheads make one wise man.

But the less the responsibility of the individual leader is, the larger will grow the number who feel called upon, even with the most wretched gifts, to devote their immortal powers to the nation. In fact they will be quite unable to wait for their turn; they stand in a long queue, regretfully counting the people ahead of them in line, and almost calculating the minutes which in human likelihood may bring them to the train. Hence they long for any change in the office on which they have fixed their eye, and are grateful for any scandal which thins the ranks ahead. If on occasion someone refuses to move from the post he has taken, they feel this almost as a breach of a sacred compact of common solidarity. Then they grow spiteful, and do not rest until the bold fellow, overthrown at last, puts himself at the public disposal. And after that he will not soon occupy his position again. For if one of these creatures is forced to give up his post, he will at once try to crowd into the queue of those who are waiting, unless he is prevented by the yelling and abuse which the others set up.

The result is an alarming rapid change in the important posts and offices of such a state—a result always unfortunate and often absolutely catastrophic. For not merely blockheads and incompetents will be the victims of this custom, but even more the real leader, if Fate can still manage to put one in this position. The moment people recognize him they form a united front for resistance, particularly if a real brain presumes to intrude on this ex-

alted company without having risen from their own ranks. On principle they want to keep things among themselves, and they hate as their common enemy every mind which might be a figure one among the zeros. In this respect their instinct is the more acute, the less it exists in any other direction.

The result is an ever-spreading intellectual impoverishment of the governing classes. The result for state and nation can easily be judged by anyone who does not himself belong among this sort of "leaders."

Old Austria had parliamentary government in its purest form. The prime ministers, were, it is true, appointed by the Emperor and King, but even this appointment was merely the carrying out of the will of Parliament; and the trading and haggling for individual ministerial posts was Western Democracy of the first water. The results were worthy of the principles employed. Replacement of individual personalities, in particular, took place at shorter and shorter intervals, to become at last a regular mad chase. At the same time the stature of the successive "statesmen" shrank, until only parliamentary jugglers remained—the petty type whose value as statesmen was judged more and more by their ability to glue together the various coalitions, that is to carry out the tiny political deals which alone can make one of these peoples' representatives fit for practical work.

Vienna was a school offering the best of insights in this field.

I was no less interested to compare these popular representatives' actual knowledge and ability with the tasks which awaited them. To do so it was necessary, whether one would or no, to concern oneself with the intellectual horizon of these chosen of the people; and then one was obliged to give some attention to the processes leading to the discovery of these magnificent figures in our public life. The fashion in which these gentlemen put their actual ability to work for the Fatherland—the technical course of their activity, that is,—also deserved thorough examination and study.

The more one determined to get at these internal conditions, to study persons and factual foundations with ruthless objec-

tivity, the more pitiful became the full panorama of parliamentary life. Because of course, we must be objective in considering an institution whose members think it necessary in every second sentence to refer to "objectivity" as the only just basis for any judgment or attitude. Anyone who examines these gentlemen themselves and the laws of their bitter existence can only be astonished at the result.

✓ There is no principle which, objectively considered, is so wrong as the parliamentary principle.

We can say this without reference to the way the election of the honorable deputies takes place, the way they reach their office and their new dignity. Only in a tiny fraction of cases is this the fulfilment of a widespread desire, let alone of a need,—as anyone can see who realizes that the political understanding of the masses has not reached the point where they can arrive at general political views of their own and pick out the person to suit them.

What we always call "public opinion" is based to only a minute degree on individual experience or knowledge; it rests mostly on notions produced by a kind of so-called "enlightenment" often infinitely penetrating and persistent.

Just as religious attitudes are the result of education, and only the religious urge itself slumbers within mankind, so the political opinion of the masses is but the result of an often incredibly thorough and determined drive upon mind and soul.

By far the greater part of political "education," in this case very aptly characterized as propaganda, is the work of the press. It is the press which chiefly takes care of the "work of enlightenment," thus acting as a sort of school for adults. The instruction is, however, not in the hands of the state, but in the clutches or forces of extremely mean characters. Vienna gave me as a young man the best of opportunities to make intimate acquaintance with the owners and intellectual manufacturers of this mass-education machine. At first I was astonished to see how quickly this most evil power in the state succeeded in producing a given opinion among the public even though it might be a complete transformation and falsification of public wishes and views that un-

doubtedly did exist. A few days were enough to turn some ridiculous affair in to a momentous act of state, while, conversely, vital problems were generally forgotten or rather were simply stolen away from the memory of the masses.

In the course of a few weeks names could be conjured up out of nothing, the incredible hopes of the great public attached to them, and a popularity even given them which a really important man often never enjoys in a lifetime; and these were names which, a month before, no one had so much as heard of; while at the same time old and tried figures of governmental or public life, in the best of their ability, simply died so far as the world was concerned, or were buried under such contumely that their names soon threatened to become symbols of vileness or rascality. We must study this infamous Jewish way of deluging the clean garments of honorable men with the swill-buckets of vile libel and slander from hundreds of directions at once as if by a magic spell—we must study it if we are to appreciate the real danger from these journalist scoundrels.

There is nothing which one of these intellectual robber barons would not adopt as a means of attaining his savory ends. He sniffs his way into the most secret family affairs, and he does not rest until his truffle-hunting instinct has rooted up some wretched occurrence which will serve to cook the unlucky victim's goose. But if even the most thorough smelling uncovers absolutely nothing in either public or private life, a fellow of this stamp resorts to slander. He has a rooted conviction that some of it will stick despite a thousand contradictions, and that with the libel's hundredfold repetition by all his accomplices the victim can usually put up no fight at all. This pack of scoundrels never undertakes anything from motives which might be credible or at least understandable to the rest of mankind. Heaven forbid! Attacking the rest of the world in the most scoundrelly way, these idle rascals, like cuttlefish, hide in a veritable cloud of rectitude and unctuous phrases, chattering of "journalistic duty" and similar falsehoods, and even—at congresses and conventions, occasions where these pests congregate in considerable numbers,—go so

far as to twaddle about a very particular duty, to wit journalistic "honor," which the assembled rabble then gravely confirm in one another.

This rabble manufactures more than two-thirds of all so-called "public opinion," from whose foam the parliamentary Aphrodite rises.

To describe this process rightly and to show its whole falsehood and mendacity would take volumes. But putting all this aside, if we look only at the product and its effect I think this will be enough to show the objective madness of the institution, even to the most devout of souls.

We can soonest and most easily understand this senseless and dangerous aberration by comparing democratic parliamentarism with a truly Germanic democracy.

The peculiarity of the former is that a body of, let us say, five hundred men, or recently even women, is chosen, whose duty it is to make a final decision in every kind of issue. Practically, they alone are the government; for though they may choose a cabinet which outwardly undertakes to manage affairs of state, this is only for show. In reality the so-called government can take no step without first getting the permission of the general assembly. Consequently it can be made responsible for nothing, since the final decision never rests with the government, but with the majority of Parliament. In any case the government merely carries out the will of the majority. Its political capacity can be really judged only by its skill in either fitting itself to the will of the majority or pulling the majority over to its side. This degrades it from the level of a real government to that of a beggar at the feet of the momentary majority. From occasion to occasion its most urgent task is to assure itself of the favor of the existing majority, or to undertake the formation of a more amenable new one. If it succeeds, it can go on "governing" for a little while; if it does not succeed, it must quit. The intrinsic rightness of its intentions is no consideration.

This practically cuts out all responsibility.

A very little consideration will show what this results in. The

membership of the five hundred representatives of the people according to individual occupation or abilities presents a disjointed and usually a pitiful picture. After all, no one can suppose that these chosen of the nation are also the chosen of the spirit, or even of reason. It is to be hoped that no one will expect statesmen to sprout in hundreds from the ballots of an anything but intellectual electorate. We can never sharply enough denounce the silly notion that geniuses are born of general elections. In the first place any nation has a real statesman once in a blue moon, not a hundred at a time; and in the second place the aversion of the masses for any outstanding genius is always instinctive. Sooner shall the camel pass through the eye of a needle than a great man be "discovered" by an election.

Anyone who exceeds the normal dimensions of average humanity usually personally announces his presence in world history.

But as it is, five hundred people of more than modest stature vote upon the most important interests of the nation, and install a government which has to get the approval of the exalted five hundred for every individual event and particular question that arises. The policy, in other words, is actually created by five hundred people; and it usually looks it.

Even if there were no question of the originality of these peoples' representatives, we must remember how various are the problems awaiting solution, and in how many totally separate fields answers and decisions must be given. We can easily understand how worthless is an institution of government which entrusts the right of final determination to a mass meeting of people only a fraction of whom have any knowledge and experience in the matter under discussion. The most important economic measures are presented to a forum only a tenth of whose members have any economic training. This is simply putting the final decision on a matter into the hands of men who lack any equipment to meet it.

And so it is with every other question. Things are always settled by a majority of ignoramuses and incompetents, since the

membership of this institution remains unchanged, while the problems presented extend to almost every field of public life, and in fact would require a constant change of deputies to judge and vote upon them. It is impossible, after all, to let the same persons deal with matters of transportation as, for instance, with a question of important foreign policy. Otherwise they would all have to be universal geniuses such as in fact scarcely occur once in centuries. But unfortunately these are mostly not "brains" at all, but only narrow, conceited, and puffed-up dilettantes, an intellectual demimonde of the worst sort. That is in fact the reason for the often incomprehensible carelessness with which these gentry discuss and decide things that even the greatest minds would find a matter of anxious consideration. Measures of utmost importance for the whole state, nay of a nation, are taken as if a game of Old Maid or Tarock (undoubtedly more suitable for such people) were on the table, instead of the fate of a race.

Of course it would be unjust to think that by nature every deputy in such a parliament has so slight a sense of responsibility. Not at all. But by forcing the individual to make up his mind on questions which do not suit his talents, this system gradually corrupts the character. Nobody is going to have the courage to say "Gentlemen, I do not think we know anything about this matter. I, personally, at any rate, certainly do not." (In any case it would make little difference, for surely that sort of frankness would not be understood, and besides people would hardly let such an honest donkey spoil everyone else's game.) But anyone who knows human nature will understand that in such illustrious company nobody likes to be the dunce, and in certain circles honesty is always synonymous with stupidity.

Thus a representative who begins by being honorable is forced into the crowded path of falsehood and cheating. The very conviction that an individual's abstention would in itself make no difference kills every honest impulse which this or that person may feel. He will end by telling himself that he personally is far from the worst of the lot, and that by joining in he may simply prevent worse things from happening.

But, it will be objected, though the individual deputy may have no special understanding of a given matter, his attitude has been determined by the party as the guide of his politics; and the party has its separate committees, which are more than sufficiently informed by experts.

At first glance this seems to be true. But then comes the question: why choose five hundred when but a few of them possess the necessary wisdom to adopt any policy in the most important matters?

Yes, there is the crux of the matter.

It is the object of our present democratic parliamentary not to form an assembly of wise men, but rather to put together a herd of intellectually dependent ciphers, who become easier to steer in particular directions as their personal incapacity increases. Only so can party politics in the present bad sense of the phrase be carried on. And only so is it possible for the real wire-puller to remain always cautiously in the background without ever being personally called to account, since thus every decision, no matter how harmful to the nation, is blamed not upon one rascal visible to everybody, but on a whole party. And so all practical responsibility disappears, for it can exist only in the obligation of an individual, and not in a parliamentary windbag association.

Nobody but a lying turnspit, afraid of daylight, could approve this institution; while every honest, straightforward man, ready to assume personal responsibility, must find it hateful. And consequently such democracy has become the tool of that race whose real purposes make it fear sunlight, now and forever. Only the Jew can praise an institution as dirty and untrue as himself.

Opposed to this we have the true Germanic democracy consisting of free election of the leader, who is bound to assume full responsibility for his acts and omissions. Here there is no roll-call of a majority on individual questions, but only the rule of an individual who has to back his decisions with his property and his life.

To anyone who objects that under such conditions scarcely anyone will be willing to devote himself to so risky an undertaking, there is but one answer: thank God. It is the very purpose of a Germanic democracy to keep every chance unworthy climber from attaining the government of his fellow-man through the back door; the greatness of the responsibility to be assumed is meant to scare off weaklings and incompetents.

But if such a fellow should try to steal in nevertheless, we can more easily find and harshly rebuke him: Away, craven scoundrel! Draw back your foot; you are befouling the stair. The front steps to the Pantheon of history are not for skulkers, but for heroes!

I had arrived at this opinion after two years of visiting the Vienna Parliament. Then I stopped going.

Parliamentary government had been quite largely responsible for the ever-increasing weakness of the old Hapsburg state during the previous few years. The more its work broke German supremacy, the more a system of playing off nationalities against one another gained ground. In the Reichsrat itself this was always at the expense of the Germans, and thus eventually at the expense of the Empire; for by the turn of the century it must have been obvious to any simpleton that the centripetal force of the Monarchy could no longer overcome the countries' attempt to break loose. On the contrary, the more pitiful the means which the state had to use for self-preservation, the more universally the state was despised. Not only in Hungary but in the individual Slavic provinces people identified themselves so little with the common Monarchy that they did not feel its weakness as a shame to themselves. Instead they were rather pleased at the signs of senility, for they preferred the Monarchy's death to its recovery.

In Parliament, complete collapse was prevented by ignominious yielding and by paying every sort of blackmail (of course the Germans had to foot the bill); in the country it was prevented by adroit playing-off of one people against another. But

the general line of development still bore down on the Germans. Particularly when the Imperial succession began to give a certain influence to Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the increase of Czech influence began to proceed by orderly plan from above. By every possible means this future ruler of the Dual Monarchy tried to promote de-Germanization, to encourage it, or at least to cover it up. By way of the civil servants, purely German towns were slowly but surely pushed into the danger-zone of mixed language. Even in Lower Austria this began to progress even more swiftly, and many Czechs already considered Vienna their greatest city.

The family of the new Hapsburg spoke only Czech (the Archduke's morganatic wife, a former Czech countess, belonged to a group whose Germanophobia was a tradition). His guiding principle was gradually to set up in Central Europe a Slavic state built on a strongly Catholic foundation as a bulwark against Orthodox Russia. Here again, as so often with the Hapsburgs, religion was made the servant of a wholly political idea, and—at least from the German standpoint—of a disastrous idea at that.

The results were more than sad in several respects. Neither the House of Hapsburg nor the Catholic Church got the reward it expected. The Hapsburgs lost their throne; Rome lost a great state.

For by putting religious elements to work for its political calculations the Crown awakened a spirit which it had not dreamed was possible.

In answer to the attempt to exterminate Germanity in the old Monarchy by every means came the Pan-German movement in Austria.

By the eighties, Manchester liberalism of Jewish fundamental tendency had reached, if not passed, its height even in the Monarchy. But like everything in old Austria the reaction against it was chiefly founded not on social but on national considerations. Self-preservation forced Germanity to defend itself with the utmost vigor. Only as an afterthought did economic

considerations slowly gain an important influence. Two party structures emerged from the general political turmoil, one national in tendency, the other more social, and both extremely interesting and instructive for the future.

After the crushing conclusion of the War of 1866, the House of Hapsburg pondered the idea of reprisal on the battlefield. Only the death of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, whose ill-fated expedition was blamed chiefly upon Napoleon III, and whose abandonment by the Frenchman aroused universal indignation, prevented a closer alliance with France. But even then the Hapsburgs were lying in wait. If the War of 1870-71 had not turned out to be such a triumphal march, the Viennese Court would probably still have ventured on the bloody game of revenge for Sadowa. But when the first heroic tales came from the battlefield, tales wondrous and hardly to be believed, but nevertheless true, the "Wiseest" of all Monarchs saw the moment was inopportune, and tried to make the best of a bad business.

The heroic struggle of those years produced a yet greater miracle; for with the Hapsburgs new attitudes never meant a change of heart, but only pressure of circumstances. The German people in the old *Ostmark* were carried away by Germany's joyful intoxication in victory, and were stirred to the depths by the resurrection of their fathers' dream as a magnificent reality.

For make no mistake: the truly German-spirited Austrian from that time on saw even in Königgrätz the tragic but inevitable prerequisite for the resurrection of an Empire which should not be contaminated with the foul aura of the old German Confederation—and which no longer was so. Above all he learned by bitter personal experience that the House of Hapsburg had at last completed its historical mission, and that the new Empire must choose as Kaiser only a man whose heroic spirit made him worthy of the "Crown of the Rhine." And no praise was too high for a Fate which bestowed this honor upon the descendant of a House which in the dim past had already given the nation, indeed, a shining symbol of national exaltation

in Frederick the Great, a symbol to endure for all time.

But after this great war the House of Hapsburg began slowly but implacably, with desperate determination, to exterminate the dangerous Germanity (of whose true sentiments there could be no doubt) in the Dual Monarchy—for this was certainly the purpose of the policy of Slavization; then the resistance of this people marked for destruction flamed up in a fashion new to German history.

For the first time, patriotic and nationally-minded men became rebels. They were rebels not against the nation, not even against the state in itself, but rebels against a way of government which they were conscious must lead to destruction of their own nationality.

For the first time in recent German history the customary dynastic patriotism was distinguished from national love of Fatherland and people.

To the Pan-German movement of German Austria in the nineties belonged the credit for realizing clearly and unmistakably that a state's authority has the right to demand respect and protection only if it helps the interests of a nationality, or at least does them no harm.

State authority cannot exist as an end in itself, or every tyranny in the world would be sacred and untouchable.

If by governmental means a nationality is being driven to its destruction, the rebellion of that nationality's every member is not merely a right, but a duty.

But the question of when such a condition exists is decided not by theoretical treatises, but by force—and by success.

Of course every governing power claims the duty of preserving state authority, no matter how bad, and though it betray the interests of a nationality a thousand times over. In fighting down such a power, therefore, in winning freedom or independence, the peoples' instinct of self-preservation will have to use the same weapon by which its adversary attempts to maintain itself. That is to say, the battle will be carried on by "legal" means so long as the power which is being overthrown also em-

employs them; but there must be no hesitation in using illegal means if the oppressor also resorts to them.

In general it must never be forgotten that the highest purpose of man's existence is not the maintenance of a state, let alone of a government, but the preservation of his own kind.

Let that be in danger of suppression or destruction, and the question of legality is but subordinate. Then, though the methods of the ruling power be a thousand times "legal," the self-preservation of the oppressed is always the noblest justification for a struggle using any and every weapon.

Only because that statement is recognized as true does this earth's history show such tremendous examples of wars of independence against inward or outward enslavement of peoples.

The law of humanity is above the law of the state.

But if a people is defeated in its battle for the rights of man, that means simply that in the scales of Fate it weighed too lightly to have the good fortune of survival in our mundane world. For anyone who is unready or unable to fight for his life has already been marked for extinction by an eternally just Providence. The world is not for coward peoples.

How easy it is for a tyranny to wrap itself in the cloak of so-called "legality" we see most plainly and strikingly once again by the example of Austria.

The legal state power at that time rested on the anti-German foundation of the Parliament, with its non-German majority—and on the equally anti-German ruling House. These two elements embodied the entire authority of the state. An attempt to change the lot of the German-Austrian people by that path would have been nonsense. Consequently our admirers of the "legal" way, as the only "permissible" one, and of the state's authority itself, were bound to think that all resistance must be abandoned because it could not be carried on by legal means. But this must inevitably have meant the end of the German people in the Monarchy, and that quickly. Germany was in fact saved from that fate only by the collapse of the state.

The bespectacled theorist would, it is true, rather die for his doctrines than for his people. Since men made laws for themselves, he believes that afterward men exist for the laws.

It was the merit of the Pan-German movement in Austria at that time that it swept away this nonsense, to the horror of all theoretical hobbyists and other state fetish-worshippers.

While the Hapsburgs were trying to get at Germany by every means, this party ruthlessly attacked the "exalted" ruling House itself. The party was the first to probe the rotten state, and to open the eyes of hundreds of thousands. It deserved the credit for rescuing the magnificent idea of love of Fatherland from the embrace of this sorry dynasty.

When it first began, the party had an extraordinary following, and in fact threatened to become a regular landslide. But its success did not last. By the time I arrived in Vienna the movement had long since been overtaken by the Christian Socialist Party (which in the meantime had attained power), and in fact had sunk to complete insignificance.

The whole process of the Pan-German movement's growth and decline on the one hand, and the Christian Socialist Party's unheard-of rise on the other hand, was a classical example for study, and as such of great importance to me.

When I came to Vienna my sympathies were altogether on the side of the Pan-German movement. The fact that people had the courage to shout "Hoch Hohenzollern" in Parliament impressed and delighted me; I felt a happy confidence because they continued to regard themselves as an only temporarily separated integral part of the German Empire, and let no moment pass without announcing the fact. To speak out without hesitation on every question concerning Germany, and never to compromise, seemed to me the only remaining road of salvation for our people; but why, after its first magnificent rise, the movement should fall so low, I could not understand. Still less could I understand how in the same period the Christian Socialist Party had arrived at such enormous power. It had just then reached the peak of its celebrity.

While I was attempting to compare the two movements, Fate, hurried by my general sad situation, gave me the best of instruction in understanding this puzzle's causes.

I will begin my consideration with the men who must be considered the leaders and founders of the two parties: Georg von Schönerer and Dr. Karl Lueger.

In purely human terms they both tower above any so-called parliamentary figures. Through the slough of general political corruption their whole lives remained pure and above reproach. My personal sympathy, however, was at first on the side of the Pan-German Schönerer, and only gradually was extended also to the Christian Socialist leader.

In the matter of ability Schönerer even then seemed to me the better and more solid thinker on problems of principle. He realized the inevitable end of the Austrian State more clearly and more correctly than anyone else. If the German Empire especially had listened to his warnings of the Hapsburg Monarchy, the catastrophe of Germany's World War against all of Europe would never have occurred.

But if Schönerer could grasp the inner nature of a problem, he was completely unsuccessful as a judge of men.

This was Dr. Lueger's strong point. He was a rare judge of human nature, and took great care never to see men as better than they are. Consequently he reckoned chiefly with the practical possibilities of life, of which Schönerer had little understanding. Everything that the Pan-German Schönerer thought was theoretically true; but he lacked the strength and the knack to impart this theoretical realization to the masses—that is, to put in it such a form that it would suit the capacity of the common people, which is and remains a limited capacity. Therefore all his insight was but the wisdom of a seer, which could never become practical reality.

This lack of actual knowledge of human nature eventually led to errors in judging the strength of whole movements, as well as of ancient institutions.

Lastly, Schönerer did recognize that these were questions of

world-concept, but he did not see that only the broad masses of a people are suited to be the mainstay of such almost religious convictions. Unfortunately he had but slight realization of the extraordinarily limited fighting spirit in so-called "bourgeois" circles—a result of their economic position, which makes the individual fear to lose too much, and therefore holds him back.

And in general a world-concept can hope for victory only if the broad masses, the mainstay of the new doctrine are prepared to undertake the necessary battle.

His lack of understanding of the importance of the lower strata of the people resulted in an entirely inadequate conception of the social question.

In all this, Dr. Lueger was Schönerer's opposite. His thorough knowledge of human nature allowed him to judge the possible forces, and at the same time preserved him from underestimating existing institutions, and perhaps even taught him, on the contrary, to use them as a means for the accomplishment of his purposes.

He understood only too well that the political fighting strength of the upper bourgeoisie in modern times was small, not sufficient to win the victory for a great new movement. In his political activity, therefore, he put the chief emphasis on winning over levels of the population whose living was threatened, thus spurring rather than paralyzing their fighting spirit. He was likewise willing to use every instrument of power already at hand, to win the favor of powerful existing institutions, and so to derive the greatest possible advantage for his own movement from the old sources of power.

So he aimed his new party chiefly at the middle class, which was threatened with destruction, and thus assured himself of an almost unshakeable following, ready for great self-sacrifice, and of dogged fighting determination. His relation to the Catholic Church was built up with infinite shrewdness, and soon attracted so many of the younger clergy that the old clerical party was forced either to abandon the field of battle or, a wiser choice, to unite with the new party, and thus win back many strongholds.

But if we were to see this alone as the characteristic picture of the man, we would be doing him a grave injustice. Besides being a shrewd tactician he had the qualities and the genius of a truly great reformer, even though here too he was restricted by exact knowledge of actually existing possibilities and of his own personal capacity.

This truly outstanding man set himself a completely practical goal. He wanted to capture Vienna. Vienna was the heart of the Monarchy; from this city the last remnants of life went out into the sickly and aging body of the rotten Empire. The healthier the heart became, the more vigorously the rest of the body must recuperate.

The idea was right in principle, but could be put in practice for only a certain limited time. And that was the weakness of the man.

What he achieved as Mayor of the city of Vienna is immortal in the best sense of the word; but that did not enable him to save the Monarchy—it was too late.

This his adversary Schönerer had seen more clearly.

What Dr. Lueger attacked in practice succeeded marvelously; what he hoped for as a result was not fulfilled.

What Schönerer wanted he could not accomplish; but what he dreaded unfortunately did happen to a fearful degree.

Thus neither man attained his ultimate goal. Lueger was too late to save Austria, Schönerer to preserve the German people from destruction.

It is vastly instructive for us today to study the causes of both parties' failure. It is particularly useful for my friends, since at many points conditions today are like those of that time, and mistakes can be avoided which brought about the end of one movement and the sterility of the other.

In my opinion there were three reasons for the collapse of the Pan-German movement in Austria: first, only vague ideas of the importance of the social problem, particularly to a new and by nature revolutionary party.

Schönerer and his followers addressed themselves primarily

to the bourgeois classes, and so the result was bound to be tame and weakly.

Although its individual members would never suspect so, the German bourgeoisie, particularly in its upper strata, is pacificistic to the point of self-surrender in matters of nation or state. In good times, (that is to say in this case times of good government), this disposition is the reason why these strata are extraordinarily valuable to the state; but in times of bad rule it is absolutely catastrophic. Even to make possible the fighting of a really serious battle at all, the Pan-German movement would have had to devote itself above all to winning the masses. It did not do so, and thus from the beginning was deprived of the elemental drive which a wave must have if it is not quickly to recede.

But if this principle is not realized and carried through from the beginning, the new party can never afterward make up for its omission. For when a large moderate bourgeois element is taken in, the movement's attitude will always be directed accordingly, and thus all further prospect of winning any considerable strength from the common people is lost. After that the movement can never get beyond pale wrangling and criticism. No longer shall we find an almost religious faith and self-sacrifice; in their place comes the attempt gradually to wear away the rigors of battle by "constructive" work—which in this case means acknowledging what already exists—, to wind up at last in a corrupt peace.

And that was what happened to the Pan-German movement because it did not begin by emphasizing the recruiting of its followers from the great mass of common people. It became "bourgeois, respectable, restrainedly radical."

This mistake bred the second cause of swift decline.

By the time the Pan-German movement arose, Germany's situation in Austria was already desperate. From year to year the Parliament had become more of an institution for slow destruction of the German people. Only the removal of this institution could give any hope, no matter how small, of rescue at the eleventh hour.

This raised a question of fundamental importance for the movement. In order to destroy the Parliament, should they go into Parliament, to "bore from within," as they used to say, or should they attack the institution as such from outside?

They went in, and came out beaten. True, they did have to go in. To fight such a power from outside means to arm oneself with unshakable courage, and to be ready for infinite sacrifice. In so doing we seize the bull by the horns. We take many a shrewd blow, are often knocked down, perhaps to arise only with shattered limbs; only after supreme struggle will victory rest with the bold attacker. Only the magnitude of the sacrifices can gain new fighters for the cause, until at last doggedness is rewarded with success.

But for that purpose we need the children of the people from out of the great masses. They alone are determined and tenacious enough to fight the battle through to the bloody end.

These great masses the Pan-German movement did not control; there was no choice, therefore, but to go into Parliament.

It would be a mistake to think their decision a result of long-continued spiritual torment, or even reflection; no, they had never thought of anything else. Participation in this nonsense was but the concrete result of generally vague ideas concerning the importance and meaning and effect of taking part in an institution which they recognized as wrong in principle. In general, they probably hoped it would be easier to enlighten the broad masses of the people by grasping the opportunity to speak before a "forum of the whole nation." Also it seemed obvious that an attack at the root of the evil must be more successful than assault from without. They believed the screen of parliamentary immunity would add to the safety of the individual fighter, so that the force of the attack could not but be increased.

In reality the course of events was quite different. The forum before which the Pan-German deputies spoke had become not greater but smaller, for no one can speak out further than to the circle which can hear him, or to the circle which receives in the papers a report of what he has said. The greatest direct forum of

listeners, however, is found not in the chamber of a Parliament, but in great public mass-meetings.

Here there are thousands of people who have come simply to hear what the speaker has to tell them; while in the Chamber of Deputies there are but a few hundred, most of whom are there to receive extra pay, and by no means to be enlightened by the wisdom of some "honorable representative of the people." But more than that, it is always the same audience, which will never learn anything new since it lacks not only the intelligence but the inclination, no matter how slight.

Never will one of these representatives bow of his own accord to superior truth, and then adopt it as his cause. No, nobody ever does such a thing unless he has reason to hope that by about-facing he can save his seat for another session. Only when it is in the air that the previous party will get off badly at a coming election do these ornaments of manhood make it their business to move over to the other and presumably more successful party or tendency; the shift usually takes place amid a cloudburst of moral explanations. Consequently a great migration always begins when an existing party seems to be in such popular disfavor that a crushing defeat is threatened; the parliamentary rats leave the party ship.

But this has nothing to do with superior knowledge or intentions; it is just a clairvoyant gift that warns the parliamentary vermin in time to fall into a new, warm, party bed.

To speak before such a "forum" is really only to cast pearls before the well-known quadrupeds. It is truly not worth while; the result cannot but be nil.

And nil it was. The Pan-German deputies could talk their throats sore: effect there was none.

The press either greeted them with dead silence or so distorted their speeches that any cohesion, often even any meaning was twisted or altogether lost. Public opinion consequently received a very bad impression of the new movement's purposes. What the individual gentlemen said made no difference; the meaning lay in what one could read. But this was a mere fragment of their

speeches, whose disjunction could not but seem like nonsense—and was meant to. The only forum to which they really spoke consisted of barely five hundred parliamentarians, and that tells the whole story.

But the worst of it was this: the Pan-German movement could count on success only if it understood from the outset that the matter was one not of a new party but of a new world-system. Nothing less could rouse the indispensable inner strength to fight this gigantic battle through. Only the best and bravest brains were of any use as leaders.

Unless heroes, ready to sacrifice themselves, lead the fight for a world-concept, there will soon be no rank-and-file warriors ready to die either. A man who is fighting for his own existence can scarcely have much left over for the common cause.

But to preserve this essential it is necessary for everyone to know that while the new movement may offer fame and honor among posterity, for the present it can offer nothing. The more a movement has at its disposal in the way of easily-acquired posts and positions, the greater will be the rush of nonentities. Finally these political day-laborers overrun a successful party in such numbers that the honest fighter of the early days no longer recognizes the old movement, and the new arrivals strongly object to him as an "interloper." That is the end of any such movement's "mission."

The moment the Pan-German movement sold its soul to Parliament, it naturally got "parliamentarians" instead of leaders and fighters. Thus it sank to the level of one of the ordinary political parties of the day, and lost the strength to defy a fatal destiny with the courage of martyrhood. Instead of fighting, it learned to "speak" and "negotiate." The new parliamentarian soon felt it a preferable, because a less risky, duty to fight for the new world-concept with the "intellectual" weapons of parliamentary eloquence rather than to fling himself, possibly risking his own life, into a battle whose result was uncertain, but which in any case could bring no profits.

Now that they had people in Parliament, the followers out-

side began to hope for and expect miracles which naturally never happened and never could happen. They very shortly became impatient; for even what they heard from their own deputies by no means suited the expectations of the voters. This was easily explained, since the hostile press took good care not to give the people a truthful picture of the Pan-German deputies' work.

But the more taste the new representatives acquired for the even gentler style of "revolutionary" struggle in Parliament and Landtag, the less willing they were to return to the more dangerous work of enlightening the broad masses of the common people.

For this reason the mass meeting, the only truly effective (because directly personal) way of exerting an influence on, and thus possibly winning over, any great part of the people, was more and more neglected.

When the beer-table of the meeting-hall was finally exchanged for the auditorium of Parliament, and the speeches were poured out not to the people but into the heads of the so-called "chosen," the Pan-German movement ceased to be a people's movement, and shortly sank into a more or less serious club for academic discussions.

Accordingly the bad impression given in the newspapers was no longer corrected by personal activity of the various gentlemen at meetings, so that finally the word "Pan-German" got a very bad taste in the mouths of the common people.

One thing all the ink-stained knights and fools of today should take particularly to heart: (the great upheavals in this world have never been guided by a goose-quill.

No, the only thing left over for the pen has been to explain them in theory.

But the force that sent down the great religious and political landslides of history has since the beginning of time been only the magic power of the spoken word.

The great masses of a people, in particular, yield only to the force of speech. All great movements are people's movements; they are volcanic eruptions of human passions, set off either by

the cruel Goddess of Privation or by the torch of words hurled among the masses. They are not the lemonade outpourings of aesthetic-talking literati and parlor heroes.

Only a storm of hot passion can change the fate of peoples; and passion can be aroused only by a man who himself bears it within. Passion alone can give to its chosen vehicle the words which like hammer-blows will open the gates to a people's heart.

But a man whom passion fails, and whose mouth is closed, has not been chosen by Heaven as a messenger of its will.

Let writers stick to their ink-pots to do "theoretical" work, if their intelligence and ability will let them; for leaders they are neither born nor chosen.

A movement with great aims must, therefore, be anxiously alert to keep its connection with the common people. Every question must be considered from that standpoint and decided with that view.

Furthermore it must avoid anything which might reduce or even slightly weaken its ability to influence the masses, not for any "demagogic" reason, but because of the simple fact that without the mighty force of a people's masses no great idea, however noble and exalted, can possibly be realized.

Harsh reality alone must determine the path to the goal; unwillingness to go by disagreeable roads in this world only too often means abandoning the goal; this one may or may not be willing to do.

When by its parliamentary direction the Pan-German movement threw the emphasis in its activity not upon the people but upon Parliament, it lost the future, and in its place won cheap successes of the moment. It chose the easier battle, and so was not worthy of the final victory.

I thought these particular questions through very thoroughly in Vienna, and in the failure to understand them I saw one of the chief causes of the collapse of the movement which at that time I supposed was destined to assume the leadership of Germany.

The first two mistakes which wrecked the Pan-German move-

ment were closely related. The Pan-Germans did not understand the inner driving forces of great upheavals, and thus made too low an estimate of the importance of the great masses of people; hence their slight interest in the social question, hence their inadequate attempts to capture the soul of the lower levels of the nation, and hence their attitude toward Parliament, which could only increase their inadequacy.

If they had realized the enormous power always inherent in the masses as the mainstay of revolutionary resistance, they would have gone to work differently in social and propaganda matters. The chief emphasis of the movement would have been put not on Parliament but on factory and street.

Even their third mistake had its germ in the fact that they did not recognize the value of the masses which, like a flywheel, originally set in motion in a given direction by superior intellects, lend impetus and consistent tenacity to the attack.

The hard struggle which the Pan-German movement carried on with the Catholic Church can be explained only by its insufficient understanding of the people's spiritual nature.

The causes of the new party's violent attack upon Rome were as follows:

When the House of Hapsburg had finally decided to transform Austria into a Slavic state, it resorted to every means which seemed at all suited to the purpose. This most conscienceless of ruling houses even unscrupulously put religious institutions to work for the new "state idea."

Employment of Czech pastorates and their spiritual shepherds was but one of the many means used to attain the purpose, a general Slavicization of Austria.

The process took place something like this:

In purely German parishes, Czech pastors were installed, who slowly but surely began to place the interests of the Czech people above the interests of the churches, and became focal points of infection in the de-Germanization process.

Faced with these tactics the German clergy, unfortunately, were almost a total failure. Not only were they completely use-

less in any similar struggle on the Germans' part, but they could not offer the necessary resistance to the attacks of the other side. Thus, by way of a misuse of religion on the one hand and by inadequate defense on the other, Germanity was slowly but unceasingly pushed back.

If it happened as described on a small scale, unfortunately things were not very different on a large scale. Here too the anti-German attempts of the Hapsburgs were not resisted as they should have been, particularly by the higher clergy, while the upholding of German interests was pushed entirely into the background.

The general impression could not but be that the Catholic clergy as such had committed a grave infringement on German rights.

In other words, the Church did not seem to feel itself as one with the German people, but unjustly to take the side of its enemies. The root of the whole trouble (particularly in Schönerer's opinion) was that the Catholic Church did not have control in Germany, and that for this reason if for no other it was hostile to the interests of our nationality.

In this, as in almost everything in Austria, so-called cultural problems were almost entirely in the background. What determined the Pan-German Party's position toward the Catholic Church was not nearly so much the Church's attitude toward science, for instance, as its insufficient efforts on behalf of German rights, and its constant advocacy of Slavic presumption and greed in particular.

Now Georg Schönerer was not the man to do things by halves. He took up the struggle against the Church in the conviction that this struggle alone could save the German people. The "Freedom-from-Rome" movement seemed the most violent, but also the hardest method of attack, and one which must surely destroy the enemy fortress. If it succeeded, the unhappy Church schism in Germany was also at an end, and the inward strength of the Empire and the German nation could not but gain enormously from such a victory.

But neither the premise nor the conclusion of this struggle was correct.

Undoubtedly the power of nationalist resistance among the Catholic clergy of German nationality in all questions concerning Germanity was less than that of their non-German, particularly their Czech colleagues. And only an ignoramus could fail to see that it almost never even occurred to the German clergy to take the offensive for German interests. But anyone except a blind man had also to admit that this was due chiefly to a fact from which we Germans all suffer most bitterly: the objectivity of our attitude toward our nationality as toward everything else.

The Czech priest's attitude toward his people was subjective, toward the Church only objective, while the German pastor was subjectively devoted to the Church, and remained objective toward his nation. This is a phenomenon which, to our misfortune, we can also observe in a thousand other cases.

This is by no means a special heritage of Catholicism; it very soon contaminates almost every one of our institutions, particularly state or intellectual institutions.

We have only to compare, for instance, our civil servants' attitude toward attempts at a national revival with the attitude which the civil servants of another nation would take in such a case. Is it possible to suppose that any army officers in the world would put aside the interests of their nation designating them "governmental authority" as ours have done for the past five years, nay, are even thought specially meritorious for so doing? Do not both Churches today take a standpoint in the Jewish question which suits neither the interests of the nation nor the real needs of religion? We have but to compare the attitude of a Jewish rabbi on all questions of any importance for Jewry as a race with the attitude of by far the greater part of our clergy—our clergy of both Churches, at that.

With us this phenomenon always occurs whenever it is a question of maintaining an abstract idea.

"Governmental authority," "democracy," "pacifism," "international solidarity," etc.—these are ideas which we almost always

turn into such rigid, wholly doctrinaire concepts that we can judge generally vital national matters only from the point of view they give us.

This calamitous way of regarding all our concerns from the standpoint of a preconceived opinion kills any ability to think oneself subjectively into anything which objectively contradicts one's own doctrines; and it eventually leads to a complete reversal of means and end. People resist attempts at any national revival that depends on the removal of a bad and destructive regime; this would be an offense against "governmental authority." But "governmental authority" in the eyes of one of these fanatics for objectivity is not a means to an end, but the end itself, sufficient to fill his whole sorry life. Thus for instance they would indignantly resist any attempt at a dictatorship even though its head were a Frederick the Great and the statecraftsmen of the momentary parliamentary majority were but incompetent dwarves or worse, because these pig-headed men of principle think the law of democracy more sacred than the welfare of a nation. Some of them will defend the worst tyranny, destroying a people, because at the moment it embodies "governmental authority;" while others oppose even the most beneficent government if it does not fit in with their notion of "democracy."

In the same way our German pacifists will pass over in silence any rape upon the nation, no matter how sanguinary, even though carried out by the worst militaristic forces, if this fate has to be averted by resistance, that is by force; for this would violate the spirit of their peace society. The international Socialist can be plundered by the rest of the world in solidarity; he pays it back in fraternal affection, not dreaming of reprisal or even of defense, simply because he is—a German.

This may be a sad fact, but trying to change anything involves recognizing it first.

The same thing holds for the weakness in upholding German interests by part of the clergy. It is neither malicious ill will in itself, nor compelled by, let us say, orders "from above;" we see in this lack of nationalist determination only the result of an

inadequate training for Germanity from childhood, along with complete subjection to an idea which has become an idol.

Training for democracy, for international Socialism, for pacifism, etc., is so rigid and exclusive—that is, so completely subjective—that the fundamental conception influences even the general image of the rest of the world, while from childhood onward the attitude toward Germanity has always been most objective. Thus the pacifist, subjectively surrendering himself altogether to his idea, will (if he is a German) look for the objective justice in every grave and unjust menace to his people, and will never join and fight, purely from an instinct of self-preservation, in the ranks of his herd.

How true this is of the two churches may be seen from what follows.

By nature, Protestantism upholds the interests of Germanity better, in so far as this is implicit in its birth and later tradition; but it fails whenever the defense of national interests carries over into a field either missing from the general line of its concepts and traditional development, or for some reason actually objectionable to the Church.

Protestantism will always make a stand for the betterment of Germanity in itself, so long as it is a matter of inner purity or deepening of the nation, of the defense of German character, the German language, or German freedom; all this is firmly rooted in Protestantism itself. But it is quick to combat bitterly every attempt to free the nation from the embrace of its most deadly enemy, because its attitude toward Jewry is more or less firmly fixed by dogma. And yet this is the question which must be solved before any further attempts at a German renaissance or revival can ever have the slightest sense or possibility of success.

While I was in Vienna I had leisure and opportunity enough to look into this question without previous prejudice; and my daily social contacts confirmed my opinion a thousand times over.

It was quickly proved in this focal point of miscellaneous nationalities that only a German pacifist will always try to look objectively at the interests of his own nation, but that the Jew

never does so with the interests of the Jewish people; that only the German Socialist is "international" in a sense which forbids him to win justice for his own people except by whimpering and bawling to his international comrades, while it is never true of the Czech or the Pole; in short, I saw even then that the harm was only partly in the doctrines as such, and quite as much in our wholly inadequate training for our own nationality, and our consequent less intense devotion to it.

This disproves the first purely theoretical argument for the Pan-German movement's struggle against Catholicism as such.

Let us train the German people from childhood to exclusive recognition of the rights of their own nationality, and not infect the children's hearts with our curse of "objectivity" in matters even of our own self-preservation; we shall soon see that (given a radically nationalist government), as in Ireland, Poland or France, so too in Germany the Catholic will always be a German.

We find our strongest proof in the period when, to protect its existence, our people last appeared before the judgment-seat of history for a battle of life and death.

So long as leadership from above was not lacking, the people did its duty overwhelmingly. Protestant pastor and Catholic priest both contributed enormously to the long continuance of our resistance, not only at the front, but at home even more. During those years, and particularly in the first flaring-up, for both camps there was really but one holy German Empire, on behalf of whose existence and future everyone turned to his own Heaven.

There was one question which the Pan-German movement in Austria should have asked itself: Is the preservation of Austrian Germanity possible with a Catholic faith, or not? If so, the political party had no business to concern itself with religious, to say nothing of confessional matters; but if not, a religious reformation was necessary, never a political party.

Anyone who thinks he can arrive at a religious reformation by way of a political organization shows only that he has not the faintest notion of the growth of religious ideas or teachings and

their results in the Church.

Here one really cannot serve two masters. And make no mistake: I believe the founding or destruction of a religion is a far greater matter than the founding or destruction of a State, let alone of a party.

Let no one say that the above-mentioned attacks were only self-defense against attacks from the other side. In all ages, obviously, conscienceless fellows have not hesitated to make of religion a tool for their political business (almost always the sole concern of such characters). But just as obviously it is wrong to make religion or a Church responsible for a number of scoundrels who misuse it, for they would probably make anything the servant of their base instincts.

Nothing could suit one of these parliamentary ne'er-do-wells and sluggards better than thus finding an opportunity to justify his political jugglery at least *ex post facto*. For the moment religion or a sect is made responsible for his personal badness, and is attacked on that ground, the lying fellow summons all the world with loud shouts to witness how justified his behavior has been, and how the salvation of religion and Church is due solely to him and his eloquence. The rest of the world, as stupid as it is forgetful, usually does not recognize him amid the shouting as the real author of the whole struggle, or at least does not remember him, and so the scoundrel has really attained his object.

These crafty foxes know perfectly well that it has nothing to do with religion; all the more will they laugh up their sleeves while their honest but clumsy adversary loses the game, and finally, despairing of man's honesty and good faith, retires from it all.

In other respects too it would be unjust to make religion as such or even the Church responsible for the misdeeds of individuals. If we compare the greatness of its visible organization with the average imperfection of men in general, we shall have to admit that the proportion of good to bad is better there than almost anywhere else. No doubt there are among the priests themselves those whose holy office is but a means for the satis-

faction of political ambitions, yes, who amid the political battle forget in an often more-than-regrettable fashion that they are after all the guardians of a higher truth, and not defenders of lies and slander; but for every one such unworthy figure there are a thousand and more honorable shepherds of souls faithfully devoted to their mission, who stand out like little islands from the general slough of the present corrupt and untruthful age.

I do not and must not condemn the Church as such if some corrupt creature in priest's garb chances to go wrong in some morally unclean fashion; no more do I if some other one among many befouls and betrays his nationality—particularly in an age when that is an absolutely every-day matter. Today especially we should not forget that for one such Ephialtes there are thousands who feel the misfortunes of their people with bleeding hearts, and who, like the very best in our nation, long for the moment when Heaven will once more smile upon us.

If anyone replies that these are not petty every-day problems, but questions of fundamental truth and dogma in general, we can give him the necessary answer only with another question:

If you think you are chosen by Fate to proclaim the truth here, by all means do so; but have the courage not to do it by way of a political party—for this too is jugglery—, but instead of the evil of today, set up your improvement of the future.

If you lack the courage, or if you are not quite clear yourself about your better substitute, then let things alone; but in any case do not try to get by stealth through a political movement what you dare not attain openly.

So long as religious problems do not, like an enemy of the people, undermine the morals and ethics of one's own race, political parties have no business to meddle with them; just as religion should not identify itself with political party mischief.

If ecclesiastical dignitaries use religious institutions, or even doctrines, to injure their own nationality, we must never follow them on this path to fight them with their own weapons.

To the political leader, the religious beliefs and institutions of his people must be sacrosanct; otherwise he has no right to be a

politician, but will become a reformer if he has the stuff for it.

Any other attitude, particularly in Germany, would lead to catastrophe.

In studying the Pan-German movement and its struggle against Rome, I came at that time, and increasingly as the years went on, to the following belief:

This movement's slight realization of the importance of the social problem cost it the truly able-bodied fighting masses of the people; its entrance into Parliament deprived it of its mighty impetus, and infected it with all the weaknesses peculiar to that institution; its struggle against the Catholic Church made it impossible in many lower and middle-class groups, and thus robbed it of many of the best elements the nation can call its own.

The practical result of the Austrian *Kulturkampf* was close to zero.

They did succeed in wresting about a hundred thousand members from the Church, but without even inflicting any particular damage. The Church had in this case really no need to shed tears over the lost sheep; for what it lost it had inwardly long since ceased fully to possess. Here was the difference between the new Reformation and the old one: during the former, many of the Church's best had turned away as a matter of religious conviction, whereas now only the naturally lukewarm departed, and this from "considerations" of a political nature.

But precisely from the political standpoint the result was as sorry as it was ridiculous.

Once again a promising movement toward political salvation for the German nation had gone to pieces because, not being conducted with the necessary ruthless clear-sightedness, it lost itself in directions which were bound to divide its force.

For one thing is surely true: the Pan-German movement would never have made this mistake if it had sufficiently understood the native character of the broad masses. If its leaders had known that to succeed at all one must, for purely human reasons, never show two or more adversaries to the masses, because then the fighting force is completely split up—if they had realized

this, the Pan-German movement would have been directed at one single adversary. Nothing is more dangerous for a political party than to let itself be led hither and yon in its decisions by vaporing fools who wish for everything without ever being able to accomplish anything whatever.

No matter how much may actually be wrong with a particular religious persuasion, a political party must never for an instant lose sight of the fact that, judging by all previous historical experience, no purely political party in a similar situation has ever succeeded in arriving at a religious reformation.

We do not study history to forget its teachings when they should be put to practical use, nor to think that things are different now, and that its eternal truths are no longer applicable; on the contrary, we learn from history its practical application for the present. Let no one who cannot accomplish this imagine himself a political leader; he is in actuality a shallow if usually very conceited simpleton, and all the good will in the world does not excuse his practical incapacity.

And in fact the art of truly great popular leaders in all ages has consisted chiefly in not distracting the attention of a people, but concentrating always on a single adversary. The more unified the object of the people's will to fight, the greater will be the magnetic attraction of a movement, and the more tremendous its impact. It is part of a great leader's genius to make even widely separated adversaries appear as if they belonged to but one category, because among weakly and undecided characters the recognition of various enemies all too easily marks the beginning of doubt of one's own rightness.

When the wavering masses see themselves fighting against too many enemies, objectivity immediately appears, casting up the question whether all the others are really wrong, and only one's own people or movement alone is in the right.

And just there is the first weakening of one's own strength. Therefore a multiplicity of inwardly various opponents must always be lumped together so that in the eyes of the mass of one's own followers the battle is fought against but one single enemy.

This strengthens their faith in their own cause, and increases their bitterness against him who attacks it.

That the Pan-German movement did not realize this cost it its success. Its goal was rightly seen, its will was pure; but the road it took was wrong. It was like a mountain-climber who keeps his eye fixed on the peak to be scaled, and takes the trail with great decision and energy, but pays no attention to the path, and, his eye always on his goal, neither sees nor examines the nature of the ascent, and thus finally goes astray.

The situation of its great competitor, the Christian Socialist Party, seemed to be reversed. The road it took was shrewdly and rightly chosen, but a clear realization of the goal was lacking.

In almost every matter where the Pan-German movement was lacking, the attitude of the Christian Socialist Party was right, and was deliberately planned for results.

It had the necessary realization of the masses' importance, and secured at least part of them by plainly emphasizing its social character from the very first. By adjusting itself to win the petty and lower middle and artisan classes it obtained a following as faithful as it was dogged and self-sacrificing. It avoided fighting any religious institution, and thus secured the support of a mighty organization such as the Church is. Consequently it had but one truly great adversary. It recognized the value of large-scale propaganda, and was skilled in working upon the human instincts of the broad mass of its followers.

It too failed to reach its dreamed-of goal of saving Austria. The fault was in two shortcomings of its method, as well as in its uncertainty about the goal itself.

The anti-Semitism of the new movement was founded on a religious concept instead of a racial insight. The reason that this mistake occurred was the same which also caused the second error.

If the Christian Socialist Party was to save Austria, it must not, in the opinion of its founders, take its stand on the race principle, since otherwise a general dissolution of the State was soon bound to take place. Particularly the situation in Vienna itself made it

necessary, in the party leaders' view, to put aside as far as possible all dividing tendencies, and in their place to emphasize all the unifying considerations.

By that time Vienna was already so thoroughly impregnated with Czech elements, particularly, that only the greatest tolerance in race questions could hold these elements in a party which was not anti-German from the beginning. If Austria was to be saved, they could not be dispensed with. An attempt was therefore attempted to win especially the very numerous Czech petty artisans in Vienna by a drive against Manchester liberalism, and it was supposed that thus the struggle against Jewry on a religious basis was provided with a slogan which would bridge all the national differences of old Austria.

That an attack on such a basis would cause but slight worry to the Jews is plain on the face of it. At worst, a dash of baptismal water would always save his business and Judaism together.

With a superficial argument such as this they never achieved serious scientific treatment of the whole problem, and so they repelled all too many to whom this sort of anti-Semitism was incomprehensible. Thus the attractive power of the idea was almost exclusively confined to limited intellectual circles, if they did not want to go from there to a real insight through pure emotional experience. On principle the intelligentsia remained hostile. The whole affair took on more and more the appearance of being a mere attempt at a new conversion of the Jews, or even the expression of a certain competitive envy. The struggle thus lost the ear marks of an inner and higher consecration, and seemed to many people (and not the worst sort) immoral and reprehensible. The conviction was lacking that this was a vital question for all of humanity, upon whose solution the fate of all non-Jewish peoples depended.

This half measure destroyed the value of the Christian Socialist Party's anti-Semitic attitude. It was an apparent anti-Semitism that was almost worse than none; for being lulled in security, people thought they had the enemy by the ears, while in reality they themselves were led around by the nose.

The Jew, however, soon became so accustomed to this sort of anti-Semitism that he would surely have missed it more if absent than he was hampered by its presence.

If the State of nationalities had already demanded one great sacrifice, the upholding of Germanity as such demanded a greater.

The party could not be "nationalistic" if they were to avoid losing the ground under their feet in Vienna itself. By gentle evasion of this question they hoped still to save the Hapsburg State, and the very attempt drove it to ruin. At the same time the movement lost the great source of strength which alone in the long run can fill a political party with inner driving force. The Christian Socialist movement thus became a party like any other.

I followed both movements with the greatest attention, one from the urging of my own heart-beat, the other because I was carried away by admiration for the rare man who even then seemed to me a bitter symbol of all Austrian Germanity.

When the tremendous funeral procession carried the dead Mayor from the City Hall out toward the Ringstrasse, I too was among the many hundreds of thousands who watched the tragic spectacle. My feelings, deeply stirred, told me that even this man's work must be in vain because of the dire fate which was leading the State inevitably to its doom. If Dr. Karl Lueger had lived in Germany, he would have been ranked among the great minds of our people; that he had worked in this impossible State was his misfortune and that of his work.

When he died, the flames in the Balkans were already greedily flickering higher from month to month, so that Fate had mercifully spared him from seeing what he had still believed he could prevent.

I tried to discover the causes behind the failure of the one movement and the misdirection of the other, and came to the definite conclusion that (quite aside from the impossibility of fortifying the State in old Austria) the mistakes of the two parties were the following:

The Pan-German movement was right enough in principle in its views on the goal of a German revival, but unhappy in

its choice of weapons. It was nationalistic, but unfortunately not social enough to conquer the masses. Its anti-Semitism, however, rested upon a proper realization of the importance of the race problem, and not on religious concepts. On the other hand, the attack upon a particular religious persuasion was actually and practically wrong.

The Christian Socialist movement had vague ideas of the goal of a German renaissance, but was intelligent and fortunate in its choice of roads as a party. It realized the importance of the social question, was mistaken in its fight upon Jewry, and did not have any conception of the might of the national idea.

If in addition to its shrewd knowledge of the broad masses the Christian Socialist Party had adequately understood the importance of the race problem as the Pan-German movement had grasped it, and if finally the Party had been nationalistic; or if the Pan-German movement besides its true insight into the goal of the Jewish question and the meaning of the nationalist idea had adopted also the practical shrewdness of the Christian Socialist Party, and particularly the latter's attitude toward Socialism, the result would have been the one movement which in my opinion might successfully have changed the Germans' fate.

It lay chiefly in the nature of the Austrian State that this did not happen.

As my convictions were not realized in any other party, I could not afterward make up my mind to join or fight for one of the existing organizations. Even then I thought all the political movements were failures, incapable of carrying out a national renaissance of the German people on any large and not merely external scale.

My repugnance for the Hapsburg State kept growing. The more attention I began to pay to questions of foreign politics particularly, the more did my conviction gain ground that this State structure could only be the misfortune of Germanity. More and more clearly, too, I saw that not only the fate of the German nation was being decided from here, but within

the German Empire itself. This held not only for general questions of politics, but equally for every manifestation of cultural life.

Even here, in the field of purely cultural or artistic affairs, the Austrian State showed every sign of enervation, or at any rate its meaninglessness for the German nation. This was most true in the field of architecture. If for no other reason, modern architecture in Austria could have no conspicuously great successes because (at least in Vienna) after the building of the Ringstrasse was completed, the jobs to be done were but insignificant compared to the plans being developed in Germany.

So I began more and more to lead a double life; reason and reality bade me go through a bitter and useful school in Austria, but my heart dwelt elsewhere.

An uneasy discontent possessed me as I came to realize the hollowness of this State and the impossibility of saving it, while I felt with certainty that it could not but be the misfortune of the German people in every respect. I was convinced that the State must confine and hamper any truly great German, whereas on the other hand it would foster everything non-German.

I found revolting the conglomeration of races which the Imperial capital presented, revolting the whole mixture of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs and Croatians, etc., and mingled with them all the eternal decomposing fungi of mankind—Jews and again Jews.

To me the gigantic city seemed the embodiment of incest.

The German of my youth was the dialect which is spoken also in Lower Bavaria; I could neither forget it nor learn the Viennese jargon. The longer I stayed in the city, the higher burned my hatred for the alien admixture of peoples which began to gnaw away at this ancient seat of German culture.

The idea that this State could be preserved much longer seemed to me absolutely ridiculous.

Austria was like an old mosaic, in which the cement holding together the separate bits of stone has become old and crumbly.

So long as it is not touched, the work of art can still pretend existence; but the moment it receives a jar, it falls into a thousand fragments. The only question was when the jolt would come.

Since my heart had never beat for an Austrian Monarchy, but only for a German Reich, the moment of the State's collapse could but seem to me the beginning of the salvation of the German nation.

For all these reasons my longing grew ever stronger to go at last where my secret wishes and secret love had been pulling me since early youth.

I hoped some day to make a name as an architect, and so, on the large or small scale which Fate might assign me, to devote my honest labors to the nation.

And lastly I wanted to enjoy the happiness of being and working at the place whence the most burning wish of my heart must some day be fulfilled: Union of my beloved homeland with its common Fatherland, the German Empire.

Many people even today will not be able to realize the greatness of my longing; but I address myself to those whom Fate has either thus far denied this happiness, or with harsh cruelty has deprived of it; I addressed myself to all those who, separated from the mother country, must fight for even the sacred possession of language, who are pursued and tormented for their faithfulness to the Fatherland, and who long in anguished emotion for the moment that will bring them back to the heart of the beloved Mother; to all these I address myself, and I know they will understand me!

Only those who know by bitter experience what it means to be a German without the privilege of belonging to the dear Fatherland can measure the deep longing which always burns in the heart of the children parted from the mother country. It torments its victims, and denies them happiness and contentment until the doors of the paternal house shall open, and common blood shall find rest and peace in a common realm.

Vienna was and remained the hardest, if also the most thor-

ough, school of my life. I had entered the city half a boy, and I left it as a quiet and serious man. There I laid the foundation for a world-concept in general and a way of political thinking in particular which I had later only to complete in detail, but which never afterward forsook me. Only now, in fact, can I fully appreciate the real value of those years of apprenticeship.

I have treated this period at some length because it gave me my first object-lessons in those questions which go to form the basis of the Party which, from tiny beginnings, in a scant five years* has begun to develop into a great mass movement. I do not know what my attitude would be today toward Jewry, toward Social Democracy, or rather toward Marxism as a whole, toward the social question etc., if a cornerstone of personal views had not thus early been laid by the pressure of Fate—and by my own self-education.

For even though the misfortunes of the Fatherland may stimulate thousands upon thousands to ponder the inner causes of the collapse, still this can never bring the thoroughness and the deeper insight which are revealed to the man who himself masters Fate after years of struggle.

* Written in 1924.

4. MUNICH

IN THE spring of 1912 I moved to Munich for good. The city itself was as familiar to me as if I had lived within its walls for years. My studies were the reason for this, since of course at every step they turned my attention upon this metropolis of German art. Not only have you not seen Germany if you do not know Munich, no, above all you do not know German art if you have not seen Munich.

In any case this period before the war was the happiest and by far the most contented of my life. Though my living was still a very scanty one, after all I did not live in order to paint, but painted to assure myself of a living, or rather to be able to continue my studies. I had the conviction that I would still some day attain the goal I had set myself. And this in itself made it easy for me to bear undisturbed the other small worries of daily life.

Furthermore there was the love that possessed me for this city, more than any other town I knew, almost from the first moment I arrived. A *German* city! What a difference after Vienna! Even to think back on that Babylon of races turned my stomach. Then there was the dialect, much more natural to me, which reminded me, particularly when I talked with Lower Bavarians, of the days of my youth. There must have been a thousand things which were or became dear and precious to me. But most of all I was attracted by the wonderful mating of natural vigor with a fine artistic temper, the unique line from the Hofbräuhaus to the Odeon, the Oktoberfest to the Pinakothek, etc. Today I am more attached to that city than to any other spot in the world, no doubt partly because it is and re-

mains indissolubly bound up with the development of my own life; but the happiness of true inner contentment which I then enjoyed could be ascribed only to the magic spell which the wonderful Residence of the Wittelsbachs casts upon every person blessed not merely with a calculating intelligence but with a sensitive spirit.

Aside from my ordinary work, what attracted me most, here again, was the study of the day's political events, particularly matters of foreign policy. To the latter I was brought by way of the German alliance policy, which even in my Austrian days I had considered absolutely mistaken. But in Vienna I had not fully realized the whole extent of the German Empire's self-deception. I had been inclined to assume—or possibly I offered it only as an excuse to myself—that people in Berlin perhaps knew how weak and unreliable their ally would actually be, but were withholding this knowledge for more or less mysterious reasons. They might be trying to support an alliance policy which Bismarck himself had originally inaugurated and which it was not desirable suddenly to break off, if only to avoid startling the foreign countries that lay in wait or making the stodgy citizen uneasy at home.

But I was soon horrified to discover from my contacts, particularly among the people, that my belief was wrong. To my astonishment I found everywhere that even otherwise well-informed circles had not the faintest conception of the Hapsburg Monarchy's nature. The common people particularly were victims of the notion that their ally could be considered a serious power, which would be quick to take a man's part in the hour of need. The masses still considered the Monarchy a "German" state, and thought hopes could be built on it. They were of opinion that strength could be measured by millions there as in Germany itself; they quite forgot that in the first place Austria had long since ceased to be a German state, and in the second place the inner conditions of this Empire were moving from hour to hour ever closer to dissolution.

I understood this state structure better than did so-called

official "diplomacy," which was reeling blindly (as almost always) toward the disaster; for the temper of the people was always but the outflow of what was poured into public opinion from above. But from above a cult like that of the golden calf was being fostered for the "ally." They probably hoped to make up in affability for what they lacked in honesty. And yet words were always taken at face value.

Even in Vienna I had flown into a fury when I saw the occasional difference between the speeches of the official statesmen and the content of the Viennese newspapers. And yet even then, at least in appearance, Vienna was still a German city.

But how different was the situation if one traveled from Vienna, or rather from German Austria, into the Slavic provinces of the Empire! One had only to look at the Prague newspapers to see how the whole exalted thimblerrigging of the Triple Alliance was judged there. They had nothing but cutting mockery and scorn for this "masterpiece of statesmanship." In the midst of peace, while the two Emperors were pressing the kiss of friendship on each other's brows, people did not trouble to disguise the fact that the Alliance would be done for on the day that there was any attempt to transport it from the mists of the Nibelungen ideal into practical reality.

How indignant people were a few years later when the moment came for the Alliance to prove itself, and Italy broke away from the Triple Alliance, left her two comrades to go their way, and finally herself became an enemy! That people had ever dared believe for a moment in the possibility of such a miracle—the miracle that Italy would fight on the same side with Austria—could not but have been absolutely incomprehensible to anyone not smitten with diplomatic blindness. Yet the situation in Austria was the same to a hair.

The sole support for the alliance idea in Austria came from the Hapsburgs and the Germans. The Hapsburgs gave it from calculation and because they could not help it, the Germans through good faith and political stupidity. Good faith, because in the Triple Alliance they thought they were doing the Ger-

man Empire a great service, helping to strengthen and defend it; political stupidity because this belief was mistaken, and in fact they were helping to chain the Reich to a very corpse of a state, which was bound to drag both into the abyss, and above all because this very Alliance sacrificed them more and more to de-Germanization. For the Hapsburgs thought themselves—and unfortunately were in fact—protected by their alliance with Germany against interference from that quarter, and consequently it was considerably easier and less risky for them to carry out their domestic policy of slowly ousting Germanity. Not only were they shielded by the well-known “objectivity” from any protest of the German government, but by referring to the Alliance they could always stop the unseemingly mouth of Austrian Germanity if it threatened to open against some altogether too vile method of Slavization.

And after all, what could a German in Austria do, when the Germanity of the Reich itself expressed admiration and confidence for the Hapsburg regime? Was he to resist, and be branded as a traitor to his own nationality throughout the German-speaking world? He, who for decades had made the most supreme sacrifices just for his nationality?

But what value had the Alliance once the Germanity of the Hapsburg Monarchy was exterminated? Was not the value of the Triple Alliance for Germany absolutely dependent upon the preservation of German supremacy in Austria? Or did they really suppose they could live in alliance with a Slavic Hapsburg Empire?

The attitude of official German diplomacy and the whole body of public opinion toward the Austrian domestic problem of nationalities was not even stupid—it was absolutely insane. They relied on an alliance, planned the future and safety of a people of seventy millions accordingly—and watched their partner from year to year deliberately and unwaveringly destroying the sole basis of the compact. Some day a remnant of the “treaty” with the Viennese diplomats would remain, but the aid of an allied empire would be lost.

With Italy this was the case from the outset anyway. If people in Germany had only studied history and national psychology a bit more clear-sightedly, they could never for a moment have believed that the Quirinal and the Vienna Hofburg would ever fight in a common front. Italy would have turned into a volcano before any government would have dared send a single Italian upon the battlefield, for the fanatically hated Hapsburg State, except as an enemy. More than once in Vienna I saw flare up the passionate contempt and bottomless hatred with which the Italian was "devoted" to the Austrian State. The sins of the House of Hapsburg against Italian freedom and independence through the centuries were too great to be forgotten, even if there had been any such inclination. But there was no inclination—either among the people or on the part of the Italian government.

In living together with Austria, therefore, Italy had but two possibilities: alliance and war. By choosing the first, she was able to prepare at leisure for the second.

The German alliance policy was both senseless, and dangerous, particularly since Austria's relations with Russia came ever closer to armed conflict. Here was a classic example showing complete lack of any large and sound line of thought.

Why did they conclude an alliance at all? Only to assure the future of Germany better than Germany could have done if thrown wholly on her own resources. But the future of Germany was nothing more or less than the question of making possible the preservation of the German people's existence.

But then the question could be only this: What shape must the life of the German nation take in the predictable future, and how can we assure the necessary basis and security for this development within the general limits of the European balance of power?

On clear consideration of the prerequisites for German statesmanship's activity in foreign politics, we necessarily come to the following conclusion:

The yearly increase in Germany's population is almost 900,000

souls. The difficulty of feeding this army of new citizens is bound to grow from year to year, and finally to end in catastrophe, unless ways and means are found in time to avert the danger of starvation.

There were four ways of avoiding this fearful development for the future.

1. On the French model, the increase in births could be artificially limited, and over-population thus avoided.

It is perfectly true that in times of great distress or bad climatic conditions or a poor crop yield, Nature herself takes steps to limit the increase of population in certain countries or races; but she does it both wisely and ruthlessly. She does nothing to destroy reproductivity as such, but does prevent the survival of what is reproduced, by exposing the new generation to such trials and privations that all the weaker and less healthy are forced to return to the womb of the eternally Unknown. Everything that Nature allows to survive the rigors of existence is a thousand times tested, is hard, and well fitted to go on propagating, so that the thoroughgoing winnowing may start anew. By thus brutally proceeding against the individual, and recalling him to herself instantly if he is not equal to the storms of life, she keeps the race and species strong, even pushes them to supreme achievement.

The reduction of numbers is thus a strengthening of the individual, and consequently in the end an improvement in the species.

It is otherwise when man begins to undertake a limitation of his own number. He is not carved from the granite of Nature, but is "humane." He knows better than the cruel Queen of all wisdom. He limits not the survival of the individual, but reproduction itself. He sees himself always, and never the race; he believes this road is more human and better justified than its opposite.

But unfortunately the results as well are reversed: Nature, while allowing free propagation, puts a severe test upon survival, choosing the best among a great number of individual creatures

as worthy of life, and thus retaining them alone to propagate their species; man, on the other hand, restricts breeding, but takes frantic care that every creature once born shall survive at any price. This correction of divine purpose seems to him as wise as it is humane, and he is delighted once more to have outwitted Nature, nay to have proved her inadequacy. But the Heavenly Father's pet ape hates to see or behold the fact that while the number may indeed be restricted, the value of the individual is correspondingly reduced.

The moment propagation as such is restricted, and the number of births reduced, we have instead of the natural struggle for existence, which allows only the strongest and healthiest to live, a craving to "save" as a matter of course and at any price even what is weakest and most sickly—thus sowing the seeds of new generations which are bound to become more and more pitiful the longer this mockery of Nature and her will goes on.

But the end of it all can only be that some fine day such a people is deprived of its mundane existence; for man may indeed defy the eternal laws of the will to survive, but sooner or later there is retribution. A stronger race will drive out the weak ones: the urge for life in its final form will always break the ridiculous shackles of so-called humaneness of individuals, putting in its place the humaneness of Nature, which annihilates weakness, and puts strength in its stead.

Anyone who would assure the German people's existence by way of a self-limitation of increase is simply robbing it of its future.

2. A second way might be the one we are again hearing constantly proposed and advocated today: internal colonization. This proposal is well-meant by many, and by fully as many is ill understood, causing the greatest imaginable harm.

No doubt the yield of a given soil can be increased within certain limits. But only within certain limits, and not indefinitely. For a certain length of time, that is, the increase of the German people can be balanced by increased productivity of our soil without danger of starvation. But against this we have the fact

that the demands made upon life generally increase even faster than the population. People's requirements for food and clothing grow from year to year, and even now, for instance, they bear no relation to the needs of our forefathers say a hundred years ago. In other words it is a mistaken belief that every increase in productivity makes possible an increase in population. No: this is true to only a certain extent, since at least part of the increased production of the soil is used up to satisfy men's increased requirements. But even with the greatest self-denial on the one hand and the most assiduous industry on the other, a limit is still bound to come, set by the soil itself. All the assiduity in the world can wring no more out of it; and then, even if somewhat postponed, disaster again approaches. For a time starvation will recur only occasionally, with crop failures and the like. As the number of the people increases, it will recur oftener and oftener, so that at last it is absent only when rare bumper crops fill the graneries. Finally the time comes when the distress can no longer be alleviated, even then, and starvation is the eternal companion of the people. Now Nature must come to the rescue again, and make a selection among those she has chosen to live; or else man helps himself again—that is, he resorts to artificial restriction of his increase, with all the grave consequences for race and species already described.

It may still be objected that sooner or later, after all, this future awaits the whole of humanity, so that naturally no single people can escape it.

At first glance, this is absolutely true. Nevertheless we must consider the following:

Some day the impossibility of balancing the fertility of the soil with the ever-increasing population will of course compel all mankind to stop increasing the human race, and either to let Nature decide or to strike the necessary balance by self-help if possible (but then by a method better than that of today). But this will hold for every people, while at present only those races are thus distressed which no longer have the strength and energy to assure themselves of the land they require in this

world. After all, the fact is that at present vast expanses of land still exist in the world quite unused, and but awaiting the cultivator. It is also true, however, that Nature is not holding this land as a reserve area against the future for a particular nation or race; the land is for the people which has the strength to take it and the industry to till it.

Nature knows no political boundaries. She simply deposits living creatures on this globe, and watches the free play of forces. The boldest and most industrious among her children is her favorite, and is set up as Lord of Creation.

If a people confines itself to internal colonization while other races are taking a grip on ever-greater areas, it will be driven to self-limitation at a time when the other peoples are still constantly on the increase. Some day that situation must occur, and the smaller the life-room at a people's disposal, the sooner it will be. Unfortunately all too often the best nations, or rather the only truly civilized races, the mainstay of all human progress, decide in their pacifist blindness to abandon further acquisition of territory, and to content themselves with internal colonization. But inferior nations succeed in acquiring vast habitable areas of the globe.

The final result would be this: the culturally better but less ruthless races would be obliged by limited territory to restrict their increase at a time when peoples lower in civilization but more elemental and brutal would still be able, having vast territories, to increase without limit. In other words, the world will some day come into possession of the culturally inferior, but more energetic, part of humanity.

At some future day, no matter how distant, there will be two possibilities: either the world will be governed according to the ideas of our modern democracy, and the balance of every decision will lie with the more numerous races; or the world will be ruled by the natural laws of relative strength, and the peoples of brutal will-power will triumph—and once again not the self-limited nation.

That the world will some day be the scene of fierce struggles

for the existence of mankind, no one can doubt. In the end, the craving for self-preservation alone can be victorious. Beside it, so-called humanity, the expression of mingled stupidity, cowardice and imagined superior knowledge, melts like snow in the March sun. In eternal battle mankind became great; in eternal peace it will go to destruction.

For us Germans the slogan of "internal colonization" is perdition because (if for no other reason) it at once confirms the belief that we have found a means which on pacifist principles allows us to lead a gentle dream-life, assuring our existence by "working for" our living. If we should ever take this idea seriously, it would mean the end of any exertion to maintain the place which is rightfully ours in the world. Let the average German once become convinced that his life and future can be assured in this way as well as in some other, then every attempt actively (and thus alone fruitfully) to defend German vital necessities will be finished. If the nation took such an attitude we could regard any really useful foreign policy as dead and buried, and with it the future of the German people.

Considering these consequences it is no accident that the Jew always leads in planting such deadly ideas among our people. He knows his men too well not to realize that they will be grateful victims of any confidence man who can make them believe the means is found to snap their fingers at Nature, to render unnecessary the hard, implacable struggle for existence, to ascend (now by work, now by simply sitting still, "just however it comes") to lordship over the planet.

I cannot sufficiently emphasize that *all German internal colonization must serve primarily only to correct social abuses (particularly to withdraw the land from the reach of general speculation), but can never suffice to assure the future of the nation without new territory.*

If we act otherwise, we shall soon be at the end not only of our territory, but of our strength.

There remains finally this to be pointed out:

Both the restriction to a certain small area consequent upon

internal colonization and the similar eventual effect produced by a limitation of breeding lead to an extremely unfavorable military situation for the nation in question.

The size of a people's home territory is in itself an important factor in its outward security. The greater the space at a people's disposal, the greater too is its natural protection; for military decisions can be gained more quickly, more easily, more effectively and more completely against peoples in small, constricted territories than is possible against territorially extensive states. The large size of a state's territory, that is, does offer a certain protection against offhand attacks, since any conquest could be accomplished only after long and severe struggles, so that the risk involved in a wanton assault will seem too great unless there are quite extraordinary reasons for it. That is to say, the very size of a state is a reason why its people can more easily preserve its freedom and independence, while conversely the smallness of such a country makes it absolutely provoke appropriation.

The first two possibilities of striking a balance between the rising population and the static amount of land were in fact opposed by so-called nationalist circles in Germany. The reasons for this attitude were, it is true, different from those given above; people were hostile to limitation of births chiefly through a certain moral feeling; they indignantly denounced internal colonization because they scented in it an attack against the great landholders, and saw here the beginning of a general struggle against private property as such. Considering the form in which this second doctrine of salvation in particular was advocated, they were in fact probably quite right in their assumption.

So far as the great masses were concerned, the defense was not very skillful, and by no means went to the heart of the problem.

There now remained but two ways to assure the rising population of work and bread.

3. Either new land could be acquired on which to push off the

superfluous millions year by year, and thus to keep the nation on a self-sustaining basis, or

4. Industry and commerce could work for foreign consumption, and a living could be taken from the profits.

In other words: either a territorial or a colonial and commercial policy.

Both roads were looked at from various angles, discussed, advocated and opposed, until at last the second was definitely followed.

The sounder way would, it is true, have been the first one.

The acquisition of new land for transplantation of the overflowing population has countless advantages, particularly if we look not to the present but to the future.

The mere possibility of preserving a healthy peasant class as the cornerstone of the whole nation can never be sufficiently prized. Many of our present troubles result altogether from the unsound relation between country and city people. A solid nucleus of small and medium-scale peasant farmers has always been the best protection against such social ills as affect us today. This is, furthermore, the only solution which allows a nation to find its daily bread through the cycle of domestic economy. Industry and commerce then recede from their unhealthy position of leadership, and take their places in the general scheme of a national balanced consumption economy. Thus they are no longer the basis of the nation's livelihood, but only auxiliary to it. By confining themselves to the role of a balance between home production and consumption in every field, they make the people's whole livelihood more or less independent of foreign countries, or in other words they help to assure the freedom of the state and the independence of the nation, particularly in time of stress.

But it must be said that a territorial policy of this sort cannot be carried out in a place like the Cameroons, but, in these days, almost without exception only in Europe. We must take a cool, calm stand upon the position that it surely cannot be the intention of Heaven to give one people fifty times as much of

this world's soil as another has. In this case we must not let political frontiers distract us from the frontiers of eternal justice. If this earth really has room for all to live on, let us be given the soil we need in order to exist.

True, no one will do so willingly. But here the law of self-preservation takes effect; and what is denied to amity the fist must take. If our forefathers had made their decisions by the same pacifist nonsense as the present day does, we would possess but a third of our existing territory — but in that case there would scarcely be a German people left to suffer in Europe. No; it is to the natural determination to fight for our own existence that we owe the two *Ostmarken* of the Empire, and hence the inner strength of a large state and racial territory, which alone has allowed us to survive to the present day.

For another reason, too, this solution would have been the correct one: many European states today are like inverted pyramids. Their European territory is ridiculously small compared to their load of colonies, foreign trade, etc. We can rightly say, apex in Europe, base all over the world—as distinguished from the American Union, whose base is still on its own continent, while only the apex touches the rest of the earth. And hence indeed come the enormous strength of that State and the weakness of most European colonial powers.

England is no proof to the contrary, because in face of the British Empire we all too easily forget the Anglo-Saxon world as such. If only because of its linguistic and cultural ties with the American Union, England's position cannot be compared with that of any other state in Europe.

For Germany, accordingly, the sole possibility of carrying through a sound territorial policy lay in acquiring new land in Europe itself. Colonies are useless for this purpose unless they are suitable for large-scale settlement by Europeans. But in the nineteenth century that sort of colonial territory could no longer be obtained by peaceful means. Such a colonial policy would of course have been possible only by way of a severe struggle, which in that case would have been more usefully

directed not at extra-European territories, but at land on our own continent.

Once made, such a decision does require single-minded devotion. There must be no half-measures or hesitation in attacking a task whose accomplishment seems possible only by exerting the very last ounce of energy. The whole political guidance of the Empire, furthermore, would have had to be devoted exclusively to this purpose; no step could ever have been taken under the influence of any consideration other than realization of this task and what it involved. They would have had to realize that the goal could be attained by battle only, and, with that knowledge, to await the course of arms in calm and composure.

All the alliances, then, should have been considered and assessed for their usefulness from this standpoint alone. If European soil was wanted, by and large it could be had only at the expense of Russia; the new Empire must have returned to march the road of the ancient Knights of the German Order, to give sod to the German plow by the German sword, and to win the daily bread of the nation.

For such a policy as this there was but one ally in Europe—England.

Only with England covering our rear could we have begun a new Germanic migration. Our justification would have been no less than the justification of our forefathers. None of our pacifists refuses the bread of the East, although the first plow-share was once a sword!

No sacrifice should have been too great in winning England's friendship. We should have given up all thought of colonies and sea power, and avoided competition with British industry. Here only absolute clear-sightedness could bring success—abandonment of world trade and colonies—abandonment of a German navy. Concentration of every means in the State's power on the army.

The result no doubt would have been a momentary limitation, but a great and mighty future.

There was a time when England could have been talked to in

that sense. England well understood that Germany, because of increasing population, had to seek some way out, and would find it either with England in Europe, or without England in the world.

Probably owing in large part to this supposition, London itself tried at the turn of the century to effect a *rapprochement* with Germany. Then for the first time a fact appeared which in the last few years we have been able to observe in truly alarming fashion. People were dismayed at the thought of having to pull chestnuts out of the fire for England—as if there could ever be an alliance on any other basis than that of a mutual business deal. Such a deal could easily have been made with England. British diplomacy was at least shrewd enough to know that nothing can be expected without something in return.

If we imagine a wise German foreign policy taking over Japan's role in the year 1904, we can scarcely grasp all the results it would have had for Germany.

Things would never have got to the point of a "World War." The bloodshed in 1904 would have saved ten times as much in the years 1914 to 1918. And what a position would be Germany's in the world today!

True, the alliance with Austria would then have been nonsense. For this mummy of a state allied itself with Germany, not to fight a war, but to preserve a perpetual peace which could be shrewdly used for the slow but sure extermination of Germanity in the Monarchy.

But if for no other reason, this alliance was an impossibility because after all no aggressive upholding of German national interests could be expected of a state which had not even the strength and determination to put an end to the process of de-Germanization on its very borders. If Germany had not enough national common sense and even ruthlessness to wrest control over the fate of ten million of its own race, from the impossible Hapsburg State, it could hardly be expected to set its hand to such a far-sighted and daring plan. The attitude of the old Empire toward the Austrian question was the touchstone for its behavior

in the whole nation's struggle with Destiny.

In any case they had no business to watch idly while Germany was driven back year by year; the value of Austria's alliance after all depended wholly on the preservation of the German element.

But they did not go in that direction at all. They feared the struggle above everything, only to be forced into it finally at the least propitious moment. They hoped to flee Fate, and were overtaken by it. They dreamed of preserving world peace, and ended up in a World War.

And here was the chief reason why the third way of shaping a German future was not even considered. They knew that the acquisition of new territory could be accomplished only in the East; they saw the battle that would be necessary, and they wanted peace at any price. The watchword of German foreign policy had long since changed from "Preservation of the German nation by every means" to "Preservation of world peace by any means." How they succeeded, everyone knows.

I shall have more to say on that subject later.

There remained the fourth possibility: industry and world trade, sea power and colonies.

At the beginning this development was, in fact, easier and quicker to achieve. The colonization of territory is a slow process, often lasting for centuries; indeed its real inner strength consists in the fact that it is not a sudden flaring up, but a sound and steady though slow growth, in contrast with industrial development, which can be inflated in the course of a few years, but which will then be more like a soap-bubble, than any kind of solid strength. It is quicker work building a navy than fighting doggedly to build farms and settle them with farmers; but the navy is also the more quickly destroyed of the two.

When Germany nevertheless chose that road, she had at least to realize clearly that even this development would end in battle some day. Only children could expect by pleasant and mannerly behavior and constant emphasis upon peaceful intentions to get their "bananas" in the "peaceful competition of nations" about

which people talked such fine unctuous nothings—to succeed, that is, without ever having to resort to arms.

No: if we took this road, some day England was bound to be our enemy. It was more than silly (but quite in character with our native innocence) to be indignant because one fine day England took the liberty of rudely opposing our peaceful activity with an egotist's violence.

We, unhappily, actually would never have done such a thing.

If European territorial politics could be carried on only against Russia and in league with England, conversely a colonial and world-trade policy was thinkable only against England and with Russia. But in that case the logical conclusion must be drawn here too—and above all, Austria must be sent packing at once.

Considered from any angle the alliance with Austria was, even by the turn of the century, true madness.

But they never dreamed of allying themselves with Russia against England, any more than with England against Russia, for in either case the result would have been war, and it was only to prevent this that the commercial and industrial policy had been decided on in the first place. In the shape of "peaceful economic" conquest of the world they had a formula which was supposed to break the neck of the old power policy once and for all. Perhaps they were sometimes not quite sure of the thing, particularly now and then when England uttered incomprehensible menaces; and so they decided to build a navy, but, once more, not to attack and annihilate England, but to "defend" the above-mentioned "world peace" and the "peaceful" conquest of the world. It was therefore kept on a somewhat more modest scale in general, not only in number, but in tonnage and armament of individual ships, so that the really "peaceable" intention might still be clear.

The fine talk about "peaceful economic" conquest of the world was probably the greatest nonsense ever elevated into a guiding principle of state policy. The nonsense was made yet worse by the fact that people did not hesitate to point to England as the chief witness for the possibility of this achievement. The

share of our professorial teaching and concept of history in this blunder can scarcely be made good, and is but the most striking proof of how many people "learn" history without grasping or even understanding it. People should have recognized England as the very most crushing disproof of the theory; no people has ever more brutally prepared with the sword for its economic conquests, or more ruthlessly defended them afterward, than the English. Is it not the very most characteristic feature of British diplomacy to derive economic gain from political power, and, conversely, at once to transform every economic advance into political strength? And what a mistake to think that England was personally too *cowardly* to back up its economic policy with its own blood! The fact that the English people lacked a "national army" was no proof; for this is not a question of the particular military form of the armed forces, but of the will and determination to exert whatever force there is. England always had what armament she required. She always fought with the weapons which success demanded. She fought with mercenaries as long as mercenaries were enough; she dipped deep into the best blood of the whole nation when such a sacrifice was essential to bring victory; but the resolution for the struggle and the tenacity and ruthlessness with which it was conducted remained always the same.

But the German schools, press and comic journals gradually created an idea of the Englishman, and even more of his Empire, which was bound to lead to fatal self-deception. Everyone was gradually affected by this nonsense, and the result was an underestimate for which we paid most bitterly. The falsification was so profound that people firmly believed they were faced, in the Englishman, with a business man whose sharp practice was equaled only by his incredible personal cowardice. Unfortunately it did not occur to our exalted teachers of professorial wisdom that a world empire the size of England's could not well be gathered together by sneak-thievery and swindling. The few men who sounded a warning were not listened to, or were met with a conspiracy of silence. I can still remember the astonish-

ment upon my comrades' faces when we clashed in person with the Tommies in Flanders. After the first few days of battle it began to dawn on everyone that these Scotsmen were not altogether like those it had been thought well to depict in comic journals and newspaper dispatches.

That was when I first began to consider what the most suitable form of propaganda was.

But this falsification did have one advantage for its perpetrators: the example, untrue though it was, could be used to demonstrate the soundness of economic conquest of the world. What the Englishman could do, we must be able to do also; our much greater honesty, the lack of any specifically English "perfidy" was considered a great advantage for us. People hoped thus the more easily to win the friendship particularly of the smaller nations, as well as the confidence of the great ones.

Because we believed it all quite seriously, we never dreamed that our honesty was an abomination to the rest of the world, which considered such behavior an extremely cunning form of mendacity. It was not until our Revolution, that they could realize the unbounded stupidity of our "honest" intentions, no doubt to their vast astonishment.

Only this nonsense of "peaceful economic conquest" of the world could make the nonsense of the Triple Alliance clear and comprehensible. With what other state could they possibly ally themselves? With Austria they could not, it is true, go forth to "warlike conquest," even in Europe. This was the inward weakness of the Alliance from the first moment. Bismarck could permit himself this makeshift, but that did not mean every bungling successor could do the same, least of all in an age when the essential presuppositions even of Bismarck's alliance had long since ceased to exist; for Bismarck still believed Austria was a German state. But with the gradual introduction of universal suffrage the country had sunk to a parliament-governed, un-German hurly-burly.

As a matter of race policy, too, the alliance with Austria was simply ruinous. The growth was tolerated of a new Slavic great

power on the borders of the Empire, a power whose attitude toward Germany was bound sooner or later to be quite different from that of Russia, for example. At the same time, the Alliance itself was bound to grow hollower and weaker from year to year, to just the degree that the sole supporters of the idea lost influence in the Monarchy, and were crowded out of the most influential positions.

By the turn of the century the alliance with Austria had reached the same stage as Austria's alliance with Italy.

Here again there were but two possibilities: either the Hapsburg Monarchy was an ally, or objection must be made to the ousting of Germany. But a matter of this sort, once begun, usually ends in open battle.

Even psychologically the Triple Alliance had but a modest value, since the solidity of an alliance declines as soon as it begins to limit itself to preserving an existing situation. Conversely, an alliance increases in strength as it offers the separate parties hope of attaining tangible goals of expansion. Here as everywhere, strength is not in defense, but in attack.

This was recognized even then in various quarters, but unfortunately not in the so-called "competent" ones. The then Colonel Ludendorff, Officer on the Great General Staff, in particular, pointed to these weaknesses in a paper written in 1912. Of course the "statesmen" attached no value or importance to the matter; clear common sense apparently is needed for ordinary mortals only, while it can always be dispensed with in the case of "diplomats."

It was lucky for Germany that in 1914 the war broke out by way of Austria, so that the Hapsburgs were compelled to take part; if it had come the other way about, Germany would have been alone. The Hapsburg State could never have taken part, or even wished to take part, in a struggle begun by Germany. Austria in that case would have done what Italy was later so loudly condemned for: it would have remained "neutral," in order thus at least to protect the State from a revolution at the very outset. The Austrian Slavs would rather have broken up the

Monarchy in 1914 than have offered help to Germany.

Very few people at that time realized how great were the dangers and added difficulties which the alliance with the Danube Monarchy involved.

In the first place Austria had too many enemies who hoped to inherit the decaying State; in the course of time Germany was bound to be exposed to some hatred as the obstacle to the universally longed-for dismemberment of the Monarchy. People came to the conclusion that in the end Vienna could be reached only by way of Berlin.

In the second place, Germany thus, lost its best and most promising possibilities of alliance. In their stead came ever-increasing tension with Russia and even with Italy. The general temper particularly in Rome, toward Germany was as friendly as that toward Austria, slumbering in the heart of every last Italian, and often even blazing high, was hostile.

Since the commercial and industrial policy had been chosen once and for all, there was no longer even the slightest reason for a struggle with Russia. Only the enemies of both nations could have any real interest in it. And in fact it was chiefly Jews and Marxists who used every means to stir up a war between the two states.

Thirdly and lastly the Alliance concealed one enormous threat to Germany: any great power hostile to Bismarck's Empire could easily mobilize a whole string of states against Germany because enrichment at the expense of the Austrian ally could be promised to each one.

All of Eastern Europe, especially Russia and Italy, could be raised in uproar against the Danube Monarchy. The world coalition begun by King Edward would never have come into being if Austria as Germany's ally had not been an irresistibly tempting legacy. Only thus was it possible to unite in a single attacking front states with such otherwise heterogeneous wishes and goals. In a general advance against Germany everyone could hope to enrich himself at the expense of Austria. The peril was increased to the extreme because Turkey also seemed to belong

to this unlucky alliance as a silent partner.

International Jewish world finance needed this bait in order to carry out its long-cherished plan of destroying Germany, which had not yet yielded to the general international control of finance and the economic structure. It was the only way to forge a coalition which would be strong and bold enough by the pure numerical force of marching millions, and ready at last to do battle with the horned Siegfried.

The alliance with the Hapsburg Monarchy, which even in Austria had thoroughly displeased me, was now the subject of a long inward scrutiny which ended by confirming my previous opinion still further.

In the humble circles in which I moved, I made no secret of my conviction that this unhappy treaty with a state marked for destruction must lead to a catastrophic collapse of Germany as well, if we did not succeed in freeing ourselves in time. Nor did I waver for a moment in my rock-bottomed conviction, even when the storm of the World War seemed to have cut off all reasoned reflection, and the wave of enthusiasm had swept away even those whose duty it was to look absolutely coldly upon reality. Whenever I heard these problems discussed, even while I was at the front, I maintained my opinion that the alliance must be broken off, the sooner the better for the German nation, and that it would be no sacrifice at all to deliver up the Hapsburg Monarchy if Germany could thus limit the number of her adversaries; the millions had strapped on the steel helmet not to preserve a debauched dynasty, but to save the German nation.

Once or twice before the war it seemed as if at least one camp would have some faint doubt that the policy of alliance being pursued was sound. From time to time, German-Conservative circles began to give warning against too-great trustfulness, but this, like all other common sense, was but writ in water. People were convinced they were on the high road to a "conquest" of the world whose success would be enormous, and whose cost, nothing.

Once again there was nothing for the well-known "inter-

lopers" to do but to watch in silence while the "elect" marched straight to damnation, trailing the good folk after them like the Pied Piper of Hamelin.

The underlying reason why it was possible to offer, and to make comprehensible to a whole people, the nonsense of "economic conquest" as a practical political method, and the preservation of "world peace" as a political goal, was a general diseased state of our entire political thinking.

With the triumphal march of German industry and invention, and the growing successes of German trade, people realized less and less that the whole thing was possible only on the presupposition of a strong state. On the contrary, in many circles people went so far as to argue that the state itself owed its existence solely to these facts, that it was primarily an economic institution, should be governed by economic interest, and hence depended for its existence upon economic life—a condition which was thereupon praised as by far the healthiest and most natural one.

But the state has nothing whatever to do with any particular economic concept or development. It is not a union of economic contracting parties within a definite limited area to perform economic tasks.

It is the organization of a community of physically and spiritually similar living beings, the better to make possible the preservation of their species as well as the attainment of the goal which Providence has set for their existence. That and that alone is the purpose and meaning of a state. The economic system is but one of the many means necessary to attain this goal. It can never be the cause or purpose of a state unless from the beginning it rests on a wrong, because unnatural, basis. That is the only explanation for the fact that the existence of a state as such need not even presuppose any definite territorial limitations. This is necessary only for peoples which desire to assure the sustenance of their own species on their own resources, that is, which are ready to decide the battle of existence by their own

labor. Peoples which succeed in creeping in among the rest of mankind like drones, letting the others work for them under various pretexts, can form states without any definitely bounded life-room of their own. This is true particularly of that people from whose parasitism, today more than ever, the whole of honest humanity is suffering—Jewry.

The Jewish State has never been spatially limited, but universally unlimited in territory, while limited to the inclusion of one race. Hence this people has always formed a state within the states. It is one of the most brilliant tricks ever invented to have this State sail under the colors of a "religion," and thus to assure it of the toleration which the Aryan is always ready to allow to a religious persuasion. For the Mosaic religion is in fact nothing but a doctrine for the preservation of the Jewish race. This is why it includes almost every field of sociological, political and economic knowledge which could possibly serve that purpose.

The instinct for preservation of the species is the original cause of the formation of human communities. But that means that the state is a popular organism, and not an economic organization. Great as the difference is, it is quite incomprehensible to the so-called "statesmen" of today. They consequently think they can build up the state by purely economic means, whereas in reality the state results only from the employment of those qualities connected with the will of species and race to survive. But these qualities are always heroic virtues, never the egoism of a tradesman, for after all the survival of a species presupposes readiness to sacrifice the individual. The words of the poet, "And if you do not stake your lives, life shall never be your prize," signify that the surrender of personal existence is necessary to assure the survival of the species. But the most essential prerequisite for the formation and maintenance of a state is the existence of a certain feeling of community on the basis of like character and species, along with the willingness to back it by every means. With people on their own soil this leads to the creation of heroic virtues, with parasites it leads to lying hy-

pocrisy and malicious cruelty—if these qualities cannot be proved to exist from the beginning as a prerequisite of their state existence, so different in form. Originally, the very formation of a state takes place only through the exertion of these qualities. In the consequent struggle for self-preservation those peoples will succumb (that is, will be subjugated, and thus sooner or later die out) which show the less of heroic virtues in the conflict, or are not equal to the lying craft of the hostile parasites. But even here it is almost never a lack of wisdom so much as of courage and determination, which merely tries to hide under the cloak of humane principles.

How slight is the connection between economics and the state-building and state-preserving qualities we can best see from the fact that the inner strength of a state only very rarely coincides with its so-called economic flowering. On the contrary, countless examples seem to show that the flowering is a sign of approaching decline. But if the formation of human communities were due chiefly to economic forces or impulses, the highest economic development must surely mean the greatest strength of the state, and not the reverse.

Faith in the state-building or state-preserving power of economics is particularly hard to understand when it holds sway in a country that clearly and emphatically demonstrates the historical opposite in every detail. Prussia wonderfully proved that not material qualities, but ideals and virtues alone, make possible the creation of a state. Only under their protection can economic life flourish, until with the collapse of purely state-building capabilities the economic structure also topples—a process which we are now observing in the saddest of fashions. The material interests of mankind always flourish best while they remain in the shadow of heroic virtues; but when they attempt to take the highest place in life, they destroy the *sine qua non* of their own existence.

Whenever there has been progress in Germany of a strong power policy, economic life has always advanced; but whenever the economic system has become the sole content of our people's

life, smothering the virtues of idealism, the state has collapsed again, soon carrying its economic life with it into the grave.

If we ask ourselves what the state-building or merely preservative forces really are, we can lump them all in one category: ability and willingness of the individual to sacrifice himself for the whole. These virtues have nothing whatever to do with economics, as we can see from the simple fact that man never sacrifices himself for economics; that is, people die not for business but only for ideals. Nothing showed the Englishman's superiority of psychological insight into the soul of the people more clearly than the motivation he succeeded in giving to his struggle. While we were battling for bread, England was fighting for "freedom," and not even for her own—no, for that of the little nations. We laughed at this impudence, or were annoyed at it, and thus showed the thoughtless stupidity into which so-called German statesmanship had fallen even before the war. There was no longer the faintest notion of the nature of that force which can lead men to die of their own free will and determination.

So long as the German people in 1914 still believed it was fighting for ideals, it held out; when it was told to fight simply for its daily bread, it preferred to give up.

Our intelligent "statesmen" were astonished at this change in feeling. They never understood that from the moment a man begins to fight for an economic interest he shuns death, which would prevent him forever from enjoying the reward of his struggle. To save her own child, the most delicate mother becomes a heroine; in all ages, the battle for the preservation of the species and of the hearth (or the state) that shelters it has alone driven men upon the spears of their enemies.

We may propound the following as an eternal truth:

No state has ever yet been founded by peaceful economy, but only by the instincts that preserve the species, whether they take the form of heroic virtue or crafty cunning; the former produces Aryan, working, civilized states, the latter Jewish parasite colonies. But when these instincts in a people or a state be-

gin to be overrun by economics as such, the economic structure itself becomes a tempting cause of subjugation and oppression.

The pre-War belief that the world could be opened, or even conquered, for the German people by a peaceable colonial and commercial policy was a perfect sign that the really state-building and state-preserving virtues had been lost, and with them the consequent insight, strength of will, and determination for action; natural law brought the World War and its aftermath as retribution. To anyone who did not look below the surface, this attitude of the German nation—for it was really practically universal—could not but be an insoluble puzzle; after all, Germany, herself was the most wonderful example of an empire created on a basis of pure power politics. Prussia, the nucleus of the Empire, was created by radiant heroism, not by financial operations or business deals; and the Empire itself was but the magnificent reward of a leadership based on power politics and of soldierly courage to dare death. How could the political instincts of the Germans, of all peoples, become so diseased as this? For this was no single individual phenomenon, but a matter of disintegrating forces in terrifying number which now flickered hither and yon among the people, like will-o'-the-wisps, now attacked the nation as poisonous inflammations. It seemed as if a perpetual stream of poison was being sent by some mysterious power to the very uttermost blood-vessels of what had once been a hero's body and was crippling common sense and the simple instinct of self-preservation more and more.

Forced by my attitude toward the German economic and alliance policy from 1912 to 1914, I reviewed these questions times without number; as the solution of the puzzle, elimination brought me more and more to that power which, from quite a different standpoint, I had already come to know in Vienna: the Marxist doctrine and world-view, and their resulting organization.

For the second time in my life I dug my way into this doctrine of destruction—being guided this time not by the impressions and effect of my daily surroundings, but by observation

of the general processes of political life. I became absorbed once more in the theoretical literature of this new world, and tried to grasp its possible effects. These I compared with the actual events and course of its effect in political, cultural and economic life.

For the first time I devoted my attention also to the attempts to master this world plague.

I studied the purpose, struggle and effect of Bismarck's emergency legislation. Gradually I laid a rock-ribbed foundation for my own belief, so that I have never since been forced to undertake a revision of my views in this question. I also further scrutinized the connection between Marxism and Jewry.

But while, in Vienna, I had taken Germany for an unshakable Colossus, now I began to have occasional uneasy misgivings. In my own mind and in the small circle of my acquaintances I quarreled with German foreign policy and with what I thought the incredibly negligent treatment of the most important problem that then existed in Germany, Marxism. I really could not understand how they could stagger so blindly toward a peril whose results as intended by Marxism itself must eventually be monstrous. Even then among my acquaintances, as I do now on a large scale, I warned against the soothing slogan of all cowardly wretches. "Nothing can happen to us!" A similar pestilential attitude had destroyed one giant empire already. Was Germany alone to be exempt from the laws applying to all other human communities?

In 1913 and 1914, in various circles some of which adhere faithfully to the National Socialist movement today, I announced my conviction that the question of the German nation's future is the question of destroying Marxism.

In the pernicious German alliance policy I saw but one of the results of this doctrine's disintegrating work; for the fearful thing was precisely that this poison almost invisibly destroyed every foundation of a healthy economic and state concept, often without the victims' dreaming to what an extent their acts and wishes were the outcome of a world-concept which they other-

wise sharply opposed.

The inner decline of the German people had already long since begun, as so often in life, without people's recognizing the destroyer of their existence. Now and then there was some doctoring with the disease, but the symptoms were confused with the cause. And as people did not or would not see the cause, the struggle against Marxism had only the value of idle quackery.

5. THE WORLD WAR

WHAT had depressed me more than anything as a young madcap in my most high-spirited years was that I had been born into an age which evidently would build its temples of fame only for tradesmen or civil servants. The billows of history seemed to have calmed down so much that the future did indeed belong only to "peaceful competition of people," *i. e.* to quiet mutual swindling, abandoning violent methods of resistance. The individual states began more and more to resemble enterprises which mutually undercut one another, steal customers and orders, and try to outwit one another in every way—all amid an outcry as loud as it is harmless. This development not only seemed to continue, but (it was generally hoped) would some day transform the world into one huge department store, in whose vestibule the busts of the adroitest manipulators and most chuckle-headed executives were to be stored up for immortality. The English could then furnish the merchants, the Germans the administrative officials, while no doubt the Jews would have to immolate themselves as proprietors, since by their own admission they never make a profit, but only "keep paying" forever, and speak the most languages besides.

Why could I not have been born a hundred years sooner? Say at the time of the Wars of Liberation, when a man really had some value, even apart from "business."

I had often been annoyed that my earthly journey was begun, as I thought, too late, and had regarded the age of "peace and good order" ahead of me as an undeserved meanness of Fate. For even as a boy I was no "pacifist," and every attempt to train me in that direction was a fizzle.

Then the Boer War appeared like heat-lightning on my horizon. Every day I lay in wait for the newspapers, devoured reports and dispatches, and was happy to witness this heroic struggle even from a distance.

The Russo-Japanese War found me considerably more mature, and also more observant. Here I took sides for more nationalist reasons, and supported the Japanese in every exchange of opinions among us. In the defeat of the Russians I saw at the same time a defeat of the Austrian Slavs.

Years had passed since then, and what as a boy I had thought was sluggish sickliness I now felt as the calm before the storm. Even in my Vienna days the Balkans were sweltering under the pale sultriness which usually presages the hurricane, and already gleams of light were beginning to flicker up, only to be lost again in the uncanny darkness. But then came the Balkan War, and with it the first puff of wind whipped across a nervous Europe. The coming time lay upon men like a nightmare, like feverish, brooding tropical heat, so that the perpetual worry finally turned the feeling of approaching catastrophe into longing: let Heaven give free rein to the destiny which could no longer be averted. Then the first mighty flash of lightning struck the earth. The storm broke, and the thunder of the sky was mixed with the roar of the batteries in the World War.

When the news of the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand arrived in Munich (I was sitting at home, and heard the deed only vaguely described), I was worried at first for fear the bullets had come from the pistols of German students, indignant at the Crown Prince's continual work for Slavization, who wished to free the German people from this enemy within. What the result would have been is easily imagined: a new wave of persecution which would have been "thoroughly justified" before the whole world. But immediately afterward, when I heard the names of the suspected assassins and read that they were known to be Serbians, I began to feel a faint horror at this revenge of inscrutable Fate.

The great Slavophile had fallen by the bullets of Slavic fanatics.

No one who had had constant opportunity during previous years to watch the relation between Austria and Serbia could doubt for a moment that a boulder had started rolling which could never be halted.

It is unjust to the Vienna government to heap it today with reproaches for the form and substance of the ultimatum it presented. No other power in the world could have acted differently in a similar situation and on a similar occasion. On her Southeast border Austria had an implacable, deadly enemy that kept provoking the Monarchy at ever shorter intervals, and that never would have given in until at last a propitious moment had arrived to shatter the Empire.

There was good reason to fear that at the latest this would happen upon the death of the old Kaiser. But by then perhaps the Monarchy would no longer be in any position to offer serious resistance. In its last years the whole State rested so completely on the eyes of Francis Joseph that the death of this aged incarnation of the Empire meant in itself (so the broad masses felt) the death of the Empire. More than that, it was one of the slyest tricks of Slavic policy that they created the impression that the Austrian State owed its continued existence only to the Monarch's marvelous and unique skill. This piece of flattery pleased the Hofburg the more because the Emperor's actual merit so little deserved it. The sting hidden in the eulogy was not detected. People did not see, or perhaps no longer wished to see, that the more the Monarchy depended upon the outstanding governing skill (as they were accustomed to call it) of this "wisest Monarch" of all times, the more catastrophic must be the situation when Fate finally knocked at the door to demand its due.

Was old Austria really thinkable at all without the old Kaiser? Would not the tragedy which once befell Maria Theresa have been repeated?

No, it is really unjust to Vienna government circles to reproach them with having hurried into a war which otherwise might yet have been avoided. It could no longer have been avoided, but at

most postponed one or two years. But the curse of German as well as of Austrian diplomacy was that it had always tried to postpone the inevitable reckoning, until at last it was forced to strike at the most unpropitious moment. We may be sure that another attempt to rescue the peace would only have brought on the war at a still more unfavorable juncture.

No, he who did not wish this war must have the courage to draw the logical conclusion. But this could have meant only the sacrifice of Austria. The war would still have come, but probably not with everyone against us; instead it would have taken the form of a dismemberment of the Hapsburg Monarchy. And it was necessary to decide whether to take part or simply to watch empty-handed while Destiny took its course.

But the very people who today curse most loudly and judge most wisely about the starting of the war were the ones who took the most fatal part in steering into it.

For decades the Social Democrats had been carrying on a most scoundrelly drive for war against Russia; the Centrist Party on the other hand for religious reasons had been the leader in making the Austrian State the pivotal point of German policy. Now the results of this madness were upon us. What came was bound to come, and could no longer be avoided under any circumstances. The German government's share of the guilt was that in order to preserve peace it missed all the most opportune moments to fight, got entangled in the alliance to preserve world peace, and thus finally became the victim of a world coalition which was determined enough to oppose a World War to the urge to preserve world peace.

If the Vienna government had given a gentler form to the ultimatum, that would have made no change in the situation, or at most would have caused the government itself to be swept away by the indignation of the people. For in the eyes of the masses the tone of the ultimatum was far too considerate, as it was and by no means too brutal or too extreme. Anyone who today tries to deny this is either a forgetful blockhead or an intentional liar.

The struggle of 1914, Heaven knows, was not forced upon the masses, but was demanded by the whole people.

They wanted to put an end at last to the general uncertainty. Only on that ground can we understand how more than two million German men followed the flag into this supreme struggle, ready to protect it with the last drop of their blood.

To me those days seemed like deliverance from the angry feelings of my youth. I am not ashamed to say even now that I fell on my knees, overcome by a storm of enthusiasm, and thanked Heaven out of an overflowing heart that it had granted me the good fortune to live in this age.

A battle for freedom had begun whose superior in grandeur the earth had never seen; for Destiny had barely begun to take its course before the great masses started to realize that this time it was a matter not of Serbia's or even Austria's fate but of the existence or non-existence of the German nation.

For the last time in many years the people had a stroke of clairvoyance about its own future. And so at the very outset of the monstrous struggle the intoxicating extravagant enthusiasm took on the necessary serious undertone; only this realization made of the nation's exaltation more than a mere flash in the pan. This was only too essential, for people in general had not, after all, the slightest conception of the possible length of the battle that was beginning. They dreamed of being home again by winter, to go back to their peaceable labors.

What man wishes, he hopes and believes. The overwhelming majority of the nation was long since sick of the eternal uncertainty; so it was only too understandable that no one believed in a peaceful solution of the Austro-Serbian conflict, and hoped for the final day of settlement. Of these millions I was one.

Scarcely had the news of the assassination become known in Munich when two ideas flashed through my head: first, that war was at last unavoidable, but beyond this, that the Hapsburg State would now be compelled to stick to its alliance; for what I had always feared above all was the possibility that some day

Germany itself, perhaps because of this very alliance, might be involved in a conflict of which Austria was not the direct cause, and that then the Austrian State for domestic political reasons would not have the resolution to back up its ally. Even though the decision were made, the Slavic majority of the Empire would have begun to sabotage it at once, and would rather have shattered the whole State than have afforded the help demanded by their ally. This danger was now removed. The old State had to fight whether it would or no.

My own attitude toward the conflict was to me perfectly clear and simple; what I saw was not Austria fighting for some Serbian satisfaction, but Germany for its all, the German nation for its existence or non-existence, for its freedom and future. Bismarck's creation must now go out and fight; what its fathers had once conquered in battle with their heroes' blood, from Weissenburg to Sedan and Paris, young Germany had now to earn anew. If the battle was victoriously sustained, then our people had rejoined the circle of great nations again in outward power; then the German Empire could again prove itself a mighty stronghold of peace, without having to put its children on short rations for peace's sake.

As a boy and young man I had often wished I might at least show by deeds that my nationalistic enthusiasm was no empty mania. It often seemed to me almost a sin to cry Hurrah without perhaps having any real right to do so; for who could rightfully use the word without having tried it where all trifling is at an end, and the Goddess of Fate's implacable hand begins to weigh peoples and men for the reality and force of their convictions? My heart, like millions of others, overflowed with proud happiness that now at last I could be free of this paralyzing feeling. I had so often sung *Deutschland über Alles* and shouted *Heil* at the top of my lungs that it seemed to me almost like Heavenly grace, granted after the fact, now that I could appear in the Divine court of the Eternal Judge to bear witness that my convictions were real. For I knew from the first hour that in case of a war—which seemed to me inevitable—I must certainly leave

my books at once. And I knew, too, that my place must be where the inner voice sent me.

For political reasons chiefly I had left Austria; what more natural, now the struggle was beginning, than that I should take account of my convictions? I would not fight for the Hapsburg State, but I was ready at any time to die for my people and for the Empire that embodied it.

On the third of August, I presented a direct petition to His Majesty King Ludwig III, requesting permission to join a Bavarian regiment. During those few days the Cabinet Chancellory must have had not a little to do; all the greater my joy when I received an answer to my request the very next day. I opened the letter with trembling hands, and read that my petition was granted, and I was instructed to enroll in a Bavarian regiment. My gratitude and exultation knew no bounds. In a few days I was wearing the coat which I was not to lay aside for almost six years.

For me, as probably for every German, the greatest and most unforgettable period of my earthly life now began. Compared with the events of this tremendous struggle everything in my past was a pale nothing. Just now, as the tenth anniversary of the great event approaches, I think back with melancholy pride on those weeks at the beginning of the heroic struggle of our people, in which Fate graciously allowed me to take part.

As if yesterday, image after image passes before me, I see myself uniformed among my beloved comrades, then marching out for the first time, drilling, etc., until at last the day of departure came.

One worry troubled me at that time, me and many others—whether we would not arrive too late at the front. This alone kept me often and often from my rest. Thus in the victorious exultation over each new heroic deed there lay a tiny drop of gall, since each new victory seemed to increase the danger that we would arrive too late.

And thus at last the day came when we left Munich to fall in and do our duty. I saw the Rhine for the first time as we were

traveling beside its gentle waves on our way westward to protect it, the German stream of streams, from the greed of our old enemy. When the gentle rays of the first sun glinted down upon us through the delicate veil of morning mist from the Niederwald Monument, the old *Wacht am Rhein* roared from the endless transport train into the morning sky, and my breast was ready to burst.

And then came a cold, wet night in Flanders, through which we marched in silence, and when day began to break through the mist, suddenly an iron greeting hissed over our heads; with a sharp crack it hurled the little pellets among our ranks, splashing up the wet soil. But before the little cloud was gone the first hurrah from two hundred throats went to meet the first messenger of death; then began a crackling and roaring, singing and howling, and with feverish eyes everyone pressed forward, faster and faster, until at last across turnip-fields and hedges the battle began, the battle of man against man. But from the distance the sound of song reached our ears, coming closer and closer, and leaping from company to company; and just as Death was busy in our ranks the song reached us too, and we in turn passed it on: *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt!*

Four days later we went back. Even our step was different. Seventeen-year-old boys now looked like men.

The volunteers of the List Regiment had perhaps not really learned to fight, but they did know how to die like old soldiers.

That was the beginning.

Thus it went on year after year; but horror had taken the place of the romance of battle. Enthusiasm gradually cooled, and the wild exultation was smothered in deadly fear. For each man the time came when he had to struggle between the instinct of self-preservation and the admonitions of duty. I was not exempt from this struggle. Whenever Death was giving chase, a vague Something tried to revolt, strove to appear as Reason to the weak body, and still was only Cowardice laying snares in disguise. A great tugging and warning would begin, and only the last remnant of conscience would carry the day. But the harder this

voice urging caution labored, the louder and more piercingly it called, the stiffer was the resistance; until at last, after a long inner struggle, duty came off victorious. By the winter of 1915-16 in my case this battle was decided. The will had at last become absolute master. If in the first few days I had rushed along, laughing and exulting, now I was calm and determined. That was what would endure. Only now could Fate proceed to the final trial without nerves' cracking or the mind's failing. The young volunteer had become an old soldier.

This transformation had taken place throughout the army. Old and hard they had come out of the perpetual battle and whatever could not stand up to the storm was simply broken.

Not until then was it fair to judge this army. Then, after two or three years, during which it had been flung from one battle into another, always fighting a force superior in numbers and arms, starving and suffering privation—then was the time to judge the goodness of that unique army.

Though tens of centuries may pass, no one shall speak of heroism without mentioning the German Army in the World War. Through the veil of the past the iron front of the grey steel helmet will appear, unswerving and unyielding, a monument of immortality. So long as there are Germans they will remember that once these were sons of their people.

I was a soldier, and did not want to talk politics. Nor was that the time for it. To this day I am convinced that the last teamster did more valuable service to the Fatherland than even the first (let us say) "parliamentarian." I had never hated these windbags more than now when every truthful lad who had anything to say shouted it in the teeth of the enemy, or else properly left his talking-machine at home, and did his duty somewhere in silence. Yes, at that time I hated all these "politicians," and if I had had anything to say about it, a parliamentary pick-and-shovel brigade would have been formed at once; there they could have chattered among themselves to their hearts' content without annoying or harming decent, honest humanity.

I wanted nothing to do with politics, but could not help adopt-

ing some attitude toward certain things which affected the whole nation, but concerned us soldiers particularly.

At that time there were two things which annoyed me, and which I thought harmful.

After the very first report of victory a certain section of the press began slowly, and to many people at first perhaps unnoticeably, to sprinkle a few drops of gall into the general enthusiasm. This was done behind a false front of benevolence and good intentions, and of a certain solicitude, in fact. They had misgivings against too-great extravagance in celebrating victories. They feared that in its present form it was unworthy of a great nation, and thus out of place. The bravery and heroism of the German soldier were to be taken for granted, so they should not give rise to unconsidered outbursts of joy—if for no other reason, then on account of foreign countries, which would find quiet and dignified rejoicing more attractive than unrestrained exultation, etc. And finally we Germans even now should not forget that the war was not our intention, and that we need not be ashamed to admit openly and like men that we were ready at any time to do our share in the reconciliation of mankind. It was therefore not wise to besmirch the purity of the army's deeds by too much shouting, because the rest of the world would have little sympathy for such behavior. Nothing was more admired than the modesty with which a true hero serenely and silently—forgot his deeds; for that was what it all amounted to. Instead of dragging such fellows by their long ears to a lamppost, and running them up on a rope, so that the rejoicing nation should no longer offend the æsthetic sense of the knights of the ink-well, people actually began to issue warnings against the "unsuitable" character of the victory jubilation.

They never dreamed that once the enthusiasm was broken off it could not be reawakened at need. It is a state of intoxication, and must be so maintained. Without this sort of enthusiasm, how was a struggle to be endured which in all human probability would make the most enormous demands upon the spiritual qualities of the nation?

I knew the nature of the broad masses well enough to realize that "æsthetic" loftiness was no way to fan the flames necessary to keep the iron hot. I thought people were crazy when they did nothing to raise the boiling heat of passion; but that they even restrained what luckily existed I simply could not understand.

The second thing that annoyed me was the attitude it was thought proper to adopt toward Marxism. In my eyes people merely proved by this that they had not the slightest conception of that pestilence. They seemed to believe in good earnest that by declaring they no longer recognized any parties they had brought Marxism to reason and restraint.

It is not a matter of party, but of a doctrine which is bound to lead to the utter destruction of humanity; but this was understood the less because it is not taught at our judaized universities; and all too many, particularly among our higher civil servants, have been so trained in silly prejudice that they do not think it worth the trouble to pick up a book, and learn something not in the curriculum of their college. The most complete upheavals passed over these "heads" without a trace, which is the reason why state institutions usually limp behind private ones.

Heaven knows the German proverb is truer of them than of anyone else: What the peasant doesn't know, he won't eat. A few exceptions but prove the rule.

It was unparalleled nonsense to identify the German workman with Marxism in August of 1914. At that time the German workman had freed himself from the embrace of this poisonous epidemic, or he could never even have prepared to take part in the struggle. But people were stupid enough to think that now perhaps Marxism had become "national." This was a stroke of genius which only goes to show that for many long years none of these official steersmen of the State had ever thought it worth the trouble to study the nature of the doctrine; otherwise such an insane idea could hardly have survived.

Marxism, whose final goal is and always will be the destruction of all non-Jewish national states, was horrified to see that

in July of 1914 the German working class which it had ensnared was awakening, and was entering the service of the Fatherland faster from hour to hour. Within a few days the whole aura and swindle of this infamous fraud upon the people were blown away, and suddenly the Jewish pack of leaders was alone and deserted, as if not a trace were left of the nonsense and insanity which they had been pouring into the masses for sixty years. It was a bad moment for the defrauders of the working class of the German people. But the moment the leaders recognized the danger which threatened, they pulled their Cap of Invisibility—the lie—hastily over their ears, and boldly pretended to take part in the national revival.

Here would have been the moment to advance against the whole fraudulent brotherhood of Jewish poisoners of the people. Now was the time to give them short shrift, without the slightest consideration for any outcry or wailing there might have been. In August of 1914 the Jewish cant of international solidarity was gone at a blow from the heads of the German working class, and in its stead a few weeks later American shrapnel began to pour the blessings of brotherhood over the helmets of the marching columns. It would have been the duty of any responsible national government, now that the German workman had found his way back to his own nationality, unmercifully to exterminate the agitators against it. If the best men were falling at the front, the vermin could at least have been exterminated at home.

But instead His Majesty the Kaiser himself held out his hand to the old criminals, thus offering perfidious assassins of the nation mercy and an opportunity to collect themselves.

The serpent therefore could go on working, more cautiously than before, but all the more dangerously. While honest people dreamed of peace with security, the perjured criminals were organizing the Revolution.

The fact that people had resolved upon this frightful half-measure I viewed with ever-increasing dissatisfaction; but that

the result would be so horrible even I did not yet suppose possible.

What was to be done next? The leaders of the whole movement should have been put under lock and key at once; they should have been put on trial, and the nation ridded of them. Every resource of military power should have been used ruthlessly to exterminate the pestilence. The parties should have been dissolved, the Reichstag brought to reason, with the bayonet if necessary, or best of all it should have been abolished at once. Just as the Republic dissolves parties today, so they should have resorted to this means then, and with more reason. After all, the existence or non-existence of a whole people was at stake!

This would indeed have raised another question: can intellectual ideas be exterminated by the sword at all? Can violence be used to combat "world-concepts"?

I asked myself this question more than once at that time.

If we think through analogous cases, which can be found in the history of religious matters especially, we arrive at the following principle:

Conceptions and ideas, as well as movements on a definite intellectual basis, true or false, can, after a certain point in their growth, be broken by forcible methods of a technical sort only if these physical weapons at the same time represent a new kindling idea, thought, or world-concept.

The use of force alone without the driving power of a basic intellectual conception can never destroy an idea and its spread except by complete extermination of its very last adherent and the destruction of all tradition. But this usually means the disappearance of such a state from the realm of power politics, often for an endless time, and sometimes forever; for experience shows that a blood sacrifice of this sort hits the best part of the nation, since any persecution carried on without an intellectual basis appears morally unjustified, and spurs precisely the most valuable part of a people to protest—a protest which takes

the form of acquiring the intellectual substance of the unjustly persecuted movement. Many people do this simply from a feeling of opposition toward an attempt to club down an idea by brutal violence.

Thus the number of inward followers grows at the same rate that the persecution increases. Hence the complete destruction of the new teaching can be carried out only by way of so tremendous and ever-increasing an extermination that finally the people or state in question loses all the really valuable blood it has. Retribution is at hand, however, because a so-called "internal" purge may indeed take place, but only at the price of general exhaustion. And such a proceeding will always be futile from the beginning if the doctrines to be combatted have gone beyond a certain small circle.

Here too, therefore, as with all growths, the first part of childhood is still most liable to possible destruction, while resistance increases with the years, to yield to fresh youth only with approaching senility, even if in a different form and for different reasons.

And indeed almost all attempts to uproot a doctrine and its organized results by violence with no intellectual basis are failures, quite frequently in fact producing the opposite from the intended result, for the following reasons:

The very first essential for a fight by the weapons of naked violence is always persistence. That is to say, only regular and steady employment of the methods used to suppress a doctrine, etc., can possibly make the project a success. But the moment there is any vacillation, and violence alternates with forbearance, the doctrine being suppressed will not only keep recovering, but will be able to derive new values from each persecution, because, on recession of a wave of pressure, indignation at what has been suffered brings new followers to the old doctrine, while existing adherents cling to it with greater defiance and deeper hatred than ever; in fact after the danger is gone, even apostates try to return to their old attitude. The very first essential

for success is a perpetually constant and regular employment of violence. But this persistence can never result except from a definite intellectual conviction alone. All violence not founded upon a solid intellectual basis is vacillating and uncertain. It lacks that stability which can reside only in a fanatically intense world-concept. It flows from the energy and brutal determination of an individual, and is subject to all the changes of personality, its nature and strength.

But there is yet another consideration:

Any world-concept, whether religious or political in nature—the dividing line is often hard to fix—strives less for the negative destruction of hostile ideas than positively to affirm its own. Thus its battle is less defense than attack. It is at an advantage even in setting its aim, because the aim is victory for its own idea, whereas on the other hand it is hard to decide when the negative aim of destroying a hostile doctrine may be considered accomplished and assured. For this reason if for no other, the world-concept's attack is better planned and also more forceful than its defense; as everywhere else, so here the decision rests with the attack, not with the defense. But a struggle by violent means against an intellectual power remains mere defense unless the sword is in turn upholding, proclaiming, and disseminating a new intellectual teaching.

In summation, therefore, we may remember this:

Every attempt to combat a world-concept by violent means will eventually fail unless the struggle takes on the form of an attack for a new intellectual attitude. Only in a struggle of two world-concepts may the weapon of brute force, persistently and ruthlessly used, bring victory to the side it supports.

Thus far the attempts to combat Marxism had always failed for that reason. This was why even Bismarck's socialistic legislation fell short, and was bound to fall short. There was no platform, no new world-concept for whose rise the battle could have been fought. For only the proverbial wisdom of high ministerial functionaries could have managed to suppose that driv-

about so-called "governmental authority" or "peace and good order" was a suitable basis for the intellectual driving force of a life-and-death battle.

Because there was no real intellectual basis for the struggle, Bismarck was obliged to entrust the carrying-out of his Socialistic legislation to the judgment and good will of the very institution which itself was born of the Marxist way of thought. When the Iron Chancellor left his war on Marxism to the good will of bourgeois Democracy, he was setting the fox to watch the geese.

But all this was only the inevitable result, since there was no new fundamental world-concept, of imperious, conquering will, opposed to Marxism. The sole result of Bismarck's struggle, consequently, was a severe disappointment.

But were conditions at the beginning of the World War in any way different? Unfortunately not.

The more I thought about the necessary change in the attitude of the government toward Social Democracy, as the momentary embodiment of Marxism, the more I recognized the absence of a workable substitute for this doctrine. What could they have given to the masses, supposing Social Democracy to have been broken? Not one movement existed that could be expected to succeed in getting the great hordes of now more or less leaderless workers under its influence. It is silly and more than stupid to suppose that the international fanatic, having left his class party, will at once join a bourgeois party, that is to say, a new class organization. For disagreeable as it may be to various organizations, there is no denying the fact that bourgeois politicians very largely take class division for granted, so long as the political results do not work out to their disadvantage. Denial of this fact proves only the impudence and the stupidity of the liars.

In general we must avoid thinking the masses stupider than they are. In political matters feeling often decides more truly than understanding. The belief that the masses' stupid interna-

tionalist attitude sufficiently proves the wrongness of their feelings can at once be absolutely refuted by simply pointing out that pacificistic democracy is no less insane, although its supporters come almost exclusively from the bourgeois camp. So long as millions of middle-class citizens continue reverently to worship their Jewish democratic press every morning, it ill becomes these gentry to make witticisms about the stupidity of the "comrade," who in the end is but swallowing the same muck, though in a different guise. The manufacturer is one and the same Jew in both cases.

We must beware of denying things whose existence is a simple fact. The fact that the class question is not (as people are fond of claiming just before election) a matter of mere intellectual problems cannot be denied. The class conceit of a great part of our people, as well as the lower esteem in which the manual worker is held, is a phenomenon which does not proceed from the imagination of a lunatic.

But this quite aside, it shows the small thinking-power of our so-called intelligentsia that they suppose a condition which could not prevent the rise of such a pestilence as Marxism can now still find it possible to recover what has been lost.

The "bourgeois" party, as they describe themselves, can never attach the "proletarian" masses to their camp. These are two worlds, divided partly by nature, partly artificially, whose mutual footing can be only battle. But the younger one will be victorious—and that one is Marxism.

A war upon Social Democracy in 1914 would indeed have been conceivable; but it was doubtful, in view of the lack of any practical substitute, how long that state could have been maintained. There was a great gap here.

I was of this opinion long before the war, and could therefore never make up my mind to join one of the existing parties. In the course of the World War my opinion was further strengthened by the obvious impossibility—owing to the very lack of a movement which would be more than a "parliamentary"

party—of declaring a ruthless war upon Social Democracy.

I often expressed myself openly to my army intimates.

And now it first occurred to me that I might some day become active in politics. This was the reason why I often assured my whole circle of friends that after the War I would become a speaker besides practicing my profession.

I believe I was very much in earnest about it.

6. WAR PROPAGANDA

PURSUING all political events with interest as I did, I had always been much interested in propaganda activity. In it I saw an instrument which the Socialist-Marxist organization especially understood and used with masterly skill. I came early to realize that the proper employment of propaganda is a real art, one that had always remained almost unknown to the bourgeois parties. Only the Christian Socialist movement, particularly in Lueger's day, achieved a certain virtuosity on this instrument, to which indeed it owed much of its success.

But not until the war was there a chance to see the enormous results which properly directed propaganda can produce. Here again, unfortunately, the other side was the sole subject of study, for on our side the activity in this direction was more than modest. But it was the absolute failure of the whole enlightening activity on the German side, glaringly conspicuous to every soldier, which now led me to investigate more thoroughly the propaganda question.

Often there was more than enough time for reflection, but it was the enemy who gave us practical instruction, unfortunately all too well.

That which we omitted to do, our adversaries made good with extraordinary skill and a calculation amounting to genius. Even I learned an infinite amount from the enemy war propaganda. But of course time passed without a trace over those heads to which it should have been a most salutary lesson; some of them thought themselves too clever to take lessons from the enemy, and the rest had not even an honest will to learn.

Did we really have any propaganda at all?

Unfortunately I can only answer, no. Everything that was really undertaken in this direction was so inadequate and wrong from the start that at best it did no good, and often it was actually harmful.

Inadequate in form, psychologically wrong in essence—such must be our judgment after a careful scrutiny of German war propaganda.

People do not seem to have been quite clear in their minds even on the first question, namely, Is propaganda a means or an end?

It is a means, and must accordingly be judged from the standpoint of purpose; its form must be adapted to attain the end it serves. It is also obvious that the importance of the end may vary from the standpoint of general necessity, and that the intrinsic value of propaganda varies accordingly. But the end for which we were struggling during the war was the most exalted and tremendous that is thinkable for man: the freedom and independence of our people, security of livelihood for the future—and the nation's honor: something which still exists or rather should exist despite all the contrary opinions of today. Peoples without honor usually lose their freedom and independence sooner or later, which in turn accords with a higher justice, since generations of rascals without honor deserve no freedom. No one who is willing to be a craven slave can or should possess any honor, for it would swiftly become an object of universal contempt in any case.

The German people were fighting for a human existence, and the purpose of propaganda in the war should have been to back up the fight; to help win the victory should have been its goal.

When peoples are fighting for their existence on this planet, and are faced with the fatal question, to be or not to be, all considerations of humaneness or aesthetics crumble into nothing; for these conceptions are not floating in the ether of the world, but are born of Man's imagination, and are bound to it. His departure from this world dissolves those concepts into nothing again, for Nature knows them not. Even so, they are peculiar to the men of but a few peoples, or rather races, and this to whatever degree they spring of themselves from these men's feelings. In fact

humaneness and aesthetic feeling would disappear from the inhabited world if the races which have created and upheld these concepts were to be lost.

In a people's struggle for its existence in the world, therefore, these concepts are of but minor importance; they have no part in determining the form of the struggle if the moment comes when they might cripple the force of self-preservation in a struggling people. Always that is the only visible result.

So far as the question of humaneness is concerned, even Moltke pointed out that in war this always consists in the shortness of the process, which is to say that the most drastic style of fighting best achieves it.

If anyone should try to advance upon us in such matters with drivel about aesthetic feelings, etc., there can be but one answer: Questions of destiny so important as a people's struggle for existence do away with any duty to be beautiful. The least beautiful thing that can exist in human life is and must be the yoke of slavery. Or do these artists's-quarter decadents find the present lot of the German nation "aesthetic"? We have truly no need to discuss the matter with the Jews, the modern inventors of this perfume of civilization. Their whole existence is protest incarnate against the aesthetics of the Lord's image.

If considerations of humaneness and beauty do not count in the battle, neither can they be used as standards to judge propaganda.

Propaganda in the war was a means to an end: the German people's struggle for existence; and hence the propaganda could be considered only in the light of the principles which there applied. The cruelest weapons were humane if they brought quicker victory, and only those methods were beautiful which helped assure the dignity of freedom for the nation. This was the only possible attitude toward the question of war propaganda in such a life-and-death struggle.

If this had been realized in so-called competent quarters, the existing uncertainty about form and use of that weapon would never have arisen; for propaganda is only another weapon, if a truly fearful one in the hands of an expert.

The second question, of absolutely central importance, was this:

At whom should propaganda be directed? At the scientific intelligentsia, or at the less-educated masses?

It must be aimed perpetually at the masses alone!

For the intelligentsia, or what today unfortunately often calls itself so, we have not propaganda but scientific instruction. But judged by its substance propaganda is no more science than the technique of a poster in itself is art. The art of the poster is in the designer's ability to attract the attention of the crowd with form and color. A poster for an art exhibition has only to draw attention to the art in the exhibition; the better it succeeds, the greater is the art of the poster itself. The poster ought further to give the masses some notion of the importance of the exhibition, but it should by no means be a substitute for the art there on display. Anyone who wishes to concern himself with art itself, therefore, must study more than just the poster; in fact for him a mere stroll through the exhibition will not suffice. He may properly be expected to give a profound scrutiny to the individual works, and then slowly to form a sound opinion.

The situation is the same with what we today call propaganda.

Propaganda's task is not scientific training of the individual, but directing the masses' attention to particular facts, occurrences, necessities, etc., whose importance is thus brought within their view.

The whole art consists in seizing this so adroitly that a universal conviction of the reality of a fact, the necessity of an occurrence, the rightness of something necessary, etc., is produced. But as it is not and cannot be a knowledge in itself, (since its job, like that of the poster, is to draw the crowd's attention, and not to instruct a person with scientific training or a thirst for education and knowledge), it must always attempt to work chiefly on the feelings, and only to a very limited extent on the so-called intelligence.

All propaganda must be popular in tone, and must keep its intellectual level to the capacity of the least intelligent among those at whom it is directed. In other words its purely intellectual

standard must be set the lower, the larger the mass of people to be laid hold of. And if it is necessary, as in the case of propaganda for the sustaining of a war, to affect a whole people, there can never be enough caution about avoiding excessive intellectual demands.

The slighter its scientific ballast, and the more exclusively it considers the emotions of the masses, the more complete the success. Success after all is the best proof of the soundness or unsoundness of propaganda, and not the fact that it satisfies a few scholars or "aesthetic, sickly apes."

To understand the emotional patterns of the great masses, by proper psychology to find the road to their attention and on into their hearts—this is the whole art of propaganda. The fact that our wiseacres do not understand this proves only their mental laziness or their conceit.

Once we understand the necessity of adjusting the advertising art of propaganda to the broad masses, we have the following corollary:

It is a mistake to try to vary propaganda in the same way as (for instance) scientific education.

The great masses' capacity to absorb is very limited, their understanding small, and their forgetfulness is great. For these reasons any effective propaganda must be confined to a very few points, and must use these as slogans until the very last man cannot help knowing what is meant. The moment we give up this principle, and try to vary things, we dissipate our effect, since the crowd can neither digest nor retain what we offer it. This again weakens and finally destroys the results.

The larger the line of its delineation has to be, the more acute is the psychology required in determining its tactics.

For instance, it was a fundamental error to make one's adversary ridiculous, as was done particularly in Austrian and German comic-magazine propaganda. It was a fundamental error because a man's actual encounter with the enemy at once taught him a new opinion. The result was terrible, because now under the direct pressure of his adversary's resistance the German soldier felt himself deceived by the makers of his previous enlightenment; and

instead of his war spirit or even his steadfastness being strengthened, the opposite occurred. The man became despondent.

The war propaganda of the Englishmen and Americans, on the other hand, was psychologically right. By exhibiting the Germans to their people as barbarians and Huns they prepared the individual soldier for the horrors of war, and thus helped to preserve him from disappointments. Even the most terrible weapons employed against him seemed only to confirm the enlightenment already bestowed on him, and strengthened his belief in the truthfulness of his own government as much as it stirred his rage and hatred against the nefarious enemy. The effect of the weapons which naturally he was discovering by experience at the hands of the enemy gradually came to seem a proof of the barbarian foe's already familiar "Hunnish" brutality; and he was never led for a moment to reflect that his own weapons might perhaps—in fact probably—be even more fearful.

Consequently the English soldier could never feel he was being untruthfully informed from home, which was unfortunately so much the case with the German soldier that finally he refused anything from that quarter as "a swindle" and "hysterics." This was all simply because people thought they could detail any convenient donkey (or even "otherwise" intelligent person) to propaganda duty, instead of realizing that for this purpose the greatest geniuses at judging human nature are barely good enough.

German war propaganda was an incomparable laboratory demonstration of an enlightenment whose effects were absolutely reversed through complete lack of any proper consideration of psychology.

The enemy, however, had a tremendous lesson to teach anyone who was open-eyed and flexible-spirited in profiting by the four and a half years' tidal wave of enemy propaganda.

What was least understood was the first prerequisite of any propaganda activity whatever: a deliberately subjective, one-sided attitude toward every question discussed. The sins in this direction, at the very beginning of the war, and from the top down, were such that one was really justified in doubting whether

such madness could really all be ascribed to pure stupidity.

What, for instance, would people say to a poster which was meant to advertise a new soap, but which also described other soaps as "good"? They would simply shake their heads.

But the same thing is true of political advertising. It is the task of propaganda not, for instance, to assay the various causes, but to emphasize exclusively the one cause it represents. It must not objectively explore any truth that favors the other side, and then present it to the masses with doctrinaire honesty, but must perpetually labor for its own truths.

It was a fundamental error to discuss guilt from the standpoint that Germany could not be made solely responsible for the outbreak of the catastrophe; the right way was to load the guilt solely upon the enemy, even if this had not corresponded to the actual situation, which in this case it really did.

What was the result of this half-measure?

The great masses of a people do not consist of diplomats or even of teachers of international law, in fact not even of people capable of a reasoned judgment; they are human beings, wavering, inclined to doubt and uncertainty. The moment their own propaganda concedes so much as the faintest glimmer of justice to the other side, the seeds for doubt of their own cause have been sown. The masses are in no position to tell where the enemy's misdeeds end and their own begin. In such cases they become uncertain and suspicious, particularly if the enemy is not guilty of the same foolishness, but puts the guilt lock, stock and barrel upon his adversary. What more natural than for one's own people at last to believe the hostile propaganda, more concerted and single-minded as it is, rather than one's own? This is most easily proved to be true with a people who suffers from the objectivity craze as severely as the Germans do! For here everyone will strive to do no injustice to the enemy, even at the risk of accusing, nay destroying, his own people and State. The masses never become conscious that it is not thus intended in high quarters. The overwhelming majority of the people is so feminine in tendency and attitude that emotion and feelings rather than sober consideration

determine its thought and action.

But this feeling is not complicated; it is simple and firm. There are not many shadings, but a positive or a negative, love or hate, right or wrong, truth or lie, but never half this and half that, or partly, etc.

All these things English propaganda in particular realized—and took account of—with positive genius. Here were no half-measures which might have raised doubts.

They realized admirably the primitiveness of the broad masses' emotional state; they proved this with the atrocity propaganda adapted to that level, by which they ruthlessly and brilliantly assured the condition essential for moral endurance at the front despite even the greatest actual defeats, as well as by their equally vivid pillorying of the German foe as the solely guilty party for the outbreak of the war—a lie which by the absolute, one-sided, colossal impudence of its presentation made allowance for the emotional and always extreme attitude of the common people, and therefore was believed.

How effective this sort of propaganda was is shown most strikingly by the fact that after four years it was still holding the enemy to his guns, and had even begun to eat away at our own people.

That our propaganda was not fated to have the same success could really be no surprise. It carried the germ of ineffectiveness in its very inner ambiguity. And its substance alone made it highly improbable that it would create the necessary impression on the masses. Only our free-spirited "statesmen" could have hoped with this stale pacifist dishwater to intoxicate men to the point of dying.

This sorry product was thus useless, nay harmful.

But all the brilliance of presentation in the world will not lead to the success of propaganda unless one fundamental principle is always kept clearly in view. Propaganda must limit itself to saying a very little, and this little it must keep forever repeating. Perseverance, here as so often in this world, is the first and most important prerequisite for success.

In the field of propaganda we must never be guided by aesthetes

or the blasé—not by the former because the expression and form of what was said would soon have drawing-power only for literary tea-parties, instead of being suited to the masses; the latter we must anxiously shun because their own lack of emotional freshness is constantly seeking new stimulants. These people are soon fed up with anything; they want variety, and they cannot put themselves in the place of their less surfeited fellow-men, or even understand their needs. They are always the first to criticize propaganda, or rather its substance, which seems to them too old-fashioned, too stale, and then again too outworn. They are always looking for something new, seeking variety, and thus are the death of any effective political mass recruiting. For as soon as organization and substance of any propaganda begin to be made for these people's needs, they lose any sort of unity, and instead are altogether dissipated.

The purpose of propaganda is not to be a constant source of interesting diversion for blasé little gentlemen, but to convince, and to convince the masses. But they are so slow-moving that it is always some time before they are ready even to take notice of a thing, and only thousandfold repetition of the simplest ideas will finally stick in their minds.

Any variations employed must never change the substance of the propaganda, but must always say the same thing in conclusion. The slogan, that is, must be illuminated from various angles, but every discussion must end again with the slogan itself. Only thus can and will propaganda produce a unified and concentrated effect.

Only this sweeping line, which must never be abandoned, will (with steady and consistent emphasis) pave the way to final success. It is astonishing then to discover the enormous, scarcely comprehensible results which such perseverance leads to.

All advertising, whether in business or politics, succeeds by the steady and long-continued consistency with which it is employed.

Here too the enemy war propaganda was a model of its kind: it was restricted to a few points, calculated exclusively for the masses, continued with tireless perseverance. Those basic ideas

and forms of presentation which were seen to be sound found employment throughout the war, without even the slightest change. At first the propaganda seemed crazy in the impudence of its statements; later it became unpleasant, and finally was believed. After four and a half years a revolution whose slogan originated in enemy war propaganda broke out in Germany.

The English understood another thing: that the possible success of this intellectual weapon lies in wholesale use, but that success more than pays the cost.

Propaganda with them was a weapon of the first order, while with us it was the last living for jobless politicians and the sheltered post of second-rate heroes.

And taken all in all its success was nil.

7. THE REVOLUTION

ENEMY propaganda had begun on us in 1915; from 1916 on, it became more and more intensive, to swell by the beginning of 1918 to a veritable inundation. The effects of this fishing of souls were to be seen at every step. The army gradually learned to think as the enemy wished it to.

The German counter-efforts were a complete failure.

In the leader whose mind and will then guided the army, there no doubt existed the intention and decisiveness to take up the struggle in this direction as well as elsewhere; but the necessary instrument was lacking. And it was a mistake, even psychologically, for the army itself to undertake this enlightenment upon the troops. If it was to be effective, it had to come from home. Otherwise it was impossible to count on success among men whose immortal deeds of heroism and endurance during nearly four years had been performed for that very homeland.

But what did come from home?

Was the failure stupidity or villainy?

In mid-summer of 1918, after the retreat from the southern bank of the Marne, the German press had begun to behave with such wretched ineptness, in fact with such criminal stupidity, that I asked myself with daily increasing chagrin whether there was really no one to put an end to this intellectual squandering of the army's heroism.

What happened in France when we swept into the country in 1914 in an unparalleled whirlwind of victory? What did Italy do while her Isonzo front was collapsing? What did France do in the spring of 1918, when the assaults of the German divisions seemed to be unhinging the French positions and the far-reaching arm of

the heavy long-distance batteries was pounding upon the gates of Paris?

How the boiling heat of national passion was hurled in the faces of the retreating regiments! How propaganda and inspired skill at influencing the masses labored to pound into the hearts of the broken fronts a belief in the final victory, now more than ever!

And what was happening on our side? Nothing, or worse than nothing.

I was often carried away with anger and indignation when I received the latest newspapers, and saw the psychological mass murder they were committing.

More than once I was tortured by the thought that if Providence had put me in place of these incompetent or criminal could-nots and would-nots in our propaganda service, war would have been declared on Destiny in a different fashion.

During those months I felt for the first time the full force of the malicious fate which kept me at the front, in a spot where the chance gesture of any negro might shoot me down, while in another place I might have done very different service for the Fatherland.

Even then I was presumptuous enough to believe I would have succeeded. But I was a nameless one among eight millions; so it was better to hold my tongue, and to do my duty as well as possible where I was.

In the summer of 1916 the first enemy leaflets fell into our hands.

Although with some changes of form, their substance was almost invariably the same: Distress in Germany was growing ever greater; the war would last forever, while the chance of winning it was vanishing; and for that reason the people at home were longing for peace, but "militarism" and the "Kaiser" would not permit it; the whole world—which well realized this—was therefore not making war on the German people, but exclusively upon the sole guilty party, the Kaiser; the struggle would not come to an end until this enemy of peaceable mankind was eliminated; but

after the termination of the war, the peaceful and democratic nations would receive the German people into the League of eternal world peace which was assured from the moment that "Prussian militarism" was destroyed.

To illustrate these claims, "letters from home" were frequently printed which appeared to confirm these statements.

At that time everybody just laughed at these attempts. The leaflets were read and then sent to the rear to the higher staffs, and mostly forgotten until the wind brought down another load into the trenches; for it was usually airplanes which served to bring over the leaflets.

There was one striking thing about this sort of propaganda, namely that in every sector where there were Bavarians an attack on Prussia was pushed with extraordinary persistency, asserting on the one hand that Prussia was solely guilty and responsible for the whole war, and on the other hand that there was not the slightest enmity for Bavaria in particular—though of course there was nothing to be done for Bavaria so long as it continued to serve under, and pull the chestnuts out of the fire for, Prussian militarism.

As a matter of fact this method of influence actually began to have a certain effect as early as 1915. Feeling against Prussia among the troops increased quite noticeably—without producing the slightest counter-measures from above. This was more than a mere sin of omission; sooner or later there were bound to be most grievous results, and not for the "Prussians" but for the German people, of which Bavaria is no inconsiderable part.

In this direction enemy propaganda began to have definite results by 1916.

The complaining letters from home had also long since begun to take effect. It was no longer necessary for the enemy to send them into our front by means of leaflets, etc. Here too, nothing was done in "governmental quarters" except for a few psychologically half-witted "admonitions." The front was constantly flooded with this poison which empty-headed women cooked up at home, naturally not dreaming that this was the way to

strengthen the enemy's confidence to the limit, and hence to prolong and increase the sufferings of their loved ones at the battle front. The silly letters of German women eventually cost hundreds of thousands of men their lives.

Even by 1916 there were various alarming signs. The men at the front cursed and "groused," were discontented in many respects, and often very justly indignant. While they were starving and suffering, and their families at home were in misery, elsewhere there was abundance and riotous living. Even at the front itself all was not as it should have been in this respect.

Even then, that is, there were faint warnings of crisis—but these were all still internal matters. The same man who growled and cursed would silently do his duty a few minutes later as if it were a matter of course. The same company that was feeling discontented would dig into the section of trenches it had to defend as if Germany's fate depended upon this hundred yards of mud-holes. It was still the front formed by the old, magnificent army of heroes!

I was to experience the difference between it and home in glaring contrast.

At the end of September, 1916, my division entered the battle of the Somme. For us it was the first of the monstrous battles that now followed, and the impression it created is hardly to be described. It seemed more like Hell than a war.

In the whirlwind tattoo of the guns for weeks at a time the German front held out, sometimes being pushed back, then advancing again, but never giving way.

On October 7, 1916, I was wounded.

I arrived safely at the rear, and was ordered to Germany by transport train.

Two years had passed since I had seen home—an almost endless stretch of time under such circumstances. I could hardly imagine how Germans who were not in uniform would look. When I was in the base hospital at Hermies, I started as if in alarm when the voice of a German woman, a nurse, addressed a man lying next to me. A sound like that for the first time in two years!

But the nearer to the border the train came which was bringing us home, the more restless each man became. All the towns moved past which we had ridden through, two years before, as young soldiers: Brussels, Louvain, Liège; and finally we thought we recognized the first German house by its high gables and its handsome shutters.

The Fatherland!

In October 1914 we had been aflame with wild enthusiasm when we crossed the border; now stillness and emotion reigned. We were all happy that Fate allowed us to see once more what we were defending so fiercely with our lives; and each of us was almost ashamed to let anyone look him in the eye.

Almost on the anniversary of my departure I arrived in the hospital at Beelitz near Berlin.

What a transformation! From the mud of the Battle of the Somme into the white beds of this marvelous structure! At first one hardly dared lie on them.

But unfortunately this world was new in other respects also.

The spirit of the army at the front seemed not to dwell here. For the first time I heard a thing as yet unknown at the front: someone boasting of his own cowardice. One did indeed hear cursing and grumbling at the front, but never to encourage dereliction in duty, let alone to glorify the coward. No: the coward was a coward still, and nothing more; and he was treated with a contempt as universal as the admiration that was felt for a true hero. But here in the hospital, conditions already were partly almost the reverse: the most unprincipled trouble-seekers took the floor, and tried with every resource of their sorry eloquence to make the ideas of the decent soldier ridiculous and the coward's lack of character a model.

A few contemptible fellows in particular set the tone. One of them boasted that he had stuck his own hand into the barbed wire in order to get into the hospital; despite this ridiculous injury he seemed to have been here an endless length of time, and in fact it was only by a dodge that he had got into the transport train for Germany at all. This poisonous fellow went so far as to ex-

hibit his own cowardice brazenly as the result of a bravery higher than the heroic death of the honest soldier. Many listened in silence, others walked away, but a few actually agreed.

I was disgusted within an inch of my life, but the trouble-maker was calmly tolerated in the hospital. What could one do? The office surely must, and in fact did, know who and what he was. Yet nothing happened.

When I could walk properly again, I got leave to go to Berlin. Privation was obviously very severe everywhere. The city of millions was suffering from hunger. Discontent was rife. In various homes which the soldiers visited, the tone was like that of the hospital. It looked very much as if these fellows deliberately sought out such spots in order to spread their views.

But things were even worse, much worse in Munich itself. When I was discharged from the hospital after my recovery, and was assigned to the reserve battalion, I hardly recognized the city again. Anger, disgust and abusive talk wherever one went. In the reserve battalion itself the spirit was absolutely beneath contempt. One factor here was the utterly inept treatment of the active soldiers by old training officers, who had never spent a single hour in the field, and for this reason, if for no other, were able only in part to establish a decent relationship with the old soldiers. These old soldiers did have certain peculiarities which were explained by service at the front, but which were quite incomprehensible to the heads of the reserve troops, while an officer who had himself come from the front was at least not puzzled by them. Such an officer of course received a very different sort of respect among the men from that given the officers at the rear.

But quite aside from this the general temper was dreadful; shirking began to be thought almost a sign of higher wisdom, and faithful endurance as the earmark of inner weakness and purblindness. The government offices were full of Jews. Almost every clerk was a Jew, and every Jew a clerk. I was astonished at this wealth of warriors of the chosen people, and could not help comparing it with their sparse representation at the front.

The situation in business was yet worse. Here the Jewish people

had actually become "indispensable." The spider was slowly beginning to suck the blood through the people's pores. In the war corporations an instrument had been found with which gradually to sweep away the national, free economy.

The necessity of unrestricted centralization was emphasized. And in fact by 1916-1917 almost all production was under the control of financial Jewry.

But at whom did the people now direct its hatred?

At that time I was horrified to see a doom approaching which, if not averted in time, was bound to lead to a collapse.

While the Jew was plundering the whole nation and thrusting it under his domination, people were agitating against the "Prussians." As at the front, so at home nothing was done from above against this poisonous propaganda. Nobody seemed to dream that the collapse of Prussia was far from meaning a boom in Bavaria, and that on the contrary the fall of the one must inevitably drag the other with it into the abyss.

This behavior caused me infinite pain. In it I could see nothing but the Jew's most inspired trick to distract general attention from himself to others. While Bavarians and Prussians were quarreling, he sneaked the livelihood from under the nose of both; while the Bavarians were damning the Prussians, the Jew organized the Revolution, and shattered Prussia and Bavaria together.

I could not stand this accursed feud among the German clans, and was glad to get back to the front, to which I asked to be transferred immediately after my arrival in Munich. And by the beginning of March, 1917, I was back with my regiment again.

Toward the end of 1917 the deepest point of the army's depression seemed to be past. After the Russian collapse, the whole army took fresh hope and fresh courage. The conviction that the struggle would yet end with a German victory began to grow on the troops more and more. Singing was to be heard again, and croakers were fewer. People believed again in the future of the Fatherland.

The Italian collapse especially, in the Autumn of 1917 had had a marvelous effect; in this victory people saw a proof of the possibility of breaking through the front at other places beside the scene of the Russian campaign. A splendid faith flooded back into the hearts of the millions, and made it possible for them to hold out for the spring of 1918 with relieved assurance. The enemy, on the other hand, was visibly dejected. That winter things were somewhat calmer than usual. It was the calm before the storm.

But just as the front was making the final preparations to terminate the endless struggle at last, as endless transport-trains of men and supplies were rolling toward the Western Front and the troops were being groomed for the great attack, in Germany the greatest blackleg trick of the war broke out.

Germany must not win. At the last moment, when victory threatened to follow the German banner, a means was resorted to which seemed calculated at a blow to throttle the German spring attack at birth, and to make victory impossible.

The munitions strike was organized.

If it succeeded, the German front would collapse, and the wish of the *Vorwärts* newspaper that victory might not follow the German banner this time would be fulfilled. From lack of munitions the front would be broken through in a few weeks; the offensive would be prevented, the Entente saved, and international capital made master of Germany—this then was the inner goal of the Marxist swindle upon the peoples something which the honorable gentlemen succeeded in. Destruction of the national economy in order to establish the rule of international capital—thanks to the stupidity and credulity of one side and the fathomless cowardice of the other.

So far as starving the front for armaments went, the munitions strike did not, it is true, have the full success that was hoped for: it collapsed too early for the munitions shortage in itself to condemn the army to destruction, as was planned. But how much worse was the moral damage that was done!

Firstly, what was the army still fighting for, if people at home

did not even want a victory? For whom the enormous sacrifices and privations? The soldier is sent out to fight for victory, and at home they strike against it!

But secondly, what was the effect upon the enemy?

In the winter of 1917-18 dark clouds rose for the first time on the Allied firmament. For almost four years they had tilted against the German giant, and had been unable to overthrow him; and yet he had only his shield-arm free for defense, while the sword had to swing now to the East, now to the South. Now at last the giant was free behind. Rivers of blood had flowed before he succeeded in definitely smashing one of his adversaries. Now the sword would join the shield in the West, and if the enemy so far had not succeeded in breaking down the defense, the attack now was to fall upon him himself. People dreaded him, and feared the victory.

In London and Paris one conference crowded on the heels of the next, but on the front a drowsy silence reigned. The gentry had suddenly lost their impudence. Even the enemy propaganda was having a struggle; it was no longer so easy to prove the impossibility of a German victory.

But the same thing was likewise true of the front itself. They too began to see an uncanny light. Their inner attitude toward the German soldier had changed. Thus far they might have thought him a fool marked for defeat; but now they were faced with the annihilator of their Russian ally. Born of necessity, the confinement of German offensives to the East now seemed a piece of inspired strategy. For three years the Germans had charged upon Russia, at first apparently without the slightest effect. People almost laughed at this futile undertaking; for, after all, the Russian giant with his superiority of numbers must be the victor at last, while Germany would break down from loss of blood. Fact seemed to justify this hope.

Starting in September, 1914, when the endless masses of Russian prisoners from the battle of Tannenberg first began to swell toward Germany along highways and railroads, the stream scarcely stopped—but for every army beaten and annihilated,

a new one arose. Inexhaustibly the vast Empire kept giving the Tsar new soldiers, and the war its new victims. How long could Germany last in this race? Must not the day come, after a last German victory, when the Russian armies—not even yet the last ones—would array themselves for the final battle? And then what? In all human probability Russia's victory might be postponed, but come it must.

Now all these hopes were done with; the ally who had laid the greatest blood-sacrifices on the altar of the common interests was at the end of his strength, and lay at the feet of the implacable attacker. Fear and horror crept into the hearts of the soldiers, hitherto blind in their faith. They feared the coming spring. For if they had not succeeded in breaking the German when he could give but part of his energy to the Western Front, how could they still count on victory with the entire strength of the mighty hero state apparently gathering itself for an attack?

The shadows of the South Tyrolean mountains sank uneasily upon the imagination; as far away as the fogs of Flanders, the beaten armies of Cadorna conjured up gloomy specters, and belief in victory gave way to fear of the coming defeat.

There—just as people seemed in the cool nights to hear the steady rumble of the advancing shock troops of the German army, and were looking forward in uneasy dread to the coming judgment day, suddenly a glaring red light blazed from Germany, throwing its flare into the last shell-hole of the enemy front.

At the moment that the German divisions were having their final training for the great assault, the general strike broke out in Germany.

For a moment the world was speechless. But then, with a sigh of relief, the enemy propaganda snatched at this help in the twelfth hour. At one blow the means was found to bring back the ebbing confidence of the Allied soldiers, to describe the probability of victory as conceivable again, and to change the uneasy dread of coming events into confident determination. Now the regiments awaiting the German attack could go into the greatest

battle of all time with the conviction that the end of the war would be decided not by the daring of the German assault but by the tenacity of its defense. Let the Germans win as many victories as they pleased, at home the Revolution was marching in, not the victorious army.

This belief English, French and American newspapers began to plant in the hearts of their readers, while infinitely skillful propaganda drove on the troops at the front.

"Germany on the eve of Revolution! Victory of the Allies inevitable!" This was the best medicine to set the wavering Poilu and Tommy on their feet. Now rifles and machine-guns could be got to firing again, and instead of a flight in panic terror, there was hopeful resistance.

This was the result of the munitions strike. It strengthened the enemy peoples' faith in victory, and swept away the paralyzing despair of the Allied front—for which thousands of German soldiers afterward paid with their lives.

The originators of this basest of all villainy were those who expected the highest State offices in the Germany of the Revolution.

The visible effects of this deed on the German side could, it is true, be apparently overcome for the time being; but on the enemy side the results were not long in coming. The resistance had lost the aimlessness of an army that has given everything up for lost, and in its stead appeared the bitter intensity of a struggle for victory.

For in all human probability victory must come, if the Western Front could but hold out a few months against the German attack. The parliaments of the Entente recognized the possibilities of the future, and voted stupendous sums to continue the propaganda which would undermine Germany.

It was my good fortune to have a share in the first two and the last offensives.

They are the most tremendous impressions of my life—tremendous because now for the last time the struggle, as in 1914,

lost the character of defense, and took on that of attack. The men in the trenches and dugouts of the German army drew a deep breath now that the day of retribution, after more than three years' dogged hanging-on in the enemy inferno, was at hand at last. Once more the victorious battalions shouted exultantly, and they hung the last wreaths of immortal laurel on the standards amid the lightning flashes of victory. Once more the songs of the Fatherland roared heavenward along the endless marching columns, and for the last time the Lord's mercy smiled on His ungrateful children.

In mid-summer of 1918 sultry heat lay over the front. At home people were quarreling. Over what? Many stories circulated among the various divisions of the army in the field. The war was now hopeless, they said, and only fools could still believe in victory. The people had no further interest in continued resistance; only capital and the Monarchy had. That was the story from home, and it was discussed at the front as well.

At first there was scarcely any reaction. What did we care for universal suffrage? Was that what we had fought four years for? It was a piece of vile banditry thus to steal the war's goal from the dead heroes in their graves. It was not with the cry, "Long live universal secret suffrage," that the young regiments had gone to their deaths in Flanders, but with the shout, "Germany above everything in the world"—a small but not altogether insignificant difference. But those who were shouting for suffrage had for the most part never been there when now they wished to fight for it. The whole political party mob was a stranger to the front. One saw only a fraction of the Honorable Parliamentarians in the place where decent Germans, if they had but sound limbs, were then residing.

The old backbone of the front, therefore, was also against this new war aim of Messrs. Ebert, Scheidemann, Barth, Liebknecht, etc. and showed but little interest. People could not see why the slackers should all at once have the right to arrogate the authority in the State to themselves over the army's head.

My personal attitude was settled from the start: I hated the whole pack of wretched, nation-swindling party scoundrels intensely. I had long since realized that with this gang it was a question not of the nation's welfare, but of filling empty pockets. For this purpose they were now even willing to sacrifice the whole people, and if necessary to let Germany go to her doom. In my eyes they were ready for the noose. Having regard for their wishes meant sacrificing the interests of the working people in favor of a set of pickpockets; those wishes could be fulfilled only if one were ready to give up Germany.

And so the great majority of the fighting army still thought. Only the reinforcements from home swiftly grew worse and worse, so that their arrival weakened, instead of strengthening, the fighting power. The young reinforcements in particular were largely worthless. Often it was hard to believe that these were sons of the same people which had once sent out its youth to the battle of Ypres.

In August and September the symptoms of disintegration swiftly increased, despite the fact that the enemy attack was not to be compared with the horrors of our earlier defensive battles. By contrast the Somme and Flanders were part of a horrible past.

At the end of September my division came for the third time to the places which we had once stormed as young volunteer regiments.

What a memory!

There, in October and November of 1914, we had received our baptism of fire. With love of Fatherland in its heart and song on its lips our young regiment had gone to battle as if to the dance. The most precious blood was joyfully given in the belief that this would preserve independence and freedom for the Fatherland.

In July of 1917 we trod this soil, sacred for us all, for the second time. Here slept the best of our comrades, children almost, who had gone bright-eyed to death for the Fatherland which alone they loved.

We veterans, who had marched out with the regiment long

ago, stood with profound reverence at this altar of "faithfulness and obedience unto death."

The regiment had stormed this ground three years before; now it was to defend it in a bitter battle of resistance.

With three weeks of drum-fire the Englishman prepared for the great Flanders offensive. Now the spirits of the fallen seemed to come alive; the regiment braced itself in the filthy mud, and dug into the shell-holes and craters, unyielding, unwavering, and grew ever smaller and thinner, just as once before at this spot, until at last the Englishman's attack let go on the 31st of July, 1917.

Early in August we were relieved.

What once had been the regiment was now a few companies; they staggered back, covered with mud, more like ghosts than men. But except for a few hundred yards of shell-holes, the Englishman had won nothing but death.

Now, in the fall of 1918, we stood for the third time on the stormed ground of 1914. Comines, the little town where we once had been quartered, was now our battlefield. But if the battleground was the same, the men had changed; the troops now talked politics too. The poison from home began to take effect here as everywhere else. The younger reinforcements were absolutely useless—they came from home.

On the night of October 13th-14th the English gas attack on the Southern Front before Ypres broke loose; they used Yellow Cross gas, whose effect was still new to us as far as personal experience was concerned. I was to find it out for myself that very night. The evening of October 13th, on a hill south of Wervick we got into a drum-fire of gas grenades lasting several hours, and continuing more or less violently all night. By midnight half of us were knocked out, some of our comrades forever. Toward morning I was gripped by more and more violent pains as the minutes passed; and at seven o'clock in the morning, my eyes aflame, I stumbled and staggered to the rear, taking with me my last report in the war as I went.

Within a few hours my eyes had turned to red-hot coals, and

all was dark around me.

Thus I arrived in hospital at Pasewalk in Pomerania, and there I had to experience the greatest infamy of this century.

There had been something vague but repulsive above the atmosphere for some time. The gossip was that "things" were going to pop in the next few weeks—only I could not imagine what they meant by "things." My first thought was of a strike, like that of the spring. Unpleasant rumors were constantly coming from the navy, which was supposed to be in a state of ferment. But even this seemed to me rather the creature of a few scattered rascals' brains than an affair of any large mass of people. In hospital of course everyone talked about the termination of the war, which they hoped would be soon; but no one counted on it at once. Newspapers I could not read.

In November the general tension increased.

And then suddenly and unexpectedly one day the catastrophe was upon us. Sailors came in trucks, rousing us to the Revolution; a few Jew-boys were the "leaders" in this struggle for the "freedom, beauty and dignity" of our people's life. None of them had been at the front. By way of a so-called "clap hospital" the three orientals had been sent home from behind the lines. Now they ran up the red rag there.

By that time my condition had begun to improve somewhat. The piercing pain in the hollows of my eyes grew less; gradually I could distinguish my surroundings in rough outline again. I had hopes of getting my eyesight back at least enough so that I would be able to pursue some occupation. I could not, however, hope ever to be able to draw again. Still I was on the road to improvement when the monstrous thing happened.

My first hope was that this high treason was a more or less local affair. I tried to cheer up some of my comrades in that belief. My Bavarian hospital-mates in particular were more than receptive. Their temper was anything but "revolutionary." I could not imagine that the madness would break out in Munich as well. I thought the devotion to the venerable House of Wittels-

bach was pretty sure to be stronger than the will of a few Jews. So I could not help believing it was a matter of a revolt in the navy, which would be put down in the next few days.

The next few days came, and with them the most horrible certainty of my life. Ever more alarming grew the rumors. What I had thought a local matter was to be a general Revolution. On top of it all came the shameful news from the front. They were going to capitulate. Could any such thing be possible?

On the 10th of November the pastor came to the hospital for a short address; now we found out the whole story.

Intensely excited, I went to hear his brief speech. The dignified old gentleman seemed to be trembling like a leaf as he informed us that the House of Hollenzollern could no longer wear the crown of the German Emperors, that the Fatherland had become a "Republic," that our Fatherland would surely be exposed to heavy oppressions in the future. That we must beg the Almighty not to refuse his blessing to the transformation and not to forsake our people in time to come. He could not refrain from saying a few words about the Royal House; he tried to speak in appreciation of what it had done for Pomerania, for Prussia, nay for the German Fatherland—and here he began to weep softly. Profound dejection came upon every heart in the little hall, and I believe there was not a single eye which could keep back the tears. But when the old gentleman tried to continue, and began to tell us that we should now have to end the long war, and that in future (since the war was lost and we were throwing ourselves upon the mercy of the victors) our Fatherland would be liable to grievous oppression, that the Armistice was to be accepted, our trust being put in the magnanimity of our enemy—I could stand it no longer. It was impossible for me to remain. Everything went black before my eyes again, and I staggered and stumbled my way back to the dormitory, flung myself upon my cot, and buried my burning head in the blanket and pillow.

I had not cried since the day when I stood beside my mother's grave. Whenever in my youth I was gripped by a pitiless Fate, my obduracy increased. When Death fetched dear comrades and

friends from out of our ranks in the long years of the war, I would have thought it almost a sin to complain—were they not dying for Germany? And when I myself—in the very last days of the fearful struggle—fell victim to the creeping gas that began to eat into my eyes, and, in horror of going blind forever, I was ready for a moment to lose courage, the voice of conscience thundered at me: Miserable wretch, are you to snivel while thousands are a hundred times worse off than you? And so I bore my fate in dull silence. But now I could not help it. Now I realized for the first time how personal suffering disappears in face of the misfortune of the Fatherland.

So it had all been in vain. In vain all the sacrifices and starvation, in vain the hunger and thirst often of months without end, in vain the hours when, gripped by deathly terror, we nevertheless did our duty, and in vain the death of two millions who died as they did it. Surely the graves must open of all the hundreds of thousands who had marched out, believing in the Fatherland, never to return? Surely they must open and send forth the silent heroes, covered with mud and blood, as avenging spirits to the homeland which had so outrageously cheated them of the highest sacrifice that a man can offer to his people in this world? Was this what they had died for, the soldiers of August and September 1914; was this why the volunteer regiments followed their old comrades in the fall of the same year? Was it for this that these boys of seventeen had fallen upon the soil of Flanders? Was this the meaning of the sacrifice which the German mother made for the Fatherland when with aching heart she sent out her dearest boys, never to see them more? Was it all for this—so that now a mob of miserable criminals should dare to lay hands on the Fatherland?

Was it for this, then, that the German soldier, exhausted by sleepless nights and endless marches, hungry, thirsty and frozen, had stood fast through burning sun and driving snow? Was it for this he had gone through the inferno of drum-fire and the fever of gas attacks, never yielding, always remembering the single duty of guarding the Fatherland from the invasion of the

enemy?

Truly, these heroes too deserved a stone:

“Stranger, tell in Germany that we lie here, faithful to the Fatherland and obedient to duty.”

And Germany—?

But was the supreme sacrifice all we must consider? Was the Germany of the past worthless? Had we no obligations to our own history? Were we still worthy to take unto ourselves the glory of the past? And how could this deed be offered for justification to the future?

Depraved and miserable criminals! The more I tried to come to a clear realization of the monstrous event, the more the flush of indignation and shame burned in my cheek. What was the agony of my eyes compared to this wretchedness?

There followed awful days and worse nights—I knew that all was lost. Only fools could hope for the mercy of the enemy—or liars and criminals. During those nights hatred grew up in me, hatred for the perpetrators of this deed.

In the next few days I became conscious of my own fate. I had to laugh when I thought of my personal future, which had caused me such grievous worry so short a time before. Was it not laughable to think of building houses on such ground? Finally I realized that the thing had merely happened which I had so often dreaded, but which emotionally I had never been able to believe.

Emperor William II had been the first German Emperor to offer the hand of reconciliation to the leaders of Marxism, not dreaming that scoundrels have no honor. While they still grasped the Imperial hand, with the other they were feeling for the dagger.

With the Jew there can be no coming to terms, but only the implacable “either—or.”

And I resolved to become a politician.

8. BEGINNING OF MY POLITICAL ACTIVITY

BY THE end of November, 1918, I was back in Munich. I went to the reserve battalion of my regiment, which was in the hands of "Soldiers' Councils." The whole business was so repugnant to me that I decided at once to depart if possible. With a faithful comrade of the campaign, Ernst Schmiedt, I got to Traunstein, and remained there until the camp was broken up.

In March of 1919 we went back to Munich.

The situation was untenable, and inescapably forced a further continuation of the Revolution. Eisner's death only hastened the development, and finally led to the dictatorship of the Councils, or, more accurately put, to a temporary Jewish domination such as had originally been the goal of the creators of the whole Revolution.

Plans chased one another endlessly through my head at that time. For days I puzzled over what could possibly be done; but the result of every train of thought was the sober realization that, being nameless, I had not the slightest equipment for any useful action. I shall have something to say later about the reason why I could not even then make up my mind to join one of the existing parties.

In the course of the new Revolution of the Councils I behaved for the first time in such a way as to draw the displeasure of the Central Council. I was to be arrested early in the morning of April 27, 1919—but the three fellows, faced with the muzzle of a rifle, had not the necessary nerve, and decamped as they had come.

A few days after the liberation of Munich I was ordered before the Commission of Investigation on the revolutionary events in

the Second Infantry Regiment. This was my first more or less purely political activity.

Within a few weeks I received orders to attend a "course" which was being held for members of the defense forces. Here a soldier was supposed to acquire a definite foundation for his thinking as a citizen. The value of the whole performance to me was that I had a chance to make the acquaintance of a few like-minded comrades with whom I could thoroughly discuss the situation of the moment. We were all more or less firmly convinced that Germany could no longer be saved from the coming catastrophe by the parties of the November crime, *i.e.* the Center and the Social Democrats, but that even with the best will in the world the so-called "bourgeois-nationalist" organizations could never make good what had been done, either. A whole series of essentials was lacking here without which such a task could not succeed. Time has since proved that our view was correct.

In our little circle, therefore, we discussed the formation of a new party. The basic ideas we had in mind were the same that were later realized in the "German Workers' Party." The name of the movement which was to be founded must give us a chance from the very beginning to get at the broad masses; for without this possibility the whole task seemed senseless and unnecessary. We hit upon the name "Social Revolutionary Party," because the social views of the new organization actually constituted a revolution.

But the deeper reason lay in the following:

Attentive as I had always been to economic problems, still it had been more or less confined to the limits resulting from the consideration of social questions as such. Not until later were the bounds extended as a result of my examination of the German alliance policy. This was, after all, very largely the result of a mistaken valuation of the economic system, as well as of vagueness about the possible basis on which the German people could be sustained in the future. But all these ideas rested on the opinion that capital was never anything but the product of labor, and,

like it, subject to correction by all those factors which either help or hinder human activity. And in fact the national importance of capital would then be that it depended so completely on the greatness, freedom and power of the State, that is of the nation, that this dependency must in itself lead to active support of State and nation by this capital, simply from the instincts of self-preservation and of further increase. The forced reliance of capital upon the independent free State would compel capital on its part to work for this freedom, power, strength, etc., of the nation.

But this made the duty of the State toward capital a comparatively simple and clear one: it had only to take care that capital remained a servant of the State, and did not fancy itself the master of the nation. The expression of this attitude could then remain within two boundary lines: preservation of a healthy national and independent economy on one side, security of the social rights of wage-earners on the other.

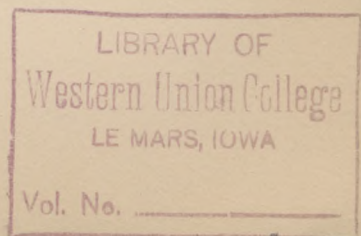
So far I had not recognized with proper distinctness the difference between this pure capital as the final result of creative work and a capital whose nature and existence rests solely on speculation. I had simply not happened to get the first push in the right direction.

This was now well taken care of by one of the various gentlemen who lectured to the above mentioned course: Gottfried Feder.

For the first time in my life I heard a basic arraignment of international finance and loan capital.

When I heard Feder's first lecture, the idea instantly flashed through my head that I had now found my way to one of the prime essentials for the foundation of a new party.

In my eyes it was Feder's merit to have shown with ruthless brutality the speculative as well as the economic character of finance and loan capital, and to have laid bare its invariable prerequisite, interest. His explanations of all the basic questions were so sound that from the start his critics did not so much dispute the theoretical rightness of the idea as doubt the practical possibility



of carrying it out. But what others considered a weakness in Feder's arguments I thought was their strong point.

The task of the program-maker is not to distinguish the varying degrees to which a cause can be realized, but to expound the cause as such. That is to say, he should be concerned less with the method than with the goal. But there the essential verity of an idea is the deciding factor, not the difficulty of carrying it out. The moment the program-maker attempts to take into account so-called "expediency" and "reality" instead of absolute truth, his work will cease to be a pole star of seeking humanity, and will become instead a formula for every-day use. The program-maker of a movement must determine its goal; the politician must attempt to reach it. Accordingly the thinking of the one is determined by eternal truth, the action of the other by the practical reality of the moment. The greatness of the one lies in the absolute abstract correctness of his idea, that of the other in his proper approach to the given facts and his expedient use of them; here the goal set up by the program-maker must serve as his guiding star. Whereas the test of a politician's importance may be considered the success of his plans and actions—that is, their becoming a reality—, the final intention of the program-maker can never be realized. Human thought can indeed grasp truths, and set up goals as clear as crystal, but their complete fulfilment will be prevented by the universal imperfection and inadequacy of man. The more true in the abstract and thus the more tremendous the idea may be, the more impossible is its perfect fulfilment so long as it depends on human beings. And for that reason the importance of the program-maker cannot be measured by the attainment of his aims, but by their rightness and the influence they have upon the development of humanity. If this were not so, the founders of religion could not be counted among the greatest men on this earth, since the fulfilment of their ethical purposes can never even approach perfection. Even the religion of love is in its effect only the pale reflection of the will of its noble founder; but its importance is in the tendency which it

attempted to impart to the general development of human culture, ethics, and morals.

This complete differentiation between the tasks of the program-maker and the politician is also the reason why the two are almost never found united in one person. It is true particularly of the so-called "successful" politician of no great stature, whose activity usually is in fact but "the art of the possible," as Bismarck rather too modestly defined politics in general. The more such a "politician" keeps himself free of great ideas, the easier and usually the more obvious, but always the quicker, his successes will be. True, they have therefore but an earthly and fleeting life, and often do not survive the death of their begetters. Taken by and large, the work of this sort of politicians is of no importance to posterity, since its present successes depend solely on staving off all really great and crucial problems and ideas, which as such would have been valuable even for later generations.

The carrying-out of purposes which will have value and meaning for distant ages is usually unrewarding for their champions, and seldom finds favor with the great masses, who understand reductions in beer and milk prices better than far-seeing plans for the future, whose realization cannot but be slow, and whose profit will certainly be reserved for posterity.

For reasons of vanity (always a near relative of stupidity), therefore, the great majority of politicians will hold aloof from any really difficult schemes for the future, to avoid losing the momentary favor of the crowd. The success and importance of such a politician then lie entirely in the present, and, so far as posterity goes, do not exist. This usually troubles small brains but little; they are satisfied.

The program-maker is a different matter. His importance almost always lies solely in the future, since he is frequently what we call "unworldly." For if the art of the politician be considered actually as the art of the possible, then the program-maker is one of those of whom it is said that they please the gods only when they demand the impossible. Almost always he will have to re-

nounce the recognition of the present, but in its place, if his ideas are immortal, he gathers glory among posterity.

Once in a long stretch of human history it may happen that the politician and the program-maker are united. But the more intimate this fusion, the greater the resistance which the politician's efforts must meet. He is no longer working for necessities obvious to any middle-class voter, but for purposes which few can understand. And so his life is torn between love and hatred. The protest of the present, which does not understand the man, struggles with the admiration of posterity, for which, after all, he is working.

For the higher the future holds a man's work, the less the present can grasp it, the harder is the battle, and the rarer the success. But if it does smile on one man in centuries, a glimmer of the coming glory may possibly surround him in his old age. Even so, these great men are but the Marathon runners of history: the laurel wreath of the present rests but upon the brow of the dying hero.

Among these we must count the great warriors of this world, those not understood by the present, who are nevertheless ready to fight through to the end for their ideas and ideals. They it is who some day will be closest to the people's hearts; it almost seems as if each individual felt the personal duty of making good to the past the sins which the present once committed against the great man. Their life and work are studied with touchingly grateful admiration, and have the power, especially in times of distress, to lift up shattered hearts and despairing souls.

But among these men we must count not only the really great statesmen, but all the other great reformers. Beside Frederick the Great we have Martin Luther as well as Richard Wagner.

When I heard Gottfried Feder's first lecture on "Breaking the Slavery of Interest" I knew at once that this was a theoretical truth which must be of immense importance for the future of the German people. Sharp separation of finance capital from the national economy made it possible to oppose the internationalization of German economy without threatening the whole

foundation of independent national self-preservation in the process of fighting against capital. I saw Germany's development far too clearly not to have known that the hardest struggle would have to be fought not against hostile peoples, but against international capital. In Feder's lecture I heard a mighty watchword for this coming struggle.

And here too subsequent developments showed how right our feeling was. Today we are no longer laughed at by our sly-boots bourgeois politicians; today even they (so far as they are not deliberate liars) see that international finance capital not only took the lead in fostering the war, but now especially, after the struggle is ended, is leaving nothing undone to make the peace into a Hell.

The struggle against international finance and loan capital has become the most important point in the program of the German nation's struggle for its economic independence and freedom.

So far as the objections of so-called practical men are concerned, we may answer them thus: all fears of the terrible economic results of "breaking the slavery of interest" in practice are unnecessary; for in the first place previous economic panaceas have sat but ill upon the German people, and the comments on questions of self-preservation strongly remind us of the verdict of similar experts in earlier days—for instance of the Bavarian Medical Faculty upon the question of introducing the railroad. It is known that none of this exalted body's fears have since been realized: travelers in the trains of the new "steamhorse" did not become dizzy, spectators were not made ill, and the board fences to render the new invention invisible have been given up—only the blank walls before the heads of all so-called "experts" being preserved for posterity.

But in the second place we should remember this: any idea, even the best, becomes dangerous if it supposes itself an end in itself, while in reality it is but a means to an end—and for me and all true National Socialists there is but one doctrine: people and Fatherland.

What we must fight for is to assure the existence and the in-

crease of our race and our people, to feed its children and keep its blood pure; we must fight for the freedom and independence of the Fatherland, so that our people may ripen toward the fulfilment of the mission assigned it by the Creator of the Universe.

Every thought and every idea, every teaching and all knowledge must serve this purpose. From this point of view we must judge everything, and use it or discard it according to its fitness for our purpose. In this way a theory can never harden into a deadly doctrine, since it must all serve the purposes of life.

Thus the insight of Gottfried Feder led me to deep study of a field with which I had been but little familiar.

I resumed the process of learning, and so came to realize for the first time what it was that the life work of the Jew Karl Marx was directed toward. Now I really began to comprehend his *Capital*, as well as the struggle of Social Democracy against the national economy, a struggle meant solely to prepare the ground for the rule of truly international finance capital.

But in another respect too these courses had a great effect upon my subsequent life.

One day I asked for the floor in discussion. One of the men attending the course felt called upon to break a lance for the Jews, and defended them at great length. This provoked me to a reply. The overwhelming majority of those present took my side. The result was that a few days later I was detailed to join a Munich regiment as a so-called "education officer."

The discipline of the troops at that time was still fairly weak. I was suffering from the after-effects of the Soldiers'-Council period. Only very slowly and cautiously could one begin to introduce military discipline and subordination again in place of "voluntary obedience"—as the pigsty under Kurt Eisner was so aptly called. And the troops themselves must learn to be nationalist and patriotic in thought and feeling. My new activity was pointed in those two directions.

I began my task with delight. Here all at once I had an opportunity to speak before large audiences; and what I had always

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assumed, simply as a matter of feeling, without knowing it to be so, now proved true: I could "speak." And my voice had improved enough so that people could always understand me, at least in the small barrack room.

No task could have made me happier than this: now, before being discharged, I could do useful service for the institution which had been so close to my heart—the army.

And I could truthfully speak of success: in the course of my lectures I led back hundreds, probably thousands of my comrades to their people and Fatherland. I "nationalized" the troops, and was able in this way to help strengthen the general discipline.

And in the process again I became acquainted with a number of like-minded comrades, who later began to form part of the center of the new movement.

9. THE "GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY"

ONE day I received orders to find out what was what about an apparently political organization going under the name of "German Workers' Party," which proposed in a day or two to hold a meeting at which Gottfried Feder was to speak; I was to attend and have a look at the group, and then to make my report.

The curiosity with which the army then regarded political parties was more than understandable. The Revolution had given the soldiers the right to take part in politics, and it was the most inexperienced men who were now making full use of it. Not until Centrist and Social Democratic Parties realized to their distress that the soldiers' sympathies were beginning to turn from the Revolutionary parties toward the national movement and revival was it thought proper once more to deprive the troops of the franchise, and to forbid political activity.

That Center and Marxism would resort to this measure was obvious, for if they had not thus cut off "civil rights"—as the political equality of the soldier after the Revolution was called—within a few years there would have been no November State, and hence no further national degradation and shame. The troops at that time were well on the way to freeing the nation from its blood-suckers and tools of the Entente within. But the fact that even the so-called "national" parties voted enthusiastically for this correction of the November criminals' earlier views, and thus helped to render harmless the instruments of a national revival, showed once more whither the wholly doctrinaire conceptions of these most innocent of innocents may lead. This bourgeoisie, suffering from veritable intellectual senility, seriously believed the army would become again what it once had been, namely a

stronghold of German valor, while Center and Marxism were merely intending to cut off its dangerous nationalist fangs, without which, however, an army remains forever a mere police, not a body of troops which can do battle with the enemy—something which subsequent events amply proved.

Or did our "national politicians" suppose that the development of the army could have been other than a national one? That would be just these gentlemen's style; it is what comes of spending the war not as a soldier, but as a windbag, *i.e.* a parliamentarian, and losing any sense of what may be going on in the bosom of men whom a stupendous past reminds that they were once the first soldiers of the world.

So I resolved to attend the above-mentioned meeting of a party about which so far I knew as little as anyone else.

When I arrived that evening in the back room, for us later to become historic, of the former Sterneckerbräu beer-hall, I found about twenty or twenty-five people, mostly from the lower classes of life.

I was already familiar with Feder's lecture, through the courses, so that I could give my attention chiefly to observing the society itself.

It made neither a good nor a bad impression on me; it was just one more new organization. Those were the days when anyone who was dissatisfied with previous developments, and had lost confidence in the existing parties, thought himself appointed to start a new party. Such societies sprang up like mushrooms everywhere, only to disappear without a flicker after a short time. Most of the founders had not the slightest idea what it means to turn a society into a party, let alone a movement. So the groups they founded almost always drowned in their own ridiculous pettiness.

After listening for about two hours, I decided that the "German Workers' Party" was in the same class. I was glad when Feder finally finished speaking. I had seen enough, and was getting ready to go when the open discussion which was then announced induced me to stay awhile. But here too nothing of any consequence happened, until suddenly a "professor" took the floor who first

questioned the soundness of Feder's reasoning, and then, after an excellent reply from Feder, suddenly took his stand on the "basis of facts," strongly urging the young party to adopt the struggle for the "separation" of Bavaria from "Prussia" as an especially important point in its program. The man brazenly maintained that in that case German Austria, in particular, would immediately unite with Bavaria, that the peace would then be much better, and more nonsense of the same sort. At this I could not refrain from asking for the floor in my turn, and telling the learned gentlemen my opinion on the subject—with such success that even before I had finished, my predecessor on the floor left the hall with his tail between his legs. People's faces looked astonished as they listened to me talk, and not until I was saying goodnight to the gathering, and starting to leave, did a man come running after me to introduce himself (I did not catch his name at all) and hand me a little booklet, evidently a political pamphlet, with the urgent request that I would please read it.

This I thought very convenient, for now I might hope to become acquainted with the tiresome society without having to attend any more such interesting meetings. In general the man, obviously a workman, left a favorable impression on me. And so I departed.

At that time I was still living in the barracks of the Second Infantry Regiment, in a little room which showed very plainly the traces of the Revolution. I was away all day, usually with the 41st Rifles, or at meetings, lectures before some other part of the troops, etc. I merely slept at night in my quarters. Being in the habit of waking up at 5 o'clock every morning, I was accustomed to amuse myself by putting a few hard bread scraps or crusts on the floor for the tiny mice that played about the room, and watching the comical little animals scramble for these tidbits. I had had enough starvation in my life so that I could imagine all too well the hunger and hence also the delight of the little creatures.

On the morning after the meeting, as usual, I was lying awake in bed at five o'clock, watching the activity and the whisking about. Not being able to get to sleep again, I suddenly remem-

bered the evening before, and then the booklet occurred to me which the workman had asked me to take along. So I began to read it. It was a little pamphlet in which the author, this very workman, described how he had escaped from the hurly-burly of Marxist and trades Union slogans back to thinking on national lines; hence the title, *My Political Awakening*. Once having begun, I read the pamphlet with interest all the way through; it described a process such as I myself had gone through twelve years before. My own development was conjured up before me again. I thought about the matter several times in the course of the day, and was ready to put it aside again, when, less than a week later, I received a post-card stating that I had been made a member of the German Workers' Party: would I please say what I thought of this, and come for the purpose to a committee meeting of the party the following Wednesday.

I must say I was more than astonished at this way of "recruiting" members, and did not know whether to be annoyed or amused. I would not have dreamed of joining an existing party; I meant to found my own. The present request was really out of the question for me.

I was about to send my answer to the gentlemen in writing when curiosity overcame me, and I decided to appear on the appointed day, to explain my reasons in person.

Wednesday came. The public-house in which the meeting was to take place was the Altes Rosenbad in the Herrnstrasse, a very shabby place into which apparently somebody wandered by mistake once in a blue moon. That was no wonder in 1919, when the menus of even the larger restaurants offered only the humblest and scantiest attractions. But this particular pub I had never even heard of before.

I went through the ill-lit front room, discovered the door to the back room, and found myself in the presence of the "meeting." In the faint glow of a half-demolished gas light four young men were sitting around a table. Among them was the author of the little pamphlet, who at once greeted me most joyfully, and welcomed me as a new member of the German Workers' Party.

At this I was rather taken aback after all. As I was told that the real "national chairman" had yet to arrive, I decided to save my explanation for a while. Finally he appeared. He was the chairman at the meeting at the Sterneckerbräu on the occasion of Feder's lecture.

In the meantime I had become curious again, and waited to see what would happen. Now at least I learned the names of the various gentlemen. The chairman of the "national organization" was a Mr. Harrer, the Munich chairman Anton Drexler.

The minutes of the last meeting were now read, and a vote of confidence given to the secretary. Then it was the turn of the treasurer's report: there was in possession of the organization all told seven marks and fifty pfennigs—for which general confidence was expressed in the treasurer. This was also recorded in the minutes. Then the chairman read aloud the replies that were being sent to a letter from Kiel, one from Düsseldorf, and one from Berlin; these were unanimously approved. Then the incoming mail was reported: a letter from Berlin, one from Düsseldorf, and one from Kiel, whose arrival seemed to be received with great satisfaction. This increasing correspondence was declared to be an excellent and visible sign of the spreading importance of the "German Workers' Party," and then—then there was a long discussion of the new answers to be written.

Dreadful, dreadful. Why, this was a small-town club of the worst sort. And this was what I was supposed to join?

Then the new members were accorded the floor, or in other words my capture was taken in hand.

I began to ask questions; but aside from a few guiding principles there was nothing, no program, no leaflets, no printed matter at all, no membership card, not even a humble rubber stamp—nothing but evident good faith and good will.

I had lost my inclination to smile; for what was this but the typical sign of entire bewilderment and complete disheartenment over all the old parties, their programs, their purposes and their activities? The thing that drew these few young men together into a proceeding apparently so ridiculous was, after all, only the

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result of their inner voice, which, more instinctively than consciously, made all past party activities seem to them no longer useful for a revival of the German nation or for the cure of its inner ailments. I hastily read over the basic statements, which were on hand in typewritten form, and I thought they betrayed seeking rather than knowledge. Much of it was vague or cloudy, much was missing; but there was nothing that did not go to show a striving for insight.

What these men felt was something I too had known: the longing for a new movement which should be more than a party in the old sense of the word.

When I went back to the barracks that evening, my judgment on the organization was already formed.

I was faced with probably the most difficult question of my life—should I join, or should I decline?

Reason could only advise refusal, but I had a feeling which gave me no rest, and the oftener I tried to urge upon myself the nonsensicality of the whole club, the oftener this feeling spoke in its favor. In the next few days I knew no rest.

I began to argue back and forth with myself. On political activity I had long since decided; that it could be only in a new movement was equally certain, but the impulsion to act had thus far still been lacking. I am not one of those who start something to-day, only to leave off tomorrow, and probably to switch over to something new. But my very conviction was the chief reason why it was so hard for me to decide to join a new organization, which either had to grow to be everything, or else was better left alone. I knew I was making a decision forever, in which there could be no later turning back. For me it was no temporary plaything, but deadly earnest. I have always had an instinctive dislike for people who start everything and finish nothing. To me such jumping-jacks were hateful. I thought what they did was worse than doing nothing.

This conception, however, was one of the main reasons why I could not decide as easily as many others to create a thing which either must become everything or otherwise be expediently left

undone.

Now Fate itself seemed to point my way. I would never have joined one of the existing large parties, and shall give my reasons in more detail later. This ridiculous little creation with its handful of members had, I felt, one advantage in that it had not yet hardened into an "organization," but still gave the individual a chance for really personal activity. Here a man could still work, and the smaller the movement was, the greater the likelihood of getting it into the right shape. Here substance, goal and path could still be determined, which was out of the question from the start with the existing big parties.

The longer I tried to reflect, the more I became convinced that a small movement just such as this might be used to pave the way for the revival of the nation—but never one of the parliamentary political parties, which clung far too tightly to old ideas, or even profited in the new regime. For what must be proclaimed here was a new world-concept, and not a new election slogan.

Still it was a fearfully difficult decision to try to turn this purpose into reality.

What equipment could I myself bring to the task?

That I was poor and without resources I thought the least of my troubles; but it was a greater difficulty that I was among the nameless, one of the millions whom Chance let live or recalled from existence without even his nearest neighbors' deigning to take notice. In addition there was the difficulty bound to result from my lack of schooling.

The so-called "intelligentsia" in any case looks down with truly infinite condescension on anyone who has not been dragged through the obligatory schools and so had the necessary knowledge pumped into him. After all, nobody ever asks, What can the man do, but, What has he learned? "Educated" people of this stamp think more of the greatest blockhead, if only he be wrapped in enough diplomas, than of the brightest boy who has to go without these precious wrappings. So I could easily imagine what attitude this "educated" world would take toward me, and my only mistake was in thinking men a little better than for

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the most part they unfortunately are in sober reality. True, the exceptions, as everywhere, shine out all the brighter for that. For my part I learned from this to distinguish between the perpetual schoolboys and the men of real ability.

After two days of painful pondering and consideration I was finally convinced I must take the step.

It was the weightiest decision of my life. There could and must be no turning back.

So I applied for membership in the German Workers' Party, and received a provisional membership certificate bearing the number seven.

10. CAUSES OF THE COLLAPSE

THE fall of any body is always measured by the distance between its present position and that which is originally occupied. The same thing holds for the downfall of peoples and states. But this lends prime importance to the original position, or rather elevation. Only that which rises above the ordinary limits can be noticeable in its fall. What makes the collapse of the Empire so hard and so horrible for every thinking and feeling person is that the fall came from a height which today, in face of the calamity of our present degradation, it is hard even to imagine.

The very founding of the Empire seemed to be gilded by the magic of happenings that exalted the whole nation. After a victorious course without parallel there grew up an Empire for their sons and grandsons, the reward of immortal heroism. Whether consciously or unconsciously is immaterial; the Germans all felt that the noble fashion of its founding raised this Empire, which owed its existence to no jobbing of parliamentary factions, above the stature of other states. It was not in the chatter of a parliamentary word-battle, but in the thunder and roar of the front around Paris that the solemn act took place, the manifestation of the will of the Germans, princes and people, to form one Empire in the future, and once more to exalt the Imperial Crown into a symbol. And it was not done by a knife in the back; not deserters and blackguards were the founders of Bismarck's State, but the regiments at the front.

This unique birth and fiery baptism alone were enough to surround the Empire with the light of a historic glory such as only the oldest states—and they seldom—could enjoy.

And what an ascent now set in!

Freedom without and daily bread within. The nation grew in number and in this world's goods. And the honor of the State, and with it that of the whole people, was guarded and defended by an army which was the plainest sign of the contrast with the old German Confederation.

So deep is the downfall which has overtaken the Empire and the German people that everyone seems dizzy, robbed for the moment of his senses; people can scarcely remember the old heights, so unreal and dreamlike does yesterday's greatness and magnificence seem as against today's degradation.

So it is natural enough for people now to be too much blinded by the splendor, and to forget to look for the portents of the monstrous collapse, which after all must already have existed somehow.

Naturally this is true only for those to whom Germany was more than a mere place of residence for the making and spending of money, since they alone can feel that the present state is one of collapse; to the others it is the long-hoped-for fulfilment of their hitherto unsatisfied wishes.

The portents even then existed and were visible, though few people tried to draw any instruction from them.

But today this is more necessary than ever. A disease can be cured only if the bacillus which causes it is known, and the same thing is true in curing political ills. Of course the outer form of a disease, its obvious appearance, is more easily seen and discovered than the inner cause. This after all is the reason why so many people never get beyond the recognition of outer effects, and even confuse them with the cause, whose very existence, indeed, they are likely to try to deny. Even now most of us see in the German collapse primarily the general economic distress and the results it brings with it. Almost everyone has to suffer these personally—one sound reason why every individual should understand the catastrophe. But the great masses are far less able to recognize the collapse in its political, cultural and moral aspects. Here many people's instinct and understanding both are at a complete loss.

We may perhaps let it pass that this is true of the great masses, but the fact that even in intelligent circles the German collapse is regarded primarily as an "economic catastrophe," and the cure expected by economic means, is one of the reasons why no recovery has hitherto been possible. Only when we realize that here as elsewhere the economic structure occupies only the second or even the third place, while moral and racial factors occupy the first, can we arrive at an understanding of the causes of the present disaster, and thus be able to find ways and means of cure.

The search for the causes of the German collapse, therefore, is of prime importance, especially for a political movement whose goal it is to make good the defeat.

But even in searching the past we must take great care not to confuse the conspicuous effects with the less visible causes.

The easiest and hence the most popular explanation of the present disaster is that it results from the war just lost, which therefore is the cause of the whole trouble.

No doubt there are many people who really believe this nonsense, but there are more in whose mouths such an explanation can but be a lie and a deliberate untruth. The latter is true of all those now feeding at the government trough. For was it not the very heralds of the Revolution who used to keep urging upon the people that to the great masses it made no difference how the war ended? Did they not, on the contrary, declare solemnly that at most the "great capitalists" could have an interest in the victorious termination of the monstrous struggle among the peoples, but never the German people as such, let alone the German worker? Did not these apostles of world reconciliation declare quite to the contrary, that Germany's defeat would destroy only "militarism," while the German people would be magnificently resurrected? Were these not the men who praised the bounty of the Entente, and thrust the guilt for the whole bloody struggle upon Germany? But could they have done this without their declaration that even a military defeat would have no special consequences for the nation? Was not the whole Revolution garnished with the cant statement that it would prevent the victory

of the German flag, but that by this road the German people would advance toward its inner and also its outward freedom?

Was this not so, you contemptible and lying scoundrels?

It must require a truly Jewish impudence to blame the collapse upon the military defeat now, while the official organ of high treason, the Berlin *Vorwärts*, wrote that this time the German people must not bring its banner back victorious!

And now is that supposed to be the cause of our collapse?

Of course it would be quite futile to wrangle with such a set of forgetful liars, and I would waste no words on it, if this nonsense were not unfortunately parroted by so many quite thoughtless persons with no particular malice or intentional untruthfulness. This discussion is intended also to furnish our warriors of enlightenment with weapons very necessary at a time when the spoken word is so often twisted before one can get it out of his mouth.

The following, then, should be said in reply to the statement that the lost war is responsible for the German collapse:

True enough, the loss of the War was of fearful importance for the future of our Fatherland; yet the loss is not a cause, but itself only a result of such things. It was always perfectly clear to every intelligent and not ill-intentioned person that an unsuccessful ending of this life-and-death struggle was bound to have devastating results. But unfortunately there were also people who seemed not to see this at the right time, or who at first, although they knew better, disputed and denied the truth. These were largely the ones whose secret wish was fulfilled, and who then suddenly understood too late the catastrophe they had helped to cause. It is they who are guilty of the collapse, and not the lost war, as they suddenly choose to say and to know. For the loss of the war, after all, was only the result of their activity, and not, as they now try to claim, the result of "bad" leadership. The enemy too was no coward, he too knew how to die, his number was greater than that of the German army at the outset, and the arsenals of the whole world were at his disposal for technical armament; therefore the fact that the German victories gained through four long years

against the world were (with all their heroism and all their "organization") due solely to superior leadership cannot be denied out of existence. The organization and direction of the German army were the most tremendous things the world had yet seen. Their faults were simply the general bounds of human fallibility.

The fact that this army collapsed was not the cause of our present misfortune, but only the result of other crimes, a result which, it is true, in turn foreshadowed another and this time more visible collapse.

That this is so, we conclude from the following:

Must a military defeat lead to so complete a breakdown of a nation and a state? Since when has this been the result of an unsuccessful war? Are people ever destroyed by lost wars as such?

The answer is short: yes, if in their military defeat these peoples are reaping the reward of their inner rottenness, cowardice, lack of character—in short, of their unworthiness. If this is not the case, the military defeat will be rather the spur to a new and greater advance than the gravestone of a people's existence.

History offers endless examples to prove the statement.

Unfortunately the military defeat of the German people is not an undeserved catastrophe, but a deserved punishment of eternal retribution. We more than earned that defeat. It is only the great outward symptom of decay among a whole series of inward ones, whose visibility may have been hidden from the eyes of most men, or which people, ostrich-like, would not see.

Consider the ways in which the German people received this defeat. Did not many circles express out-and-out pleasure at the misfortune of the Fatherland? But who does this unless he really deserves such a punishment? Did they not go yet further, and boast that at last they had made the front give way? And it was not the enemy who did this, no, no, this shame Germans put upon their own heads! Was it unjust for the disaster to befall them? And since when, on top of that, has it been customary to blame the war upon oneself? And this although one has better sense and knows differently!

No, and again no. The way in which the German people re-

ceived its defeat is the best of signs that the true cause of our collapse must be sought elsewhere than in the purely military loss of a few positions or the failure of an offensive; for if the front as such had really failed, and if its misfortune had brought about the Fatherland's catastrophe, the German people would have received the defeat in an altogether different way. They would have borne the subsequent disaster with clenched teeth, or have bewailed it, overpowered by anguish; their hearts would have been full of rage and anger against the enemy, victorious through the wiles of Chance or the will of Fate; like the Roman Senate, the nation would have gone to meet the beaten divisions bearing the thanks of the Fatherland for their sacrifice, and begging them not to despair of the Empire. Even the capitulation would have been signed only with the brain, while the heart already was seeking the revival to come.

Thus would a defeat have been received that was due to Fate alone. There would have been no laughing and dancing, no boasting of cowardice and glorifying of defeat, no jeering at the fighting troops and dragging their flag and cockade in the mud; but above all, things would never have come to the fearful pass which caused an English officer, Colonel Repington, to say contemptuously: "Every third German is a traitor." No, this pestilence would never have risen to the choking flood which for five years past has drowned the last remnants of the world's respect for us.

This it is which best proves the falsehood of the statement that the lost war is the cause of the German collapse. No, this military collapse itself was the result of a whole series of manifestations of disease and their germs, which had attacked the German nation even in times of peace. This was the first universally visible catastrophic result of moral poisoning, of a decline in the instinct of self-preservation and all that goes with it, which had begun many years since to undermine the people and the Empire.

But it took all the fathomless truthlessness of Jewry and its Marxist battle-organization to put the blame for the collapse on the very man who was trying single-handed with super-human

energy and will-power to prevent the catastrophe he had foreseen, and to spare the nation the time of its deepest degradation and shame. Ludendorff was branded with the guilt for the defeat, and thus the weapon of moral right was snatched from the hand of the only dangerous accuser who could have risen up against the betrayers of the Fatherland. Here they were acting on the true principle that the greatness of the lie is always a certain factor in being believed; at the bottom of their hearts the great masses of a people are more likely to be misled than to be consciously and deliberately bad, and in the primitive simplicity of their minds they are more easily victimized by a large than by a small lie, since they sometimes tell petty lies themselves, but would be ashamed to tell too great ones. An untruth of that sort would never come into their heads, and they cannot believe possible so vast an impudence in infamous distortion on the part of others; even after being enlightened they will long continue to doubt and waver, and will still believe there must be some truth behind it somewhere. For this reason some part of even the boldest lie is sure to stick—a fact which all the great liars and liars' societies in this world know only too well, and make base use of.

But those who have best known this truth about the possibilities of using untruths and slander have always been the Jews; after all, their whole existence is built up on one great lie, to wit, that they are a religious community, whereas in fact they are a race—and what a race! And as such they were pilloried forever by one of the greatest minds of humanity in an eternally true sentence of fundamental validity: he called them "The great masters of the lie." He who does not see or will not believe this can never help truth to victory in the world.

We may almost consider it a stroke of good fortune for the German people that the span of its creeping disease was suddenly shortened by so fearful a catastrophe; otherwise the nation would have gone to destruction more slowly, perhaps, but all the more surely. The disease would have become chronic, whereas in the acute form of the collapse it is at least recognizable to the eyes of the crowd. It is not by chance that man mastered the plague more

easily than tuberculosis. The one comes in fearful waves of death which toss humanity, the other creeps slowly; one leads to awful fear, the other gradually to indifference. The result was that men faced the one with ruthless energy, while they tried to check consumption by feeble means. Man became master of the plague, while tuberculosis became master over him.

The same thing is so of the diseases of peoples. If they do not take the form of catastrophes, men slowly begin to get used to them, and are finally destroyed by them all the more surely because gradually. It is a piece of good fortune, then, if a bitter one, when Fate decides to interfere in this slow process of decay, and with a sudden glow to display the end of the disease to the sufferer. For that is not infrequently the result of such a catastrophe. It may easily become the cause of a cure carried through with utmost determination.

But even a case of that sort presupposes a recognition of the inner causes which produced the sickness in question.

Here too, the most important thing is still to distinguish the germs from the conditions they produce. This is the more difficult the longer the virus has existed in the body politic, and the more it has come to be taken for granted as a natural part of it. For it may easily happen that after a certain length of time one will regard definitely harmful poisons as an integral part of one's own people, or at least will tolerate them as a necessary evil, so that a motive is no longer thought necessary for searching for the extraneous germ.

Thus in the long years of peace before the war certain ills had definitely arisen and been recognized as such, although, a few exceptions aside, almost no attention was paid to what caused them. Here again the exceptions were primarily in aspects of economic life, which would strike the attention of the individual more than ills in many other fields.

There were many signs of decay which should have given food for grave thought.

From the economic angle there is this to be said:

The stupendous growth of the German population before the war brought the question of daily bread ever more sharply to the fore in all political and economic thinking and action. Unfortunately people could not make up their minds to adopt the one correct solution, but thought they could attain their purpose in a cheaper fashion. The decision to renounce the acquisition of new land, and in its place to become entangled in the phantasm of world economic conquest, were bound eventually to lead to an industrialization as unrestrained as it was harmful.

The first consequence of grave import was the weakening of the peasant class. As fast as this class declined, the mass of the proletariat in the great cities kept growing, until at last the balance was entirely lost.

Now the violent contrast between poor and rich also became evident. Abundance and squalor lived so close together that the results might be and indeed were bound to be very bad ones. Distress and frequent unemployment began their work on men, and left discontent and bitterness behind as reminders. The result seemed to be a political division of classes. Despite prosperity, dissatisfaction grew and became more profound; things got to the point where the conviction that "this could not go on much longer" became general, yet without people's forming or even being able to form any definite conception of what ought to have come.

It was the characteristic signs of a profound discontent that were attempting thus to express themselves.

But worse yet were other consequences which the commercialization and industrialization of the nation brought in their train.

To just the degree that the economic system became the ruling mistress of the state, money became the god whom all had to serve, and before whom all had to bow down. More and more the Gods of Heaven were put on the shelf as antiquated and outworn; the incense was burned not to them but to the false god Mammon. A truly pernicious degeneration began, pernicious es-

pecially because it came at a time when the nation, threatened with a probably critical hour, needed the noblest of heroic spirit more desperately than ever. Germany had to make up its mind that some day it would need to support with the sword its attempts to assure its daily bread by way of "peaceful economic work."

The rule of money unhappily was sanctioned in the quarter where it should have been most strongly resisted: His Majesty the Kaiser acted unfortunately in bringing the nobility, especially, under the influence of the new finance capitalism. It must be admitted in his defense that even Bismarck unluckily did not recognize the threatening danger in this direction. But it meant that the virtues of idealism had in practice taken second place to the value of money, for it was plain that once it set out on this path the warrior nobility must shortly take a position subordinate to the financial nobility. Financial operations are easier to carry through than battles. Nor was there any longer an attraction for the real hero or statesman in being thrown together with the first stray Jewish banker: the really deserving man could no longer have any interest in the bestowal of cheap decorations, but declined them with thanks. Even as a pure matter of blood this development was a most melancholy one: more and more the nobility lost the racial *sine qua non* of its existence, and for a great part of it the name "ignobility" would have been far more suitable.

A grave sign of economic decay was the slow disappearance of the personal form of property, and gradual transfer of the entire economic system into the hands of corporations.

Thus at last work had become an object of speculation for conscienceless stock-jobbers; and the expropriation of property from the wage-earner grew out of all bounds. The stock exchange began to triumph, and slowly but surely started to take the life of the nation under its protection and control.

The internationalization of the German economic structure had been started before the war by way of stock issues. A part of German industry did indeed make a determined effort to save itself from this fate. But finally it fell before the united onslaught of greedy finance capital, which fought this battle with the

particular help of its most faithful comrade, the Marxist movement.

The constant war upon German heavy industry was the visible start of the internationalization of the German economic system aimed at by Marxism, which could not, it is true, be completed until the victory of Marxism in the Revolution. As I write this, the attack has at last succeeded upon the German Government Railways, which are now handed over to International finance capital. "International" Social Democracy has thus once again accomplished one of its great objectives.

How far this attempt to make "economic animals" of the German people had succeeded we can see from the fact that after the war one of the leading minds of German industry and especially of commerce could express the opinion that only economic improvement could possibly put Germany on her feet again. This nonsense was served up at the moment when France was restoring the instruction in her schools primarily to a humanistic basis in order to prevent the growth of the mistaken attitude that the nation and the State owe their survival to economics and not to imperishable ideal values. This remark of a Stinnes caused the most incredible confusion; it was picked up at once, to become with astonishing rapidity the *leitmotif* of all the bunglers and twaddlers whom Fate had let loose on Germany as "statesmen" after the Revolution.

One of the worst phenomena of decay in Germany before the war was the common and ever-spreading habit of doing everything by halves. It always results from lack of certainty upon a subject, as well as from a cowardice growing out of this and other causes.

The disease was fostered by education. German education before the war had an extraordinary number of weaknesses. It was very one-sidedly aimed to produce pure "knowledge," and placed less emphasis on ability. Still less value was attached to the development of individual character—in so far as this is possible at all—very little to fostering joy in responsibility, and none at all to

the training of will and determination. Its products were really not strong men, but the docile "Polymaths" which we Germans before the war were generally considered to be, and accordingly were rated as. The German was popular, because he was very useful, but he was little respected, precisely on account of his weak will. Not for nothing was he the quickest of almost all peoples to lose nationality and Fatherland. The apt proverb, "He who travels hat in hand goes the whole width of the land," tells the entire story.

But this docility became positively fatal when it determined the fashion in which alone it was permissible to deal with the Monarch. Good form accordingly demanded that one never contradict, but approve anything and everything His Majesty deigned to please. But here was the very place where free, manly dignity was most necessary, or else the institution of Monarchy was bound some day to be destroyed by such fawning; for fawning it was, and nothing more. Only sorry sycophants and turnspits—in short, the whole decadent crew that had always felt more comfortable at All Highest thrones than frank and decently honorable souls had—could consider this the sole proper form of intercourse with the wearer of a crown. It must be said that with all their humility toward their Lord and meal-ticket these "humble servants" of majesty have always displayed the greatest boldness toward the rest of mankind, particularly when they chose to display themselves to the other sinners as sole and exclusive "monarchists"; this is a piece of genuine impertinence which only an ennobled or perhaps an unennobled mawworm would be capable of! for in reality these fellows have always been the grave-diggers of monarchy and particularly of the monarchical idea. Nor is anything else thinkable; a man who is ready to stand up for his cause can and will never be a skulking, characterless sycophant. A man who is really serious about preserving and fostering an institution will cling to it with every fiber of his heart, and will never get over it if it begins to show any faults. Nor will he, however, shout through the streets as the democratic "friends" of the Monarchy did, acting in equally

truthless fashion; he will most urgently warn His Majesty, the wearer of the Crown, and try to convince him. In doing so he will not and must not take the standpoint that His Majesty is then still free to act as he pleases after all, even when such action must plainly be disastrous; on the contrary, he will be forced in that case to protect the Monarchy against the Monarch at any risk. If the value of the institution were in the person of the Monarch of the moment, no worse institution could be conceived; for rarely indeed are monarchs the flower of wisdom and reason, or even of character, that people like to pretend. Only the professional sycophants and skulkers believe this, but upright men—and they after all are the ones most valuable to the State—can not but feel themselves repelled by attempts to assert such nonsense. For them history is history, and truth truth, even in dealing with monarchs. No, the peoples are so seldom fortunate enough to have a great man as a great monarch that they must think themselves lucky if the malice of Fate spares them absolute miscarriage.

Thus the value and meaning of the monarchical idea cannot lie in the person of the monarch himself, unless Heaven decides to put the crown upon the brow of such an inspired hero as Frederick the Great or such a wise character as William I. This may happen once in centuries, seldom oftener. Otherwise, however, the idea is above the person, and the meaning of the system resides solely in the institution as such. This means the monarch himself is one of those who must serve. He too is but a wheel in the machinery, and as such has his duty to it. He too must fall in with the higher purpose, and hence the "monarchist" is not the man who silently allows the wearer of the crown to desecrate it, but he who prevents this. If the meaning were not in the idea, but in the "sacred" person at all costs, even the deposition of an obviously insane prince could never be undertaken.

It is necessary to lay this down as a fact because lately those figures whose sorry attitude was not the least among the causes of the Monarchy's collapse have begun to come out of hiding again. With a certain naive brazenness these people have once more begun to talk only of "their King"—whom, however, they

most despicably left in the lurch at the critical moment only a few years ago—and to decry as a bad German anyone who refuses to join in their lying outpourings. And yet as a matter of fact these are the very same chicken-hearts that scattered and fled in 1918 before any red arm-band, let their King look out for himself, hastily exchanged the pike for a walking stick, put on neutral neckties, and vanished without a trace as peaceable civilians.” In an instant they were gone, these royal champions, and only after the revolutionary hurricane had begun to die down enough again (thanks to the activity of others) so that one could bellow his “Hail to the King, all Hail” to the breezes did these “servants and counsellors” of the Crown begin to make a cautious appearance once more. Now they are all here again, gazing back longingly at the fleshpots of Egypt; they can scarcely contain themselves for energy and devotion to their King—until some day the first red arm-band appears again, and the whole ghostly crew of prof- iters from the old Monarchy will once more take to its heels like mice before the cat!

If the monarchs were not themselves responsible for these things, we could only pity them heartily for their defenders at the present day. But they may be quite sure that thrones can be lost with such knights as these, but no crowns won.

Such servility was a weakness of our whole system of education, whose results in this particular were especially disastrous. For thanks to it these sorry figures could maintain themselves at all the courts, and gradually undermine the foundation of the Monarchy. When at last the structure began to rock, they were gone with the wind. Naturally—crawlers and lickspittles are not going to be killed for their master. That monarchs never know this, and, almost as a matter of principle, never learn it, has always been their ruin.

One of the worst signs of decadence was the growing coward- ice in the face of responsibility as well as the resulting supineness in all things.

It is true that in our case the source of this epidemic is quite

largely in the parliamentary institution, where irresponsibility is positively cultivated in its purest form. But unfortunately the disease has slowly spread to all the life outside, especially to governmental life. Everywhere people have begun to evade responsibility, and for this reason have resorted by preference to inadequate half-measures; these after all seem to reduce the measure of personal responsibility to a minimum.

We have but to consider the attitude of the individual governments toward a series of truly injurious phenomena in our public life, and we shall easily recognize the fearful importance of this universal half-heartedness and fear of responsibility.

I will cite only a few cases from the enormous mass of examples:

Journalistic circles are particularly fond of describing the press as a "great power" in the State. And indeed its importance is truly enormous. It simply cannot be overestimated; it after all is what really continues education in adult years.

By and large, readers may be divided into three groups:

Those who believe everything they read;

Those who no longer believe anything;

Those minds which critically examine what they read, and judge accordingly.

The first group is numerically far the largest. This constitutes the great masses of the people, and accordingly represents the most simple-minded part of the nation. It cannot, however, be segregated by occupation, let us say, but at most by general degrees of intelligence. To it belong all those who have been neither born nor trained for independent thinking, and who believe, partly through incapacity, partly through incompetence, anything which is offered them printed black on white. To it belong also a class of sluggards who could indeed think for themselves, but who out of pure laziness gratefully pick up anything that someone else has already thought, on the humble assumption that he must have worked hard over it. On all these groups, then, representing the great mass of the people, the influence of the press will be enormous. They are unable or unwilling themselves to weigh what is offered them, so that their whole approach to every

problem of the day goes back almost wholly to external influence exerted by others. This may be of advantage if their enlightenment be undertaken in serious and truth-loving quarters, but is disastrous if attended to by scoundrels and liars.

In number the second group is considerably smaller. It is made up partly of elements which once belonged to the first group, who after continued disappointments have gone to the opposite extreme, and now believe nothing that is presented to them in print. They hate all newspapers, and either do not read them at all, or fly into a rage over the entire contents, which they believe to be compounded wholly of lies and untruths. Such people are very hard to deal with, because they will always be suspicious, even of the truth. They are thus lost to any positive work.

The third group, finally, is by far the smallest; it consists of those really fine minds which have been taught by training and natural bent to think independently, which try to form their own judgments on everything, and which subject everything they read to a repeated, thorough scrutiny and further development of the implications for themselves. They never look at a newspaper without mentally taking part, and Mr. writer's position is then no easy one. Journalists have in fact only a limited fondness for such readers.

To the members of this third group the nonsense which a newspaper may choose to scribble is, however, scarcely dangerous or even significant. They have usually become accustomed anyway, in the course of a lifetime, to regard every journalist on principle as a rogue who happens sometimes to tell the truth.

But unluckily the importance of these splendid figures is only in their intelligence, and not in their number—a misfortune for an age in which wisdom is nothing, and majority everything! Today, when the ballots of the masses are final, the decisive factor is with the most numerous group, and this is the first class: the crowd of the simple-minded or credulous.

State and people have a prime interest in preventing these people from falling into the hands of bad, ignorant, or actually

ill-intentioned educators. It is therefore the State's duty to supervise their education and prevent any mischief from being wrought. In doing so it must keep a particularly sharp eye on the press; for the press' influence on such people is by far the strongest and most penetrating, being exerted not momentarily but continuously. It is in the perpetual, uniform repetition of this instruction that its enormous importance consists. Here if anywhere the State should not forget that all means must serve an end; it must not be misled by chatter about so-called "freedom of the press" into neglecting its duty and keeping from the nation the nourishment it needs and can thrive on; with ruthless determination the State must assure itself of this instrument of popular education, and put it to work for the State and the nation.

What was the fare which the German press before the war offered people? Was it not the most virulent poison imaginable? Was not the heart of our people inoculated with acute pacifism at a time when the rest of the world was preparing slowly but surely to throttle Germany? Did not the press even in peacetime fill the brain of the people with doubt of its own State's just cause, thus at the outset reducing its choice of weapons for defense? Was it not the German press which succeeded in rendering the nonsense of "Western Democracy" appetizing to our people, until at last, captured by all the enthusiastic bombast, the people believed it could entrust its future to a League of Nations? Did it not help train our people in a miserable immorality? Did it not make morality and propriety ridiculous, calling them old-fashioned and narrow-minded, until at last our people too became "modern"? Did not its continuous assault undermine the fundament of governmental authority until one push was enough to make the building collapse? Did it not oppose by every means the will to give to the State that which is the State's, depreciate the army by constant criticism, sabotage universal military duty, urge the refusal of military appropriations, etc., until its success was bound to come?

The activity of the so-called liberal press dug the grave of the

German people and the German Empire. This is to say nothing of the Marxist lie-sheets; they cannot live without lying any more than a cat without mousing; their sole task, after all, is to break the national and popular backbone of the people in order to prepare it for the yoke of international capital and its master, the Jew.

But what did the State do against this mass poisoning of the nation? Nothing—nothing at all. A few ridiculous decrees, a few sentences for too-violent villainy, and that was all. Instead they hoped to win the favor of this plague by flattery, by recognizing the “value” of the press, its “importance,” its “educational mission,” and other such nonsense—all of which the Jews accepted with a sly smile, giving wily thanks in return.

But this shameful impotence of the State was due not so much to failure to recognize the danger as to a cowardice that cried to Heaven, and the consequent half-heartedness of every decision and measure. No one had the courage to use thoroughgoing and radical remedies, while here as everywhere people fooled with half-cures, and, instead of stabbing to the heart, merely provoked the viper—with the result that things did not even stay as they were, but the power of the institutions to be combatted grew from year to year.

The resistance of the German government of those days to the press (largely of Jewish origin) which was slowly corrupting the nation lacked any directness, any determination, above all any visible goal. Here the privy councillors’ understanding was at a complete loss, in gauging the importance of the struggle as well as in choice of means and in laying a clear plan. They tinkered aimlessly, and sometimes, if they were bitten too hard, locked up one of these journalistic vipers for a few weeks or months; but the snakes’ nest itself was left quite undisturbed.

This was of course also partly the result of the infinitely crafty tactics of Jewdom on one side and a stupidity or naivety truly worthy of a privy councillor on the other. The Jew was far too shrewd to let all his press attack with equal vigor. No, part of it was there to cover up the other part. While the Marxists were

taking the field in the basest fashion against all that man can hold sacred, infamously attacking State and government, and setting great bodies of the people against each other, the bourgeois-democratic Jewish sheets succeeded in giving themselves the appearance of the famous objectivity, and carefully avoided all strong language, knowing that the empty-headed can judge only by exteriors, and are never able to penetrate within, so that for them the value of a thing is measured by this exterior instead of by the substance—a human weakness to which they owe their own standing.

For such people, no doubt, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was and is the very essence of decency. It never uses rude language, opposes all physical brutality, and always urges war with “intellectual” weapons, which oddly enough is always the favorite idea of the most unintellectual people. This is a result of our half-education, which separates people from natural instincts, and pumps them full of a certain sort of information without being able to lead them to the ultimate knowledge; for here industry and good intentions alone are useless, and the necessary intelligence—native intelligence—is indispensable. But ultimate knowledge consists in understanding the causes of instinct—that is, man must never be so misguided as to believe that he has ascended to the position of lord and master over Nature (as in the conceit of half-education he so easily may), but must understand the fundamental necessity of Nature’s rule, and realize how completely even his existence is subject to these laws of eternal battle and upward struggle. Then he will perceive that in a universe where planets and suns revolve, moon moves around planet, in which strength is always master over weakness, and either forces it to be an obedient servant or crushes it, there cannot be special laws for man. Even over him the eternal principle of this ultimate wisdom holds sway. Try to grasp them he may, but can never free himself from them.

It is precisely for our intellectual demi-monde that the Jew writes his so-called newspapers for the intelligent reader. For this *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt* are made, for

this their tone is set, and on such people they exercise their influence. Scrupulously avoiding any seeming roughnesses, they nevertheless pour their poison from other vessels into the hearts of their readers. With a flow of pretty sounds and phrases they lull their readers in the belief that they are acting in the interest of pure science or even of morals, whereas in fact theirs is the brilliant and crafty art of thus stealing from the enemy's hands any weapons against the press. As one set fairly drips with decency, the half-wits are all the readier to believe that with the other set it is a question of but slight abuses, which, however, must never lead to any restriction upon freedom of the press—as this mischief of poisoning and lying to the people with impunity is called. Therefore people hesitate to take action against these banditti for fear they will immediately have the “decent” press against them as well—a fear which is only too well founded. The moment anyone attempts to take action against one of these scandal sheets, all the others at once rush to its defense, of course not to approve its method of fighting, Heaven forbid; it is solely a matter of freedom of the press and of public opinion; that alone is being defended. Even the strongest men weaken under this outcry, for after all it comes entirely from the mouths of “decent” papers.

Thus this poison could enter and work in the blood-stream of our people unhindered, without the State's having the strength to control the disease. In the ridiculous half-measures it employed one could discover the already threatening downfall of the Empire. *For an institution which is no longer determined to protect itself with every available weapon has practically surrendered its existence.* Every act of half-heartedness is a visible sign of inner decay, which must and will sooner or later be followed by outward collapse.

I believe that the present generation, properly guided, will more easily master the danger. It has gone through various experiences which somewhat strengthened the nerves of everyone who did not lose them altogether. No doubt even in days to come the Jew will raise a terrible outcry in his newspapers when a

hand is laid on his favorite lair, an end is put to journalistic mischief, and the press is set to work as a means of education for the State, vesting no longer in the hands of aliens and enemies of the people. But I think it will disturb us younger men less than it once did our fathers. A ten-inch shell hissed even louder than a thousand Jewish newspaper vipers—so let them hiss!

Another example of weakness and half-heartedness on the part of the government of pre-war Germany in the questions most vital to the nation is this: for many years there has run parallel with the political and moral infection of the people a no less horrible physical poisoning of the body politic. Syphilis began to flourish more and more in the great cities, while tuberculosis gathered its harvest of death almost uniformly throughout the country.

Although in both cases the results for the nation were horrible, people could not rouse themselves to decisive measures against them.

Particularly toward syphilis the attitude of State and popular leaders can be described only as absolute capitulation. Any seriously intended attempt at stamping it out must have gone further than was actually the case. The invention of a questionable remedy and its money-making use can do little good against this disease. Here too the only possibility was a fight against the cause, not the removal of the symptoms. But the primary cause is our prostitution of love. Even if it did not result in this natural disease, it would still be gravely injurious to the people, for the moral devastation which this perversion brings with it is enough to lead a people slowly but surely to ruin. This Judaization of our spiritual life and mammonizing of our mating instinct will sooner or later corrupt our entire offspring, for instead of the vigorous children of a natural emotion we shall have only the sorry products of financial expediency. More and more this is the basis and sole requisite of our marriages. But love spends itself elsewhere.

Here too, of course, we can fight Nature for a certain length of time, but retribution will not fail; it is only a little slower to

arrive here, or rather people often recognize it when it is too late.

We can see in our nobility the disastrous results of long-continued neglect of the natural essentials for marriage. Here we observe the consequences of a propagation which depends partly on purely social compulsion, partly on financial considerations. The one leads to general weakening, the other to blood-poisoning, because any department-store Jewess is thought good enough to increase the posterity of His Grace. But it looks very much like it. In both cases complete degeneration is the result.

Our middle classes today are trying hard to go the same way, and they will arrive at the same destination.

With hasty indifference people try to pass by unpleasant truths as if such behavior could undo the things themselves. No, the fact that our metropolitan population is more and more prostituting its love-life, and is thus falling victim in ever-increasing number to the plague of syphilis, cannot be denied out of existence; it is there.

The plainest results of this mass sickness are to be found on the one hand in the insane asylum, and on the other hand, unfortunately—in our children. They in particular are the sad products of the irresistibly increasing poisoning of our sexual life; in the diseases of the children the vices of the parents are revealed.

There are various ways of reconciling oneself with this unpleasant, nay horrible fact: some people see nothing at all, or rather will see nothing; of course this is by far the simplest and cheapest "attitude." Others wrap themselves in the saintly garments of a prudery both ridiculous and dishonest. They always speak of the whole subject as of a great sin, and express particularly their profound indignation over every sinner who is caught; then they close their eyes in pious horror to this godless plague, and pray to the good Lord that he will (if possible after their death) rain fire and brimstone upon this Sodom and Gomorrah, thus once more making an edifying example of shameless humanity. A third group, finally, see clearly the awful consequences which this plague can and will some day bring with it; but they merely shrug their shoulders, convinced that in any case they

can do nothing against the peril, so that things will simply have to be allowed to take their course as they will.

All this is simple and easy indeed. Only one thing must not be forgotten: such indolence will take a nation for its victim. The excuse that other peoples are no better off will naturally make little difference in the fact of our own downfall, unless the feeling of seeing others also suffering misfortune may diminish many people's own pain. But then more than ever the question is which people can manage by its own efforts to master the pestilence, and which nations will succumb to it. That is what it comes to in the end. Even this is but a touchstone of racial excellence—the race that cannot stand the test will simply die, and make room for healthier or at least tougher and more resistant ones. For since this question primarily concerns posterity it is among those of which it is said with such fearful truth, that the sins of the fathers will be visited on the tenth generation—a truth which holds only for crimes against blood and race.

Sin against blood and race is the original sin of this world, and the end of a humanity which surrenders to it.

But how truly pitiful was the attitude of pre-war Germany toward this one question! What was done to halt the infection of our young people in the great cities? What to attack the disease and mammonizing of our love-life? What to combat the resulting syphilization of the body politic?

The easiest way to get at the answer is to point out what *should* have happened.

The question should not have been taken casually; people should have understood that on its solution depended the happiness or unhappiness of generations, nay that it might be decisive for the whole future of our people, if indeed it was not bound to be so. But this realization would have carried the obligation of ruthless measures and intervention. Above all other considerations must have stood the conviction that the attention of the whole nation should be concentrated upon this dreadful peril first of all, so that every individual would become conscious of the struggle's importance. Obligations and burdens which are

truly crucial and sometimes hard to bear can be made universally effective only if the individual is enabled to feel the necessity as well as the compulsion. But this requires a tremendous process of enlightenment, excluding other and distracting questions of the day.

In every case where there are apparently impossible demands or tasks to be met, the whole attention of a people must be concentrated in a body on this one question exclusively, as if existence or non-existence actually depended upon its solution. Only thus can a people be rendered willing and able to accomplish great achievements and exertions.

This principle holds also for the individual, in so far as he wishes to achieve great things. He too can do so only piecemeal, step by step; he too must always concentrate all his exertions upon the accomplishment of a certain limited task until it seems achieved, and a new section can be attacked. The man who cannot thus divide up the road into individual stages, and try to achieve these singly by exerting all his energy, can never reach his final destination, but will fall somewhere along the road, or perhaps even away from it. This process of working toward an objective is an art, and demands supreme effort at every stage in order to cover the whole distance step by step.

The very first essential, then, in attacking so difficult a stretch of the human road is that the leadership shall manage to present the momentary partial goal to be attained, or rather to be fought for, to the masses of the people as the one and only thing worthy of human attention, upon whose conquest everything depends. The great body of the people can never in any case see the whole road before them without growing tired and despairing of their task. They can see their goal a certain distance ahead, but the path to it they recognize only a bit at a time, like the traveler who knows his destination, but can travel the endless road better if he divides it up into sections, and attacks each one as if it were his final destination. Only thus can he get on without becoming downhearted.

By every resource of propaganda, in other words, the question

of combating syphilis should have been presented as *the task* of the nation, not as *a task*. For this purpose its ill effects should have been hammered into people by every available means as the most awful of all disasters, until the whole nation became convinced that everything—future or extinction—depended on the solution of this question.

Only after such preparation, continued for years if necessary, will the attention and hence the determination of a whole people be so aroused that even grave measures involving great sacrifice can be resorted to without danger of being misunderstood or suddenly left in the lurch by the will of the masses.

For enormous sacrifices and equally enormous exertions are necessary in any serious onslaught upon this plague.

The struggle against syphilis demands a struggle against prostitution, against prejudices, old habits, against previous notions, generally accepted views, not least among them the false prudery in certain circles, etc.

Before we have any right, even a moral one, to attack these things, we must make possible the earlier marriage of coming generations. Late marriages in themselves compel the retention of an institution which is (no matter how we may twist and squirm) a shame to humanity, an institution which damnably ill becomes a creature that likes, with its usual modesty, to regard itself as the "image" of God.

Prostitution is a disgrace to humanity, but it cannot be abolished by moral lectures, pious intentions, etc.; its restriction and eventual disappearance presuppose the removal of a whole swarm of prior causes. The first of these is to make possible, in accordance with the dictates of human nature, the early marriage particularly of the man, for here the woman is only the passive party in any case.

We can see how misguided, in fact how wholly incomprehensible some people have by now become from the fact that one quite frequently hears mothers in so-called "good" society say they would be thankful to find their child a husband who has "already sown his wild oats," etc. As there is usually less shortage

of this than of the reverse, the poor girl is pretty sure to find such a husbandman, and the children will be the visible result of this wise marriage. When we consider that procreation in itself is restricted as much as possible in addition, so that Nature has no chance of selection, since of course every creature, no matter how sorry, must be preserved, there is really but one question left to ask—why does such an institution continue to exist at all, and what is supposed to be its purpose? Is it not exactly the same as regular prostitution? Does duty to posterity no longer cut any figure at all? Or do people not know what imprecations of children and children's children they are earning by such criminal negligence in maintaining the last rights of Nature, but also the last duty to Nature?

Thus the civilized peoples degenerate and gradually decline.

Not even marriage can be an end in itself; it must serve the greater purpose of increasing and preserving species and race. That alone is its meaning and its purpose.

But this being so, its goodness can be measured only by the way in which it fulfils that purpose. For this reason in itself early marriage is good, for the young couple will still have the vigor which alone can produce strong and healthy progeny. To make this possible will, it is true, still necessitate a whole series of social changes without which early marriage is not to be dreamed of. A solution even of this small question cannot take place without heroic social remedies. How important these are should be particularly obvious to an age when the incompetence of the so-called "Social" Republic in the solution of the housing question alone has simply prevented many marriages, and thus abetted prostitution. The nonsense of our wage-distribution, which takes far too little consideration of the question of the family and its support, also makes many an early marriage impossible.

In other words, a real attack on prostitution can be made only if a basic reform of social conditions permits earlier marriage than is now usually possible. This is the very first essential for a solution of this question.

But in the second place, education and training will have to

root out a whole series of evils to which today we pay no attention. Above all a balance must be struck in education between intellectual instruction and physical development. What is called a *gymnasium* [Not a gymnasium in our sense, but the German equivalent of a secondary school.—*Translator*] is a mockery of the Greek original. We have completely forgotten in our education that in the long run a sound mind can live only in a sound body. Particularly (with a few individual exceptions) if one takes into consideration the great masses of a people, this statement has absolute validity.

In pre-war Germany there was a time when absolutely no attention was any longer paid to this truth. People simply went ahead sinning against the body, and believing that one-sided training of the "mind" offered positive assurance for the greatness of the nation. This was a mistake whose results were felt sooner than expected. It is not by accident that the Bolshevik wave found no better soil than in places with a population which had degenerated through hunger and permanent under-nourishment: in Central Germany, Saxony and the Ruhr district. But in none of these districts do even the so-called intelligentsia offer serious resistance to this Jewish disease, for the simple reason that even the intelligentsia are physically altogether degenerate, if less through privation than through education. The exclusively intellectual approach of our education in the upper classes makes them, in times when not the mind but the strong arm is decisive, incapable even of surviving, let alone of really establishing themselves. Seldom are physical ailments not the original cause of personal cowardice.

Excessive emphasis on purely mental training and neglect of physical development also fosters the rise of sexual notions far too early in youth. The boy who has been brought to an iron hardness by sport and gymnastics is less subject to the need for sensual gratification than is the "grind" fed exclusively on mental pabulum. This a sensible education must consider. It must also not forget that the healthy young man's expectations of woman are different from those of a prematurely corrupted weakling.

Thus all education must be planned so as to employ the boy's free time for useful strengthening of his body. During these years he has no right to loaf idly around, making streets and movies unsafe, but must, after his day's other work, steel his young body and make it hard, that life some day may not find him too soft. To prepare for this and carry it through, to direct and guide it is the task of youth's education, and not solely to pump in so-called wisdom. It must also sweep away the notion that the treatment of his own body is the affair of the individual. There can be no liberty to sin at the expense of posterity, and thus of the race.

Along with training of the body must begin the struggle against poisoning the soul. Our whole public life today is like a hot-house of sexual phantasies and provocations. When we look at the menu of our movies, theaters and vaudeville houses we can hardly deny that this is no proper fare, particularly for young people. In show-windows and on posters the lowest means are used to attract the attention of the crowd. That this is bound to do grave damage to young people must be understandable to everyone who has not lost the power to think himself back into their souls. This sultry sensual atmosphere leaves phantasies and stirrings at a time when the boy should not understand such things at all. We can study the results of this sort of education, not altogether pleasantly, in the youth of today. It has become precociously mature, and thus also prematurely old. From the courts occurrences sometimes reach the public ear which offer horrible insights into the spiritual life of our fourteen-and fifteen-year-olds. Who then can be surprised that syphilis begins to pick its victims at that age? And is it not a crying shame to see many a physically weak and spiritually ruined young man receive his introduction to marriage through some big-city whore?

No, he who would strike at the root of prostitution must above all help to remove its spiritual prior cause. He must sweep away the garbage of our moral infection of metropolitan "culture," and that ruthlessly, without wavering under all the outcry and screaming which of course will be set up. If we do not lift youth

from the morass of its present surroundings, it will go down in it. The man who will not see these things is thereby supporting them, and assuming a share of the guilt for the slow prostitution of our future, which after all lies in the coming generation. This cleansing of our culture must expand into almost every field. Theater, art, literature, cinema, press, posters and show-windows must be cleared of the signs of a rotting world, and pressed into the service of a moral idea of State and culture. Public life must be freed of the stifling perfume of our modern eroticism, as well as of all unmanly, prudish disingenuousness. In all these things goal and road must be fixed by care for the preservation of our people's health of body and soul. The right of personal freedom is secondary to the duty of preserving the race.

Only when these measures have been carried through can the medical assault upon the disease itself be undertaken with some chance of success. But even here there can be no half-measures; we shall have to come to the gravest and most radical decisions. It is a half-measure to allow incurably diseased persons continual opportunity to infect others who are in good health. This is a sort of humaneness which, to avoid hurting one, sends a hundred to perdition. The demand that it be made impossible for defective persons to beget equally defective progeny is a demand of the plainest common sense, and if consistently carried through would be humanity's humanest deed. It will save millions of unfortunates from undeserved suffering, and in the end lead to a general improvement in health. And the determination to proceed in this direction will also dam the further spread of venereal diseases. Here we may have if necessary to resort to the pitiless segregation of the incurably diseased—a barbarous measure for the unhappy victim, but a blessing for the rest of the world and for posterity. The temporary anguish of a century can and will free tens of centuries from suffering.

The battle against syphilis and its pacemaker, prostitution, is one of humanity's most enormous tasks, enormous because it is a matter not of solving one single question, but of removing a whole series of evils which leave this plague behind as their re-

sult. For here the disease of the body is but the product of diseased moral, social and racial instincts.

But if, through indolence or cowardice, this battle is not fought, just let people look at the nations five hundred years hence. They will find but few men left in God's image, without blaspheming against the Almighty.

But how did people try in the old Germany to deal with this plague? Calm consideration returns a truly melancholy answer. True, the fearful havoc of the disease was clearly recognized in government circles, though they could perhaps not altogether take in its consequences; but in fighting it they were a complete failure, and instead of making thoroughgoing reforms they preferred to resort to wretched palliatives. They cobbled away at the disease, and let the causes alone. They subjected the individual prostitute to a medical examination, supervised her as well as they could, and, if disease was discovered, shoved her into some hospital, from which, externally cured, she was once more let loose upon mankind.

They did, indeed, introduce a "protective provision" in the law, according to which persons not in perfect health or entirely cured were obliged under penalty to refrain from sexual intercourse. Of course this was in itself a proper measure, but in practical execution it was almost a complete failure. In the first place, the woman, if she suffers such a misfortune, in most cases will probably decline—as a simple result of our or rather her education—to be dragged into court as a witness against the miserable thief of her health, often under painful circumstances. She is the one to whom it does the least good; in most cases she is sure to be the worst sufferer anyway. The contempt of her unkind neighbors will fall upon her much more heavily than it would with a man. Finally, imagine her position if the carrier of the disease is her own husband. Is she to bring a complaint? Or what is she to do?

But in the case of the man there is the additional fact that all too often he encounters this pestilence just after he has partaken copiously of alcohol, since in that condition he is least able to

judge the quality of his "fair one," which the diseased prostitute realizes only too well, and therefore always fishes for men in this ideal state. But the result is that no matter how the unpleasantly surprised man may later rack his brains, he can no longer remember his kind-hearted benefactor—which is scarcely surprising in a city like Berlin, or even Munich. Besides, it is often a question of provincial visitors, who are quite bewildered by the magic of a great city anyway.

And, finally, who can tell whether he is diseased or sound? Are there not many cases in which a person apparently cured has a relapse, and does the most fearful damage without even dreaming of it? Thus the practical effect of this protection by legal penalty upon a guilty act of infection is actually nil. The same thing is true of the supervision of prostitutes, and finally the cure even today is still uncertain and doubtful. Only one thing is sure: despite all measures to the contrary, the disease kept spreading. This is the most conclusive proof of their ineffectiveness.

For everything that was done was as inadequate as it was ridiculous. The spiritual prostitution of the people was not prevented; nor was anything whatever done toward preventing it.

If anyone is inclined to take it all casually, let him study the statistics on the spread of this plague, compare its growth in the last hundred years, imagine its further development—and he must have the simplicity of a donkey if he does not find an unpleasant shiver running down his spine.

The weakness and half-heartedness of the attitude adopted even in the old Germany toward so fearful a phenomenon may be accounted a visible sign of the decay of a people. *When the strength no longer exists to fight for one's own health, the right to life in this world to struggle is at an end.* This strength belongs only to the vigorous "whole" man, and not to the weak "half" man.

One of the plainest signs of decay in the old Empire was the slow decline of the general level of culture, by which I do not mean what is described today by the word civilization. The latter

seems, on the contrary, rather to be an enemy of true exaltation of mind and living. Even before the turn of the century there began to intrude into our art an element which until then could have been considered altogether alien and unknown. No doubt even in earlier days there were sometimes perversions of taste, but these were rather artistic aberrations, to which posterity could attach at least a certain historical value, than products of a degeneration to the point of senselessness not in art but in the brain. Here were cultural signs of the political collapse, which did, it is true, become more plainly visible later.

The Bolshevism of art is the only possible cultural form of life and intellectual expression for Bolshevism in general.

Anyone who thinks this surprising has only to observe the art of the fortunately Bolshevized States, which can admire with horror, as officially State-recognized art, those morbid excrecences of lunatics and degenerates which we have become acquainted with since the turn of the century under the general names of Cubism and Dadaism. Even during the short life of the Councils Republic in Bavaria this phenomenon began to appear. Even here one could see how all the official posters, propaganda cartoons in the newspapers, etc., bore the stamp not only of political but of cultural decay.

Sixty years ago a political collapse of the extent we have now achieved would have been unthinkable; equally unthinkable would have been a cultural collapse such as began to appear in Futurist and Cubist creations after 1900. Sixty years ago an exhibition of so-called Dadaistic "experiences" would have seemed absolutely impossible, and its promoters would have gone to the mad-house, whereas today they even become presidents of art associations. This pestilence could not have made its appearance at that time, because public opinion would not have tolerated it, nor the State have sat idly by. For it is the affair of a government to prevent its people from being driven into the arms of insanity; and some day this was bound to be the end of such a development. For upon the day that this sort of art was really in harmony with the public conception, one of the most mo-

mentous transformations of mankind would have taken place; the devolution of the human brain would have begun, and the end could scarcely be conceived.

If we pass in review from this standpoint the development of our cultural life for the last twenty-five years, we shall be horrified to see how far we have already gone in this retrogression. Everywhere we find seeds which caused the beginning of rank growths that must sooner or later destroy our civilization. Here too we recognize the symptoms of decay of a slowly rotting world. Woe to the peoples who can no longer master this disease!

Such pathological states were to be discovered in almost every field of art and culture in Germany. Everything seemed to have passed its prime and to be hastening toward the abyss. The theater declined visibly, and would probably have disappeared as a cultural factor even thus early if the Court theaters at least had not still held out against the prostitution of art. Aside from them and a few other praiseworthy exceptions, the offerings of the stage were such that it would have been better for the nation to give up attendance altogether. It was a sorry sign of inner decay that one was no longer allowed to send young people to most of these so-called "shrines of Art," which was admitted with quite shameless openness in the universal warnings outside cinemas, "for adults only."

Remember that such precautions had to be taken at the very places which should have existed primarily for the education of young people, and not for the edification of the old and blasé. What would the great dramatists of all ages have said to such a regulation, and above all to the conditions which caused it? How Schiller would have blazed; how Goethe would have turned away in indignation!

But what, indeed, are Schiller, Goethe or Shakespeare compared to the heroes of modern German literature? Figures old, thread-bare and outworn, nay discarded. For it was characteristic of this age not only that it had ceased to produce anything except filth, but that in addition it besmirched everything truly great in the past. This is, of course, a phenomenon always to be

observed at such periods. The more vile and contemptible the products of an age and its men are, the more the witnesses of a former higher level and dignity are hated. In such periods people would really prefer to destroy the memory of mankind's past altogether, in order to prevent any possibility of comparison, and so to pretend that their own trash is still "art." The more miserable and contemptible any new institution is, therefore, the more it will try to rub out the last traces of the past, whereas every really valuable human innovation can make undisturbed use of the achievements of past generations, in fact may even try to give these their full value for the first time. It need not fear to pale before the past; it makes such a useful contribution itself to the general fund of human culture that it may often wish to preserve the memory of earlier achievements so that its own can be fully recognized, assuring the present's full understanding of the new advance. Only he who has nothing of his own to give the world, but tries to act as if he would present it with Heaven knows what, will hate all existing real contributions, and try to deny or even destroy them.

This is true of new arrivals by no means only in the field of civilization, but in politics as well. Revolutionary new movements will hate the old forms the more, the more worthless they themselves are. Here too, we can see how the anxiety to make one's own trash seem considerable leads to blind hatred of the superior product of the past. So long as historical remembrance of Frederick the Great, for instance, has not died out, Frederick Ebert can produce but limited astonishment. The hero of Sans Souci stands to the former Bremen saloon-keeper about as the sun to the moon: only after the rays of the sun are gone does the moon shine. The hatred of all the new moons of humanity for the fixed stars is only too understandable. In political life ciphers such as these are accustomed, if Fate throws temporary rulership into their laps, not only to defile and besmirch the past with tireless zeal, but by external means to withdraw themselves from the reach of public criticism. As an example we may take the Legislation to Protect the Republic in the new German Reich.

If, therefore, some new idea, doctrine, new world-concept or political or economic movement tries to deny the entire past, calling it bad and worthless, we must be extremely careful and suspicious for this reason in itself. Mostly the reason for such hatred is its own worthlessness, or even an actual ill intention. A really fruitful renewal of humanity will always have to go on building at the spot where the last good foundation stopped. It will not need to be ashamed of using already existing truths. The whole of human culture, and man himself, are after all only the product of one long development in which each generation has added a new stone to the structure. The meaning and purpose of revolution is not to tear down the whole building, but to remove what is badly joined or unsuitable, and to build onward and upward from the spot thus once more laid bare.

Only so may we talk of the progress of mankind. Otherwise the world would never be delivered from chaos; each generation would have the right to refuse the past, and each might destroy the works of the past in preparation for its own.

And so the saddest thing about the condition of our entire civilization before the war was not only the absolute impotence of artistic and general cultural creative power, but the hatred with which the memory of a greater past was befouled and extinguished. In almost every department of art, particularly in the theater and literature, people began about the turn of the century not so much to produce anything new and significant as to depreciate the best of the old, representing it as inferior and outworn — as if such a shamefully inferior age could look down on anything whatever! But this striving to put the past out of sight of the present revealed plainly and distinctly the evil intent of these apostles of the future. That should have taught people that this was no matter of new, even if wrong cultural attitudes, but of a process of destroying the foundation of all culture, of the bemusement of healthy art-sense thus made possible—and of laying the intellectual groundwork for political Bolshevism. For if the Age of Pericles seemed embodied in the Parthenon, so is the Bolshevik present day in a Cubist travesty of a face.

In this connection reference must be made to the cowardice, thus once more revealed, among that part of our people who by education and position had the duty of making a stand against this cultural scandal. From pure fear of the outcry of the Bolshevik art-apostles (who violently attacked everyone that would not recognize them as the summit of creation, pillorying him as old-fashioned and a Philistine), people abandoned any serious resistance, and resigned themselves to what seemed after all to be inevitable. People were positively in terror of being called obtuse by these half-lunatics or frauds—as if it were any disgrace not to understand the products of mental degenerates or wily swindlers! These apostles of culture did, it is true, have one very simple means to stamp their nonsense with Heaven knows what grandeur; all their incomprehensible and obviously insane rubbish they presented to an open-mouthed public as so-called inner experience, in this cheap fashion taking any reply out of most people's mouths. For of course there was not the slightest doubt that even this might be an inner experience; but there is doubt that it is permissible to offer the hallucinations of lunatics or criminals to the healthy part of the world. The works of a Moritz von Schwind or a Böcklin were inner experience too, but of artists favored by Heaven, not of merry-andrews.

This was a fine chance to study the pitiable cowardice of our so-called intelligentsia, which evaded any serious resistance to this poisoning of our people's sound instincts, and left it to the people itself to deal with this impudent nonsense. So as not to be considered artistically illiterate, people accepted any travesty of art, and finally became actually uncertain in their judgment of good and bad.

Altogether these were signs of an evil time to come.

Another suspicious sign is the following:

In the nineteenth century our cities began more and more to lose the character of centers of culture, and to decline into mere human settlements. The small feeling of connection with the place it lives in which our present metropolitan proletariat has

results from the fact that these places are the mere temporary physical location of individuals, and nothing more. It has to do in part with the frequent change of residence imposed by social conditions, so that a man has no time to acquire a close relation to his city; but a further cause is the general cultural insignificance and poverty of modern cities in themselves.

At the time of the Wars of Liberation German cities were not only few in number but modest in size. Most of the few really big cities were royal residences, and as such almost always had a certain cultural value, and usually also a definite artistic stamp. The few towns of more than fifty thousand inhabitants were rich in treasures of science and art by comparison with cities of the same population today. When Munich counted sixty thousand souls, it was already on its way to being one of the leading German art centers; by now almost every factory town has reached that size, if not far surpassed it, but often without having the slightest real values to call its own. They are pure collections of tenements, and nothing more. How, with such meaninglessness as this, any special feeling of relationship to a town is to arise, is a puzzle. No one is going to be particularly attached to a city which has no more to offer than any other, which lacks any individual note, and where everything which might so much as resemble art or the like has been scrupulously avoided.

But as if this were not enough, even the really big cities become proportionately poorer in true works of art as their population increases. They seem more and more to have been ground down to a dead level, and they have just the same aspect, though on a larger scale, as the little poverty-stricken factory towns. What modern times have added to the cultural substance of our great cities is entirely inadequate. All our cities are living on the glory and the treasures of the past. Take away from present-day Munich everything that was done under Ludwig I, and you will be horrified to see how trivial is the increase in significant artistic creations since that time. The same thing is true of Berlin and most of the other great cities.

But here is the essential point: our modern great cities have

no monuments dominating the skyline that might be considered symbols of the whole age. Such was, however, the case in the cities of antiquity, where almost every town had some special monuments to its pride. The characteristic feature of each city was not the private buildings, but the monuments of the community, which seemed meant not for the moment, but for eternity, because they were intended to reflect the greatness and importance of the community instead of the wealth of an individual owner. Thus arose monuments well calculated to attach the individual inhabitant to his city in a way which sometimes seems incomprehensible to us today. For what he had before his eyes was not so much the shabby houses of private owners as the splendid structures of the whole community. By comparison with them the dwelling-house was merely a secondary triviality.

It is necessary to compare the relative size of ancient public buildings with the dwellings of their time to understand the overwhelming force and impact of this emphasis upon the principle that public structures must have the first place. What we admire today as a few remaining colossi rising from the rubbish-heaps and ruins of the ancient world are not former commercial palaces, but temples and government buildings—works, that is, whose proprietor was the community. Even in the pomp of late Rome it was not the villas and palaces of individual citizens that occupied the first place, but the temples and baths, the stadiums, the circuses, aqueducts, basilicas, etc. of the state, that is of the whole people.

Even the Germanic Middle Ages maintained the same guiding principle, though their approach to art was entirely different. That which in antiquity had been expressed in the Acropolis or the Pantheon now took on the form of the Gothic cathedral. Like giants these monumental structures towered above the little hive of half-timbered, wooden or brick buildings of the medieval city, and thus became landmarks which stamp the character and the skyline of these towns even today, when the tenements are climbing ever higher beside them. Cathedrals, town halls, and grain-magazines and fortified towers are the visible signs of a

conception which at bottom was still that of antiquity.

But how truly pitiful is the relation between public and private buildings today! If Berlin should suffer the fate of Rome, posterity would admire as the mightiest works of our age and the characteristic expression of its civilization the department stores of a few Jews and the hotels of a few corporations. Compare the grave disproportion in a city like Berlin itself between the buildings of the Reich and those of finance and commerce.

Even the amount of money spent on the government buildings is usually altogether ridiculous and inadequate. These are no works made for eternity, but usually only for the need of the moment. No higher thought is kept in mind at all. The Castle at Berlin was, at the time it was built, a work of very different importance from, let us say, the new Library, judged by the scale of the present. While a single battleship represented about sixty million marks, the appropriation for the first show-place of Germany, which was supposed to be meant for eternity, the Reichstag building, was scarcely half as much. More than that, when the question of the interior came to a vote, the Exalted House voted against the employment of stone, and ordered the walls covered with plaster—though this time, for once, the parliamentarians really acted rightly. Plaster-pates are indeed out of place among stone walls.

Thus our present-day cities lack any towering landmarks of the people's community, and we must not be surprised if the community does not see its cities as symbols of itself. A desolation is bound to come which takes effect in the modern metropolitan citizen's complete lack of interest in the concerns of his city.

This too is a sign of our declining civilization and our general collapse. The age is smothered in the pettiest utilitarianism, or rather, in slavery to money. And we must not be surprised if under such a deity little feeling for heroism remains. The immediate present is only reaping what the recent past sowed.

At bottom all these symptoms of decay are results of the lack of a definite, universally recognized world-concept, and of the consequent general uncertainty in judging and dealing with the various great questions of the time. And this is why everything, beginning with education, is half-hearted and wavering, shuns responsibility, and thus winds up in cowardly toleration even of recognized abuses. The humaneness craze has become fashionable; and by weakly yielding to the aberrations, and sparing individuals, we sacrifice the future of millions.

To what extent the general disunity had spread can be seen from observation of religious conditions before the war. Here, too, great sections of the nation had long since lost any unified and effective conviction which might have amounted to a world-concept. In this those who officially left the church had a smaller share than did those who were simply indifferent. While both Churches maintain missions in Asia and Africa to gain new converts for their doctrines—an activity which, compared with the advance especially of the Mohammedan faith, has but very modest results to show—in Europe itself they are losing millions upon millions of followers who either are complete strangers to religious life or prefer to go their own way. The results, particularly from a moral angle, are by no means happy.

Another thing worthy of remark is the ever more violent attack upon the dogmatic foundations of the various Churches, foundations without which the practical existence of a religious faith in this world of human beings is unthinkable. The broad masses of a people are not made up of philosophers; but precisely for the masses faith is often the sole foundation of any moral world-concept whatever. The success of the various proposed substitutes has not been so great that we can see in them anything which would usefully replace previous religious denominations. But if religious teachings and faith are really to take hold of broad groups, the absolute authority of the substance of this faith is the basis of any effectiveness. That which a given way of living (without which no doubt hundreds of thousands of superior persons would live wisely and sensibly, but millions of others would

not) is to ordinary life, the principles of government are to the State, and the dogmas to the religion in question. The purely intellectual idea is wavering and susceptible to infinite interpretations, and the dogmas alone definitely bound it and put it into a form without which it could never become a faith. Otherwise the idea would grow beyond the status of a metaphysical view, nay, to put it plainly, of a philosophic opinion. The attack upon dogmas as such therefore very strongly resembles the struggle against the general legal foundation of the State; and just as the State would perish in a complete governmental anarchy, so religion would in a worthless religious nihilism.

But the politician must judge the value of a religion less by any faults that may be attached to it than by the goodness of a visibly superior substitute. So long as a substitute appears to be lacking, that which exists can be destroyed only by fools or criminals.

It is true that no small part of the responsibility for the far-from-satisfactory state of religion falls upon those who overload the religious concept with purely earthly things, and thus frequently come into wholly unnecessary conflict with so-called exact science. Here, even if only after a hard struggle, the latter will almost always carry off the victory, while, in the eyes of people unable to rise above purely external knowledge, religion will suffer severe damage.

But the worst havoc is wrought by the misuse of religious conviction for political purposes. No condemnation is strong enough for the miserable tricksters who see in religion a means of doing themselves political, or rather business, services. Of course these bold liars shout their profession of faith to all the world in stentorian tones so that the other sinners shall hear it—not, however, to die for it if necessary, but in order to live better. For a single political fraud of appropriate value they would sell the meaning of a whole faith; for ten seats in Parliament they will league themselves with the deadly Marxist enemies of all religion; and for a minister's portfolio they would probably marry the Devil, unless he were prevented by a last remnant of decency.

If religious life in pre-war Germany had an unpleasant taste in many people's mouths, it was to be ascribed to the abuse of Christianity by a so-called "Christian" party, as well as to the boldness with which it was attempted to identify the Catholic faith with a political party.

This bold imputation was a fatal stroke which brought seats in Parliament to a number of good-for-nothings, but harm to the Church.

The whole nation had to take the consequences, because the loosening of religious life thus produced had its results at a time when everything else was beginning to waver and give way also, and the traditional foundations of morals and propriety were threatening to collapse.

These too were faults and cracks in our body politic which might not have been dangerous so long as there was no particular strain, but which were bound to be disastrous when the impact of great events lent decisive importance to the question of the inner solidity of the nation.

In the realm of politics, also, an observant eye detected evils which could and had to be considered signs of a coming decay of the Empire unless change or improvement was undertaken within a reasonably short time. The aimlessness of German domestic and foreign policy was plain to anyone not deliberately blind. The system of compromises seemed most closely to follow Bismarck's conception of politics as "the art of the possible." But between Bismarck and later German Chancellors there was one small difference which allowed the former to drop such a remark upon the nature of politics, while the same idea in the mouths of his successors was bound to have an entirely different meaning. Bismarck meant to say only that in attaining a given political object every possibility must be used or exploited to the full; whereas in this statement his successors saw formal abolition from the necessity of having any political aims or even ideas at all. And political aims in the government of the Empire at that time really no longer existed; for the necessary basis—a

definite world-concept and the requisite grasp of the inner laws of development of political life in general—was not there.

There were not a few who foresaw the worst in this direction, and denounced the lack of plan and thought in the Empire's policy, thus showing that they plainly recognized its inner weakness and hollowness; but these were only outsiders in political life. Official government quarters passed heedlessly by the intuitions of a Houston Stewart Chamberlain, as they still do. These people are too stupid to think anything themselves, and too conceited to learn what they need from others—an eternal truth which caused Oxenstierna to exclaim: "The world is ruled by only a fraction of all Wisdom," of which fraction almost any Ministerial Councillor embodies but one atom. Since Germany has become a Republic, however, this is no longer true—that is why the Law to Protect the Republic forbids any one to say or even to believe such a thing. But it was lucky for Oxenstierna that he lived when he did, and not in this, our wise Republic.

Even before the war many people recognized as the chief element of weakness the very institution which should have embodied the strength of the Empire: the Parliament, the Reichstag. Cowardice and irresponsibility were here perfectly mated.

One of the thoughtless statements frequently heard today is that parliamentarism in Germany has been "a failure since the Revolution." This all too easily gives the impression that before the Revolution things were different. In reality this institution cannot possibly have any but a devastating effect—and this it did even in the days when most people, still wearing blinders, could or would see nothing. For we owe it not least to this institution that Germany was overthrown; that the catastrophe did not occur even earlier, however, cannot be considered the merit of the Reichstag, but is due to the resistance still offered during the years of peace to the activity of these grave-diggers of the German nation and the German Empire.

From the enormous total of devastating effects owed directly or indirectly to this institution I will pick out but one single calamity, which is most completely in accord with the inner

nature of this most irresponsible institution of all time: the awful half-heartedness and weakness of the political leadership of the Reich within and without, which were due primarily to the workings of the Reichstag, and became one of the chief causes of the political collapse.

Everything in any way subject to the influence of this parliament was but partial, look in what direction we will.

The alliance policy of the Empire outside was half-hearted and weak. By trying to preserve peace they inevitably steered into war.

The Polish policy was a half-measure. They irritated without ever seriously interfering. The result was neither a victory for Germany nor the conciliation of the Poles, but Russia's enmity.

The question of Alsace-Lorraine was half solved. Instead of brutally crushing the head of the French hydra once and for all, and then giving equal rights to the Alsatian, they did neither. Nor, in fact, could they, for the ranks of the greatest parties also included the greatest traitors—in the Center, for instance, Mr. Wetterlé.

But all this would still have been bearable if the general half-heartedness had not also sacrificed the power upon whose existence the survival of the Empire finally depended—the army.

The crime of the so-called "German Reichstag" here alone was enough to burden it for all time with the curses of the German nation. For the most contemptible reasons the parliamentary party rogues stole and knocked the weapon for self-preservation, the sole protection of our people's freedom and independence, from the nation's hands. If the graves in the Flanders plain were to open today, the bleeding accusers would rise from them, hundreds of thousands of the best young Germans, who were sent poorly trained and half-trained into the arms of death by the consciencelessness of these parliamentary criminals; them and millions of others, crippled and dead, the Fatherland lost simply and solely to make political jobbery, extortion or even the grinding-out of doctrinaire theories possible for a few hundred swindlers of the people.

While Jewry through its Marxist democratic press was shouting the lie of "German militarism" to the world, and thus trying to hamper Germany by every means, the Marxist and Democratic parties refused any inclusive training of the German national strength. And yet the monstrous crime thus committed must at once have been clear to anyone who considered for a moment that in case of a war the whole nation would have to take up arms, and that consequently the rascality of these fine specimens of their own so-called "popular representation" would drive millions of Germans half-trained and badly trained against the enemy. But even the result of the crude and brutal consciencelessness of these parliamentary fancy-men quite aside, the lack of trained soldiers at the beginning of war might all too easily lead to defeat, as was in fact so fearfully shown in the great World War.

The loss of the struggle for the freedom and independence of the German nation was the result of half-measures and weakness, beginning during peace-time, in drawing upon the entire strength of the people for the defense of the Fatherland.

If too few recruits were being trained on land, at sea the same half-heartedness was at work to make the weapon for national self-preservation more or less worthless. Unfortunately the naval command itself was infected with the spirit of half-measures. The tendency always to build the ships whose keels were being laid somewhat smaller than the English ones being launched at the same time was scarcely far-sighted and still less inspired. A navy which from the outset cannot in pure point of numbers be put on an equal footing with its probable opponent must try to make up for the lack of numbers by the outstanding fighting effectiveness of the individual ships. Superior fighting effectiveness is what counts, and not a mythical superiority in "merit."

As a matter of fact modern technique has progressed so far and is so nearly uniform in the various civilized states that it must be considered impossible to give ships of one power an appreci-

ably greater fighting value than the ships of the same tonnage belonging to another state. Even less is it thinkable to achieve superiority for a smaller displacement as against a greater.

As a matter of fact the smaller tonnage of the German ships was bound to be at the expense of speed and armament. The excuse by which it was attempted to justify this fact showed a very grave lack of logic on the part of the office in charge during times of peace. The German artillery equipment was declared to be so plainly superior to the British that the performance of the German 28-centimeter gun was in no way inferior to that of the British 30.5-centimeter gun!

For this very reason it should have been their duty to go over also to the 30.5-centimeter gun, since the purpose ought to have been the achievement not of equal but of superior fighting strength. Otherwise the adoption of the 42-centimeter mortar in the army would also have been unnecessary, since the German 21-centimeter mortar was in itself far superior to any French mortar existing at that time, and the fortifications would probably have succumbed to the 30.5-centimeter mortar. But the Command of the army reasoned rightly, while that of the navy unfortunately did not.

The renunciation of superior artillery effectiveness as well as of superior speed was based on the completely mistaken so-called "risk idea." By the very way in which it enlarged the fleet the Naval Command abandoned all attack, and thus from the outset forcibly confined itself to the defensive. But thus they were surrendering final success, which after all can lie only in attack.

A ship of less speed and inferior armament is usually blown out of the water by its faster and better-armed adversary at the range most convenient for the latter. A considerable number of our cruisers discovered this to their bitter sorrow. How completely mistaken the peace-time views of the Naval Command were was shown by the war, which forced the re-equipment of old ships and the improved equipment of new ones wherever at all possible. And if in the battle of the Skagerrak the German ships had had the same tonnage, the same equipment and the same speed as the

English ones, the British navy would have gone to a watery grave under the hurricane of accurate and more effective German 38-centimeter shells.

Japan's naval policy used to be different. There, as a matter of principle, the whole emphasis was put upon gaining in each new ship a fighting strength superior to the probable adversary. And the offensive use of the fleet thus made possible was the reward.

While the Army Command still kept itself free from such basically erroneous reasoning, the navy (which unfortunately had better "parliamentary" representation) was subject to the spirit of Parliament. It was organized by halves, and was later used in the same way. What immortal fame the navy nevertheless did earn was to be credited only to the good workmanship of German armorers and the competent and incomparable heroism of individual officers and crews. If the former Supreme Command of the navy had been equally brilliant, the sacrifices would not have been in vain.

Perhaps the navy's very undoing was caused by the superior parliamentary skill of its leading brains in peace-time, the reason being that, even in its building-up, parliamentary instead of purely military considerations began to be the deciding factor. The half-heartedness and weakness and the poor logic in thinking which characterize the parliamentary institution spread to the Command of the Navy.

The army, as I have already emphasized, still kept away from such fundamentally mistaken trains of thought. Particularly the then Colonel on the Great General Staff, Ludendorff, fought a desperate battle against the criminal half-heartedness and weakness with which the Reichstag faced and usually opposed the questions vital to the nation. If the struggle which this officer then carried on was nevertheless in vain, one half of the guilt lay with the Parliament, the other half with the (if possible) yet more pitiful attitude and weakness of the Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg. But this is far from preventing those guilty of the German collapse from trying to put the blame on the one man who had resisted this fatal neglect of national inter-

ests—after all, one fraud more or less means nothing to these born tricksters.

Anyone who thinks of all the sacrifices imposed on the nation by the criminal carelessness of these utter irresponsibles, who reviews in his mind's eye all the futilely dead and crippled, the boundless disgrace and shame, the immeasurable wretchedness which has now befallen us, and knows that this all took place just to clear the path to ministers' portfolios for a gang of conscienceless climbers and position-hunters, will understand that these creatures can really be described only by such words as wretch, scoundrel, knave and criminal — otherwise meaning and purpose of the existence of these expressions in the language would be incomprehensible. By comparison with these betrayers of their nation any kept man is a gentleman of honor.

But oddly enough the really dark sides of old Germany were made conspicuous only when this might harm the inner solidity of the nation. In such cases the disagreeable truths were positively shouted at the great masses, whereas many other things were bashfully kept quiet, and sometimes simply denied. This was the case when open treatment of a question might perhaps have brought about improvement. The competent quarters of the government understood next to nothing of the value and nature of propaganda. That the shrewd and persistent use of propaganda may make even Heaven seem like Hell to a people, and conversely the wretchedest of lives like a paradise, only the Jew knew, and he acted accordingly; the German, or rather his government, had not the faintest idea of it.

The gravest results of this were to come during the War.

As against the evils here indicated, and countless others, in German life before the War, there were in turn many advantages. If we judge fairly we must even recognize that most of our ailments were also largely in possession of the other countries and peoples, which in fact often put us far in the shade, while they lacked many of our actual advantages.

The chief of these virtues may be considered among others the fact that of almost all European peoples Germany tried hardest to preserve the national character of her economy, and was, despite many an evil portent, still the least subject to the control of international finance. A dangerous virtue, it is true, which later was the largest cause of the World War.

But putting this and much else aside, we must segregate from the vast number of the nation's sound sources of strength three institutions which were models of their kind, and in part quite unequalled.

The first was the form of the State as such and the special stamp it received in the Germany of modern times.

Here we may reasonably overlook individual monarchs who as human beings were subject to all the weaknesses usually visited upon this earth and its children—if we were not indulgent to them, we must needs despair altogether of the present; the representatives of the present régime, after all, likewise considered as personalities, are morally and intellectually probably the humblest that can be imagined even after long thought. Anyone who measures the "merit" of the German Revolution by the merit and stature of the persons it has given to the German people since November 1918, will hide his head in shame before the judgment of posterity, which cannot be gagged by protective laws, etc., and which will therefore say what we all realize even now, to wit that the brains and virtues of our new German leaders are in inverse proportion to their big mouths and their vices.

No doubt many people, the common people above all, had lost touch with the Monarchy. This was a result of the fact that the monarchs were not always surrounded by the (shall we say?) most alert and particularly not the most candid minds. Unfortunately some of the monarchs liked flatterers better than forthright natures, and so the former were the ones who "informed" them. It did grave harm in an age when the world was undergoing a great transformation of many old opinions, and naturally did not hesitate to sit in judgment upon various ancient traditions of the Court.

By the turn of the century the ordinary man could no longer summon any particular enthusiasm for the Princess riding along the front in uniform. Apparently no one had any real idea of how this sort of ostentation looked to the people, or such unfortunate performances could never have occurred. The not always entirely genuine craze for the human touch in these circles also repelled more than it attracted. For instance, if Princess X deigned to sample the product of a soup kitchen, with the familiar result, while it might once have made a perfectly good impression, the result by now was quite the opposite. It is quite safe to assume that Her Highness really never dreamed that on the day she tasted it the food was just a little different from what it usually was; but it was quite enough that everybody else knew it.

Thus what may have been the best of intentions became ridiculous, if not absolutely provocative.

Descriptions of the always proverbial abstemiousness of the Monarch, of how he got up much too early, and absolutely slaved till late at night, even with the ever-present peril of imminent malnutrition—these gave rise to quite alarming utterances. Nobody wants to know what and how much the Monarch deigned to partake of; nobody begrudged him a "square" meal; nor was anyone trying to refuse him the necessary sleep; people were satisfied if he did honor to the name of his House and his nation as a man and a character, and fulfilled his duties as a ruler. The telling of nursery tales did little good, and more harm.

But all this and much else like it was a mere trifle. Much worse were the results, unfortunately growing throughout a large part of the nation, of the belief that governing was done from above anyway, and that the individual need no longer trouble his head about it. As long as the government was really a good one, or at least had the best of intentions, the thing was still possible. But woe! if the fundamentally well-meaning old government were replaced by a new and less satisfactory one; then the existing spiritless docility and child-like faith were the worst misfortunes that could possibly be imagined.

But to offset these and many other weaknesses there were undeniable advantages.

One was the stability of rule imposed by the monarchical form of government, and the removal of the highest posts in the State from ambitious politicians' field of speculation. Further there was the venerability of the institution in itself, and the authority which this lent; likewise the elevation of government functionaries and particularly of the army above the level of party obligations.

There was the further advantage that the Monarch himself was the personified head of the State, and the example set by the Monarch in bearing a responsibility greater than that assumed by the chance mob of a parliamentary majority; the proverbial integrity of the German administration was due primarily to this. And lastly the cultural value of Monarchy to the German people was great, and easily offset other disadvantages. The Residences of the German princes remained a stronghold of an art-sense which threatens more and more to die out in our materialistic age. What the German princes did for art and science, particularly in the nineteenth century, was a model for anything of the kind. The present day, in any case, is not to be compared with it.

But as the greatest asset, at that time of the beginning and slowly spreading disintegration of our body politic, we must reckon the army. It was the greatest school of the German nation, and not for nothing was the hatred of every enemy directed squarely at this shield of national self-preservation and freedom. There can be no more splendid monument to this unique institution than the statement of the fact that it was slandered, hated, combatted, but also feared by every one of the inferior element. That the fury of the international exploiters of the people of Versailles was directed primarily at the old German army merely shows more than ever that the army was the stronghold of our people's freedom against the power of the stock exchange. Without this warning force the intentions of Versailles toward our people would long since have been fulfilled. What the German people

owes to the army can be summed up in a single word: everything.

The army trained up a sense of absolute responsibility at a time when this quality had already become very rare, and evasion was ever more the order of the day, taking after that model of all irresponsibility, the Parliament; further, it trained to personal courage in an age when cowardice threatened to become a raging disease, and the readiness to sacrifice oneself for the general welfare was considered as almost stupidity, and the only man who seemed sensible was the man who could best shield and advance his own ego; this was the school which still taught the individual German to seek the salvation of the nation not in the lying cant of international brotherhood among negroes, Germans, Chinese, Frenchmen, Englishmen, etc., but in the strength and unity of his own nationality.

The army bred decisiveness, while elsewhere in life indecision and doubt were beginning to determine men's actions. In an age when the wiseacres everywhere set the tone, it meant something to maintain the principle that an order is always better than none. This one principle embodied a robust, unspoiled health which would long since have been lost in our lives if the army and its training had not taken care of the perpetual renewal of this primitive vigor. One has only to look at the dreadful indecision of our present leadership, which can make up its mind to no action unless it be the forced signature of some new pillaging decree; in that case, indeed, it declines all responsibility, and signs with the speed of a court stenographer anything that is laid before it; for in this case the decision is easily made—it is taken from dictation.

The army bred idealism and devotion to the Fatherland and its greatness, while in civil life greed and materialism were rampant. It trained a united people, as against the division by classes, and here exhibited perhaps its sole fault, the institution of One-Year Volunteers. A fault because it broke through the principle of absolute quality, and put the better-educated individual outside the confines of the common surroundings, whereas the very opposite would have been advantageous. Our upper classes are so largely isolated from the world anyway, becoming more and

more aliens to their own people, that the army could have had a particularly salutary effect if it had avoided, at least in its ranks, any segregation of the so-called intelligentsia. Not to do this was a mistake; but where is the institution in this world without a mistake? In any case the good predominated so heavily here that the few defects were far below the average level of human imperfection.

But we must account it the greatest merit of the army of the old Empire that it placed heads above majorities at a time when majorities were swamping heads. In opposition to the Jewish-Democratic idea of blind worship of numbers, the army upheld faith in personalities. And so it did in fact train what recent times have most urgently needed—men. In the slough of a universally spreading softness and effeminacy three hundred and fifty thousand young men overflowing with vigor sprang every year from the ranks of the army; in two years' training they had lost the softness of youth and gained bodies hard as steel. And the young man who practiced obedience during this time could afterward learn to command. Merely by this step one could distinguish a soldier who had done his service.

This was the great school of the German nation, and it was not for nothing that the fierce hatred of all those who through envy and greed had reason to wish and need the impotence of the Empire and the defenselessness of its citizens centered on it. What many Germans in their blindness or evil intentions would not see, the world abroad recognized: the German army was the mightiest weapon that served the freedom of the German nation and the sustenance of its children.

Along with the form of government and the army there was a third foot to the tripod: the incomparable body of civil servants in the old Empire.

Germany was the best organized and best administered country in the world. It was easy to reproach the German civil service with bureaucratic red tape, but other states were no better off, and in fact rather worse. But what the other states did not possess

was the marvelous solidity of the machine, and the incorruptibly honorable spirit of those who made it up. Better a little red tape, but honest and faithful, than enlightened and modern, but unsound in character, and (as so often today) ignorant and incompetent. For to those who like now to pretend that pre-war German administration, while no doubt bureaucratically efficient, was bad from a commercial standpoint, we can only reply: What country in the world had a better-managed and commercially better-organized business than Germany in its government railroads? It was left for the Revolution to destroy this model structure, until at last it seemed ready to be taken from the hands of the nation, and socialized in the meaning of the founders of this Republic—that is, to serve international finance capital, the purchaser of the German Revolution.

The thing which particularly distinguished the body of German civil servants and the German administrative structure was its independence of individual governments, whose momentary politics could have no influence on the position of German State functionaries. Since the Revolution, it must be admitted, there has been a complete change. Party regularity has come to take the place of ability and aptitude, and a self-reliant, independent character is rather a hindrance than a help.

Upon the form of government, the army, and the body of State officials rested the wonderful strength and vigor of the old Empire. These were the prime causes of a quality completely lacking in the State today: the State's authority. For this depends not on gossip in Parliaments or Landtags, nor on laws for its protection, nor on court sentences to intimidate those who boldly deny it, etc., but on the universal confidence which can be placed in the direction and administration of a commonwealth. This confidence in turn is but the result of an unshakable inner conviction of the unselfishness and honesty of the government and administration of a country, and of the agreement of the spirit of the laws with the general attitude toward morals. For in the long run, government systems are maintained not by pressure or force, but by faith in their goodness and in the truthfulness with

which they uphold and promote the interests of a people.

Gravely as certain evils of pre-war days may have threatened to eat away and undermine the inner strength of the nation, it must not be forgotten that other states suffered from most of these diseases even more than Germany did, and yet did not fail and go to destruction at the critical moment of peril. And when we consider that for every German weak point before the war there was an equally great strong point, the final cause of the collapse can and must lie in another direction; and such is indeed the case.

The deepest and final cause of the downfall of the old Empire lay in its failure to recognize the race problem and to see its importance for the historical development of peoples. For the events in the life of nations are not expressions of chance but processes of natural law, of the urge toward self-preservation and increase of species and race, even though men are not conscious of the inner cause of their action.

11. PEOPLE AND RACE

THERE are truths which are so perfectly commonplace that for this very reason the every-day world does not see them, or at least does not recognize them. It often passes blindly by such truisms, and is utterly astonished when someone suddenly discovers a thing that everybody ought to have known. Columbus' eggs are lying around by the hundred thousand; only the Colum-buses are not so common.

All men without exception stroll about the garden of Nature, imagining they know and are familiar with almost all of it, yet with few exceptions they pass blindly over one of the most striking principles of Nature's rule: the inner dissociation of the various species of all earth's living creatures.

Even the most superficial observation reveals almost iron-bound basic law of all the countless forms in which Nature expresses her will to life: their specifically differentiated forms of propagation and increase. Every animal mates only with another of the same species. Titmouse pairs with titmouse, finch and finch, stork with stork, field-mouse with field-mouse, house-mouse with house-mouse, wolf with wolf.

Only extraordinary circumstances can alter this, primarily the compulsion of captivity, or some other reason that makes mating within the same species impossible. But then Nature begins to resist with all her resources; her plainest protest consists in denying further fertility to the bastards, or in restricting the fecundity of later descendants; but in most cases she deprives them of stamina to resist disease or the attacks of enemies.

This is but too natural: every cross-breeding between two creatures not of exactly the same level produces a result inter-

mediate between the levels of the two parents. That is to say, the offspring will indeed be on a higher level than the racially lower one of its parents, but not so high as the higher one. Consequently in battle it will eventually succumb to the latter. That sort of mating runs counter to Nature's will to breed life upwards. This is accomplished not by uniting superiority and inferiority, but by the complete victory of the former. The stronger must rule; it must not unite with the weaker, thus sacrificing its own stature. Only the born weakling can think this cruel, and that is why he is a weak and defective man; for if this law did not hold, any conceivable evolution of organic living things would be unthinkable.

The consequence of this instinct for race purity (universal throughout Nature) is not only the sharp outward demarcation of the separate races, but their homogeneous nature within themselves. The fox is always a fox, the goose a goose, the tiger a tiger, etc., and the only possible difference is in varying degrees of vigor, strength, understanding, cleverness, endurance, etc., among individual specimens. But we shall never find a fox which by disposition has accesses of humaneness toward geese, just as there is no cat with a friendly affection for mice.

Here too the battle goes on less because of any native hostility than from hunger and love. In both cases Nature watches with calm, nay with satisfaction. The struggle for daily bread vanquishes the weak, sickly and undecided, while the contest of the males for the female reserves the right or at least the opportunity of propagation for the healthiest individuals. Always struggle is a means to improve the health and stamina of the species, and thus a cause of its evolution.

By any other process all development and evolution would cease, and the very reverse would take place. For since numerically the inferior always outweighs the best, given equal opportunities of survival and propagation the worst part would increase so much faster that eventually the best would be crowded into the background. A correction in favor of the better individual must therefore be undertaken. Nature takes care of this by sub-

jecting the weaker part to such hard living-conditions that they alone suffice to restrict the number, and by not allowing the remainder to increase indiscriminately, but making a new, ruthless selection according to strength and soundness.

But little as Nature wishes a mating of weaker with stronger individuals, still less does she want the fusion of a higher with a lower race, since otherwise the whole labor of selective evolution, perhaps through thousands of years, would be set at naught.

Historical experience offers us countless examples. It shows with alarming plainness that every mingling of Aryan blood with inferior races results in the end of the sustainer of civilization. North America, whose population consists overwhelmingly of Germanic elements, which have mingled very little with inferior colored peoples, can show a very different sort of humanity and culture from Central and South America, in which the predominantly Latin settlers mingled, sometimes on a large scale, with the aborigines. This one example alone clearly and distinctly shows us the effect of racial mixture. The racially pure and more unmixed Teuton on the American Continent has arisen to be its master; he will remain master so long as he too does not succumb to blood-defilement.

The result of any crossing of races, then, is in brief always as follows:

A. The depression of the level of the superior race,

B. Physical and intellectual retrogression, and thus the beginning of a slow but sure wasting disease.

To induce such a development, in other words, is nothing more nor less than to sin against the will of the Eternal Creator. And as a sin this action is rewarded.

In attempting to rebel against the iron logic of Nature, man comes in conflict with the principles to which he owes his very existence as a human being. Thus his action in defiance of Nature is bound to lead to his own downfall.

To this we hear the objection of the modern pacifist, truly Jewish in its impudence, and correspondingly stupid: "But man conquers Nature!"

Millions thoughtlessly babble this Jewish nonsense, and end by really imagining themselves as a sort of conquerors of Nature; but their sole weapon is an idea, and this so wretched a one that no sort of world could really be conceived in accordance with it.

But quite aside from the fact that man has never once yet conquered Nature, but at most has caught hold of and tried to lift one corner and another of her vast, gigantic veil; that in fact he invents nothing, but merely discovers things; that he does not rule Nature, but has only risen, by knowing certain natural laws and secrets, to dominate other living creatures that lack this knowledge—aside from all this, an idea cannot *conquer* the foundations of mankind's growth and being, since the idea itself depends solely on man. Without man there can be no human idea in the world, and so the idea as such is always dependent upon the existence of men and thus of all the laws which created the conditions essential for that existence.

But this is not all. Certain ideas are even inseparable from certain men. This is particularly true of thoughts originating not in an exact scientific truth but in the world of feeling, or which, as is so well and clearly said today, reproduce an "inner experience." All these ideas, having nothing to do with pure, cold logic, and representing pure expression of feeling, ethical concepts etc., are chained to the existence of the men to whose intellectual imagination and creative power they owe their own being. Then is the time when the preservation of those particular races and men is the *sine qua non* for the existence of the ideas. Anyone, for instance, who really desired with all his heart the victory of the pacifist idea in this world would have to do his utmost by every means for the conquest of the world by the Germans, for if the reverse should happen, the last pacifist would very likely die out with the last German; the rest of the world has scarcely ever been so completely fooled as our own people unfortunately have by this unnatural and unreasonable nonsense. Anyone with serious intentions, therefore, would have to make up his mind willy-nilly to wage wars in order to arrive at pacifism. And in

fact this and this alone was what the American world-savior, Wilson, intended, or at least our German visionaries thought so—which after all accomplished the purpose.

As a matter of fact the pacifist-humane idea may be a perfectly good one if the most advanced of men has first conquered and subjugated the world on a scale which makes him sole lord of the earth. The idea will have no chance for harmful effect to just the degree that its practical application becomes rare, and finally impossible. Battle first, then, and afterwards perhaps pacifism. Anything else means mankind has passed the summit of its development, and the end will be not the reign of any ethical idea, but barbarism and eventually chaos. Of course someone may laugh at that, but our planet moved through the ether for millions of years without human beings, and some day it may do so again if people forget that they owe their higher existence not to the ideas of a few crazy ideologists, but to the recognition and ruthless application of iron-clad laws of Nature.

Everything we admire on this earth today—science and art, industry and invention—is the creative product of but a few peoples, and perhaps originally of one race. Upon them the subsistence of this whole civilization depends. If they are destroyed, the beauty of this earth will be buried with them.

No matter how much the soil, for instance, may influence mankind, the result of that influence will always differ according to the races in question. The infertility of a territory may spur one race to supreme achievement; with another it will merely be the cause of bitter poverty and undernourishment with all their consequences. The inner proclivities of the peoples always determine the way external influences will take effect. What brings one man to starvation will train others to hard work.

The great civilizations of the past have all been destroyed simply because the originally creative race died out through blood-poisoning.

In every case the original cause of the downfall has been the failure to remember that all civilization depends on men, and not vice-versa—that in order to preserve a particular civilization the

man who created it must also be preserved. But this preservation is dependent on the iron-clad law that it is necessary and just for the best and strongest man to be victor.

He who would live, then, must fight, and he who will not do battle in this world of eternal struggle does not deserve to live.

Even though this were harsh, it simply is so. But certainly by far the harshest fate is that which befalls the man who believes he can conquer Nature, and yet fundamentally is but mocking her. Distress, misfortune and disease are Nature's reply.

The man who mistakes and ignores race laws is really cheating himself of the happiness which is fated to be his. He blocks the triumphant advance of the best race, and thus the *sine qua non* of all human progress. Burdened with human sensitivity he is entering the sphere of the helpless beast.

It is futile to argue over what race or races were the original sustainers of human civilization and thus the real founders of everything we include in the word *humanity*. It is simpler to ask ourselves this question about the present, and here the answer is plain and easy. (The human culture, the results of art, science and invention which we see before us are almost exclusively the creative product of an Aryan. But this very fact permits the not unfounded deduction that he alone was the creator of a higher human life, and thus is the prototype of what we today mean by the word *man*.) He is the Prometheus of humanity, from whose radiant brow the divine spark of genius has always sprung, ever lighting anew the fire which, in the form of knowledge, has illuminated the night of speechless mysteries, and thus sent man up the road to lordship over the other creatures of this earth. Take him away, and perhaps within a few thousand years profound darkness will descend again upon earth, human civilization will vanish, and the world become a desert.

If we were to divide humanity into three classes, the founders, sustainers and destroyers of civilization, probably the Aryan would be the only possible representative of the first class. He laid the foundation and built the walls of all human creations,

and only the outward form and color are determined by the particular characteristics of the individual peoples. He furnishes the great building-stones and plans for all human progress, and only the execution depends on the character of the various races. Within a few decades the whole of Eastern Asia, for example, will call a culture its own whose ultimate foundation is Hellenic spirit and Germanic technology, just as in our own case. Only the *outward* form will—at least in part—show traits of Asiatic character. It is not true, as many people suppose, that Japan is superimposing European technical progress on her own civilization; European science and technology are being garnished with Japanese style. The basis of real life is no longer a specially Japanese civilization, although that does set the color of life (which owing to the inner difference, is more outwardly conspicuous to the European), but the tremendous scientific and technical work of Europe and America, that is of Aryan peoples. Only on the basis of these achievements can the East follow general human progress. It is the basis of the struggle for daily bread; it forges the weapons and tools. Only the outward dress is gradually accommodated to the Japanese character.

If, starting today, all further Aryan influence on Japan were to cease, supposing Europe and America to be destroyed, Japan's present advance in science and technology might continue for a while; but within a few years the well would run dry, the Japanese individuality would gain, but the present civilization would ossify, and would sink back into the sleep from which it was awakened seven decades ago by the wave of Aryan civilization. And just as the present Japanese development owes its life to an Aryan source, so once in the dim past an alien influence and an alien spirit must have awakened the Japanese culture of the time. The best proof of this is the fact of the later hardening and complete rigidity. This can happen to a people only if the originally creative racial core has been lost, or if the outside influence is lacking which furnished the impulse and the materials for the first cultural development. But if it is known that a people receives and digests the essential substance of a civilization from

alien races, and grows rigid each time the external influence ceases, the race may indeed be called a "sustainer" of civilization, but never a "creator."

Examination of the various peoples from this standpoint shows the fact that almost none are creators; they are nearly always sustainers.

Something like the following picture of their development always results:

Aryan tribes—often in truly ridiculously small force—subjugate other peoples, and develop their slumbering intellectual and organizing powers under the stimulus of the particular living conditions of the new territory (fertility, climate, etc.), and with the help of the large number of available workers of an inferior type. Often in a few thousand, nay a few hundred years they build up civilizations which originally bear every inner mark of their character as adapted to the above-mentioned special characteristics of the soil and of the subjugated people.

But eventually the conquerors violate the principle, heretofore observed, of keeping their blood pure; they begin to intermingle with the conquered inhabitants, and thus terminate their own existence. Even the Fall of Man in Paradise was followed by expulsion.

After a thousand years or more the last visible trace of the former ruling people appears in the lighter skin-coloration that its blood bequeathes to the subjugated race, and an ossified culture which, as the original creator, it had once founded. For just as the actual and spiritual conqueror was lost in the blood of the conquered, so the fuel was lost for the torch of human cultural progress. The blood of the former masters has left a faint glow in the complexion as a remembrance, and the night of cultural life is gently illumined by the surviving creations of the ancient light-bringers. They shine out through all the renewed barbarism, and all too often make the thoughtless observer of the moment think he sees before him the image of the present people, whereas he is but looking into the mirror of the past.

It may happen that such a people in the course of its history

comes in contact a second time, or even oftener, with the race which once brought it civilization, without there being necessarily any surviving memory of earlier encounters. Unconsciously the remnant of the old masters' blood turns toward the new arrival, and what had originally been possible only by compulsion may now happen through free will. A new wave of civilization arrives, and lasts until those who uphold it once more go down in the blood of alien peoples.

It will be the task of future cultural and world history to make its explorations from this point of view, and not to smother in description of outward events, as our present historical learning unfortunately too often does.

Even this sketch of the development of "culture-sustaining" nations also covers the growth, work and—decline of the true culture-founders of this earth, the Aryans themselves.

Just as in daily life the so-called genius needs a particular occasion, indeed often a regular jolt to cause him to shine, so in the life of peoples does the race of genius. In the monotony of daily life even outstanding men often seem insignificant, scarcely rising above the average of their surroundings; but let them be faced with a situation where others would give up or go wrong, and the genius rises visibly from out of the inconspicuous average man, not infrequently to the astonishment of everyone who so far has seen him in the pettiness of community life—which is why the prophet is seldom much considered in his own country. There is no better opportunity to observe this than in war. In hours of trial, when others despair, apparently innocent children shoot up into heroes, reckless in determination and icily cool in judgment. Had it not been for the hour of stress, probably no one would have dreamed the beardless boy harbored a young hero. Almost always some sort of impact is necessary to call forth the genius. The hammer-blow of Fate, which lays one man low, suddenly strikes steel in another; the every-day outer shell breaks, and the hidden core lies open to the eyes of an astonished world. The world balks refusing to believe that what had seemed its own species can now suddenly be a different sort of being—

an occurrence repeated with almost every outstanding son of the race.

Although an inventor, for instance, does not begin to become famous until the day of his invention, it is a mistake to think that genius itself had never taken hold of the man until then; the spark of genius exists in the brain of the truly creatively gifted man from the hour of his birth. True genius is always inborn, never taught or acquired.

But this is true, as I have already emphasized, not only of the individual but of the race. Actively creative peoples have fundamental creative gifts from the beginning, even though the superficial observer may not recognize it. Here too outward recognition is possible only as the result of deeds accomplished, since the rest of the world is after all not capable of recognizing genius as such, but only sees its visible expression in the form of inventions, discoveries, buildings, pictures, etc.; and even then it is a long time in winning its way to that realization. Just as the genius or the extraordinary talent of an outstanding individual man, set in motion by particular stimuli, strives for practical realization, so in the life of peoples the real utilization of existing creative powers and abilities often takes place only when particular conditions invite it.

We see this at its clearest in the race which has been and is the bearer of human cultural development—in the Aryans. The moment Fate throws special conditions in their way, they begin to develop their innate abilities at an ever-swifter pace, and to embody them in tangible form. The civilizations which they thus inaugurate are almost always decisively conditioned by the soil, the climate—and the conquered people. The last element is almost the most important. The more primitive the technical limitations of any cultural activity, the more necessary is the existence of man-power, which, organized, concentrated and applied, must replace the power of the machine. Without this opportunity to use men of a lower type, the Aryan could never have taken the first step toward his later civilization—just as he would never, without the help of various suitable animals which

he succeeded in taming, have arrived at a technical development which now is gradually permitting him to do without these very animals. The saying, "Othello's occupation's gone," has a meaning unfortunately all too deep. For thousands of years the horse was forced to serve man, and help him lay the foundations of a development which now, thanks to the automobile, makes the horse himself superfluous. Within a few years the horse will have ceased his work; but without his help in days gone by, perhaps man would have had difficulty in arriving where he is today.

Thus the availability of inferior races was one of the most important essentials for the formation of higher cultures, since it alone could make good the lack of technical tools, without which advanced development is quite unthinkable. Beyond question the first civilization of humanity rested less on domesticated animals than on the employment of inferior human beings.

It was only after the enslavement of subjugated races that the same fate began to befall animals, and not the other way around, as many people would like to think. First it was the conquered man who drew the plow—and only after him the horse. But only pacifistic fools can consider this a sign of human degeneracy, not realizing that this development had to take place in order to arrive at last at the point from which these apostles can send their vaporings into the world.

Mankind's progress is like the ascent of an endless ladder: there is no going higher without climbing the lower rungs. Thus the Aryan had to travel the road which reality pointed, and not that dreamed by the imagination of a modern pacifist. The road of reality is harsh and difficult, but it leads at last to the spot where the pacifist would like to dream mankind to be, but whence in reality, unfortunately, he is rather removing it than otherwise.

So it is no accident that the first civilizations arose where the Aryan, encountering lower races, subjugated them and made them do his will. They were the first technical tools to serve a dawning civilization.

Thus the road which the Aryan must travel was clearly marked. As a conqueror he subjugated the inferior peoples, and

regulated their practical activity under his orders, according to his will, and for his own purposes. But in thus setting them to a useful if a hard task, he not only spared the lives of the conquered, but gave them fate which perhaps was actually better than their previous so-called "freedom." So long as he ruthlessly maintained a master's attitude, he remained not only the real master, but the preserver and encourager of civilization. For this depended entirely upon his abilities, and thus on his survival. When those conquered began to advance themselves, probably also approaching the conqueror in the matter of language, the sharp cleavage between master and servant disappeared. The Aryan surrendered the purity of his blood, and thus lost the right to the Paradise which he had made for himself. He went down in the mixture of races, and gradually lost more and more of his cultural capacities until finally he began to resemble the aborigine more than his own forefathers, not only mentally but physically. For a time he could still live upon existing cultural substance, but then ossification set in, and finally oblivion claimed him.

Thus civilizations and empires collapse to make way for new structures.

Mingling of blood, with the decline in racial level that it causes, is the sole reason for the dying-out of old cultures; for men are destroyed not by lost wars, but by losing that stamina inherent in pure blood alone.

Anything in this world that is not of good race is chaff. And every event in world history is but the expression in a good or a bad sense of the races' instinct for self-preservation.

The question of the inner causes of the outstanding importance of Aryanism can be answered with the statement that these are to be found less in a stronger instinct of self-preservation as such than in the particular way it is expressed. Subjectively considered, the will to live is equally great everywhere, varying only in the actual form it takes. In the most primitive creatures, the instinct of self-preservation does not go beyond the individual's care for itself. Here egoism, as we call this tendency, goes so far as to

include time itself, so that the immediate moment claims everything, leaving nothing for the hours to come. In this state the animal lives for itself alone, seeks food but for the hunger of the moment, and fights only for its own life. So long as the instinct of self-preservation takes this form, there is no possible basis for the formation of a community, not even the most primitive form of family. Even the partnership between male and female outside of pure mating demands an extension of the self-preservative instinct, in that the care and struggle for self now extend to the mate; the male often hunts food for the female, but mostly both seek nourishment for the young. One will almost always fight to defend the other, so that we have here the first, if infinitely primitive forms of self-sacrifice. When this feeling spreads beyond the limits of the immediate family, we have the essential for the formation of larger groups, and finally of regular states.

In the most primitive men on earth this quality is present only to a very limited degree, often not going beyond the formation of the family. The greater the willingness to put aside purely personal interests, the more advanced the ability to set up extensive communities.

This will to sacrifice, to devote personal labor and, if necessary, life itself to others, is most highly developed in the Aryan. The Aryan is greatest not in his mental qualities as such, but in the extent of his readiness to devote all his abilities to the service of the community. In him the instinct of self-preservation can reach its noblest form because he willingly subordinates his own ego to the life of the community, and even sacrifices it if occasion demands.

It is not in his intellectual gifts that the cause of the Aryan's civilizing and constructive ability lies. If he had these alone, they would enable him only to destroy, but certainly not to organize; for the essential character of every organization depends on the fact that the individual resigns insistence on his personal opinions as well as on his interests, and sacrifices both in favor of the majority of people. Only by way of this community does his

own share come back to him. He no longer works, for instance, directly for himself, but takes his place with his activity in the structure of the community, not only for his own benefit, but for the benefit of all. The most wonderful exposition of this spirit is his word, *work*, which he understands by no means simply as activity for self-support, but exclusively as labor that does not run counter to the interests of the community. Otherwise he describes human effort, in so far as it serves the self-preservative instinct without consideration for the welfare of the world, as theft, usury, robbery, burglary, etc.

This spirit, putting the preservation of the community before the interests of one's own ego, is really the first essential for every truly human culture. It alone can give rise to all the great works of humanity, which bring small reward to the founder, but rich blessings to posterity. This alone makes it possible to understand how so many people can bear honestly a shabby life which forces nothing but poverty and insignificance upon them, while it lays the foundation for the existence of the community. Every workman, every peasant, every inventor, civil servant, etc., who labors without ever attaining happiness and prosperity is a pillar of this high ideal, even though the deeper meaning of its action be forever hidden from him.

But that which is true of work as the basis of human sustenance and of all human progress is true to a yet higher degree of the protection of man and his civilization. The surrender of one's own life for the existence of the community is the crown of all self-sacrifice. Only this prevents human hands from overthrowing or Nature from destroying what human hands have built.

It is precisely our German language which has a word that splendidly describes action on that principle: performance of duty (*Pflichterföhlung*), that is to say, not satisfaction of self, but service to the community.

The fundamental spirit from which such action springs we call idealism (as distinguished from egoism or selfishness). By it we mean exclusively that individual's ability to sacrifice himself for the community, for his fellow-men.

But it is necessary indeed for us to realize ever and again that idealism is not in the least a superfluous expression of feeling; but that it was, is, and always will be in truth the prerequisite for what we call human civilization, nay that it alone created the idea, *human being*. To this spirit the Aryan owes his position in this world, and to it the world owes man; for it alone shaped pure mind in the creative force—a unique marriage of rude hand and inspired intellect—that built the monuments of human civilization.

Without its idealistic spirit all the capabilities of the mind, no matter how brilliant, would remain mere mind as such outward show without inner value, and never creative force.

But as true idealism is nothing but the subordination of the individual's interest and life to the community, while this is in turn the first essential for the formation of any sort of organization, it corresponds at bottom with the ultimate will of Nature. It alone leads men voluntarily to recognize the primacy of power and strength, and makes them into grains of sand in the order which shapes and composes the whole universe.

The purest idealism corresponds unconsciously with the profoundest wisdom.

We can see at once how true this is, and how little real idealism has to do with fanciful utopianism by putting the judgment up to an unspoiled child, a healthy boy, for instance. The same boy who listens blankly and hostilely to the rant of an "idealistic" pacifist is ready to throw away his young life for the ideal of his nationality.

This is instinct unconsciously obeying the realization of the deeper necessity of preserving the species, at the expense of the individual, if necessary and protesting against the visionary oratory of the pacifist, who, a disguised but nevertheless cowardly egoist, is violating the laws of human development; for development depends on the self-sacrifice of the individual in favor of the community, and not on the sickly imaginings of cowardly wiseacres and critics of Nature.

It is therefore especially in times when the idealistic spirit thus

seems to disappear that we notice an immediate decline in that force which forms the community, and thus prepares for the existence of civilization. Let egoism once become the ruler of a people, and the bonds of order are loosened; and in chasing their own happiness people fall from Heaven straight to Hell.

In fact even posterity forgets the men who work only for their own advantage, and glorifies the heroes who resign their own happiness.

The most extreme contrast to the Aryan is the Jew. In scarcely any of the world's peoples is the self-preservation instinct more strongly developed than in the so-called Chosen. The best proof of this is the mere fact of the race's existence. Where is the people that have undergone so few changes of inner proclivity, of character etc., in the last two thousand years as the Jewish? And what people has gone through greater upheavals—and yet always come through the most tremendous catastrophes of humanity still the same? What an infinitely tenacious will to live, to preserve the species becomes evident in these facts!

The intellectual qualities of the Jew have been trained in the course of thousands of years. He is considered "clever" today, and in a certain sense has always been so. But his understanding is not the product of his own development, but of object-lessons from others. Even the human mind cannot scale heights without steps; for every upward stride it needs the foundation of the past, and this in the inclusive sense which can reveal itself only in civilization in general. Any thinking rests to but a small degree on one's own perception, and preponderantly on the experiences of previous times. The general level of civilization provides the individual (mostly without his noticing it) with such a wealth of knowledge that he is more easily able, thus armed, to take further steps of his own. The boy of today, for instance, grows up amidst a veritable host of technical achievements of past centuries, so that he takes for granted, without noticing much which only a hundred years ago was a mystery to the greatest minds, although it is of decisive importance to him in following

and understanding our progress in the field in question. If even a genius of the twenties of the last century were suddenly to return from the grave today, his mere intellectual adjustment alone to the present time would be more difficult than it is for a modern fifteen-year-old boy of ordinary gifts. He would lack all the endless preliminary knowledge which our contemporary of today absorbs unconsciously, so to speak, as he grows up amid the scenes of his particular general civilization.

Since the Jew, for reasons which will immediately appear, has never possessed a culture of his own, the basis for his mental processes has always been furnished by others.

In every age his intellect has developed by means of the civilization surrounding him. The reverse of the process has never taken place.

For even though the self-preservation instinct of the Jewish people is not less but greater than that of other peoples, even if its intellectual powers often give the impression of being equal to the mental gifts of other races, it yet totally lacks the all-important requirement of a civilized people, the spirit of idealism.

The Jewish people's self-sacrifice does not go beyond the native instinct of individual self-preservation. Its apparently strong feeling of affinity is based upon a very primitive herd instinct, such as occurs in many other forms of life in this world. Here the fact is worthy of remark that herd instinct leads to mutual support only so long as a common danger makes it seem useful or unavoidable. The same pack of wolves which a moment before was united in falling on its prey backs up, as hunger is satisfied, into its component animals. The same is true of horses, which try to defend themselves in unison against attack, and scatter again when danger is past.

The same thing holds for the Jew. His will to self-sacrifice is only apparent. It exists only so long as the life of each individual makes it absolutely necessary. The moment the common enemy is defeated, the common danger averted, or the plunder secured, the apparent harmony of Jews among themselves comes to an end, giving way once more to their original proclivities. The Jews

are agreed only when a common danger forces them or common prey tempts them; if neither is the case, the qualities of crassest egoism come into their own, and in a turn of the hand the united people becomes a swarm of rats carrying on bloody battle among themselves.

If the Jews were alone in the world, they would smother in filth and offal, and would try mutually to overreach and exterminate one another in embittered battle, except as the lack of any willingness for self-sacrifice, expressing it all in their cowardice, turned even this battle into a sham.

It is a complete mistake, then, to infer a certain idealistic self-sacrifice among the Jews from the fact that they stick together in battle, or rather in plundering their fellow-men. Even here the Jew is guided by nothing but naked individual egoism.

And for that reason the Jewish State—which is supposed to be the living organism for the preservation and increase of a race—is territorially quite without boundaries. The definite spatial setting of a state structure always requires an idealistic spirit in the state's race, and particularly a proper conception of the idea of work. To whatever extent this attitude is lacking, any attempt to form or even to preserve a spatially limited state will fail. But thus the sole foundation upon which a culture can grow up disappears.

So the Jewish people, despite all its apparent intellectual qualities, is nevertheless without any true civilization, particularly without any of its own. Whatever sham civilization the Jew possesses today is the contribution of other peoples, mostly spoiled under his hands.

As the most important guidepost in judging the attitude of Jewry toward the question of human civilization we must always remember that there has never been a Jewish art, and that there is none today, and that especially the two Queens of the Arts, architecture and music, owe nothing original to Jewry. What it accomplishes in the field of art is either distortion or intellectual piracy. In other words, the Jew lacks those qualities which distinguish creatively (and thus culturally) favored races.

To what extent the Jew's adoption of alien culture is but an echo, or rather a corruption, may be seen from the fact that he is found most often in the art which seems least dependent on personal originality, acting.

But even here he is really only the "mummer," or rather an ape, for even here he lacks the final touch of real greatness; even here he is not the brilliant creator, but the superficial imitator, and all his little tricks and dodges cannot hide the inner lifelessness. But here the Jewish press lends loving aid, raising such hosannas over every bungler, no matter how mediocre, so long as he be but a Jew, that the rest of the world ends by believing it actually has an artist before it, whereas in truth the man is a mere wretched comedian.

No, the Jew possesses no civilization-building power; he has not and never did have the idealism without which there can be no upward development of man. Consequently his intellect is never constructive, but destructive—in very rare cases perhaps at best provocative, and then as the very archetype of the "power whose will is always evil and whose issue always good." It is not through him that any progress of humanity takes place, but despite him.

Since the Jew has never had a state with definite territorial boundaries, and thus could never call a civilization his own, the idea has grown up that this is a people to be counted among the nomads. That is a mistake as great as it is dangerous. The nomad very definitely does have a sharply bounded territory, only he does not cultivate it as a sedentary peasant, but lives off his herds, with which he wanders about his territory. The outward cause is to be found in the infertility of a soil that simply will not allow settlement. The deeper cause, however, lies in the disproportion between the technical civilization of an age or a people and the natural poverty of a territory. There are districts in which it is only thanks to his technology, developed through more than a thousand years, that even the Aryan is able in solid settlements to make himself master of the broad land, and to gain a livelihood from it. If he did not have this technology, he would have either

to avoid these districts or to support himself also as a constantly wandering nomad—that is if his thousand years' training and habituation to sedentary life did not make this seem intolerable to him. We must remember that at the time when the American continent was being opened up many Aryans struggled for a livelihood as trappers, hunters, etc., often in large troops with wife and child, always on the move, so that their existence was exactly like that of nomads. But as soon as their growing numbers and better equipment made it possible to clear the wild land and resist the aborigines, more and more settlements sprang up throughout the country.

Probably the Aryan, too, was originally a nomad, and in the course of time became sedentary, but even so he never was a Jew! No, the Jew is no nomad; even the nomad had a definite approach to the idea of "work" which would serve as the basis for later development, so long as the necessary mental equipment was present. The basic idealistic outlook, however, the nomad possesses, even if it be infinitely diluted; his whole nature, while it may be foreign, is not repugnant to the Aryan peoples. In the Jew, on the contrary, this attitude simply does not exist; and therefore he has never been the nomad, but always a mere parasite on the body of other peoples. The fact that he has often left previous abodes has nothing to do with his intention, but is the result of ejection by his abused hosts from time to time. His spreading out is a phenomenon typical of all parasites; he is constantly seeking new soil for his race to live on.

But this has nothing to do with nomadism, for the reason that the Jew never dreams of vacating a territory he has once occupied; he stays where he is, and that so fixedly that he is very hard to get rid of even by force. His spread to new countries takes place only when certain conditions necessary for his existence arise, but—unlike the nomad—without his changing his previous residence. He remains a typical parasite, spreading like a harmful bacillus wherever a suitable medium invites it. And the effect of his existence is also like that of parasites: wherever he occurs, the host nation dies off sooner or later.

Thus the Jew in all ages has lived in the states of other peoples, and has formed there his own state, although it has usually sailed under the colors of the designation "religious community" so long as outward circumstances did not make a complete unveiling of his nature seem indicated. But if he thought himself strong enough to do without the protective covering, he always dropped the veil, and suddenly was what so many had refused to see and to believe—the Jew.

The Jew's life as a parasite within the body of other nations and states is the origin of a peculiarity which caused Schopenhauer to make the above-mentioned pronouncement, that the Jew is the "great master of the lie." Existence drives the Jew to lie, and indeed to lie continually, as it forces warm clothes upon the Northerner.

His life within other peoples can in the end endure only if he succeeds in creating the impression that his is not a matter of a people, but only of a "religious community," even though a special one. But this itself is the first great lie.

In order to carry on his existence as a parasite on other peoples he must resort to denial of his inner character. The more intelligent the individual Jew is, the more successful will his deception be. It may even go so far that great parts of the host nation will at last seriously believe the Jew is really a Frenchman or an Englishman, a German or an Italian, even if of a different persuasion. Particularly government offices, which always seem to be inspired with the celebrated fraction of wisdom, are easy victims of this infamous swindle. In such circles independent thinking is often considered a real sin against sacred advancement, so that we must not be surprised if a Bavarian State Ministry, for instance, even today has not the faintest idea that the Jews are members of a *people* and not of a "denomination," although one glance at the world of newspapers belonging to Jewry must prove this at once to even the most ordinary intellect. But of course the *Jewish Echo* is as yet not the official journal, and thus, to the mind of these government potentates, not binding upon them.

Jewry has always been a people with definite racial characteristics, and never a religion; only the matter of its advancement caused it early to seek a means to distract inconvenient attention from its members. And what indeed could have been more fitting and at the same time more innocent than the insinuation of the borrowed idea of a religious community? For even here everything is borrowed, or rather stolen, the Jew can derive no religious institution from his own original nature because he lacks idealism in any form, and the belief in a Hereafter is therefore absolutely foreign to him. But according to the Aryan concept no religion is imaginable which lacks a belief in some form of survival after death. And in fact the Talmud is a book to prepare not for the Hereafter but for a practical and prosperous life in this world.

The Jewish religious teaching is primarily a rule to keep the blood of Jewry pure and to regulate the intercourse of Jews among themselves, and still more with the rest of the world—with the non-Jews. But even here it is a matter not of ethical problems but of extremely elementary economic ones. Of the moral value of Jewish religious instruction there are and have long been quite detailed studies (not of Jewish authorship; the creeds of the Jews themselves, of course, are made to suit the purpose) which to Aryan eyes make this sort of religion seem absolutely monstrous. But the best indication is the product of this religious education, the Jew himself. His life is of this world alone, and his spirit is inwardly as foreign to true Christianity as his nature was two thousand years ago to the great Founder of the new teaching Himself. He, it is true, made no secret of His disposition toward the Jewish people, and even resorted to the whip if necessary to drive out from the Lord's temple this adversary of any real humanity, who then as always saw in religion only a means for a business livelihood. But of course Christ was nailed to the cross for this, while our present party Christianity lowers itself in elections to beg for Jewish votes, and afterward tries to hatch political skulduggery with atheistical Jewish parties—and against its own nationality, at that.

On this first and greatest lie—that Jewry is not a race, but a religion—are inevitably built a constant series of further lies. Language is to him not a means to express his thoughts, but a means to conceal them.

When he speaks French, his thinking is Jewish, and while he is spinning German verses he is but living out the nature of his own nationality.

So long as the Jew has not become master of the other peoples he must speak their languages whether or no; but let them once be his slaves, and they would have to learn a universal language (Esperanto, for instance!) so that Jewry could rule them more easily by this means as well.

How completely the whole existence of this people depends on one continuous lie is incomparably shown in the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," so bitterly hated by the Jews. They rest on a forgery, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* keeps groaning to the world—the best proof that they are genuine. What many Jews may do unconsciously is here consciously made clear. And that is what counts. It is a matter of indifference what Jewish head these revelations come from; the important thing is that they uncover the nature and activity of the Jewish people with absolutely horrible accuracy, and show their inner interconnections as well as their ultimate aim. But the best criticism of these is furnished by reality. Anyone who examines the historical development of the last hundred years from the standpoint of this book will immediately come to understand the clamor of the Jewish press. For once this book has become the common property of the people, the Jewish menace can be considered as broken.

In order to know the Jew it is best to study the road he has taken within other peoples in the course of centuries. It will be enough to follow through one example in order to arrive at the necessary realization. Since his career has been always the same, just as the peoples he devours are always alike, it is desirable for purposes of observation to break up his development into definite

steps, which I will here indicate by letters for the sake of simplicity.

The first Jew came to Germany in the course of the advance of the Romans; as always, they came as traders. But in the storm's great migration they apparently disappeared again, and so the time of the first formation of the Germanic state may be considered the beginning of the new and this time permanent Judaization of Central and Northern Europe. A development began which was always the same or similar wherever Jewry encountered Aryan peoples.

A. With the foundation of the first permanent settlement the Jew is suddenly "there." He comes as a trader, and at first is little interested in obscuring his nationality. He is still a Jew, perhaps partly because the external racial difference between him and his hosts is too great, his knowledge of languages too slight, and the exclusiveness of the host nation too pronounced for him to dare try to appear anything but an alien trader. With his adaptability and the inexperience of the host nation there is no disadvantage, but rather an advantage in retaining his character as a Jew; the stranger finds a friendly reception.

B. Gradually he begins to be active in economic life, not as a producer but solely as an intermediary. In his adroitness, a thousand years in the making, he is far superior to the Aryans, who are still raw, but above all utterly honest, so that within a short time trade threatens to become his monopoly. He begins by lending money, at usurious rates as always. Indeed he actually inaugurates interest in that way. The danger of this new institution is at first not recognized, and for the sake of momentary advantages is even welcomed.

C. The Jew has settled down completely, that is to say he occupies a special quarter in the cities and towns, and forms more and more of a state within a state. Trade and all money business he considers his very own privilege, which he exploits ruthlessly.

D. Financial business and trade have become altogether his monopoly. His usurious interest finally arouses resistance, his

growing general impudence indignation, his wealth envy. The cup runs over when he begins to include the very soil in the commercial sphere, and degrades it into a saleable, or better a tradeable form of property. Since he never cultivates the soil himself, but regards it solely as an object of exploitation upon which the peasants may perfectly well continue to live, but only under the most despicable extortion from their new master, the aversion to him gradually rises to open hatred. His blood-sucking tyranny grows so extreme that he is the victim of violent excesses. People begin to look more and more closely at the alien, and keep discovering new repellent features and idiosyncrasies until the chasm is too wide to be bridged.

Finally, in times of bitterest distress, the rage against him begins to break out, and the plundered and ruined masses resort to self-help to free themselves of this scourge of God. In the course of centuries they have come to know him, and they feel his very existence as a visitation like the plague.

E. But now the Jew begins to reveal his true characteristics. With disgusting flattery he approaches governments, puts his money to work, and thus keeps assuring himself of the letter of marque for fresh plundering of his victims. Even though the people's rage against the perpetual leech often blazes up, that does not stop him from turning up again a few years later in the town he has scarcely left, and beginning his old life all over again. No persecution can change his way of exploiting men, none can drive him away; each time he is soon there again, still the same as ever.

To prevent at least the very worst from happening, people begin to withdraw the land from his usurious hands by simply making it legally impossible for him to acquire.

F. As the power of the princes begins to grow, he elbows his way closer and closer to them. He begs for "letters patent" and "Privileges," which he easily obtains upon satisfactory payment to the noble lords, who are always in financial difficulties. No matter what this costs him, within a few years it brings back his money with compound interest. A veritable leech, he fastens

himself upon the body of the unfortunate people, and is not to be removed until the princes need money once more, and with their own exalted hands draw off the blood he has sucked.

This game keeps repeating itself; in it the role of the so-called "German princes" is just as contemptible as that of the Jews themselves. They were really the punishment of God upon their dearly beloved people, these rulers, and their only parallel is in various ministers of the present day. It is due to the German princes that the German nation could not free itself permanently from the Jewish menace. Unfortunately there was never any change in this, so that they merely received from the Jew a reward earned a thousand times over for the sins they committed against their people. They leagued themselves with the devil, and wound up in his power.

G. Thus the entanglement of the princes leads to their destruction. Slowly but surely their position toward the peoples grows shaky as they cease to represent the people's interests, and instead to exploit their subjects. The Jew well knows that their end is coming, and tries to hasten it as much as possible. He himself fosters their perpetual financial distress by estranging them more and more from their true tasks, fawning upon them with the barest flattery, inducting them into vice, and thus making himself more and more indispensable. His adroitness, or rather unscrupulousness, in all financial matters succeeds in sweeping, nay in flaying new funds from the plundered subjects—funds which go the way of all earthly things at even shorter intervals. Thus each court has its "Court Jew," as the monsters are called who torture the people to desperation and arrange the perpetual pleasures of the princes. Who can be surprised that these ornaments of the human race are finally decorated even outwardly, and ascend into the heredity nobility, thus helping not merely to make that institution ridiculous, but actually to poison it?

Now of course he is better able than ever to use his position in the interests of his own advancement.

Finally he has only to let himself be bought in order to come into the possession of all the opportunities and rights of the

native subjects. This business also is carried out not unusually, to the delight of the churches at the new son, and of Israel at the successful fraud.

H. In Jewdom a transformation now begins to take place. Thus far they have been Jews, that is they have been little interested in appearing to be anything else, and in fact could not have done so, considering the very pronounced racial characteristics on both sides. As late as the time of Frederick the Great no one thought of regarding the Jews as anything but the "alien" people, and even Goethe is horrified at the thought that marriage between Christian and Jew may in future no longer be legally forbidden. But Goethe, Heaven knows, was no reactionary or helot; what spoke within him was nothing but the voice of blood and reason. Thus, despite all the shameful actions of the Courts, the people instinctively saw the Jew as a foreign substance in its own body, and took its attitude accordingly.

But now this was to be changed. In the course of more than a thousand years he has learned the language of his hosts well enough so that he believes he may dare emphasize his Judaism somewhat less in the future, and put his "Germanity" more in the foreground; for ridiculous, nay imbecile as it may at first seem, he nevertheless has the audacity to transform himself into a "Teuton," in this case that is into a "German." Here begins one of the most infamous deceptions that can be imagined. Since he possesses nothing of Germanity except the ability to maltreat its language—and how fearfully!—and otherwise has never mingled with it, his whole Germanity depends on language alone. Race, however, is not in language, but entirely in blood—something which no one knows better than the Jew, who cares very little for the preservation of his own language, but a great deal for the purity of his blood. A man may change languages easily; that is, he may use a new one; but in his new language he will express the old ideas; his inner nature is not changed. The best proof of this is the Jew, who can speak a thousand languages, and yet remain the same Jew. His characteristics are still the same, whether he spoke Latin two thousand years ago as a grain-dealer

at Ostia or mumbles German today as a flour-speculator. It is still the same Jew. That this obvious fact is not understood by a normal Ministerial Councillor or high police officer today may be taken for granted, since there is hardly anything with less instinct and intelligence running at large than these servants of our model government of the present.

The reason why the Jew suddenly decides to become a "German" is obvious. He feels the power of the princes slowly beginning to waver, and hence makes early efforts to get a platform under his feet. More than this, however, his financial command over the whole economic system has already advanced so far that without possession of full civil rights he can no longer prop up the whole vast structure, or at any rate no further increase of his influence can take place. But he desires both; for the higher he climbs, the more temptingly his old, promised goal rises from the mist of the past, and with feverish greed his most alert minds see the dream of world power coming within reach again. Thus his whole effort is directed at putting himself in full possession of civil rights.

This is the cause of the emancipation from the Ghetto.

I. Thus from the Court Jew the people's Jew gradually developed—that is to say, the Jew remains as always in the neighborhood of the noble lords, and in fact tries to insinuate himself more than ever into their circle; but at the same time another part of the race begins to curry favor with the good old common people. When we consider what sins he has committed against the masses in the course of centuries, how he has kept pitilessly squeezing them and sucking them dry, when we remember further how the people gradually learned to hate him for it, and finally regarded his existence as but a punishment of Heaven upon other peoples, we can understand how difficult this change of base must be to the Jew. Yes, it is hard work all at once to present yourself to your flayed victims as "a friend of humanity."

He begins by attempting to make good in the eyes of the people his previous crimes against it. He begins his transformation as a "benefactor" of humanity. As his new benevolence has a very

tangible cause, he cannot well keep to the old phrase from the Bible that the left hand should not know what the right hand gives; willy-nilly he must resign himself to letting as many people as possible know how deeply he feels the sufferings of the masses, and what personal sacrifices he is making in his turn. With this inborn modesty of his he drums his merits into the rest of the world until the world really begins to believe it. Anyone who does not believe it, is doing him a bitter injustice. Within a very short time he begins to twist things as if hitherto injustice had always been done to him alone, and not the reverse. Particularly stupid people believe him, and cannot help pitying the poor "unfortunate."

This incidentally, is, the place to remark that, with all his fondness for self-sacrifice, naturally the Jew still never becomes poor himself. He understands management; in fact his benevolence is often comparable only to the manure that is spread upon the field, not for love of the field, but, as a matter of foresight for one's own future advantage. In any case everyone knows within a comparatively short time that the Jew has become a "benefactor and philanthropist." What a peculiar transformation!

But what is taken more or less for granted in others arouses keen astonishment, frequently even obvious admiration, in his case, because in him it is not taken for granted. Thus it happens that people give to him much more credit for any such action than they would to the rest of humanity.

But more than this, the Jew all at once becomes liberal, and begins to chatter of the necessary progress of humanity. Thus he slowly makes himself the spokesman of a new age.

It is true also that he more and more completely destroys the foundations of any economy truly useful to the people. By way of stock exchange shares he intrudes himself into the cycle of national production, makes this a vendible or rather a tradeable object to barter and exchange, and so robs the factories of the basis of personal ownership. Thus for the first time that inner estrangement arises between employer and employee which

later leads to political class antagonism. Finally, however, the Jewish influence on economic affairs by way of the stock exchange grows with tremendous speed. He becomes the owner or at least the controller of the nation's laboring force.

To strengthen his political position he attempts to break down the racial and civil barriers which still confine him wherever he goes. For this purpose he fights with all his native tenacity for religious toleration; and in Freemasonry, which has fallen entirely into his hands, he has an excellent instrument to fight for his purposes or gain them by stealth. Governing circles as well as the higher levels of the political and economic bourgeoisie fall into his snares through Masonic connections, without necessarily even dreaming they are doing so.

Only the people as such, or rather that class which is beginning to awake and fight for its own rights and freedom, cannot thus be adequately laid hold of in its widest and deepest levels. But this is more necessary than anything else; for the Jew feels that the possibility of his rise to a ruling position exists only if there is a "pacemaker" ahead of him; but this he believes he sees in the bourgeoisie, specifically in its broadest levels. But the glovers and weavers cannot be caught with the delicate net of Freemasonry; here ruder but no less penetrating means must be used. Thus to Freemasonry a second weapon is added for the service of Jewry: the press.

He puts himself in possession of it with all the tenacity and adroitness he can muster. With it he slowly begins to clutch all of public life, to entangle it, steer it and push it, since he is in a position to create and direct that force which is more familiar to us today under the name of "public opinion" than it was even a few decades ago.

At the same time he professes to be infinitely thirsty for knowledge, and praises all progress, though mostly that which leads to the ruin of others; for he judges all knowledge and every development solely by the possibility of forwarding his own nationality, and where this is lacking he is the implacable, deadly enemy of all light, the hater of all true culture. He em-

employs all the knowledge which he gains from the school of the others exclusively in the service of his race.

But this nationality he guards as never before. While he seems to be overflowing with "enlightenment," "progress," "freedom," "humanity," etc., he himself practices the strictest segregation of his race. He may sometimes put off his women on influential Christians, but as a matter of principle he always keeps his male line pure. He poisons the others' blood, but preserves his own. The Jew almost never marries a Christian woman; the Christian marries the Jewess. But the bastards turn out on the Jewish side nevertheless. Part of the higher nobility, in particular, degenerates completely. This the Jew well knows, and so carries on systematically this sort of "disarming" of the intellectually leading class of his racial enemies. To disguise his doings and to lull his victims, however, he talks more and more of the equality of all men, regardless of race and color. The blockheads begin to believe him.

But as his whole character still smells too strongly of the altogether foreign for the great masses of the people to fall easily into his snare, he has his press depict him in a way as untrue to fact as it is useful to the purpose he is pursuing. In comic journals, particularly, pains are taken to represent the Jews as a harmless little people which has its peculiarities—as others do too—but which, even in its rather foreign-seeming manner, betrays a perhaps comical but always kind and honorable soul. Just as pains are always taken to make him seem insignificant rather than dangerous.

His eventual goal at this stage is the victory of democracy, or, as he conceives it, the rule of parliamentarism. This is best suited to his needs; it does away with personality, after all, and puts in its place the majority of stupidity, incompetence, and not least of cowardice.

The final result will be the downfall of monarchy, which must then take place sooner or later.

K. The enormous economic development leads to a change in the social stratification of the people. The small handicrafts

slowly die out, and thus make ever rarer the possibility of a workman's winning an independent existence. As a result he becomes visibly proletarianized. The industrial "factory worker" comes into existence, whose most essential characteristic is that he is scarcely ever in a position to gain an independent livelihood in later life. He is destitute in the truest sense of the word; his old age is a torment, and can hardly be described as life.

A similar situation has been created before; it imperiously demanded a solution, and found it. A new group had arisen to join the peasant and the artisan—the officials and employees, particularly of the State. They too were without property in the truest sense of the word. The State finally found a way out of this unhealthy condition by itself undertaking to provide for the State employee who could not prepare for his old age, and introducing pensions—retirement pay. More and more private enterprises slowly followed this example, so that today almost every regularly employed brain-worker eventually draws a pension if the firm has reached or passed a certain size. Only the provision for the State functionary in his old age trained him in that unselfish devotion to duty which was the finest characteristic of German officialdom before the war.

Thus a whole group remaining without property was wisely freed from social misery, and so assigned a proper place in the totality of the people.

Now this question rose again to face the State and the nation, this time on a much larger scale. More and more new masses of humanity, running into the millions, moved from the agricultural communities into the great cities to earn their daily bread as factory workers in the newly founded industries. The working and living conditions of the new class were worse than bad. The more or less mechanical transfer of the former methods of work of the old artisans or peasants to the new form was in itself altogether unsuitable. The activity of neither could be compared with the exertion required of the industrial factory worker. In the old handicrafts, time may have played a smaller part; but with the new methods of work it was all the more

important. The formal adoption of the old working hours in the great industrial enterprise was absolutely catastrophic; for, owing to the lack of present-day intensive methods of work, the actual daily production in former times had been but small. One might have been able to stand the fourteen- or fifteen-hour day in the past, but one certainly could not in an age when every moment was utilized to the utmost. And in fact the result of this senseless transfer of old working hours to the new industrial activity was disastrous in two directions: health was shattered, and faith in a higher justice destroyed. Finally there was the wretched remuneration on the one hand and therefore the conspicuously superior position of the employer on the other.

In the country there could be no social question, since master and man did the same work, and above all ate from the same dish. But even this changed.

The separation of employer and employee now seemed complete in every field of life. How far the inward Judaization of our people had progressed in the process we can see by the slight respect, if not contempt, accorded to manual work as such. This is not the German way. Only the denationalization of our life, which in reality was a Judaization, transformed the old respect for the handicrafts into a certain contempt for any physical labor at all.

Thus there grows up in fact a new and very little-respected group, and some day the question must arise whether the nation will have the strength to assign the new group its proper place in society, or whether a difference in calling will grow into the chasm of class.

One thing was sure: the new group included in its ranks not the worst element, but, on the contrary, the most energetic. The over-refinements of so-called civilization had not yet produced their disintegrating and destructive effect here. The great masses of the new group were not yet touched by the poison of pacifist weakness, but were robust and when necessary even brutal.

While the bourgeoisie paid no attention at all to this momentous question, and indifferently let things take their course, the

Jew realized the limitless possibilities here offered for the future. On the one hand he organized capitalistic methods of human exploitation down to the last detail; and then he himself crept up on the victims of his spirit and activity, very shortly becoming the leader of their battle against themselves. That is to say, of course, only figuratively "against themselves"; for the great master of lying succeeded as always in making himself seem innocent, and throwing the blame on others. Since he had the audacity to lead the masses himself, it never occurred to them that this could be the most infamous swindle of all time.

And yet so it was.

Hardly has the new class developed out of the general economic transformation before the Jew clearly recognizes it as the new pacemaker for his own further advancement. First he used the bourgeoisie as a battering-ram against the feudal world; now he uses the worker against the bourgeoisie. If in the shadow of the bourgeoisie he once succeeded by stealth in gaining civil rights, now he hopes to find in the worker's struggle for existence the road to his own domination.

From now on the worker has no duty but to fight for the future of the Jewish people. Unconsciously he is put to work for the power which he believes he is combating. He is led apparently to tilt against capitalism, and thus is most easily made to fight on its behalf. People keep shouting against international capital, while they really mean the national economy. This must be demolished, so that the international stock exchange can triumph on the corpse-strewn battlefield.

For this purpose the Jew proceeds as follows: he creeps up on the workers, in order to win their confidence, pretending pity for their fate or even indignation at their wretched and poverty-stricken lot. He takes pains to study all the actual or even imaginary rigors of their life—and to awaken the longing for a change in such an existence. With infinite shrewdness he fans the urge for social justice slumbering within every Aryan into hatred of those more favored by fortune, and thus puts the stamp of a very special world-concept upon the battle for reform

of social ills. He finds the Marxist doctrine.

By representing it as indissolubly linked with a whole series of socially justified requirements he fosters both its spread and the disinclination of decent humanity to satisfy demands which seem, when presented in such form and such company, to be unjust and impossible of fulfilment from the outset. For under this cloak of purely social ideas, truly diabolical intentions lie hidden; in fact they are even presented in public with the most audacious plainness. This doctrine is an inseparable mixture of reason and human derangement, but always in such fashion that only the madness can become reality; the reason, never. By categorical denial of personality and thus of the nation and its racial substance it destroys the basic foundations of all human civilization, which depends precisely upon those factors. This is the true core of the Marxist world-concept, in so far as this creature of a criminal brain can be called a "world-concept." The destruction of personality and race removes the prime obstacle to domination by the inferior man—and he is the Jew.

Economic and political lunacy is the very meaning of this doctrine. For it prevents all persons of true intelligence from working for the cause, while the intellectually inactive and the economically uneducated rush to it with banners flying. But the intelligence for the movement—even this movement needs intelligence in order to exist—is "sacrificed" by the Jew from his own ranks.

Thus there comes into being a purely manual-workers' movement under Jewish leadership, apparently attempting to improve the position of the worker, but in truth intending the enslavement and thus the annihilation of all non-Jewish peoples.

General pacifistic paralysis of the national self-preservative instinct, in the circles of the so-called intelligentsia by Freemasonry, is spread into the great masses, particularly the middle classes, by the activity of the great and today invariably Jewish press. To these two weapons of disintegration there is added a third, and by far the most fearful, the organization of brute force. Marxism as an attacking and storming detachment plans to com-

plete the collapse prepared for by the undermining work of the first two weapons.

This coordination is truly masterly; there is really no reason for surprise if those very institutions fail most abjectly against it that are always so fond of posing as the embodiment of the more or less mythical authority of the State. In our high and highest State officialdom the Jew has always found (with a few exceptions) the most willing tool for his work of destruction. Crawling servility in an "upward" direction and arrogant superciliousness "downward" are as much marks of this class as its often flagrant purblindness, exceeded only by a sometimes absolutely astonishing conceit.

But these are qualities which the Jew needs in our government offices and therefore takes pride in.

In rough outline the practical battle which now begins takes place as follows:

Suitably to the ultimate aims of the Jewish struggle, which are not confined to economic world conquest but demand also political subjugation, the Jew divides the organization of his Marxist world-doctrine into halves which, apparently separate, in truth are one indivisible whole: the political and the trade-union movement.

The trade-union movement does the recruiting. In the hard battle for existence which the worker must wage because of the greed and short-sightedness of many business men, the movement offers help and protection, and thus the possibility of forcing better living conditions. If, in an age when the organized national community, the State, pays him almost no attention, the workman is unwilling to leave the upholding of his human rights to the blind whim of persons frequently but little responsible and often heartless as well, he must take the defense in his own hands. The so-called national bourgeoisie, blinded by its financial interests puts grave obstacles in the way of this fight for life, not only resisting but often actually sabotaging all attempts to shorten inhumanly long working hours, end child labor, protect woman, and improve hygienic conditions in factories and dwellings; and

the Jew, being shrewder, takes the part of the people thus oppressed. He gradually becomes the leader of the union movement, and this the more easily because he is not interested in a real and honest correction of social abuses, but only in forming a blindly devoted economic fighting force to shatter national economic independence. While the direction of a sound social policy will always move between the guide-lines of preserving the people's health on the one hand and assuring an independent national economy on the other hand, not only do these two considerations play no part with the Jew in this struggle, but their elimination is one of the purposes of his life. He does not want to preserve an independent national economy; he wants to destroy it. Consequently no qualms of conscience can prevent him as leader of the trade-union movement from making demands that not only overshoot the mark but in practice either are impossible of fulfilment or mean the ruin of the national economy. Nor does he want a sound and robust race, but a decayed herd ready for the yoke. This wish, again, allows him to make the most senseless demands, whose practical fulfilment he himself knows is impossible, and which could never produce any change in affairs, but at best a wild turbulence of the masses. This, however, is what he is after, and not the real and honest improvement of their social situation.

The leadership of Jewry in trade-union matters will therefore be undisputed until either a vast work of enlightenment influences the broad masses, and teaches them wisdom concerning their unending misery, or the State disposes of the Jew and his work. For so long as the perception of the masses remains as small as it is now, and the State as indifferent as today, the masses will always soonest follow him who makes them the most unabashed promises in economic matters. In this the Jew is a master. After all, no moral scruples hamper his activities!

In this field he soon perforce puts every competitor to rout. In accordance with his whole inner predatory brutality he teaches the union movement the most brutal use of force. If anyone's clear-sightedness resists the Jewish lures, his defiance and wisdom are broken by terrorism. The success of such activity is tremendous.

By means of the union, which might be a blessing to the nation, the Jew actually destroys the foundations of the national economy.

The political organization runs parallel with this. It works hand in glove with the union organization, in that the latter prepares the masses for political organization, indeed lashes them into entering it by violence and compulsion. It is also the permanent financial source from which the political organization feeds its enormous machine. It is the organ of control for the political activity of the individual, and does recruiting service at all great political demonstrations. Finally it ceases to interest itself in economic concerns, and puts its chief weapon, refusal to work, at the disposal of the political idea in the form of the mass and general strike.

Through the creation of a press whose substance is adapted to the intellectual horizon of the least-educated people, the political and trade-union organization have an inciting instrument by which the lowest levels of the nation can be prepared for rashest action.

It is the organization's task not to lead people from the slough of a base spirit to a higher level, but to pander to their lowest instincts. This is an enterprise as speculative as it is profitable with the lazy-minded and often presumptuous masses.

It is this press above all, in an absolutely fanatical war of slander, which breaks down anything that might be considered a prop of national independence, high civilization, and economic self-reliance.

It pounds away particularly at all those characters who will not bend to the Jewish presumption of domination, or whose inspired ability seems in itself a menace to the Jew. In order to be hated by the Jew it is not necessary to combat him; the mere suspicion that the other man might either some day stumble upon the idea of opposition, or be, by reason of his superior genius, an addition to the strength and greatness of a nationality hostile to the Jew, is enough.

His instinct, infallible in such matters, scents the inner-most

soul in everyone, and his hostility toward anyone not spirit of his spirit is adjudged. Since the Jew is not the attacked but the attacker, is not merely the man who attacks his enemy, but also he who resists him. The method by which he attempts to break down such audacious but upright souls is not honorable battle but lying and slander.

Here he hesitates at nothing, and his viciousness becomes enormous; we need not be surprised that among our people the personification of the Devil as the symbol of all evil assumes the very form of the Jew.

The ignorance of the broad masses concerning the inner nature of the Jew, and the purblindness, devoid of all instinct, of our upper classes makes the people an easy victim of this Jewish campaign of lies.

While native cowardice leads the upper classes to turn away from a man whom the Jew thus attacks with lies and slander, stupidity or simple-mindedness induces the broad masses to believe it all. The State authorities either cloak themselves in silence, or as usually happens, prosecute the victim of unjust attack to put an end to the Jewish journalistic campaign—a procedure which in the eyes of such a jackass-in-office constitutes preservation of governmental authority and defense of peace and good order.

Gradually the fear of the Marxist weapon of Jewry comes to rest like a nightmare on the mind and soul of decent people.

They begin to tremble before the fearful enemy, and thus are already his doomed victims.

K. The domination of the Jew in the State seems so well assured that he can now not only designate himself as a Jew again, but ruthlessly admit his ultimate racial and political reasoning. One part of the race quite openly admits to being an alien people, though not without lying again, even here. For when Zionism tries to job off on the rest of the world the story that racial self-determination of the Jew would be satisfied by the creation of a State in Palestine, the Jews are once more craftily pulling the wool over the eyes of the stupid goyim. They never dream of

building a Jewish State in Palestine in order to inhabit it; they merely want an organization headquarters with its own sovereignty, beyond reach of interference from other states—a refuge of convicted rogues and a college for knaves to come.

It is a sign not only of their growing confidence but of their feeling of security that while some of them are still truthlessly masking themselves as Germans, Frenchmen or Englishmen, others document themselves as the Jewish race.

How vividly they already see the approaching victory we can tell from the fearful manner in which they carry on intercourse with members of other peoples.

The black-haired Jew-boy lies in wait by the hour, Satanic delight on his face, for the unsuspecting girl whom he outrages with his blood, and thus steals from her people. By every means he attempts to undermine the racial foundations of the nation to be subjugated. While he himself systematically ruins women and girls, he does not hesitate to break down the barriers of blood on a large scale for others. It was Jews who did and still do bring the negro to the Rhine, always with the same motive and plain intention of destroying the hated white race by means of the consequent forced bastardization, overthrowing it from its cultural and political eminence, and ascending to be its masters themselves. A racially pure people which is conscious of its blood can never be subjugated by the Jew; in this world he can always be but the master of bastards.

So he tries systematically to lower the racial level by constant poisoning of individuals.

But politically he begins to replace the idea of democracy with that of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the organized mass of Marxism he finds the weapon which allows him to do without democracy, and permits him instead to subjugate and rule the peoples dictatorially, with an iron hand.

He works systematically in two directions for the revolution—economically and politically.

Peoples who too violently resist the attack from within he enmeshes through his international influence in a network of

enemies, incites them into war, and finally, if necessary, raises the standard of revolution even on the battlefields.

Economically he shakes the State until the socialized enterprises, becoming unprofitable, are denationalized and put under his financial control.

Politically he refuses the State the means for its self-preservation, destroys the foundations of any national self-assertion and defense, destroys faith in the leadership, pours scorn on its history and past, and drags everything truly great in the gutter.

Culturally he infects art, literature and theater, makes a mock of natural feeling, overturns all ideas of beauty and nobility, of the exalted and good, drags people down into the sphere of his own base nature.

Religion is made ridiculous, morals and propriety are represented as outworn, until the last props of a nationality in its struggle for existence in this world have fallen.

L. Now begins the great, the final Revolution. As the Jew battles his way to political power, he flings aside what few coverings he still wears. The democratic popular Jew becomes the bloody Jew and tyrant over the people. Within a very few years he attempts to exterminate the mainstays of national intelligence, and, by robbing the peoples of their natural intellectual leadership, prepares them for the slave's lot of permanent thralldom.

The most fearful example of this sort is Russia, where he has killed (sometimes with inhuman tortures) or starved to death with truly fanatical savagery close to thirty million persons in order to assure domination over a great people for a crowd of Jewish literati and stock-exchange bandits.

But the end is not only the end of the freedom of the peoples oppressed by the Jew, but also the end of these national parasites themselves. After the death of the victim, the vampire itself also dies sooner or later.

If we review all the causes of the German collapse, the failure to recognize the race problem, and particularly the Jewish menace, remains the ultimate and decisive one.

To stand up under the defeats on the battlefield in August of 1918 would have been child's-play. They bore no relation to the victory of our people. It was not they that overthrew us; we were overthrown by the power which prepared for these defeats by decades of systematic work in robbing our people of the political and moral instincts and forces which alone enable and thus entitle peoples to survive.

By passing heedlessly over the question of preserving the racial foundations of our nationality, the old Empire also neglected the sole right which can give life in this world. Peoples which become or allow themselves to be bastardized sin against the will of Eternal Providence, and their downfall at the hands of one stronger is not an injustice done them, but merely the restoration of justice. If a people no longer respects the characteristics given it by Nature and rooted in its blood, it has no further right to complain of the loss of its earthly existence.

Everything in the world is to be improved. Every defeat may father a later victory. Every lost war may be the cause of a later revival, every distress may crucify human energy, and from every oppression may come the forces for a new spiritual rebirth so long as the blood is kept pure.

Lost purity of blood alone destroys inner happiness forever, and lowers man irrevocably; the results can never again be eliminated from body and spirit.

If we examine and compare all the other problems of life as against this one question, we shall come to realize how ridiculously small they are by comparison. They are all temporally limited—but the question of preserving or not preserving purity of blood will remain so long as there are human beings.

All the really significant symptoms of decay before the war go back fundamentally to racial causes.

Whether the question is one of universal justice or of abuses in economic life, of signs of cultural decline or processes of political degeneration, a question of mistaken school training or of harmful influence upon adults through the press, etc., always and everywhere it is at bottom a neglect of the racial concerns

of our own people or an overlooking of some alien racial threat.

Hence all attempts at reform, all social work and political exertion, all economic advance and all apparent increase in knowledge of spirit have in their final results nevertheless been immaterial. The nation and that organism which permits and preserves life on earth, the State, inwardly have not grown healthier, but have visibly wasted away in disease. All the apparent prosperity of the old Empire could not hide the inner weakness, and every attempt at a true strengthening of the Empire was balked by this same old ignoring of the most important question.

It would be a mistake to think that the adherents of the various political tendencies which were doctoring with the German body politic, or even to some extent their leaders, were bad or ill-intentioned men by nature. Their activity was simply condemned to be fruitless because at best they saw only the outward forms of our general sickness, and tried to combat them, but went blindly past the cause. Anyone who has systematically pursued the line of political development of the old Empire must realize, on calm consideration, that even at the time when the German nation was unified and thus on the upgrade, inner decay was already in full swing; and that despite all apparent political successes and increasing economic wealth the general situation grew worse from year to year. Even the rising tide of Marxist votes at the Reichstag elections presaged the ever-approaching inner and thus also outer collapse. All the successes of the so-called bourgeois parties were worthless, not only because they could not prevent the numerical growth of the Marxist flood even at so-called victorious bourgeois elections, but still more because they already carried the seeds of disintegration within themselves. Undreaming, the bourgeois world itself was inwardly infected with the carrion virus of Marxist ideas, and its resistance was due more frequently to the envy of ambitious leaders than to opposition on principle by opponents determined to fight to the last. One figure alone fought throughout those long years with unshakeable consistency, and this was the Jew. The Star of David rose ever higher as the will for self-preservation of our people disappeared.

In August of 1914, therefore, it was no nation resolved to attack that stormed upon the field of battle; there was but the last flickering-up of the national self-preservative instinct against the increasing of Pacifist-Marxist paralysis of our body politic. As the enemy within was not recognized in those fateful days, all outer resistance was futile, and Providence did not reward the victorious sword, but followed the law of eternal retribution.

From this realization were to come the guiding principles and the tendency of the new movement which alone, we were convinced could not only halt the decline of the German people, but lay the granite foundation upon which some day a state may exist which will be no alien mechanism of economic concerns and interests, but an organism of the people—

A Germanic State of the German nation.

12. EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL-SOCIALIST GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY.

IN describing, at the close of this volume, the early development of our movement, and briefly discussing a number of the questions it implies, I do not intend a treatise on the intellectual aims of the movement. The aims and tasks of the new movement are so tremendous that they must be treated in a volume by themselves. In a second volume I shall therefore discuss at length the foundations of the movement's program, and attempt to depict what we mean by the word *State*.

By *We* I mean all the hundreds of thousands who fundamentally long for the same thing, without finding the particular word to describe what is before their inner eye. For it is a peculiarity of all great reforms that at first they often have only one man as a champion, while as supporters they have many millions. Their goal has often been the heart's desire of hundreds of thousands for centuries before someone appears as the herald of one of these universal desires, and as its standard-bearer, leads to victory the old longing in a new idea.

That millions carry in their hearts the desire for a radical change in present conditions is a fact proved by the discontent they suffer from. It is expressed in a thousand forms—in one case as downheartedness and hopelessness, in another as disgust, anger and indignation; here as indifference, there again as furious extravagance. Further witnesses to this inner discontent are the election-weary and the many who incline to fanatical extremes on the left.

And to these the young movement ought primarily to address itself. It must not be an organization of the satisfied and well-fed, but must unite the suffering and the malcontents, the unhappy

and the dissatisfied; and above all it should not float on the surface of the body politic, but must have its roots at the bottom.

Taken purely from a political standpoint this was the picture in 1918: we have a people torn into two parts. One, by far the smallest, includes the classes of the nationalist intelligentsia, excluding all those who do physical labor. It is outwardly nationalist, but cannot conceive of that word's meaning anything except a very flat and feeble defense of so-called State interests, which in turn seem identical with dynastic interests. It tries to champion its ideas and aims with intellectual weapons both fragmentary and superficial, a complete failure in face of the enemy's brutality. What a moment before was still the ruling class is laid low with one fearful blow; trembling in cowardice it swallows every humiliation from the ruthless victor.

Opposed to it is the second class, the great mass of the laboring population. It is united in more or less radically Marxist movements, determined to break down any intellectual resistance by the power of violence. It does not mean to be nationalist, but deliberately opposes any furthering of national interests, and conversely supports all foreign oppression. It is numerically the stronger, and includes above all those elements of the nation without which a national revival is unthinkable and impossible.

For by 1918 people must surely have realized that any recovery of the German people was possible only by regaining outward power. The essential for this is not arms as our bourgeois "Statesmen" keep prating, but strength of will. Of arms the German people used to have more than enough. They were not enough to protect freedom because the energies of the national instinct of self-preservation, the will to survive, were lacking. The best of weapons is but useless inanimate matter so long as the spirit ready, willing and determined to wield it is lacking. Germany became defenseless not because arms were lacking, but because the will to preserve the arms for the people's survival was absent.

When our left-wing politicians in particular try today to point to disarmament as the unavoidable cause of their weak-willed, yielding, but in actuality treasonable foreign policy, there is but

one answer: No, the truth is the other way about. By your anti-national, criminal policy of surrendering national interests you delivered up our arms. Now you try to claim lack of arms as the reason why you behaved like contemptible wretches. This, like everything else you do, is a lie and a counterfeit.

But this reproach must fall equally upon the politicians of the Right. Thanks to their miserable cowardice the Jewish rabble that came into power in 1918 could steal the nation's arms. They too, then, have neither reason nor right to cite the present disarmament as compelling their wise caution (pronounced "Cowardice"); the defenselessness is the result of their cowardice.

The question of regaining German power is consequently not, How are we to manufacture arms? but, How are we to produce the spirit which enables a people to bear arms? If this spirit rules a people, the will can find a thousand ways, each of which ends with a weapon. Give a coward ten pistols, and in an attack he will nevertheless be unable to fire a single shot. To him they are more worthless than a mere knotty club to a bold man.

The question of regaining our people's political power is a question primarily of the recuperation of our national self-preservative instinct, because—if for no other reason—all preparatory foreign policy and all appraisal of a state are, experience shows, guided less by armaments on hand than by the recognized or at least supposed moral vitality of a nation. A people's availability for alliance is determined far less by dead masses of armaments on hand than by the obvious existence of a blazing national will to survive and a heroic courage in the face of death. Alliances are made not with weapons, but with men. Thus the English people must be regarded as the most valuable ally in the world just so long as its leadership and the spirit of the great masses lead one to expect that brutality and tenacity which are determined to fight a battle once begun through to a victorious end by every means to a victorious end; reckless of time and sacrifices; and for this the momentary military armament need bear no relation to that of other states.

But if we realize that the German nationals' revival is a question of regaining our political will to self-preservation, it is also clear that this can be accomplished not by winning over elements which at least by intention in themselves are nationalists, but only by nationalizing the consciously anti-national masses.

A young movement, therefore, which takes for its goal the resurrection of a German State possessing its own sovereignty will have to direct its battle altogether toward winning the great masses. Pitiful as our so-called "nationalist bourgeoisie" is in general, inadequate as its nationalist spirit may seem, there is certainly no serious resistance to a vigorous nationalist domestic and foreign policy to be expected from this quarter. Even if, for hidebound and short-sighted reasons, the German bourgeoisie should persist in passive resistance as it did toward a Bismarck when the hour of freedom was at hand, nevertheless no active resistance is ever to be feared, in view of its admitted proverbial cowardice.

The situation is different with the masses of our internationally-minded fellow-Germans. Not only does their more primitive directness tend toward the idea of violence, but their Jewish leadership is more brutal and ruthless. They will strike down any German revival just as they broke the backbone of the German army. But above all, they will not only block any national foreign policy, thanks to their numerical majority in this State of parliamentary government, but they will exclude any higher appraisal of German strength, and thus any possibility of alliance. For not only are we ourselves conscious of the element of weakness which lies in our fifteen million Marxists, Democrats, Pacifists and Centrists, but it is recognized even more by foreign countries, which measure the value of possible alliance with us according to the weight of this handicap. No one is going to ally himself with a state the active part of whose population is at the very least passive toward any decisive foreign policy.

In addition there is the fact that from a mere instinct of self-preservation the leadership of these parties of national treason must and will be hostile to any rehabilitation. Historically it is

simply unthinkable that the German people could ever again occupy its former position without having a day of reckoning with those who furnished the cause and impulse for the unheard-of collapse which has befallen our State. Before the judgment-seat of posterity, November, 1918, will be judged not as mere high treason, but as treason against the nation.

Thus any recovery of German outward independence is linked primarily to the recovery of our people's inward unity of will.

Even from a purely technical standpoint the idea of an outward German liberation is evidently nonsense until the great masses too are ready to labor for this idea of freedom. From a purely military angle, particularly to any officer it must be clear upon a little thought that a foreign struggle cannot be carried on with student battalions, but that the brawn of a people is needed as well as the brain. We must keep in mind further that any national defense built solely on the circles of the so-called intelligentsia is truly squandering an irreplaceable treasure. The young German intelligentsia of the volunteer regiments who met their deaths in the fall of 1914 on the plains of Flanders were bitterly missed later. It was the best possession the nation had, and its loss was irreplaceable while the war lasted.

But not only the battle itself cannot be waged unless the working masses are in the ranks of the storming battalions, but the technical preparation is impossible to carry out without inner unity of will in our body politic. Our people in particular, having to live disarmed under the thousand eyes of the Versailles Peace Treaty can make no practical preparations to win freedom and human independence unless the army of stool-pigeons within is decimated down to those whose native lack of character allows them to betray anything and everything for the well-known thirty pieces of silver. Those people can be taken care of. Not to be overcome, however, are the millions who oppose the national rehabilitation from political conviction—not to be overcome until the cause of their opposition, the international Marxist world-concept, is combated and torn from their hearts and minds.

No matter, then, from what standpoint we examine the possi-

bility of recovering our independence as a state and a people—whether, from that of preparatory foreign policy, that of technical armament, or that of the struggle itself—the one thing indispensable for it all is to begin by winning over the broad masses of our people to the idea of our national independence.

Without recovery of outward freedom, however, any inner reform can mean at best the increase of our profitableness as a colony. The surplus from any so-called economic advance goes to benefit our international masters, and at the very best and social improvement will increase our productivity for them. Cultural progress will not be the lot of the German nation at all; it depends too much on the political independence and dignity of a nationality.

If, then, the happy solution of the German future is bound up with the gaining of the broad masses of our people for nationalism, this must be the highest and most tremendous task of a movement whose activity is not to be exhausted in the satisfaction of the moment, but which must test everything it does by the probable results in the future.

Thus we realized as early as 1919 that the new movement must carry through as its highest aim the nationalization of the masses.

From the tactical angle a series of requirements resulted:

1. No social sacrifice is too great to win the masses for the national rehabilitation.

No matter what economic concessions are made to our wage-earners today, they bear no relation to the gain for the whole nation if they help give back the common people to their nationality. Only hidebound short-sightedness, such as is found unhappily all too often in our business circles, can fail to realize that in the long run there can be no economic revival for them, and thus no further economic profit, if the inward populist solidarity of our nation is not restored.

If the German trade-unions in the war had ruthlessly protected the interests of the working class, if even during the war they had wrung the demands of the workers they represented

from the dividend-hungry employers by continual strikes, but if in concerns of national defense they had been truly fanatical in their Germanity, and with equal ruthlessness had given to the Fatherland what is the Fatherland's, the war would not have been lost. But how trifling any economic concession, even the greatest, would have been, compared to the enormous significance of winning the war!

Thus a movement that intends to give the German worker back to the German people must realize that in this question economic sacrifices are no consideration at all, so long as they do not threaten the independence of the national economy.

2. The national education of the broad masses can take place only by way of social improvement, which alone will create the general economic conditions that allow the individual to share in the cultural treasures of the nation.

3. The nationalization of the broad masses can never be accomplished by half-measures, by weak emphasizing of a so-called objective standpoint, but only by ruthless and fanatically one-sided concentration on the goal to be striven for. That is to say, a people cannot be made "nationalist" in the sense of our modern bourgeoisie, *i.e.* with so-and-so-many limitations, but only nationalistic with the whole vehemence inherent in extremes. Poison is driven out by poison, and only the shallowness of a bourgeois spirit can regard the middle way as the path to Heaven.

The broad masses of a people consist neither of professors nor of diplomats. The slight abstract knowledge they possess directs their perceptions more into the world of emotion. Here their attitude, either positive or negative, has its origin. It is receptive only for a vigorous expression in one of those two directions, and never for something floating half-way between the two. But this emotional attitude also brings with it extraordinary stability. Faith is harder to shake than knowledge, love less changeable than respect, hatred more durable than aversion; and the driving force in the most tremendous upheavels on this earth has always been less an intellectual insight ruling the masses than a fanaticism animating them, and often a hysteria hurling them onward.

He who would win the broad masses must know the key which opens the gates to their hearts. It is not objectivity—that is, weakness—but will and vigor.

4. The soul of the people can be won only if, besides waging a positive battle for one's own objectives, one destroys the opponent of those objectives.

In ruthless attack upon an adversary the people always sees the truth of its own just cause; and it feels that abstention from destroying the other must mean uncertainty of one's own cause—if not a sign that the cause is unjust.

The great masses are only a bit of Nature, and with their feelings they cannot understand a handshake between men who claim to dislike opposite things. What they want is the victory of the stronger and the annihilation of the weaker, or his unconditional subjection.

The nationalization of our masses will succeed only if, along with all the positive struggle for the soul of our people, its international poisoners are exterminated.

5. All the great questions of the time are questions of the moment, and constitute mere results of certain definite causes. But among them all, only one has causal importance: the question of the nationality's racial preservation. In blood alone the strength and the weakness of man are alike rooted. Peoples that do not recognize and respect the importance of their racial foundation are like men who would train the qualities of greyhounds into poodles, not understanding that the speed of the greyhound and the teachability of the poodle are qualities not taught but inherent in race. Peoples that sacrifice the preservation of their racial purity are also sacrificing the unity of their soul in all its manifestations. The disunity of their nature is the inevitable result of the disunity of their blood, and the change in their intellectual and creative force is but the effect of the change in their racial foundations.

He who would free the German people of those present expressions and bad characteristics that originally were foreign to it will first have to release it from the foreign germ of these expressions and bad characteristics.

Without a clear recognition of the race problem, and thus of the Jewish question, no new rise of the German nation can take place.

The race question is the key not only to world history but to human civilization in general.

6. To assign its proper place in a national people's community to that great mass of our people now in the internationalist camp means no sacrifice of the protection of justified group interests. Divergent group and occupational interests are not synonymous with class division, but are natural consequences of our economic life. Occupational grouping is in no way opposed to a true national community, which means unity of the nationality in all questions concerning this nationality as such.

The ranging in the national community or even merely in the state of a group which has become a class is done not by the descent of higher classes, but by the raising of the lower ones. The generator of this process, again, can never be the higher class, but only the lower one fighting for equal rights. The present bourgeoisie was not ranged within the State by action of the nobility, but by its own energy under its own leadership.

The German worker will not be lifted into his place in the structure of the German people's community by way of feeble scenes of brotherhood, but by deliberate improvement of his social and cultural position until the most momentous differences can be considered as overcome. A movement which sets this development as its aim will have to gain its adherents chiefly from the workers' camp. It can resort to the intelligentsia only in so far as the latter has already completely understood the goal being striven for. This process of transformation and approach will not be finished in ten or twenty years; experience shows that it embraces many generations.

The gravest obstacle to the approach of the present-day worker to the national community is not in the assertion of his group interests, but in his internationalist leadership and attitude, hostile to people and Fatherland. If the very same trade unions had a leadership fanatically nationalist in political and populist con-

cerns, they would make millions of workers into precious members of their nationality regardless of individual battles over purely economic concerns.

A movement which proposes honorably to restore the German worker to his people, and to snatch him from the internationalist madness, must make a most vigorous stand against an attitude common particularly in business circles, which understands by national community the unresisting economic surrender of the wage-earner to the employer, and sees in every attempt to defend even rightful vital economic interests of the wage-earner an attack upon the national community. To uphold this attitude is to uphold a deliberate lie; the community lays responsibilities not on one side only, but on both.

Surely as a worker sins against the spirit of a real national community by making extortionate demands without consideration for the common welfare and the subsistence of a national economy, relying on his power, no less surely does an employer violate this community if he misuses the national laboring power by exploitation and inhumanity in his management, and makes millions by profiteering on the sweat of others. He has no right to call himself a nationalist, no right to speak of a national community; he is an egoistical rogue who, by introducing social discontent, provokes later struggles that are bound to harm the nation one way or another.

The reservoir from which the young movement must draw its adherents, then, will be primarily the mass of our wage-earners. What must be done is to snatch them from their internationalist madness, to relieve their social distress, to lift them above cultural misery, and to lead them into the national community as a united, useful element, nationalist in feeling and intent.

If in the circles of the nation's intelligentsia there are men with a warm heart for their people and its future, filled with a deep realization of the importance of the struggle for the soul of these masses, they are extremely welcome in the ranks of the movement as a valuable intellectual backbone. But the winning of the bourgeoisie voting cattle must never be the move-

ment's aim. It would thus be burdening itself with a group whose whole nature would paralyze all recruiting among the common people. Despite the theoretical beauty of the idea of bringing together, within the limits of the movement itself, great masses from below and above, there is still the opposing fact that by means of psychological influence one may be able at public demonstrations to produce a given spirit in the bourgeoisie masses, and even to spread comprehension, but not to cause the disappearance of qualities, or rather vices of character whose growth has continued through centuries. The difference in cultural levels and in attitudes toward questions of economic concern is still so great that it would immediately come into its own as an obstacle the moment the excitement of the demonstration had passed off.

Finally, however, it is not the purpose to produce a new stratification in the already nationalist camp, but to win over the anti-national one.

7. This one-sided but therefore clear attitude must also be expressed in the movement's propaganda, and is itself in turn demanded by propaganda considerations.

If the movement's propaganda is to be effective it must aim in one direction only; otherwise, owing to the difference in the previous intellectual preparation of the two camps in question, it would either not be understood by one side, or be refused as obvious and hence uninteresting by the other.

Even the style of expression and the tone in detail cannot be equally effective upon two such divergent levels. If the propaganda sacrifices primitive pungency of expression, it will not find its way to the feelings of the broad masses. But if in word and gesture it has the downrightness of the masses' feelings and their manifestations, it will be objected to by the so-called intelligentsia as coarse and vulgar. And among a hundred so-called speakers there will be hardly ten who can speak with equal effect today before an audience of street-cleaners, mechanics, sewer-workers, etc., and tomorrow give a lecture, perforce with the same intellectual substance, before an auditorium of college pro-

fessors and students. Among a thousand speakers there is perhaps but one who can address mechanics and college professors at the same time in a style that not only suits the capacities of both elements, but has equal influence on both, or even carries them away in a roaring storm of applause. And we must always keep in mind that even the finest idea for a noble theory can in most cases be promulgated only through the smallest of minds. The point is not what the inspired creator of an idea had in mind, but what the heralds of this idea transmit to the masses, in what form and with what success.

The strong attractive force of Social Democracy, of the whole Marxist movement, in fact, depended largely upon the unity and thus the one-sidedness of the public to which it addressed itself. The more limited, in fact the more hidebound its line of thought was, the more easily it was accepted and digested by masses whose intellectual levels accorded with what was said.

But for the new movement also this laid down a clear and simple guiding line:

Substance and form of the propaganda are to be aimed at the broad masses, and their soundness is to be measured by their effective success.

At a popular meeting of the common people the best speaker is not he who is intellectually closest to the intelligentsia who attend, but he who conquers the heart of the masses.

An intellectual who, attending such a meeting, carps at the intellectual grade of the speech, despite the visible effect upon the lower strata at which it is aimed, proves the complete incapacity of his thinking, and his own worthlessness for the young movement. For the movement, only that intellectual is of any value who realizes its task and purpose so completely that he has learned to judge the work even of propaganda solely by its success, and not by the impression it makes on him himself. Propaganda must serve not to entertain people already nationally-minded, but to win over the enemies of our nationality, in so far as they are of our blood.

In general those lines of thought which I briefly summed up

under "War Propaganda" should be decisive for the young movement as respects the manner and execution of its work of enlightenment.

Success has proved them sound.

The aim of a political reform movement can never be attained by enlightenment work or by influence upon the ruling powers, but only by the conquest of political power. Every world-shaking idea has not only the right but the duty to assure itself of those means which make possible the carrying-out of its line of thought. Success is the sole earthly judge of the right and wrong of such an undertaking; success does not mean, as in 1918, the conquest of power in itself, but the use of it in a way beneficial to a nationality. Thus a *coup d'etat* cannot be considered successful (as thoughtless State's Attorneys in Germany today believe) when the revolutionaries have succeeded in appropriating governmental power, but only when the purposes and goals underlying such revolutionary action prove in realization to do the nation more good than did the previous régime. Something which cannot well be claimed for the German Revolution, as the bandit raid of the fall of 1918 called itself.

But if the conquest of political power is the prerequisite for the practical carrying-out of reforming intentions, a movement with reforming intentions must feel from the first day of its existence that it is a mass movement, not a literary tea society or a village bowling club.

9. The young movement is by nature and inner organization anti-parliamentary; that is, it denies in general, as in its own inner structure, a principle of majority rule by which the leader is degraded into a mere doer of the will and opinion of others. In detail and in the large the movement upholds the principle of absolute authority of the leader, coupled with the highest degree of responsibility.

The actual results of this principle in the movement are as follows:

The chairman of a local group is appointed by the next higher leader; he is the responsible director of the local group. All the

committees are under his authority, and not the reverse. There are no voting committee, but only working committees. The responsible director, the chairman, divides up the work. The same principle holds for the next superior organization, the district, the department *Kreis* or the province (*Gau*). The leader is always appointed from above, and invested with absolute power and authority. Only the leader of the entire party is elected, for reasons of organization law, by the general assembly. But he is the exclusive leader of the movement. All the committees are under his authority; he is not under the authority of any committee. He dictates, and in consequence bears the responsibility on his shoulders. The followers of the movement are free to call him to account before the forum of a new election, and to relieve him of his office if he has offended against the principles of the movement, or has served its interests ill. His place is then taken by the new and more able man, but with the same authority and the same responsibility.

It is one of the highest tasks of the movement to put this principle in force, not only within its own ranks, but throughout the entire State.

He who would be a leader bears, along with supreme and unlimited authority, the final and greatest responsibility.

He who is not capable of this, or who is too cowardly to face the results of his action, is worthless as a leader. Only the hero has the true vocation for leadership.

The progress and civilization of mankind are not a product of the majority, but depend altogether on the inspiration and energy of personalities.

To encourage them and bring them into their own is one of the essentials for regaining the greatness and power of our nationality.

This means that the movement is anti-parliamentary, and even its participation in a parliamentary organization can have the purpose only of activity to destroy it, to eliminate an institution in which we cannot but see one of the gravest symptoms of mankind's decay.

10. The movement decidedly refuses to commit itself on questions which are neither outside the limits of its political work or immaterial because not of importance in principle. Its job is not that of a religious reformation, but that of a political reorganization of our people. It regards both religious denominations as equally valuable supports for the existence of our people, and therefore attacks those parties that try to degrade this foundation of our body politic's religious and moral buttresses into a tool of their party interests.

Finally, the movement sees its job not as the restoration of one particular form of government, and the battle against another, but as the creation of those foundations in principle without which neither republic nor monarchy can survive in the long run. Its mission is not to found a monarchy or to strengthen a republic, but to create a Germanic State.

The question of outer elaboration in this State, that is its coronation, is not important in principle, but is merely conditioned by questions of practical expediency.

Once a people has realized the great problems and tasks of its existence the question of outward formalities can no longer lead to inner struggles.

11. The question of the movement's inner organization is one of expediency, not of principle.

The best organization is the one which interposes between the leadership of a movement and its individual adherents not the most but the least intermediary machinery. The job of organization is to impart a certain idea—which always originates in the head of an individual—to a numerous body of people, and to supervise its transformation into reality.

The organization is thus but a necessary evil in every case. At best it is a means to an end, at worst an end in itself.

As the world produces more mechanical than ideal natures, the forms of an organization are usually more easily created than the ideas themselves.

The course of every idea striving for realization, particularly one of a reforming nature, is in broad outline as follows:

Some inspired idea springs from the brain of a man who feels himself called to impart his insight to the rest of mankind. He preaches his views, and gradually wins a certain circle of adherents. This process of direct and personal transmission of a man's ideas to the world around him is the most natural and ideal way. The increasing number of the new teaching's followers makes it impossible for the upholder of the idea to go on working directly upon the innumerable followers, leading and guiding them. As the growth of the group cuts out quick and direct dealings, a consolidating organization becomes necessary. The ideal condition comes to an end, and in its place we have the necessary evil of organization. Small sub-units are formed, which in the form of local groups, for instance, represent the nuclei for the political movement's later organization.

But if the unity of the doctrine is not to be lost, this sub-grouping must never take place until the authority of the intellectual founder and of the school he has trained can be regarded as absolutely recognized. In this connection the practical importance of a centrally-located headquarters for a movement cannot be over-estimated. Only the existence of such a place, surrounded by the magic spell of a Mecca or a Rome, can in the long run give a movement the strength that lies in inner unity and the recognition of a fountainhead standing for this unity.

In forming the first nuclei of the organization, therefore, care must always be taken not only to preserve the importance of the idea's place of origin, but to increase it until it is paramount. This growth of the theoretical, moral and actual predominance of the spot where the movement began and whence it is directed must go on at the same rate that the lowest nuclei of the movement, becoming innumerable, demand new organized interconnections. For just as the increasing number of individual followers and the impossibility of further direct dealings with them lead to the formation of the lowest groupings, so the eventually immeasurable increase of the lowest form of organization forces the setting-up of higher units, which may be politically described as provincial or district divisions.

Easy as it may be to maintain the authority of the original headquarters over the lowest local groups, it will become quite difficult to preserve this position in face of the higher forms of organization that now begin to grow up. Yet this is the first essential for the unified subsistence of a movement, and thus for the carrying-through of an idea.

If at length even these larger intermediate groupings are united in new forms of organization, the difficulty of maintaining even against them the absolute supremacy of the original place of foundation, its school, etc., is again increased.

Consequently, the mechanical forms of an organization must not be elaborated beyond the degree to which the intellectual authority of headquarters seems absolutely assured. With political entities this guarantee may often seem to be given only by practical force.

From this we deduce the following lines of guidance for the movement's inner structure:

A. Concentration of all work at first in one single place, Munich. Training up of a fellowship of absolutely reliable followers, and the development of a school for the later promulgation of the idea. Gaining of the authority later necessary by means of the greatest possible visible success in this one town.

In order to make the movement and leaders known, it was necessary not only to shake the faith in the invincibility of the Marxist doctrine at a place where everyone could see it, but to prove the possibility of opposing movements.

B. Local groups to be formed only when the authority of the central management in Munich can be considered unqualifiedly recognized.

C. The formation of districts, provincial or national groups is also to take place not simply according to demand, but after achieving the certainty of absolute recognition of headquarters.

Furthermore, the creation of forms of organization depends on the available brains for possible leaders.

Here there are two methods:

A. The movement controls the necessary financial means to

train capable minds for later leadership. It then systematically uses the human material thus gained, from the standpoint of practical and general expediency.

This method is the easier and quicker; but it requires great financial resources, since this leader material is not in a position to work for the movement except on salary.

B. For want of financial means the movement is not in a position to appoint leaders, but must begin by relying on those whose service is honorary. This method is the slower and more difficult of the two.

Under certain circumstances the movement's leadership must let large districts lie fallow, if a man does not rise from among its followers who is able and willing to put himself at the disposal of the management and to organize and lead the movement in the particular district.

It may happen that in considerable regions there will be no one, whereas in other places there may be two or three almost equally able. The difficulty resulting from such a development is great, and takes years to overcome.

But always the prime essential for the creation of a formal organization is the brain able to lead it.

All the formal organization of an army is worthless without officers, and a political organization is equally worthless without the appropriate leader.

It is better for the movement to refrain from forming a local group than for its organization to fail if a guiding and driving leader's personality is lacking.

Leadership itself requires not only will-power but ability; however, more importance must be attached to energy and strength of will than to genius in itself, and a combination of ability, resolution and perseverance is the most valuable of all.

12. The future of a movement depends upon the fanaticism, nay the intolerance with which its followers defend it as the only true one, and establish it as against other entities of a similar sort.

It is a great mistake to believe that the strength of a movement

increases by its union with another similar one. Any enlargement by this means does of course mean an immediate increase in outward extent, and thus, to the eye of superficial observers, in power; but in fact it merely takes over the seeds of an inner weakness that will make itself felt later.

For no matter what anyone may say of the similarity of two movements, it never exists in reality. Otherwise there would in practice be one movement, not two. And it makes no difference where the diversities lie; even though they depend only on the varying abilities of the leadership, they are there. But the natural law of all development requires not the coupling of two unequal entities, but the victory of the stronger, and the natural selection of the strength and vigor of the victor made possible solely by the resulting struggle.

The union of two nearly similar political party structures may produce momentary advantages, but in the long run any success gained in this fashion will cause inner weaknesses to appear later.

The greatness of a movement is guaranteed solely by the unfettered development of its inner strength, and the constant increase of that strength up to the point of final victory over all competitors.

Nay more, we may say that its strength and hence its right to live continues to increase only so long as it recognizes the principle of battle as the first condition of its growth; and that it has passed the peak of its strength the moment complete victory comes to it.

Hence it can but be useful for a movement to strive for this victory in a form which will not lead to instant success, but whose duration, produced by absolute intolerance, will give the movement a long period of growth.

Movements which owe their increase only to the so-called union of similar entities—that is, whose strength is due to compromises—are like hot-house plants. They shoot up, but they lack the strength to defy centuries and to resist violent storms. The greatness of any powerful organization as the embodiment

of an idea in this world consists in the absolutely religious fanaticism with which it establishes itself, fanatically convinced of its own rightness, intolerant of *everything* different. If an idea is right in itself, and takes up the battle in this world with that sort of armament, it is invincible, and any persecution will merely strengthen it.

The greatness of Christianity was not in attempted conciliatory negotiations with roughly similar philosophical opinions of Antiquity, but in implacable and fanatical heralding and defense of its own teaching.

The apparent head-start which movements gain by coalition is more than offset by the steady increase of strength in a doctrine and its organization which remain independent and fight for themselves.

13. As a matter of principle the movement must so train its members that they regard battle not as something casually taught them, but as that which they themselves are striving for. They must not fear the enmity of their adversaries, but must regard it as the *sine qua non* for their own right to exist. They must not avoid, but desire, the hatred of the enemies of our nationality and our world-concept, and the manifestations of that hatred.

Among these manifestations are lying and slander. Anyone who is not attacked, lied about and slandered in the Jewish newspapers is no decent German and no true National Socialist. The best yard-stick for the value of his principles, the honesty of his convictions and the strength of his determination is the enmity of our people's deadly enemy toward him.

The followers of the movement, and in a broad sense the whole people, must be reminded again and again that in his newspapers the Jew always lies, and that even an occasional truth is intended only to cover a greater falsehood, and is thus again a deliberate untruth. The Jew is the great master of lying, and lie and deceit are his weapons in battle.

Every Jewish slander and every Jewish lie is a scar of honor on the body of our warriors.

He whom they most defame is closest to us, and he for whom their hatred is most deadly is our best friend.

Anyone who picks up the Jewish newspaper in the morning without seeing himself slandered in it has put in the past day to no purpose; if he had not, he would be pursued, defamed, slandered, abused and besmirched by the Jew. Only the man who effectively opposes this deadly enemy of our nationality and of all Aryan humanity and civilization can expect to find directed against himself the slanders of the race, and thus the war of this people.

When these principles become second nature to our followers, the movement will be unshakable and invincible.

14. The movement must foster respect for personalities by every means. It must never forget that the merit of all humanity lies in personal merit, that every idea and every achievement is the result of the creative power of some one man, and that admiration for greatness is not only a tribute of gratitude to it, but that it binds those who are grateful with a unifying bond.

Individuality is irreplaceable; it is so particularly if it embodies not the mechanical but the cultural and creative elements.

No one else can replace the great master, and undertake to complete the half-finished painting he leaves behind; no more can the great poet and thinker, the great statesman and the great general be replaced. For their activity is always in the field of art; it is not mechanically taught, but inborn through Divine grace. The world's greatest upheavals and achievements, its greatest cultural accomplishments, immortal deeds in the field of statemanship, etc., all are forever inseparably linked each with a name that represents it. To cease doing homage to a great spirit is to lose great strength that issues from the names of all great men and women.

The Jew knows this better than anyone. He, whose great men are great only in destroying humanity and its civilization, takes care that they shall be admired to the point of being idolized. It is only the reverence of the peoples for their own great minds that he tries to represent as unworthy, branding it as a "personal cult."

When a people becomes cowardly enough to succumb to this Jewish presumption and impudence, it surrenders the mightiest force it possesses; this consists not in respect for the masses, but in reverence for genius, and in edification and exaltation by its example.

When human hearts break and human souls despair, the great vanquishers of distress and care, of shame and misery, of intellectual unfreedom and physical duress look down upon them from the twilight of the past, and hold out their eternal hands to faint-hearted mortals. Woe to the people that is ashamed to grasp them!

In the early days when our movement was coming into being we suffered from nothing so much as the insignificance, the obscurity of our names, and the doubt cast upon our success by this very fact alone. The hardest thing at the beginning, when often but six, seven or eight met to listen to the words of a speaker, was to awaken and maintain in this tiny circle a faith in the tremendous future of the movement.

Here, remember, were six or seven men, all poor, nameless devils, joining together in the intention of forming a movement which some day must succeed where so far the great and powerful mass parties had failed, in resurrecting a German Empire with yet greater might and magnificence. If at that time we had been attacked, nay, if we had even been laughed at, we would have been happy. For the only thing that depressed us was the complete disregard we then encountered, and from which I suffered most at that time.

When I entered the circle of a handful of men, one could speak of neither a party nor a movement. I have already described my impressions on the occasion of my first encounter with this little group. In the weeks that followed I had time and opportunity to study the as yet impossible appearance of this so-called Party.

Heaven knows the picture was uncomfortably distressing. There was nothing there—absolutely nothing whatever. The name of a Party whose practical committee represented the entire

membership; which, take it how you please, was the very thing it attempted to combat, a parliament in miniature. Here too, the roll-call held sway, and while the big parliaments shouted themselves hoarse for months, it was at least about large problems, whereas in this little circle even the reply to a letter duly received would give rise to endless dialogue.

The public, of course, knew absolutely nothing of all this. Not a soul in Munich knew the Party even by name, except for its handful of followers and their new acquaintances.

Every Wednesday there was a so-called committee meeting in a Munich café, and once a week an evening with a talk. Since the entire membership of the "movement" was for the moment represented in the committee, the people naturally were always the same ones. The thing to be done now was to break out of the little circle at last, gain new followers, but above all to make the movement's name known at all costs.

In doing so we used the following technique:

Every month, and later every fortnight, we tried to hold a "meeting." The invitations were written on a typewriter, or to some extent by hand, on slips of paper, and we ourselves distributed or delivered them the first few times. Each of us turned to his circle of acquaintances to induce one or another of them to visit one of these gatherings.

The result was pitiful.

I can still remember how once during those early days I myself had delivered close to eighty of these slips, and how that evening we waited for the crowd of people who were to come.

After an hour's delay the "chairman" had at last to open the "meeting." We were seven strong again,—the old seven.

We went over to having the invitations typed and mimeographed at a Munich stationary shop. The result at the next meeting was a few more listeners. Thus the number gradually rose from eleven to thirteen, finally to seventeen, to twenty-three, to thirty-four listeners.

By taking up little collections among us poor devils the funds were gathered to announce a meeting by an advertisement in the

Muenchener Beobachter of Munich; which was then independent. The success this time was astonishing indeed. We had arranged to hold the meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhaus cellar (not to be confused with the Munich Hofbräuhaus Banquet Hall), a little hall with a capacity of barely a hundred and thirty persons. To me the room seemed like a huge auditorium, and all of us were afraid we would not succeed in filling the "great" building with people that night.

At seven o'clock there were a hundred and eleven persons present, and the meeting was opened.

A Munich professor delivered the chief address, and I, as second on the program, was to make my first public speech.

To the then chairman of the party, Mr. Harrer, the thing seemed very hazardous. This gentleman, otherwise frank beyond a doubt, was simply convinced that while I might be able to do various things, speak I could not. Even afterwards he was not to be turned from his opinion.

The matter turned out differently. In this meeting, my first that could be called public, I was allowed twenty minutes to speak.

I spoke for thirty minutes, and the event now proved what previously I had simply felt without knowing—I could speak. At the end of thirty minutes the people in the little room were electrified, and the first expression of their enthusiasm was the fact that my appeal to the self-denial of those present resulted in the contribution of three hundred marks. This relieved us of a great worry. Our finances at that time were so straitened that we had not even a chance to get the tenets of the movement printed, let alone to put out leaflets. Now we had the basis for a little fund out of which at least the most urgent and necessary expenses could be met.

In another respect too the success of this first larger meeting was important.

I had already begun to import some fresh young strength to the committee. During my years of military service I had come to know a large number of faithful comrades, who now slowly

began to enter the movement in response to my urging. They were all energetic young men, accustomed to discipline, who had grown up from the time of their military service in the principle that "absolutely nothing is impossible, and anything will work if you are bound it shall."

How necessary this new blood was I realized myself after a very few weeks of working with them.

The then chairman of the party, Mr. Harrer, was by rights a journalist, and as such no doubt broadly cultivated. But he had one uncommonly great handicap for a party leader: he was no speaker for the masses. Painfully conscientious and exact as his work was in itself, it nevertheless lacked any great vigor—perhaps precisely owing to the lack of a great oratorical gift. Mr. Drexler, at that time chairman of the Munich local group, was a simple working man, likewise of no great consequence as a speaker, and furthermore no soldier. He had not served in the army, had not been a soldier even during the war; his whole nature was feeble and uncertain, and he had missed the one school which could turn soft and undecided natures into men. Thus neither man was made of the stuff that would have enabled him not only to carry in his heart a fanatical belief in the victory of a movement, but to break down with unshakable strength of will, and if necessary with the most brutal ruthlessness, whatever opposition might put itself in the way of the rise of the new idea. For this only those characters were suited who had acquired in mind and body the military virtues that can perhaps best be described thus: swift as greyhounds, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel.

At that time I was still a soldier myself. I had been rubbed smooth within and without for almost six years, so that at first I must have been felt as a stranger in this circle. I too had forgotten the words: You can't do it, or it won't work; we mustn't risk that, it's too dangerous, etc.

For dangerous the matter naturally was. In 1920 a nationalist meeting which dared to appeal to the broad masses, and to issue a public invitation to attend, was simply impossible in many parts

of Germany. Those who attended were scattered with broken heads, and driven away. True, this was no great trick; even the largest so-called bourgeois mass meetings would scatter before a dozen Communists, and run like hares before the hounds. But little notice as the Reds took of such bourgeois chatter clubs, whose inner innocuousness and consequent lack of danger to themselves they realized better than the actual members, they were all the more determined to wipe out by every means a movement which seemed dangerous to them. The most effective thing at such times was always terrorism—violence.

But to the Marxist swindlers of the people the most hateful of all must be a movement whose announced aim was to win those masses which hitherto had been in the exclusive service of the international Marxist Jewish and stock exchange parties. The very little, "German Workers' Party," had a provocative effect. So it was easy to see that the conflict with the Marxist agitators, then still drunk with victory, would begin at the first suitable opportunity.

In the whole circle of the movement at that time there was a certain fear of such a struggle. They wanted to appear in public as little as possible, for fear of being beaten. In their mind's eye they already saw the first large meeting dispersed, and the movement perhaps thus broken up forever. I had a hard fight for my contention that we must not evade this struggle, but must go to meet it, and therefore must equip ourselves with the only armament which gives protection from violence. Terrorism is not broken by intellect, but by terrorism. The success of the first meeting strengthened my position in this respect. They took courage for a second one, on a somewhat larger scale.

About October, 1919, the second large meeting took place in the Eberlbräu cellar. Subject: Brest-Litovsk and Versailles. Four men spoke. I myself spoke for nearly an hour, and my success was greater than at the first demonstration. The number attending had risen to more than a hundred and thirty. An attempted disturbance was nipped in the bud by my comrades. The trouble-makers whizzed downstairs with broken heads.

Two weeks later a second meeting took place in the same hall. The attendance rose to more than a hundred and seventy—a good crowd for the room. I spoke again, and again my success was greater than at the previous meeting.

I pushed for a larger hall. Finally we found one at the other end of the city in the Deutsches Reich in the Dachauer Strasse. The first meeting in the new hall was worse attended than the previous ones: a bare hundred and forty persons. Hope in the committee began to sink again, and the eternal doubters thought they saw the reason for the poor attendance in too-frequent repetition of our “demonstrations.” There were violent disputes in which I maintained the position that a city of 700,000 inhabitants would stand not one meeting every fortnight, but ten every week; that we must not be discouraged by setbacks; that the path we had chosen was right; and that sooner or later, if we persevered without weakening, success was bound to come. That whole winter of 1919-20 was one continuous struggle to strengthen the victorious force of the young movement, and to raise it to that fanaticism which, as faith, can move mountains.

The next meeting, in the same hall, proved I was right again. The attendance rose above two hundred, and both outward and financial success were excellent.

I urged the immediate arrangement of another meeting. It took place scarcely two weeks later, and the crowd of listeners rose to over two hundred and seventy.

A fortnight later we called together the followers and friends of the young movement for the seventh time, and the same hall could scarcely contain the people; there were over four hundred.

At that time the inner shaping of the young movement took place. It was often the cause of more or less violent disputes in the little circle. In various quarters—even then, just as today—the description of the young movement as a *Party* was criticized. I have always seen this approach as proof of the practical incompetence and intellectual pettiness of the person in question. These are and always have been the people who cannot distinguish the

external from the inward, and who try to judge the merits of a movement by turgid and high-flown titles, for which, purpose, as the last straw, the vocabulary of our primitive forefathers usually has to serve.

It was hard to make the people understand that any movement which has not attained the victory of its ideas, and thus its goal, is a party, though it call itself a thousand times something else.

If somebody wants to carry out in practice a bold idea whose realization is useful in the interests of his fellow-men, he must begin by looking for followers who are ready to stand up for his purposes. And even if this purpose were only to destroy the set of parties of the time, to end the disunity, the upholders of this view and heralds of this decision are nevertheless a party themselves until the objective has been gained. It is hair-splitting and shadow-boxing for some populist theorist whose practical success is in inverse proportion to his wisdom to imagine he can change the party character of every young movement by changing its designation.

On the contrary.

If there is anything unnatural to people, it is this flinging about of ancient Germanic terms that neither fit the present day nor signify anything definite, but that may easily lead people to see the importance of a movement in its outward vocabulary. This is a truly pernicious tendency, but one which today we can observe times without number.

I have had to keep giving warning ever since of these German-tribal wandering scholars, whose positive accomplishment is always nil, but whose conceit can hardly be surpassed. The young movement had and still has to beware of a flood of men whose sole recommendation is usually their statement that they have been fighting for this same idea for thirty or forty years. But anyone who through forty years stands up for a so-called idea without producing the slightest success, and even without having prevented the victory of the adversary, has spent forty years to prove his own incompetence.

The chief danger, however, lies in the fact that such natures

do not wish to take their places as units in the movement, but drivel about circles of leaders in which alone they see a suitable place for further activity on the basis of their long-continued labors. But alas and alack if a young movement is delivered up to such people! A business man who in forty years' work has altogether destroyed a great business is not suited to be the founder of a new one; no more is a populist Methusaleh (who has spent the same amount of time in bungling a great idea and causing it to ossify) the right man to lead a new, young movement!

On top of that, only a fraction of all these people come into the new movement to serve it and be useful to the idea of the new doctrine; in most cases they come in order to afflict humanity again with their own ideas under the movement's protection or through the opportunities it offers. What these ideas are is something that beggars description.

It is characteristic of these natures that they rave about ancient Germanic heroism, about grey primitive ages, stone hatchets, spear and buckler, but in reality are the greatest cowards that can be imagined. The very people who wear a cured bearskin with bull's horns over their bearded heads, and brandish carefully-imitated ancient German tin swords in the breezes, preach nothing but battle with intellectual weapons for the present day, and hastily take to their heels before the first Communist rubber truncheon. Posterity will have little reason to glorify their own heroic existence in a new epic.

I came to know these people too well not to be profoundly disgusted with their wretched histrionics. But their effect on the broad masses is ridiculous, and the Jew has every reason to spare these populist play-actors, and even to prefer them to the real warriors of a coming German State. And yet these people are infinitely conceited, claiming to know best about everything despite all proof of their complete incompetence; they become a veritable pest for all those straightforward and honorable fighters who not merely enervate heroism in the past, but strive to hand down to posterity a similar picture of their own acts.

It is also very often hard to tell which of these people are acting

from stupidity or incapacity, and which are for some special reason only pretending to. Particularly in the case of the so-called religious reformers on a primitive Germanic basis. I always have the feeling that they are sent by those forces that do not wish the resurrection of our people. Their whole activity, after all, leads the people away from the common struggle against the common enemy, the Jew, to let it consume its strength in inner religious wrangles as senseless as they are ruinous. For these very reasons it is necessary to set up a strong central power in the sense of absolute authority of the movement's leadership. It alone can put a spoke in the wheel of such corrupting elements. And it is quite true that for this reason the greatest enemies of a unified, rigorously conducted and guided movement are to be found among these populist Wandering Jews. What they hate about the movement is the power which puts an end to their mischief.

Not for nothing did the young movement settle upon a definite program, and avoid using the word "popular" in it. The concept *popular* has no real limitations, and consequently is not a possible basis for a movement, nor does it offer any standard for judging whether people belong to it. The more indefinable this concept is in practice, the more—and the more inclusive—interpretations it permits of, the more does the possibility of appealing to it increase. The injection into the political struggle of an idea so indefinable and capable of so many interpretations leads to the dissolution of any rigorous fighting fellowship, which cannot survive if the individual is left to decide on his own faith and will.

And it is scandalous what people are running around today with the world "Populist"* on their hats, and how many have their own conception of the idea. A well-known professor in Bavaria, a celebrated fighter with intellectual weapons, rich in achievement in the way of equally intellectual marches on Berlin, makes the *populist* concept synonymous with a monarchical attitude. This erudite mind has, indeed, forgotten thus far to explain in more

* The word "populist," a translation of Hitler's *völkisch*, should not be confused with the American use suggesting popular democracy. Later, when Hitler evolves special meanings, the word is translated as "national" and "racial."

detail the identity of our German Monarchies of the past with a modern "populist" approach. And I fear the gentleman will hardly succeed in doing so. For anything more unpopulist than most of the German monarchical state structures is impossible to imagine. Otherwise they would never have disappeared, or else their disappearance would furnish the proof of the unsoundness of the populist world-concept.

Thus everyone interprets the idea as he happens to understand it. As a basis for a fighting political movement such a multiplicity of opinions is out of the question.

I am not even referring to the isolation from real life and particularly the ignorance concerning the people's soul of these populist John the Baptists of the twentieth century. It is sufficiently illustrated by the ridiculous way they are treated from the Left. People let them prate, and laugh at them.

No one in this world who does not succeed in being hated by his opponents seems to me worth much as a friend. Accordingly the friendship of these people for our young movement was not only worthless, but altogether harmful, and in fact was the chief reason why we chose the name "Party" in the first place—we had reason to hope that this in itself would scare off a whole swarm of populist sleepwalkers—and why in the second place we described ourselves as the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

The first expression got rid of the antiquity enthusiasts for us, the word-men and superficial phrase-makers of the so-called "populist idea"; the second relieved us of the whole cavalcade of knights of "intellectual" sword, all the rag, tag and bobtail that hold the "intellectual weapon" as a shield before their actual cowardice.

Naturally the fiercest attacks consequently came from these latter, not actively, of course, but only with the pen, as is only to be expected from such populist goosequills. For them there was something hideous in our very principle, "If a man offers us violence, we will defend ourselves by violence." They reproached us most energetically not only with rude worship of the rubber

truncheon, but with lack of intellect in itself. The fact that in a popular meeting a Demosthenes can be silenced if only fifty idiots, relying on their lungs and their fists, do not want to let him speak, has not the slightest influence on one of these quacks. His inborn cowardice always keeps him out of any such danger. He works not "noisily" and "obtrusively," but "silently."

Even today I cannot warn our young movement strongly enough against falling into the snare of these so-called "silent workers." They are not only cowards, but invariably incompetents and do-nothings. A man who knows anything, who realizes an existing danger and sees with his own eyes the possibility of remedy, damned well has the duty and obligation not to work "silently," but openly and in public to make a stand against the evil, and to work for its cure. If he does not do so, he is a miserable weakling, forgetful of duty, a failure either through cowardice or through laziness and incapacity. But the great majority of the "silent workers" is merely pretending it knows Heaven knows what. None of them has any ability, but they all try to fool the whole world with their artifices. They are lazy, but with their alleged "silent" work they give the impression of an activity both enormous and industrious; in a word, they are swindlers, political jobbers, to whom the honest work of others is hateful. When one of these populist night-owls refers to the value of "silence," you can bet a thousand to one that during it he is not producing but stealing, stealing from the fruit of others' work.

In addition there is the arrogance and conceited impudence with which this slothful, light-shy rabble falls upon the work of others, carps at it condescendingly, and thus in actuality helps the deadly enemies of our nationality.

Every last agitator who has the courage to stand on a public-house table among his adversaries, manfully and openly defending his views, accomplishes more than a thousand of these ruthless, malicious dissemblers. He is sure to convert and win over to the movement one man and another. His achievement can be tested and proved by the success of his activity. Only the cowardly frauds who boast of their "silent" work, and consequently shroud

themselves in contemptible anonymity, are good for nothing, and may be considered in the truest sense of the word drones in the revival of our people.

At the beginning of 1920 I urged the holding of our first great mass meeting. This resulted in differences of opinion. Some of the leading Party members thought the affair altogether premature, and thus disastrous in its effect. The Red press had begun to occupy itself with us, and we were fortunate enough gradually to win their hatred. We had begun to speak during the discussion period at other meetings. Of course we were all shouted down immediately. But it did have one good result. People came to know us, and as the acquaintance ripened, their fury and their aversion to us rose. So we had good reason to hope for the attendance of our friends from the Red camp on a large scale at our first great mass meeting.

I also realized that the probability of its being dispersed was great. But the battle had to be fought—if not now, then a few months later. It was up to us to immortalize the movement on the very first day by standing up for it blindly and ruthlessly. In particular I knew the mentality of the adherents of the Red group too well not to be certain that a desperate resistance is the best way not only to make an impression but to win followers. We merely needed to have the resolution for that resistance.

The then chairman of the party, Mr. Harrer, felt unable to agree with my views about the time chosen, and therefore, as an honorable and upright man, withdrew from the leadership of the movement. Mr. Anton Drexler moved up into his place. I had reserved the organization of the propaganda for myself, and I carried it through inflexibly.

The date of this first great popular meeting of the as yet unknown movement was set for February 24th, 1920.

I personally directed the preparations. They were very brief. The whole machine was adjusted to the making of lightning-like decisions. Upon questions of the day a stand was to be taken in the form of mass meetings within twenty-four hours. These

were to be announced by posters and leaflets, whose manner was fixed by the considerations I have already laid down in broad outline in my treatise on propaganda. Effectiveness with the broad masses, concentration on a few points, perpetual repetition of these, self-assured and self-confident wording of the text in the form of a positive assertion, great perseverance in promulgation, and patience in waiting for results.

As a color we deliberately chose red; it is the most inflammatory, and was bound to provoke and enrage our adversaries the most, thus making them conscious of us in one way or another.

In Bavaria, too, the inner brotherhood between Marxism and Center as a political party appeared most plainly in the care with which the ruling Bavarian People's Party tried to weaken and later to destroy the effect of our posters on the masses of Red workers. If the police could find no other reason for taking steps against us, in the end "traffic conditions" had to serve, until, finally, for the sake of the silent Red spiritual ally, with the assistance of a so-called German Nationalist Party, these posters, which had given back to the German nationality hundreds of thousands of misled and misguided internationalist workers, were entirely forbidden. These posters are the best proof of the tremendous struggle which the young movement went through at that time. Before posterity they will also bear witness to the purpose and honesty of our principles and the arbitrariness of so-called national authorities in blocking an unwelcome nationalization and thus a redemption of the great mass of our nationality.

They will also help to destroy the belief that there was in Bavaria a nationalist régime as such, and will document to posterity the fact that the nationalist Bavaria of 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923 was not the product of a nationalist government, but that the latter was simply compelled to take into consideration a people gradually becoming nationalist in feeling.

The governments themselves did everything to hinder this process of revival and render it impossible.

We must make an exception of two men only:

The then Police President, Ernst Pohner, and his devoted ad-

visor Chief Bailiff (*Oberamtmann*) Frick were the only high state functionaries who thus early had the courage to be Germans first and officials afterward. Ernst Pohner was the only man in a responsible position who did not court the favor of the masses, but felt himself answerable to his nationality, and who was ready to gamble and to sacrifice everything, even his personal existence if necessary, for the resurrection of the German people, which he loved above everything. And in fact he was always a thorn in the side of those venal official creatures the law of whose actions is laid down not by the interest of their people and the necessary advancement of its freedom but by the orders of their employer, without consideration of the welfare of the national property entrusted to them.

But above all he was one of those natures which, in contrast with most of our so-called governmental authority's guardians, did not fear the enmity of traitors to people and country, but hoped for it as the natural possession of a decent man. The hatred of Jews and Marxists, their whole battle by lie and slander, were for him the only good fortune amid the misery of our people.

He was a man of rock-ribbed honesty, of Roman simplicity and German straightforwardness, to whom "better dead than a slave" was not a catchword, but the embodiment of his whole character.

I regard him and his collaborator Dr. Frick as the only men among those in state positions who have the right to be called co-founders of a national Bavaria.

Before we proceeded to hold our first mass meeting it was necessary not only to prepare the necessary propaganda material, but to have the guiding principles of the program put into printed form.

The guiding line which we had in mind particularly when drawing up the program I shall develop at great length in the second volume. Here I will merely remark that the program was made not only to give form and substance to the young movement, but to render its aims understandable to the broad masses.

In circles of the so-called intelligentsia there have been sneers

and witticisms at this, and attempts to criticize. But the soundness of our conceptions resulted in the effectiveness of the program.

During those years I saw dozens of new movements arise, and they have all vanished and been dissipated again. One alone survived: the National Socialist German Workers' Party. And today more than ever I am convinced that people may combat it, may try to paralyze it, that petty party ministers may forbid us to talk; but the victory of our ideas they can no longer prevent.

When the very names of the whole present State concept and its defenders are lost to memory, the foundations of the National Socialist program will be the basis of a State to come.

Our four months of meetings before January 1920 had slowly allowed us to save up the small means we needed for the printing of our first leaflet, our first poster and our program.

If I conclude this volume with the first great mass meeting of the movement, it is because the Party then burst through the narrow confines of a small club, and instead exerted its first decisive influence upon the most tremendous factor of our time, public opinion.

I had but one worry: would the hall be filled, or would we speak to a yawning void? I was unshakably convinced that if the crowd came, the day would be a great success for the young movement. So I looked forward anxiously to the evening.

Proceedings were to be opened at 7:30. At 7:15 I came into the banquet hall of the Hofbräuhaus on the Platzl in Munich, and my heart nearly burst for joy. The great hall—for great it still seemed to me—was overflowing with people, shoulder to shoulder, a mass of almost two thousand. And above all, the very ones had come to whom we wished to address ourselves. Far more than half of the hall seemed to be occupied by Communists and Independents. They had resolved on a quick end for our first great demonstration.

But the result was otherwise. After the first speaker had finished, I took the floor. Within a few minutes there was a barrage of shouted interruptions; there were violent encounters in the hall. A handful of devoted War comrades and other followers

closed with the trouble-makers, and succeeded very gradually in restoring some semblance of order. I was able to resume speaking. After half an hour the applause slowly began to drown out the yelling and bellowing.

And now I took up the program, and began to explain it for the first time.

As the minutes passed, the hooting was drowned out more and more by shouts of applause. And when I finally presented the twenty-five theses point by point to the crowd, asking it to pronounce its own judgment, one after another was accepted amid ever-increasing cheers, unanimously and unanimously again; and when the last thesis had thus found its way to the heart of the crowd, I had before me a hall full of people united by a new conviction, a new faith, a new will.

When after almost four hours the room began to empty, and the mass of people rolled, pushed and crowded shoulder to shoulder like a slow river toward the exit, I knew there were spreading out into the German people the principles of a movement that could not be erased from memory.

A fire was kindled from whose flame some day the sword must come which shall win back freedom for the Germanic Siegfried, and life for the German nation.

And in step with the coming revival I could feel marching the Goddess of Implacable Revenge for the perjured deed of November 9th, 1918.

The hall was gradually emptied.

The movement took its course.

SECOND VOLUME:
The National-Socialist Movement

1. *WORLD-CONCEPT AND PARTY*

ON THE 24th of February, 1920, the first great public mass demonstration of our young movement took place. In the Banquet Hall of the Munich Hofbräuhaus the twenty-five theses of the program of the new Party were presented to a crowd of almost two thousand, and every single point accepted amid wild cheering.

This constituted the enunciation of the first tenets and lines of action for a struggle to clear away a veritable chaos of traditional views and ideas and vague, indeed actually harmful, aims. A new power factor was to come into the corrupt and cowardly bourgeois world and into the triumphal march of the Marxist wave of conquest, to bring the chariot of Fate to a halt at the last moment.

It was obvious that the new movement could hope to acquire the necessary importance and the requisite strength for the gigantic struggle only if it succeeded from the first moment in filling the hearts of its followers with the holy conviction that it was not merely dictating a new election-slogan to political life, but was placing before it a new world-concept of importance as a principle.

Consider how pitiful are the considerations upon which so-called "party platforms" are ordinarily cobbled together, to be shined up or remodeled from time to time. The impelling motives, particularly of these bourgeois "platform committees," must be put under the microscope to enable us to understand and judge the value of these monstrosities under the name of platforms.

It is always one single worry which leads to the redrafting of

platforms or the alteration of existing ones: the worry about the outcome of the next election. Whenever it begins to dawn upon these parliamentary statecraftsmen that the good old common people is in revolt and trying to slip out of the harness of the old party bandwagon, they repaint the shafts. Then come the so-called "experienced" and "shrewd," usually old, parliamentarians, the star-gazers and party astrologers, who can remember analogous cases in their "long political apprenticeship" when the masses' patience gave way, and who feel something of the sort once more coming dangerously near. So they resort to the formulas, form a "committee," listen around among the good old common people, sniff at the products of the newspapers, and thus gradually smell out what the common people want, what they loathe, and what they hope for. Every occupational group, even every class of employee is scrupulously studied, and its most secret wishes are probed. Even the "empty catchwords" of the dangerous opposition are suddenly ripe for scrutiny; not infrequently, to the great astonishment of their original discoverers and promulgators, they appear quite innocently, as if taken for granted, among the intellectual equipment of the old parties.

So the committees meet, "revise" the old platform, and write a new one (these gentry change their convictions as the soldier does in the field—whenever the old one gets lousy), in which everyone gets his due. The peasant receives protection for his agriculture, the industrialist protection for his products, the consumer protection on what he buys, the teachers' salaries are raised, the civil servants' pensions improved; the State is to take ample care of widows and orphans, commerce is fostered; tariffs are to be lowered, and taxes, if not altogether, at least pretty nearly, abolished. Sometimes it happens that one group has been forgotten, or that a demand current among the people has not been heard of in time. Then anything there is room for is patched on at the last moment, until it can conscientiously be hoped that the army of middle-class Philistines and their wives is soothed and satisfied again. And so, armed with faith in the Lord and the unshakable stupidity of the enfranchised citizens, one may begin

the struggle for the "reshaping" of the Reich, as it is called.

When election day is over, and the parliamentarians have held their last mass meeting for five years, turning from the breaking-in of the plebs to the fulfilment of their higher and pleasanter duties, the platform committee breaks up again, and the struggle for the reshaping of affairs falls back to the form of battle for daily bread— which is perhaps why gatherings of parliamentarians are called diets.

Every morning the Honorable Gentleman goes to the House, and if not all the way in, at least as far as the vestibule, where the attendance lists are kept. He labors strenuously for the people by entering his name here, and receives his well-deserved reward in the shape of a small remuneration for his long-continued and exhausting efforts.

After four years, or during other critical periods when the dissolution of the parliamentary body draws nearer and nearer, these gentlemen suddenly begin to feel an irresistible urge coming over them. Just as the grub cannot help turning into a May-bettle, these parliamentary caterpillars leave the home of their species, and flutter out on wings to the good old common people. Once more they speak to the electorate, telling of their own tremendous work and the malicious obstinacy of the others; but they sometimes have rude, in fact ugly expressions thrown at them instead of grateful applause from the obtuse masses. If this ingratitude of the people rises beyond a certain level, only one method can save the day: the glory of the party must be shined up again, the platform needs repairs; the committee comes into existence again, and the farce begins all over. Considering the rock-ribbed stupidity of our humanity we need not be surprised at the resulting success. Steered by its newspapers and blinded by the enticing new program, the "bourgeois" as well as the "proletarian" voting herd goes back into its old stalls and elects its old deceivers.

Thereupon the man of the people and candidate of the working classes is once more transformed into a parliamentary caterpillar, and goes on gorging himself on the branches of State life,

to be transformed into a glittering butterfly again four years later.

There is scarcely anything more depressing than to observe the whole process in sober reality, to watch the never-ending fraud.

It is true that in the bourgeois camp people cannot draw from such soils as this the strength to fight out the battle with the organized power of Marxism.

Nor do these gentry ever seriously think of doing so. With all the admitted limitations and intellectual inferiority of these parliamentary medicine-men of the white race, they themselves can not seriously expect to make headway with Western democracy against a doctrine for which democracy and all that goes with it can at best be the means to an end, used to paralyze the enemy and to clear the path for its own progress. Because even if for the time being one part of Marxism very shrewdly tries to pretend integral connection with the principles of democracy, it must still not be forgotten that at the critical moment these gentry did not care twopence for a majority decision on Western democratic principles. That was at the time when the bourgeois parliamentarians saw the security of the Reich guaranteed by the monumental purblindness of superior numbers, while Marxism simply snatched power with a crowd of hooligans, deserters, party high priests and Jewish literati, thus giving this sort of democracy a resounding slap in the face. And that is why it would take the devout spirit of a parliamentary witch-doctor to believe that the brutal determination of those who support and profit by this world plague could be exorcised simply by the spell of Western parliamentarism.

Marxism will march along with democracy until by indirect means it succeeds in getting for its criminal aims the very support of that national intellectual world which it has marked for extermination. But if it became convinced today that in the witches' cauldron of our parliamentary democracy a majority might suddenly be brewed which would furiously go after Marxism—even if only on a basis of a numerical majority entitling it to legislate

—the parliamentary thimble rigging would be over with in an instant. Instead of appealing to the democratic conscience, the standard-bearers of the Red International would then send out a fiery summons to the proletarian masses, and their struggle would move at one jump from the stuffy air of our Parliament-chambers into the factories and on to the streets. Democracy would be done for at once; and what the intellectual ability of these apostles of the people had failed to accomplish in the Parliament, the crowbar and sledgehammer of excited proletarian masses would achieve in a flash, just as in the fall of 1918: they would teach the bourgeois world with crushing force the madness of imagining that one can resist the Jewish world-conquest with the methods of Western democracy.

As aforesaid, it requires a devout spirit, when faced with such an opponent, to bind oneself to rules which for him exist only as an imposture and for his own profit, and are thrown overboard the moment they are no longer to his advantage.

In all parties of so-called bourgeois orientation the whole political struggle actually consists only of a scramble for individual seats in Parliament, in the course of which attitudes and principles are thrown overboard like sand and ballast as expediency dictates; naturally their platforms are also arranged accordingly, and their strength measured—though in reverse—by that scale. They lack that great magnetic attraction which the great masses will follow only under the irresistible impression of great and outstanding principles and of the convincing force of unqualified faith in these, along with the fanatical fighting courage to be answerable for them.

At a time when one side, armed with all the weapons of a world-concept, even though it be criminal a thousand times over, prepares for onslaught on an existing order, the other side can successfully resist only if it garbs itself in the form of a new (and in our case political) faith, and exchanges the catchword of weak and cowardly defense for the battle-cry of bold and brutal attack. If, therefore, someone, particularly one of the so-called nationalist-bourgeois Ministers, let us say a Bavarian Centrist, casts up at

our movement the brilliant reproach that it is working for an "upheaval," there is but one possible answer to such a political Tom Thumb: Right you are; we are trying to make good what you in your criminal stupidity omitted to do. You and your principles of parliamentary cattle-dealing helped to drag the nation into the abyss; we, however, will attack; by setting up a new world-concept and fanatically, unshakably defending its principles we shall build the steps upon which our people will be able one day to ascend again to the Temple of Freedom.

During the period when our movement was being founded, we had therefore to devote our chief care to preventing the army of fighters for a new and high conviction from turning into a mere society for the furthering of parliamentary interests.

The first preventive measure was the creation of a program urging a development whose very inner grandeur seemed calculated to frighten off the petty and weak minds of our present party politicians.

The soundness of our conception of the necessity for sharp definition of our program's aims was best shown by those fatal ills which led to Germany's collapse.

The recognition of these was bound to give shape to a new State-concept, which in turn is an essential element in a new conception of the world.

In the first volume I dealt with the word "populist," pointing out that this designation is too ill-defined an idea to allow the formation of a solid fighting fellowship. All sorts of elements, as far apart as the poles in all their essential views, drift around at present under the blanket name "populist." So before I go on to the tasks and aims of the National Socialist German Workers' Party I would like to clarify the idea "populist" and its relation to the Party movement.

The concept "populist" is as vaguely limited, subject to as many interpretations, and as unbounded in practical application as, for instance, the word "religion." Of this term, too, it is hard for us to form any precise image, either in grasping it intellectu-

ally or in its practical effect. The term *religious* becomes really conceivable only in connection with some sharply defined form of this effect. It is a very pretty, but usually also a cheap statement to describe a man's character as "deeply religious." There may perhaps be a very few individuals who feel themselves satisfied by such an altogether general term, and to whom it may even give a definite, and more or less sharp, picture of that particular spiritual state. But since the great masses consist neither of philosophers nor of saints, an absolutely general religious idea of this sort will mostly be to the individual merely a release of his personal thinking and acting, without leading to that effectiveness which inner religious craving possesses when the purely metaphysical and unlimited world of ideas shapes itself into a clearly defined faith. Of course this is not an end in itself, but only a means to the end; but it is the indispensable means of attaining the end at all. And this end is by no means solely ideal, but at bottom also eminently practical. In fact we must realize generally that the highest ideals always correspond to a profound vital necessity, just as the nobility of the highest beauty is, in the end, what is logical and useful.

By helping to raise man above the level of a mere animal existence, faith, in fact contributes to the consolidation and securing of his existence. Cut off his religious training and thus the religious and doctrinal, but in practical importance, moral and ethical, principles which it supports, and the result will be apparent in a grave weakening of the foundations of his existence. In other words we are safe in saying not only that man lives to serve higher ideals, but that these higher ideals in turn are the essentials for his existence as a man. Thus the circle is complete.

Of course even the mere general term *religious* implies certain basic ideas or convictions, such for instance as the indestructibility of the soul, its eternal life, the existence of a higher Being, etc. But all these ideas, no matter how convincing to the individual, are still subject to the critical scrutiny of that individual, and thus to wavering affirmation or denial, so long as his instinct or insight does not take on the force of law as an apodictic faith. This above all is the fighting element which makes a breach

for the recognition of fundamental religious views, and clears the path for them.

Without clearly defined faith the vague multiformity of religious feeling not only would be worthless for human life, but probably would contribute to the general disintegration.

The same thing holds for the term "populist" as for the "religious" idea. It too embodies certain basic conclusions. But these, even though of outstanding importance, are so vague in form that they have no value beyond that of an opinion more or less deserving of recognition, unless they are included as basic elements within the framework of a political party. *For the ideals of a world-concept, and the requirements deduced from them, are not realized by pure feeling or men's inner will as such, any more than freedom is conquered by a universal longing for it. No: only when the mental urge for independence is organized to fight in the form of military force can the compelling wish of a people be transformed into splendid reality.*

No world-concept, though it be a thousand times sound and of the greatest value for humanity, has any importance for the practical shaping of a people's life until its principles have become the banner of a fighting movement, which in its turn will remain a party until its work has been completed in the victory of its ideas, and its party dogmas form the new state principles of the community.

But if a general intellectual conception is to serve as the foundation for the coming development, the first requirement is an absolutely clear understanding of the nature, kind and extent of this conception. Only on this basis can a movement be founded whose inner homogeneity of conviction will develop the necessary strength for the battle. General conceptions must be coined into a political program, a general world-concept into a definite political faith. Since its aim must be a practically attainable one, this faith must not only serve the idea as such, but must take into consideration the fighting means available and necessarily to be used in winning victory for the idea. Along with the abstractly sound intellectual conception, which the program-

maker must proclaim, the practical insight of the politician is necessary. Thus an eternal ideal as a guiding star of a section of humanity must unfortunately reconcile itself to considering the weaknesses of this humanity, in order to avoid failing at the outset through general human imperfection. The explorer of truth must be joined by the man who knows the people's spirit in order to fetch what is humanly possible for tiny mortals from the realm of the ideal and eternally true, and to give it shape.

This transformation of a general idealistic world-concept of highest verity into a definitely delimited, tightly organized, political, fighting fellowship of faith, unified in mind and will, is the most momentous of achievements; the possibility of victory for the idea depends solely on its successful accomplishment. Out of a horde often of millions, who individually have a more or less clear intuition of these truths, and part of whom may understand them, one man must arise to form rock-ribbed principles of apodictic force out of the wavering conceptions of the broad masses, and to fight for their exclusive validity until their rises from the billows of a world of free ideas an unshakable rock of unity in will and belief.

The general right for such action is founded on its necessity, the personal right on success.

When we try to find the inner core of meaning in the word "populist," we come to the following conclusion:

The ordinary present-day conception of our political world depends generally upon the notion that while the state in itself has creative and cultural vigor, it has nothing to do with racial essentials, but is rather a product of economic necessities, or at best the natural result of a political urge to power. This view, developed to its logical conclusion, leads not only to a misconception of racial forces, but to an undervaluing of the individual. For negation of the variation of the different races in respect to their general culture-developing powers must perforce carry this great error over into the evaluation of the individual person. The assumption of the likeness of races leads to a similar attitude toward peoples, and then toward individual men. And con-

sequently international Marxism itself is but the transference by the Jew Karl Marx of an attitude and a world-concept already long in existence into the form of a definite political profession of faith. Without the underlying foundation of such a generally pre-existing poisoning, the amazing political success of this doctrine would never have been possible. Among the millions, Karl Marx was really the one man who, with the sure eye of the prophet, recognized the essential poisons in the slough of a slowly decaying world, and segregated them, in order, like a black magician, to make a concentrated solution for the quicker destruction of the independent existence of free nations on this earth—all this in the service of his race.

Thus the Marxist doctrine is the concentrated intellectual essence of today's universal world-concept. Even for that reason alone any struggle against it by our so-called bourgeois world is impossible, nay ridiculous, because even the bourgeois world is essentially impregnated with all these poisons, and is devoted to a world-concept which in general differs from the Marxist one only in degree and in personalities. The bourgeois world is Marxist, but believes in the possibility of the domination of certain groups of men (*bourgeoisie*), while Marxism itself systematically tries to deliver up the world to the hands of Jewry.

The populist world-concept, on the other hand, recognizes the importance of humanity in its basic racial elements. In principle it sees the state only as a means to an end, and conceives as its end the preservation of the racial existence of men. In other words it is far from believing in any equality of races, but realizes their inferior or superior merit along with their variation, and feels obliged by this realization, in accordance with the universal Will which rules the universe, to assist the victory of the better and stronger, and to demand the subordination of the worse and weaker. Thus in principle it acknowledges the aristocratic basic idea of Naure, and believes in this law's validity down to the last individual being. It sees not only the differing merit of races, but the differing merit of individual men. For it there comes out of the husk of the masses the significance of the person, and thus,

unlike the disorganizing force of Marxism, its effect is toward organization. It believes in the necessity of an idealization of humanity, since it regards this in turn as the sole essential for the existence of mankind. But it cannot concede the right of existence even to an ethical idea if this idea represents a threat to the racial life of the sustainers of a higher ethics. In a bastardized and negroid world, any concept of the humanly beautiful and noble as well as any image of an idealized future for our part of humanity would be lost forever.

Human culture and civilization on this continent are inseparable from the existence of the Aryan. His extinction or downfall would once more drop the dark veil of uncivilized ages upon the globe.

In the eyes of any populist world-concept the undermining of the existence of human culture by destroying its sustainers is the most abhorrent of crimes. He who dares to lay his hand upon the highest likeness of the Lord offends against the good Creator of this miracle, and assists in the expulsion from Paradise.

Hence the populist world-concept accords with the profoundest will of Nature; it restores that free play of forces which is bound to lead to a continuous improvement by selection until at last the best of humanity, by acquiring possession of this earth, wins a free course for activities in fields partly above and partly beyond it.

We all have a presentiment that in the distant future man may be faced with problems to whose solution only a superb race and a ruling nation, supported by the means and the possibilities of a whole globe, will be adequate.

It is obvious that so general a definition of the substantial meaning of a populist world-concept may lead to a thousand different interpretations. And in fact there is scarcely one of our newer political organizations which does not somehow resort to this conception of the world. But its very existence as against the multitude of others proves the difference in their conceptions. The Marxist world-concept, led by a unified head organization,

is opposed by a jumble of views which makes but little impression on the united enemy front, even as a matter of ideas. Victories are not won by such feeble weapons. Only when the internationalist world-concept (led politically by organized Marxism) is opposed by a populist one equally unified in organization and direction will success come (supposing equal fighting energy or both sides) to the cause of eternal truth.

But the organized embodiment of a world-concept can take place only on the basis of a definite formulation; what dogmas are for faith, the party principles are for the political party in process of formation.

Therefore an instrument must be made for the populist world-concept which will assure it the possibility of asserting itself in battle, just as the Marxist party organization clears the road for internationalism.

This is the aim of the National-Socialist German Workers' Party.

A definite party embodiment of the populist idea is indispensable for the victory of the populist world-concept; the best proof is a fact which at least indirectly is admitted even by the opponents of this sort of party unit. The very people who never grow tired of insisting that the populist world-concept is by no means the "hereditary property" of an individual, but sleeps or "lives" in the hearts of Heaven knows how many millions, are thus proving that the fact of the universal existence of such ideas has not impeded in the slightest the victory of the opposing world-concept, which is, it is true, a model of party policy in the way it is asserted. If it were not so, the German people even today must have won a tremendous victory, and not be standing on the brink of an abyss. What brought success to the internationalist world-concept was the fact that it was maintained by a political party organized as a storm troop; what defeated the opposing world-concept was the lack of uniform and united support. A world-concept cannot fight and win by unlimited freedom of interpretation of a general view, but only in the limited and thus consolidated form of a political organization.

For this reason I saw it as my own particular task to sort out from the extensive and unformed substance of a general world-concept, and to recast in more or less dogmatic form, those central ideas whose clear limitation makes them capable of unifying such persons as pledge themselves to them. In other words, *the National-Socialist German Workers' Party adopts the essential elements from the basic reasoning of a general populist world-image, and, taking into consideration practical reality, the time and the available human material and its weaknesses, forms a political profession of faith. This makes possible a closely-knit organization of great masses of people, and thus provides the basis for a victorious fight on behalf of this world-concept.*

2. THE STATE

EVEN in 1920-21 the present outworn bourgeois world kept reproaching our young movement with the statement that our attitude toward the present State was a hostile one, whence party bandits of all tendencies deduced a justification for attempting by every means to suppress the young and unpleasant herald of a world-concept. In the process they intentionally forgot that the present-day bourgeois world itself no longer had any uniform conception of the idea of a *state*, that there is no uniform definition for it, and can be none. After all, those who do the explaining are often employed at our institutions of higher learning as teachers of civil law, whose highest duty it is to find explanations and interpretations for the more or less happy momentary condition of the source of their bread and butter. The more impossible a state's make-up, the more imperishable, artificial and unintelligible are the definitions of the purpose of its existence. What, for instance, was an Imperial-Royal University professor to write about the meaning and purpose of the state in a country whose state existence embodied probably the greatest monstrosity of the twentieth century? This was a difficult task, when we remember that the present-day teacher of civil law has less an obligation to be truthful than a compulsion to serve a definite purpose. This purpose is the preservation at any price of some particular one of those monstrosities of human mechanism now called states. There is therefore no need to be surprised if in the discussion of this problem realistic considerations are avoided as much as possible, in favor of a jumble of "ethical," "moral," and other intellectual values, tasks and aims.

In general we can distinguish three approaches:

A. The group who see in the state simply a more or less *voluntary association of human beings under a governing power*.

This group is the largest. In its ranks we find particularly the worshippers of our present-day principle of legitimacy, in whose eyes man's will plays no part in the whole affair. To them the fact of a state's existence in itself makes it sacredly inviolable. To protect this madness of human brains they require an absolutely dog-like worship of so-called *state authority*. In such people's heads the means is turned in the twinkling of an eye into the ultimate end. The state is no longer there to serve men; the men are there to worship a state authority which embodies the ultimate and somehow official spirit. So that this condition of silent, ecstatic worship shall not be transformed into one of disorder, the state authority itself exists only to maintain peace and good order. It too is no longer either a means or an end. The state authority must look out for peace and good order, and peace and good order in turn must make possible the existence of the state authority. Between these two poles all of life must revolve.

In Bavaria this approach is represented primarily by the state-craftsmen of the Bavarian Center, called the "Bavarian People's Party"; in Austria it used to be the black-and-gold Legitimists, in the Reich itself it is often unfortunately the so-called conservative element whose conception of the state follows this path.

B. The second group of men is somewhat smaller in number, since we must include in it those who at least attach a few qualifications to the existence of a state. They wish not only a uniform administration, but also if possible a *uniform language*—if only from general administrative considerations. The state authority is no longer the sole and exclusive purpose of the state; the welfare of the subjects is also included. Ideas of "freedom," mostly misunderstandings, intrude themselves into these circles' conception of a state. The form of government no longer appears inviolable by virtue of the simple fact of existing, but is tested for its expediency. The sanctity of old age does not protect against the criticism of the present. Beyond that, this conception expects of the state primarily the advantageous arrangement of

the individual's economic life, and therefore judges by practical considerations and from the standpoint of general economic productivity. We find supporters of this view among our ordinary German bourgeoisie, particularly the members of our liberal democracy.

C. The third group is numerically the weakest.

It sees the state as a means for the realization of the tendencies toward power politics (mostly very vaguely imagined) of the people belonging to a state defined and unified by language. The desire for a uniform state language arises not only from the hope of thus giving the state a foundation to support increase in outward strength, but from the opinions—completely mistaken, incidentally—that this will allow nationalization to be carried out in one particular direction.

In the last hundred years it has been a true calamity to watch the playing with the word "Germanize" in those circles, often in absolute good faith. I myself can still remember how in my youth this particular term led to quite incredibly mistaken notions. Even in Pan-German circles at that time one heard the opinion that Austrian Germanity with the assistance of the government might well succeed in Germanizing the Austrian Slavs; they never realized for a moment that Germanization can be applied only to the soil, never to people. What was generally understood by this word was a forced outward acceptance of the German language. But it is an almost inconceivable error to believe that, let us say, a negro or a Chinese becomes a Teuton because he learns German and is ready to speak the German language in the future, and perhaps to give his vote to a German political party.

The fact that any such Germanization is in reality a de-Germanization never became clear to our bourgeois nationalist world. For if the forcible imposition of a common language today bridges and finally wipes out previously conspicuous differences between various peoples, this is the beginning of bastardization, and thus in our case not a Germanization but a destruction of the Germanic element. It has happened all too often in history that

a conquering people succeeds by forcible outward means in imposing its language on the conquered, but that a thousand years later its language has been spoken by a different people, and the victors have thus really been the vanquished.

Nationality, or rather race, is not in language but in blood, and so it could be possible to speak of Germanization only if this process succeeded in transforming the blood of the inferior. But this is impossible. A mingling of blood might produce a change, but it would mean the depression of the level of the superior race. The final result of such a process, that is, would be the destruction of those very qualities which once made victory possible for the conquering people. Cultural powers in particular would disappear on mating with a lower race, even though the resulting mongrels spoke the language of the former superior race a thousand times over. For a time there will still be some struggle between the differing spirits; it may be that the declining people, in a sort of last spurt, produces surprising cultural assets. But these are only single elements belonging to the higher race, or bastards of the first generation in whom the better blood still predominates and strives to break through; they are never the ultimate products of the mixture. These will always exhibit a culturally retrogressive motion.

It must be regarded today as fortunate that the Germanization of Austria in the sense of Joseph II never took place. Its result would probably have been the survival of the Austrian State, but also a lowering of the racial level of the German nation produced by the community of language. In the course of centuries a certain herd instinct would probably have crystallized, but the herd itself would have been inferior. A people constituting a state might have been born, but a civilizing people would have been lost.

It was better for the German nation that this process of mixing remained unaccomplished, even though it was not due to any noble insight, but to the narrow short-sightedness of the Hapsburgs. Had it been otherwise, the German people today could scarcely be described as a cultural factor any longer.

Not only in Austria, however, but in Germany itself so-called Nationalist circles were and are influenced by similar false reasoning. The oft-demanded policy of Germanizing the Polish East unfortunately almost always rested on the same fallacy. Here, too, they believed the Polish element could be Germanized by a purely linguistic process of Teutonization. Here too the result would have been disastrous—a people of alien race expressing its alien thoughts in the German language, comprising the exaltation and dignity of our nationality by its own inferiority.

How terrible even now is the damage done to our Germanity indirectly by the fact that when Jewry, chattering German, sets its foot on American soil it is laid to the charge of us Germans, owing to the ignorance of many Americans. But after all, no one would think of regarding the purely external fact that most of this verminous migration from the East speaks German as a proof of their German origin and nationality.

Historically, the thing usefully Germanized has been the soil that our forefathers conquered with the sword, and settled with German peasants. In so far as they introduced alien blood into the body of our people they assisted in that pernicious disjunction which takes effect in German hyper-individualism—a quality unfortunately often actually praised.

Even in this third group the state is still considered in a way an end in itself, and hence the preservation of the state the highest duty of human existence.

Summing up, we may say: None of these views have their deepest roots in the realization that the powers which create culture and substance depend fundamentally on racial elements, and that therefore the state's highest task is the preservation and improvement of the race, that basic essential of all human cultural development. The ultimate conclusions from these false conceptions and views on the nature and purpose of a state were drawn by the Jew, Marx. In dissociating the state concept from racial obligations, without arriving at any other uniformly recognized formulation, the bourgeoisie smoothed the past for a doctrine which negated the state as such.

Even here the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Marxist International is bound to be a failure from the outset. It has already long since sacrificed the foundations which would be necessary to support its own ideology. The wily adversary, recognizing the weaknesses of its own structure, is rushing to the assault with weapons furnished, even if unintentionally, by itself.

It is therefore the first duty of a new movement resting on the ground of a populist world-concept to make sure that the conception of the nature and the meaning of the state takes on a clear and unified form.

The basic conclusion, then, is that *the state is not an end, but a means. It is indeed indispensable to the formation of a higher human civilization, but it is not the cause. The latter consists exclusively in the existence of a race capable of culture.* There might be hundreds of model states on earth, but if the Aryan bearer of civilization were to die out no culture would exist that would correspond with the intellectual level of the most advanced peoples of today. We may go further, and say that the fact of the formation of human states by no means excludes the possibility of the destruction of the human race if superior intellectual ability and elasticity, are lost, owing to the disappearance of their racial possessor.

If for instance the surface of the earth were distributed today by some tectonic event, and a new Himalaya range were to rise from the ocean, the civilization of mankind would be destroyed in one cruel catastrophe. No state would continue to exist, all the bonds of order would be dissolved, the documents of a thousand years' development destroyed; all would be one great corpse-strewn field covered with water and mud. Yet if from this chaos of horror but a few men of a definite race capable of civilization had escaped, the earth would once more show signs of human, creative power, when calm was restored, even though it took a thousand years. Only the destruction of the last civilizing race and its individual members would permanently devastate the earth. Conversely we can see even from present-day examples

that state structures in their tribal beginnings cannot protect their racial members from destruction if the latter are lacking in capacity. Just as certain species of great prehistoric animals were forced to give way to others, and altogether disappeared, so man must give way if he lacks a certain intellectual strength through which alone he can find the weapons necessary for his self-preservation.

The state does not in itself create a definite cultural level; it can only preserve the race which does so. Otherwise the state as such may go on existing evenly for centuries, while, as a result of a mixture of races which it has not prevented, the cultural capacity and the resulting general life-pattern of a people have long since suffered profound change. The present-day state, for instance, may still simulate existence as a formal mechanism for a considerable length of time, but the racial poisoning of our body politic produces a cultural decline which is already horribly apparent.

Thus the existence of a higher humanity depends not on the State, but on the nationality capable of creating it.

This capacity will basically always exist, needing only to be awakened into practical effectiveness by certain outward conditions. Culturally and creatively gifted nations, or rather races, have these abilities latent within them, even though at the moment unfavorable outward circumstances do not allow the exploitation of these proclivities. It is therefore an unbelievable outrage to represent the Teutons of pre-Christian times as "uncivilized," as barbarians. This they never were. The harshness of their Northern home merely forced conditions on them that prevented the development of their creative powers. If they had come to the more favorable regions of the South, even though there had been no classical Antiquity, if they had found elementary mechanical assistance in the shape of lower races, their dormant capacity for creating civilization would have grown to magnificent flower, just as was the case with the Hellenes. But this innate culture-building power itself did not originate solely in the Northern climate. The Lapp brought to the South would

have no more culture-building capacity than the Eskimo. No, this magnificent creative and formative capacity happened to be granted specially to the Aryan, whether he still bears it dormant within him or gives it to awakened life, according as favorable circumstances permit it or an inhospitable Nature prevents it.

Hence the following conclusion results:

The state is the means to an end. This end is the preservation and advancement of a community of physically and spiritually similar living creatures. This preservation itself includes, firstly, subsistence as a race, and thus permits the free development of all the powers slumbering within that race. Of these powers part will always be devoted primarily to the preservation of physical life, and only what remains goes to assist in further intellectual development. But as a matter of fact the one is always indispensable to the other.

States that do not serve this purpose are mistakes, nay monstrosities. The fact of their existence does not alter this, any more than the success of a crew of buccaneers can justify piracy.

We National Socialists, as the supporters of a new world-concept, must never take up our stand on the celebrated "basis of facts"—and of untrue ones at that. If we did, we would no longer be the supporters of a great new idea, but the slaves of the existing life.

We must make a sharp distinction between the State as a vessel and the race as its contents. This vessel has a purpose only so long as it can preserve and protect the contents; otherwise it is worthless.

Thus the highest purpose of the populist state is to care for the preservation of those racial elements which, as creators of culture, produce the beauty and dignity of a higher humanity. We as Aryans, that is, can imagine as a state only the living organism of a nationality, not merely assuring the preservation of this nationality but leading it to the highest freedom by continuing to develop its spiritual and intellectual capacities.

But what people mostly try to force upon us as a state today

is but the misbegotten result of profound human error, with unspeakable suffering as its aftermath.

We National Socialists know that with this attitude we are revolutionaries in the modern world, and are branded as such. But our thinking and actions must not be determined by the applause or disapproval of our times, but by inescapable duty to a truth we have recognized. Then we may be sure that the deeper insight of posterity will not only understand our present actions, but will confirm and exalt them.

And from this we National Socialists deduce our standards for the evaluation of the state. This value will be relative from the standpoint of the individual nationality, absolute from that of humanity as such. In other words:

The merit of a state cannot be assessed by the cultural level or the importance of this state's power in relation to the rest of the world, but only by the degree of merit of this institution for the nationality in question.

A state may be described as a model of its kind if it not only accords with the vital needs of the nationality it represents, but by its own existence actually keeps this nationality alive, no matter what general culture importance may belong to the state structure in relation to the rest of the world. For it is not the task of the state to beget abilities, but merely to clear the road for those powers that exist. *Conversely a state may be called bad, no matter how high its cultural level, if by its racial make-up it condemns the possessor of this culture to destruction.* For practically it thus destroys the *sine qua non* for the survival of this culture, which is not of the state's creating, but is the fruit of a culture-building nationality protected by its living unification as a state. As I said, the state is not substance but form. *The particular cultural level of a people, therefore is no scale by which to measure the goodness of the state in which it lives.* It is easy to understand that a culturally well-endowed people presents an appearance superior to that of a negro tribe; nevertheless the state organism of the former, judged by the way it per-

forms its task, may be worse than that of the negro. Though the best state and the best form of state cannot bring out in a people capabilities that are not and never were there, a bad state is certainly able to kill originally existing abilities through the destruction of the culture-sustaining race—a destruction, that is, tolerated or even encouraged by the bad state. Consequently the merit of a state can primarily be judged only by its relative usefulness to a definite nationality, and not by its importance in the world at large.

This relative judgment can be formed quickly and well; a judgment of the absolute value is a matter of great difficulty, since absolute judgment is really determined not only by the state but even more by the merit and the high level of the nationality in question.

If, therefore, we speak of the higher mission of the state, we must never forget that the higher mission essentially belongs to the nationality, for which the state has simply to assure free development by the organic strength of its existence.

When we ask, therefore, how the state that we Germans need should be constituted, we must first have a clear idea of the kind of people it is to include and the purpose it is to serve.

Unfortunately our German nationality no longer has a unified racial core. Nor has the process of fusing the various original elements gone so far that we can speak of a new race's being thus formed. On the contrary, the various poisonings of blood which have afflicted our body politic, especially since the Thirty Years' War, have decomposed not only our blood but our soul. The open frontiers of our Fatherland, the contacts with non-Germanic alien bodies along these boundary districts, and particularly the continuous strong influx of alien blood into the interior of the Reich itself, being constantly renewed, allows no time for an absolute fusion. No new race comes from the brew; the racial elements remain side by side, with the result that particularly at those critical moments when any herd ordinarily assembles, the German people scatter to the four winds. The basic racial elements are variously distributed, not

only territorially but in detail, within the same territory. Along with Nordics are Orientals, along with Orientals Dinarics, Occidentals along with both, and mixtures among them all. In one direction this has been very harmful; the German people lacks that sure herd instinct which is rooted in homogeneity of blood, and which protects nations from destruction particularly in moments of peril, inasmuch as all the small internal differences among such peoples usually disappear at once, and the united front of a homogeneous herd is turned to face the common enemy. The jumble of our still-unmixed, highly heterogeneous basic racial elements gives rise to what we call hyperindividualism. In peaceful times it may sometimes do good service, but taken all in all it has cheated us of world domination. If in its historical development the German people had possessed that herd unity which came to the assistance of other peoples, the German Empire today would probably be mistress of the globe. World history would have taken a different course, and no man can tell whether in this way the thing might not have happened which so many blind pacifists today hope to beg by whimpering and weeping; *a peace—not supported on the palm-leaf fans of tearful pacifist mourning-women, but founded on the victorious sword of a lordly people that puts the world to work for a higher culture.*

The fact of the non-existence of a nationality united by blood has brought us untold suffering. It gave Residences to many little German potentates, but deprived the German people of overlordship.

Our people suffers from this disunity even yet; but what has brought us misfortune in the past and present may be a blessing for the future. For harmful as it has been on the one hand that complete intermixture of our original racial elements did not take place, thus preventing the formation of a unified people, on the other hand it has been correspondingly fortunate in that at least part of our best blood has remained pure, escaping racial degeneration.

No doubt complete amalgamation of our racial elements would

have produced a unified national body, but—as any crossing of races proves—it would have had a smaller cultural capacity than the highest of the component elements originally possessed. That is the fortunate aspect in the absence of complete intermingling; even today we have within our German national body a great stock of still-unmixed Nordic-Germanic human beings, which we may consider our most precious possession in the future. In the dark days of ignorance of all racial laws, when a man was thought simply a man, all being equally valued, realization of the varying merits of the individual elements may have been lacking. Today we know that a complete intermingling of the elements of our national body would indeed have given us unity, and might have brought us external power, but that the highest aim of humanity would have been unattainable, since the one mainstay whom Fate has obviously chosen for this achievement would have gone down in the unified people's racial medley.

Today, however, from the standpoint of our new comprehension we must examine and make use of what was prevented by a kind Fate through no merit of our own.

Anyone who talks of a mission of the German people on earth must know that it can consist only in the formation of a State which sees as its highest task the preservation and advancement of the noblest surviving element of our nationality, indeed of all mankind.

Only thus does the State take on a high inner purpose. Compared to the ridiculous slogan of assuring peace and good order to permit quiet reciprocal sharpening, the task of preserving and advancing a supreme humanity bestowed on this earth by the goodness of the Almighty seems a truly exalted mission.

An inanimate mechanism which claims the right to exist for its own sake alone must be formed into a living organism with the sole purpose of serving a higher idea.

The German Reich as a State must include all Germans, with the duty not only of gathering and preserving the most valuable racial elements among that people, but of raising them slowly and surely to a dominating position.

In place of a basically petrified state we shall have a period of battle. But as always and everywhere in the world, here too the saying will still hold, "rest not, rust not;" and, further, victory lies always with the attack. The greater the aims being fought for, and the less the understanding of the great masses at the moment, the more tremendous the success, judging by the experience of world history, and the greater the importance of this success if the goal has been rightly seen and the battle fought with unshakable tenacity.

True, it may be more reassuring for our present official steersmen of the State to work for the preservation of an existing condition than to fight for one yet to come. They will feel that it is much easier to see the State as a mechanism which exists simply to keep itself alive, while their lives in turn "belong to the State," as they are in the habit of saying. As if anything originating in a nationality could logically serve any other purpose than that nationality, or man could work for anything except man! *It is naturally easier, as aforesaid, to see the State authority as merely the formal mechanism of an organization than to regard it as the sovereign embodiment of the self-preservative instinct of a nationality on this earth.* For in the one case, to these weak minds, the State and State authority are the end in themselves, whereas in the other they are but a mighty weapon in the service of the great eternal fight for life, a weapon to which everyone must submit because it is not formal and mechanical, but is the expression of a common will for the conservation of life.

In the struggle for our new conception, according perfectly with the original meaning of things, we shall find but few fighting allies in a society which is antiquated physically, and all too often spiritually as well. Only the exceptions, old men with young hearts and fresh spirits, will come to us from those classes, but never those who see the final meaning of their life-work in the preservation of an existing condition.

Opposing us is the endless army not so much of the deliberately bad as of the mentally lazy and indifferent, to say nothing of those who have an interest in the preservation of the existing

situation. But it is the very apparent hopelessness of our tremendous struggle which makes our task grand and offers a chance of success. The war-cry that frightens away or soon discourages small spirits is the assembly-signal for true warrior natures. And one thing we must get through our heads: *If a certain total of a people's energy and vigor seems to be concentrated on one goal, and thus is definitely removed from the inertia of the broad masses, these few per cent rise to be overlords of all. World history is made by minorities, if this numerical minority embodies a majority of will and determination.*

What to many people may seem an obstacle today is in reality the first essential for our victory. The very magnitude and the difficulties of our task offer the probability that only the best warriors will join in the battle. And this very winnowing is a guarantee of success.

In general Nature herself makes certain corrective decisions in the question of the racial purity of living mundane beings. She has but little love for bastards. Particularly the early products of such cross breeding, let us say in the third, fourth and fifth generation, suffer bitterly for it. Not only are they deprived of the importance of the originally highest element in the mixture, but along with homogeneity of blood they have lost also the singleness of will and determination necessary to live at all. At critical moments, when the racially homogeneous being makes sound and single-minded decisions, the racially heterogeneous one grows uncertain, or arrives at half-measures. It means not only a certain inferiority of the racially heterogeneous as against the racially homogeneous, but in practice also the possibility of a quicker decline. *In countless cases where the race stands up, the bastard breaks down.* There we see the compensation of Nature. But often she goes yet further. She restricts the possibility of further propagation. Thus she prevents the fecundity of further cross-breeds, and so causes them to die out.

If for instance an individual member of a given race were to enter into a relation with one racially inferior, the immediate

result would be the lowering of the level in itself; but more than this, a weakening of the progeny as against racially pure neighbors. With the complete prevention of further blood coming from the higher race, the bastards, constantly interbreeding, either would die out as a result of Nature's wise reduction of their vitality, or in the course of many thousand years would form a new mixture, in which the original individual elements, a thousand times crossed, would completely intermingle and thus no longer be recognizable. This would mean the formation of a new nationality with a certain herd vitality, but of considerably less intellectual and cultural importance in comparison with the higher race that took part in the original cross-breeding. But even in the latter case the mongrel product would be defeated in the struggle for existence so long as a higher and unmixed racial unit still existed as an adversary. All the herd-like unity which this new national body had built up in the course of a thousand years would still not be enough (in view of the general lowering of the racial level and the consequent decrease in spiritual elasticity and creative capacity) to carry through to victory the struggle with an equally united but intellectually and culturally superior race.

We can therefore state the following thesis:

* *Any crossing of races will sooner or later lead perforce to the downfall of the mixed offspring, so long as the superior element in this crossing still exists in any pure racial unit.* The danger to the mixed progeny is eliminated only by the bastardization of the last racially pure superior individual.

This is the beginning of a process of natural regeneration, if a slow one, which gradually clears up racial poisoning once more, so long as a basis of racially pure elements remains, and there is no further bastardization.

This sort of process may take place of its own accord among creatures with a strong racial instinct, which have merely been driven from the path of normal, racially pure reproduction by special circumstances or some particular compulsion. When this pressure ceases, the part that remains pure will once more im-

mediately strive to mate with its equal, thus putting a stop to further intermingling. The bastardized offspring move into the background once more of their own accord, except in a case where their number may already have increased so infinitely that any serious resistance on the part of the racially pure survivors is out of the question.

But the man who has lost his instincts and does not recognize the obligation laid upon him by Nature, can ordinarily hope for no such compensatory action on Nature's part until he makes good his lost instincts by clear-eyed perception; this is then charged with the task of making the necessary reparation. But there is great danger that once the man has gone blind he will tear down the racial barriers more and more, until finally the last remnant of his best part is lost. Then indeed there would be nothing left but a monotonous mush such as is the ideal of our wonderful world-reformers today; but it would soon drive all ideals from the world. True, *a great herd might be formed in that fashion, for a herd animal can be synthetically stirred together; but no such mixture can ever produce a man as a bearer of culture or as a cultural founder and creator.* The mission of mankind could then be considered as at an end.

Anyone who does not wish the earth to approach that condition must be converted the comprehension that it is the task particularly of the Germanic State to be sure above everything that all further bastardization is stopped.

Our present generation of notorious weaklings, of course, will immediately yell, wail and complain of interference with the most sacred rights of man. *No, there is only one most sacred right of man, and this right is also the most sacred duty: to take care that the blood is kept pure, thus preserving the best part of humanity and giving these beings the possibility of a more noble development.*

A race-Nationalist state, therefore, will have first of all to raise marriage from the level of a constant racial pollution, and to consecrate it as the institution appointed to beget images of the Lord, not monstrosities half-way between man and ape.

Protests against this on so-called humane grounds damnably ill become the age which on the one hand gives every degenerate the chance to reproduce, bringing untold suffering upon the offspring as well as upon their contemporaries, while on the other hand the means to prevent births by even the healthiest parents are offered for sale in every drugstore, and even by street peddlers. The supporters of our present State of peace and good order, our courageous bourgeois-nationalistic world, regard elimination of the opportunity for reproduction among syphilitics, tuberculars, the congenitally afflicted, cripples and cretins as a crime. The practical prevention of procreation among millions of the best persons, however, is not regarded as bad, and is no offense against the morals of this sanctimonious company, but is in effect serviceable to their short-sighted mental indolence. Otherwise they would still have at least to rack their brains about how to create the necessary conditions for the sustenance and preservation of those beings who, as healthy members of our nationality, will some day have to perform the same task for the coming generation.

How infinitely materialistic and ignoble is this whole system! People no longer strive to do their best for the race to come, but let things go as they will. Our Churches, too, sin against the Lord's image, whose importance they are the first to emphasize; this is quite in line with their present activity, which keeps talking of the spirit, and lets its possessor, man, sink into a degenerate proletarian. And in face of this, people gape stupidly at the ineffectiveness of the Christian faith in their own country, at the horrible "Godlessness" of this physically botched and hence spiritually tattered pack of ragamuffins, and try to find recompense in the blessings of the Church among Hottentots and Zulus. While our European peoples, praise God, are falling into the condition of physical and moral outcasts, the pious missionary travels to Central Africa, and sets up negro missions so that our "higher culture" may turn healthy, if primitive and low-grade human beings into a corrupt brood of bastards even there.

It would accord far better with the spirit of this world's noblest

Man if, instead of annoying the negroes with missions that are neither desired nor understood, our two Christian Churches would teach Europe, kindly but seriously, that in the case of not wholly sound parents it is a work more pleasing to God to take pity on a healthy little poor orphan, giving him father and mother, than to bring into the world a sickly child of one's own, which would only cause suffering and misery to itself and the rest of the world.

In this field the race-Nationalist state must make good what is being left undone in all directions. *It must make race the central point of public life. It must take care that it is kept pure. It must establish the child as a people's most precious possession. It must take care that only the healthy beget children; that there shall be but one thing shameful: to be sick and ailing, and nevertheless to bring children into the world; and one highest honor: to abstain.* Conversely, however, it must be considered abhorrent to refuse healthy children to the nation. Here the state must play the part of defender of a thousand years' future, compared to which the wish and the self-seeking of the individual are nothing, and must give way. It must press the latest advances in medicine into the service of this realization. It must declare and actually render incapable of procreation all those who are visibly sick and hereditarily tainted, and thus infectious in turn. Conversely it must take care that the fertility of the healthy woman is not restricted by the spendthrift financial management of a state régime which makes the blessing of children a curse for parents. It must sweep away the lazy, nay criminal indifference with which people to-day treat the social requirements for a large family, and instead must feel itself the supreme protector of this greatest of a people's blessings. Its solicitude must be devoted more to the child than to the adult.

He who is not sound and worthy in body and mind must not perpetuate his suffering in the body of his child. Here the racial state must do a stupendous work of education. And some day this work will appear as a greater deed than the most successful wars of our present bourgeois age. By education it must teach

the individual that it is no shame, but merely a regrettable misfortune to be weakly and sick, but that it is a crime and thus also shameful to desecrate this misfortune by private egoism in loading it again upon innocent beings; but that by contrast it is a proof of the highest nobility of spirit and admirable humanity for a man innocently sick, to go without a child of his own, and to devote his love and tenderness to a young, poor, and obscure scion of our nationality whose health promises to make him some day a vigorous member of a vigorous community. In this work of education the state must provide the purely intellectual complement to its practical activity. It must act on that principle without regard for understanding or misunderstanding, approval or disapproval.

If the capacity and the opportunity for procreation were denied to physical degenerates and mental cases for but six hundred years, it would not only free humanity of an immeasurable misfortune, but would contribute to an improvement in health which today seems almost inconceivable. If the deliberate and systematic promotion of the fertility of the nationality's healthiest members is thus realized, the result will be a race which, at least for the time being, will have got rid of the germs of our present physical, and hence also spiritual, decay.

For once a people and a state have traveled this road, attention will be directed of its own accord toward increasing the racially most valuable core of the people, and its fertility in particular, so that finally the entire nationality may share in the blessings of a high bred racial body.

The road to be taken is primarily this: that a state does not leave the settlement of newly acquired territories to chance, but subjects it to particular rules. Expressly established race commissions will fill out settlers' permits for individuals; but these permits will be conditional upon definitely determined racial purity. Thus border colonies can gradually be formed whose population consists exclusively of possessors of the highest race purity, and thus of the highest racial ability. They are thus a precious national treasure for the totality of the people; their growth is bound

to fill every individual member of the people with pride and joyful confidence. After all, in them are the seeds for the last great future development of his own people, nay of mankind.

The populist world-concept in a popular state must eventually succeed in bringing about that nobler age in which people's chief care is no longer the improved breeding of dogs, horses and cats, but the exaltation of man himself; an age in which one man silently and understandingly abstains, while the other joyfully sacrifices and gives.

That this is possible cannot be denied in a world where hundreds of thousands upon hundreds of thousands voluntarily impose celibacy on themselves under no compulsion or obligation except an ecclesiastical commandment.

Is the same surrender not to be possible when this is replaced by the admonition to put an end at last to the original sin of race poisoning, whose effects are unending, and to give to the Almighty Creator such beings as he himself made?

True, the pitiful army of our present-day bourgeois mediocrities will never understand this. They will laugh at it, or shrug their stooping shoulders, and groan out their perpetual excuse: "That would be all very nice, but it can't be done!" With you indeed it cannot be done; your world is not suited to it. You know but one care—your personal life; and one God—your money! But we are not speaking to you; we are speaking to the great army of those who are too poor for their personal lives to mean the highest happiness in the world, to those who do not see gold, as the ruler of existence but believe in other gods. Above all else we are speaking to the mighty army of our German youth. It is growing up at a great turning-point of history, and its fathers' sins of inertia and indifference will force it to fight. Some day German youth will either be the architect of a new racial state or it will be the last witness of the complete collapse, the end of the bourgeoisie world.

For when a generation suffers from mistakes which it sees and even admits, only to content itself, as our bourgeois world does today, with the cheap explanation that nothing can be done about

it, that society is marked for extinction. But it is the characteristic feature of our bourgeois world that it can no longer even deny the evil. It is forced to admit that much is corrupt and bad, but it no longer has the determination to rise up against the evil, to gather the strength of a people of sixty or seventy millions with grim energy, and thus to make a stand against the menace.

On the contrary, if that is done elsewhere, there are silly carping comments, and people try at least to prove from a distance the theoretical impossibility of the process, and to declare any success unthinkable. No reason is too half-witted to serve as a prop for their own dwarfishness and their intellectual attitude. If, for instance, an entire continent at last declares war on the poison of alcohol, to free a people from the clutches of this devastating vice, our European bourgeois world has no answer but a blank stare and a shake of the head, which is particularly becoming to this most ridiculous of societies. But if everything fails, and the noble, sacrosanct, good old way is opposed somewhere in the world, and that with success, then, as aforesaid, at least the success must be doubted and depreciated, for which purpose they do not even hesitate to urge bourgeois-moral considerations against a struggle which is attempting to sweep away the greatest of immorality.

No, we must not fool ourselves—our present bourgeoisie is already worthless to mankind for any exalted task, simply because it is without quality, is too inferior; and it is too inferior less from intentional badness, if you like, than from an incredible indolence and everything that springs from it. And for that reason those political clubs which drift around under the general name of “bourgeois parties” have long since ceased to be anything but a community of interest of certain occupational groups and social classes, and their noblest aim is but to represent egoistic interests as well as possible. It is quite plain that this sort of political bourgeois guild is suited for anything but battle—particularly when the opposing side consists not of cautious shopkeepers but of proletarian masses that have been inflamed to the utmost and are determined to the bitter end.

If we recognize as the first task of the State in working for the welfare of this nationality the preservation, care and development of its best racial elements, it is natural that this solicitude must not stop short with the birth of the little new member of our people and race, but must train the young scion into a valuable member for subsequent further increase.

And just as in general the racial quality of the human material at hand is the first essential for intellectual capability, so in particular education must begin by considering and promoting bodily health; for taken by and large a sound, vigorous mind is to be found only in a sound and vigorous body. The fact that geniuses are often physically ill-formed, even sometimes diseased, is no proof to the contrary. These are exceptions which, as everywhere, only prove the rule. But if the masses of a people consist of physical degenerates, a really great mind will arise only very seldom from this bog. And in no case will its work be fated to have great success. The degraded riffraff either will not understand it at all, or their will will have been so weakened that they can no longer follow the soaring flight of such an eagle.

Realizing this, the populist state must direct its entire educational work primarily not toward pumping in mere knowledge, but toward training sound and healthy bodies. The development of the intellectual capacities takes only second place. But here again the development of character, particularly strength of will and determination, comes first, together with training for joy in responsibility, while academic schooling comes last of all.

The race-Nationalist state must go on the assumption that a man with little academic schooling, but physically sound, with a good, solid character, filled with determination and strong will, is more valuable to the people's community than a brilliant weakling. A nation of scholars, if they are physically degenerate, weak-willed and cowardly pacifists, will not conquer Heaven, nor even be able to assure their existence here on earth. In the fierce battle of Destiny the vanquished is seldom the one who knows least, but the one who draws the weakest conclusions from his knowledge, and transforms them most wretchedly into action. Even here

there must be a certain harmony. *A decayed body is not made one whit more aesthetic by a brilliant mind*, and in fact the highest intellectual training could not be justified at all if its possessors were at the same time physically degenerate and crippled, weak-willed, wavering and cowardly in character. What makes the Greek ideal of beauty immortal is the marvelous pairing of magnificent bodily beauty with brilliant mind and noble soul.

If Moltke's words are true: "Only the able man is lucky in the long run," they must certainly hold for the relation between body and mind. The mind too, if it is healthy, will as a rule and in the long run dwell only in a sound body.

Hence physical training in the race-Nationalist state is not the affair of the individual, nor is it a matter which primarily concerns parents, and which is of public interest only in second or third place; it is indispensable for the self-preservation of the nationality upheld and protected by the state. So far as purely scholastic training is concerned, even now the state interferes with the individual's right of self-determination, and asserts the right of the community by compelling the child to go to school without asking whether the parents are willing or not; to an even greater degree the populist state in future will have to establish its authority as against the ignorance or the misunderstanding of the individual in questions of preserving the nationality. It must arrange its educational work in such fashion that even in earliest childhood the young bodies are suitably treated and hardened against the demands of later life. Above all it must take care not to rear a race of bookworms.

This work of care and training must begin with the young mother. Just as it was possible in the course of decades of careful work to attain antiseptic cleanliness in childbirth, and to reduce puerperal fever to a few cases, it must and will be possible by thorough training of nurses and of the mothers themselves to introduce a treatment of the child even in his earliest years that will be a splendid basis for later development.

In a race-Nationalist state the school itself must set aside far more time for physical training. It will not do to load down the

young brains with ballast which experience shows they will retain but a fraction of, the more so because it is usually the unnecessary trivialities instead of the essentials that stick, because the young person is quite unable to make a reasonable selection from the material poured into him. Today the curriculum even of the secondary schools calls for a bare two hours a week of gymnastics, and even leaves attendance to the individual as an optional matter; compared to the purely intellectual training, this is a glaring disproportion. Not a day should pass in which the young person's body is not schooled at least an hour each, morning and evening, and this in every sort of sport and gymnastics. One sport in particular must not be forgotten which a great many "populists" especially regard as rough and unworthy—boxing. The wrong opinions current in "cultivated" circles on the subject are quite incredible. For the young man to learn to fence and then to go around dueling is taken for granted, and considered honorable, but for him to box is thought rough. Why? No other sport is its equal in building up aggressiveness, demanding lightning-like decision, and training the body in steely agility. It is no rougher for two young people to fight out a difference of opinion with their fists than with a piece of sharpened iron. Nor is it more ignoble for a man on being attacked to resist his assailant with his fists than to run away, yelling for a policeman. But above all, the young healthy boy should learn to stand up under blows. Naturally our present-day intellectual warriors may regard this as wild. But it is not the purpose of a race-Nationalist state to breed a colony of peaceable aesthetes and physical degenerates. Its ideal is not the honest bourgeois mediocrity or the virtuous old maid, but the defiant embodiment of manly strength, and women who can bring other men into the world.

And sport exists by no means only to make the individual strong, agile and bold, but also to toughen and teach people to stand hard knocks.

If our whole intellectual upper class had not been brought up so exclusively by the refined teachings of propriety, and if instead they had all learned to box, a German Revolution of

fancy-men, deserters and similar riffraff would never have been possible. For the Revolution owed its success not to the bold and courageous energy of the revolutionaries, but to the cowardly, miserable indecision of those who guided and were responsible for the State. But our entire intellectual leadership had been educated only "intellectually," and was therefore bound to be defenseless the moment the adversary took to the crowbar instead of intellectual weapons. But the whole thing was possible only because our higher school system, in particular, seemed to train not men, but civil servants, engineers, technicians, chemists, lawyers, literati, and—lest such intellectuality should die out—professors.

Our intellectual leadership has always been brilliant in its achievements, whereas our leadership of will has mostly been beneath contempt.

Granted that no amount of training will make a fundamentally cowardly man courageous, it is equally certain that a man not without courage may be paralyzed in the development of his qualities if, owing to faults in his education, he is inferior in strength and agility from the outset. How greatly a conviction of physical excellence increases a man's courage, and even awakens his aggressiveness, we can judge best of all from the army. The men were not all heroes here, any more than anywhere else; they were the great average. But the superior training of the German soldier in peace-time inoculated the whole gigantic organism with that hypnotic faith in its own superiority to a degree its foes had not thought possible. For the immortal spirit and courage in the attack of the onrushing German army in the summer and fall of 1914 were solely the result of the tireless training in the long, long years of peace which got the most incredible performances out of often feeble bodies, and thus produced that self-confidence which was not lost even in the horror of the greatest battles.

Our German people in particular, lying crushed today, exposed to the kicks of the world, needs the hypnotic strength inherent in self-confidence. But this self-confidence must be trained into

the young members of our people from childhood. His whole education and training must be planned to give him the conviction that he is absolutely superior to others. Through his physical strength and agility he must regain his faith in the invincibility of his whole nationality. For what once led the German army to victory was the sum total of the confidence which each individual felt in himself, and all together in their leadership. The thing that will set the German people on its feet again is the conviction of the possibility of reconquering its freedom. But this conviction can only represent the grand total of the similar feelings of millions of individuals.

Here too we must not be deceived:

The collapse of our people was monstrous, and equally monstrous must be the exertion in order to bring this distress to an end some day. Anyone who believes that our people can get from our present bourgeois education for peace and good order the strength to shatter the present structure of the world, which means our destruction, and to hurl the broken chains of our slavery in the faces of our enemies, is bitterly mistaken. Only an extra measure of national will-power, thirst for freedom, and utmost passion can make good what we have lacked.

Even the clothing of youth must be suited to this purpose. It is sad to see how even our young people are already subject to a fashion-madness which does its share to turn the old saying, "Clothes make the man," into a disastrous one.

Youth is the very time when clothing must be put to work for education. The boy who goes around in the summer with long trousers, and muffled up to the neck, loses precisely by his clothing one motive for his physical development. Ambition and, we need not hesitate to admit, vanity must be turned to account. Not vanity of fine clothes which not everyone can buy, but vanity of a beautiful, well-formed body, which everyone can help to create.

This is expedient, too, for later purposes. The girl should come to know her knight. If physical beauty were not completely pushed into the background by our foppish world of fashion, the

seduction of hundreds of thousands of girls by bowlegged, disgusting Jew bastards would be quite impossible. And it is also to the interest of the nation that the most beautiful bodies should find one another, and thus help to give new beauty to the nationality.

Today this is more necessary than ever, because military training is lacking, and thus the one institution that used at least partly to compensate in peace times for what the rest of our education failed to do is gone. And there too the success lay not only in the development of the individual as such, but in its influence on the relations of the sexes. The young girl prefers the soldier to the non-soldier.

The racial state must not only carry through and supervise physical education during the official school years, but must also take care after school is finished that, so long as a boy is still developing physically, this development turns out to his benefit. It is nonsense to think that the state's right to supervise its young citizens terminates with the end of school life, to commence existence again suddenly during military service. This right is a duty, and as such always exists in equal measure. The present-day State, which takes no interest in healthy people, has criminally neglected its duty. It lets the young people of today go to damnation on the streets and in brothels instead of reining them in, and continuing their physical development until some day a healthy man and a healthy woman are the result.

For the present it is a matter of indifference in what form the state continues this training; the important thing is that it shall do so, and shall find the ways that serve the purpose. The populist state will have to regard both the intellectual training and the physical development of post-school years as the state's job, and to carry them out through state institutions. At the same time, in broad outline, this education can be the preliminary training for later army service. The army ought no longer to have to teach the young man the basic ideas of the simplest drill manual, nor will it still receive recruits in the present sense; it ought simply to turn the already trained young man into a soldier.

In the racial state, that is, the army will no longer teach the individual how to stand and to walk, but is to be considered the final and highest school of training for the Fatherland. The young recruit in the army will receive the necessary training at arms, but he must also be further molded for the rest of his later life. The crowning point of military training must be one which was the greatest merit of the old army: in this school the boy is to be turned into a man; and in this school he must not only learn to obey, but through this must gain the equipment which later will enable him to command. He must learn to be silent, not only when he is *justly* blamed, but he must learn if necessary to suffer *injustice* in silence.

Further, fortified by faith in his own strength, carried away by the intensity of the common *esprit de corps*, he must become convinced of the invincibility of his nationality.

When he has finished his army service, he is to be given two documents: his diploma of state citizenship, a legal document which permits him to enter on public life, and his health certificate, proving physical soundness for marriage.

The racial state can also carry on the education of the girl on the same principles as that of the boy.

Here too the main emphasis must be placed above all on physical culture, secondly on the development of spiritual, and lastly on intellectual, values. The unshakable *aim* of female education must be the coming mother.

Only as its second consideration must the racial state foster character-building in every way.

Of course the most essential qualities of character exist from the beginning in the individual person; the man of egoistical proclivities will always remain so, just as the idealist at bottom will always be an idealist. But in between the absolutely pronounced characters there are, after all, millions who seem vague and indistinct. The born criminal will always be a criminal; but many people who have merely a certain criminal inclination can still become valuable members of society through proper education;

while conversely bad training may produce really bad elements out of wavering characters.

How many were the complaints during the war that our people was so little able to hold its tongue! How hard this made it to keep even important secrets from the knowledge of the enemy! But we must ask ourselves this question: what did German education before the war do to train the individual to silence? Even in school, was not the little tattletale unfortunately often preferred to his more discreet comrades? Was not (and is not still) tale-bearing regarded as praiseworthy "frankness," and silence as shameful obstinacy? Did anyone make any effort to represent silence as a manly virtue? No; for in the eyes of our present-day schooltraining these are trifles. But these trifles cost the State uncounted millions in judicial expense, for ninety per cent of all suits for slander and the like are caused solely by lack of discretion. Irresponsible statements are blabbed irresponsibly about, our economic life is constantly injured by the wanton revealing of important manufacturing methods, etc., and even all the secret preparations for national defense are rendered illusory, simply because the people has not learned to hold its tongue, but talks about everything. In war this garrulity may lead to the loss of battles, and thus contribute measurably to the disastrous outcome of the struggle. Here as elsewhere we must realize that what youth does not practice, age cannot do. That is why on principle the teacher must not try to find out about silly boyish pranks by encouraging vile tale-bearing. Youth has a state of its own, and faces the adult with a certain unified solidarity; and this is perfectly natural. The bonds between the ten-year-old and his comrade of the same age are stronger and more natural than those with adults. A boy who tells on his comrades is committing treachery, and thus giving play to a disposition which (brusquely expressed and transferred to a larger scale) corresponds exactly to that of high treason. Such a boy can by no means be regarded as a "good, well-behaved" child, but as a boy with very indifferent qualities of character. It may be convenient for the teacher to increase his authority by making use of such failings, but the seeds of a spirit

which may later have disastrous effects are thus sown in the youthful heart. It has happened more than once that a little tattletale has grown up into a great scoundrel.

This is but one example in place of many. The deliberate development of good, noble qualities of character in the schools today is nil. In future a very different emphasis must be placed on this. Faithfulness, self-sacrifice, silence are virtues which a great people needs, and whose development and inculcation in the schools is more important than much of what fills the curriculum at present. The breaking of the habit of tearful complaint, of howling when hurt, etc., comes under this head. If an educational system forgets to begin with the child in teaching that even pain and hard knocks must be supported in silence, it must not be surprised if at some later crucial moment, for instance when the man is at the front, the entire postal service is devoted exclusively to the transportation back and forth of whimpering and wailing letters. If there had been a little less knowledge poured down the throats of our children in primary school, and more self-control, it would have been amply rewarded from 1915 to 1918.

In its educational work, then, the race-Nationalist state must attach every importance to character-development along with physical development. Many moral ailments in our present body politic can be greatly lessened, if not altogether eliminated, by education on this principle.

The development of strength of will and resolution, as well as the cultivation of willingness to assume responsibility, is of utmost importance.

It used to be a principle in the army that a command is always better than none; with young people this ought to be, An answer is always better than none. Not to answer for fear of saying the wrong thing ought to be more embarrassing than an incorrect answer. Starting from this primitive basis youth must be trained to have the courage to act.

The fact has often been bewailed that in November and December of 1918 every single person in authority was a failure, and

that from the Monarch on down to the last divisional commander no one had the strength to make an independent decision. This terrible fact is the handwriting on the wall for our education; the cruel catastrophe was the expression on an enormous scale of what already existed on a small scale. It is this lack of will, and not a lack of arms, which makes us incapable of any serious resistance today. It affects our whole people, and blocks every decision involving any risk, just as if the greatness of a deed did not consist precisely in its daring. Without knowing it, a German general succeeded in finding the classical formula for this pitiful lack of will-power: "I act only when I can count on a fifty-one per cent probability of success." In this "fifty-one per cent" is the tragedy of the German collapse; he who demands of Fate the assurance of his success automatically surrenders the importance of a heroic deed. For this consists in the fact, that, being convinced of its deadly danger, one takes the step which may bring success.

A victim of cancer whose death will otherwise be certain does not need to figure fifty-one per cent in order to risk an operation. And even if this offers one-half of one per cent probability of a cure, a courageous man will dare it; if he does not, he will not whimper for his life.

But, taken all in all, our present disease of cowardly indecision and lack of will results chiefly from our basically mistaken education of youth, whose devastating effect continues into later life, finding its conclusion and its crowning form in the leading statesmen's lack of moral courage.

In line with this is the cowardice in the face of responsibility which rages today. Here too the mistake goes back to the education of youth, impregnates all of public life, and is immortally perfected in the institution of parliamentary government.

Even in school people unfortunately attach more importance to "contrite" confessions and the "crushed for swearing" of the little sinner than to candid admission. In fact, to many a popular educator of today, the latter even seems the most visible sign of incorrigible delinquency, and—incredible though it be—an end on the gallows is prophesied for many a boy because of qualities

which would be of inestimable value if they were the common property of an entire people.

The race-Nationalist state of the future must concentrate on training the will and the power of decision, and from babyhood it must implant readiness for responsibility and the courage for confession in the hearts of youth. Only if it recognizes this necessity in its whole significance will it obtain, as the result of centuries of education, a national body no longer subject to those weaknesses which so disastrously contributed to our present collapse.

Academic school training, which today is the be-all and end-all of the State's entire educational work, can be taken over by the populist state with but slight changes. These changes are in three fields.

In the first place, the childish brain must in general not be burdened with things ninety-five per cent of which it does not need, and which it therefore forgets. The curriculum of primary and grammar schools, in particular, is a hybrid affair. In many of the individual subjects the material to be learned has increased to such an extent that only a fraction of it sticks in the individual's head, and only a fraction of this abundance can be used, while on the other hand it is not enough for the purpose of a man working and earning his living in a certain field. Take for instance the ordinary civil servant who has graduated from secondary school or from the upper *realschule*, when he is thirty-five or forty, and test the school learning which he once so painfully acquired. How little of all the stuff that was then drummed into him still remains! One will, indeed, be answered: "Yes, but the object of the amount that was learned was not simply to put a man in possession of a great deal of information later, but to train his power of intellectual absorption, and the thinking power, particularly the power of observation of the brain." This is true in part. But still there is danger that the youthful brain may be drowned in a flood of impressions which it is very seldom able to master, and whose individual elements it can neither sift nor judge according to their greater or less importance; and on top of that, it is usually not the

inessential but the essential which is forgotten and sacrificed. Thus the main object of learning so much is lost; for after all it cannot consist in making the brain able to learn by unmeasured piling-up of instruction, but in creating for later life a fund of knowledge which the individual needs, and which through him once more benefits society. But this purpose is illusory if such an excessive mass of material is thrust upon a person in his youth that later he retains either none of it or only the non-essentials. There is no visible reason why millions of persons in the course of years should have to learn two or three foreign languages which they can use in only a fraction of the cases, and therefore mostly quite forget again; for of a hundred thousand pupils who learn French, for instance, scarcely two thousand will have any serious use for this knowledge later, while ninety-eight thousand never in their whole lives have a chance in practice to use what they have learned. That is, in their childhood they spend thousands of hours on a thing which is without value or meaning to them later. Even the objection that this is part of a general education is false, because one could maintain this only if people retained throughout their lives the things they had learned. And so it is really for the benefit of two thousand people to whom the knowledge of the language is useful that ninety-eight thousand are plagued in vain, and sacrifice valuable time.

And at that the language in question is not one of which it can be said that it gives training in "logical thinking," as is true, for instance, in Latin. It would therefore be considerably more expedient to present such a language to the young student only in its general outlines, or, to put it better, in a sketch of essentials, thus giving him a knowledge of the characteristic nature of the language, perhaps introducing him to the rudiments of grammar, and illustrating pronunciation, sentence structure, etc. by examples. This would be enough for ordinary needs, and, being easier to take in and to remember, would be more valuable than the usual cramming of the whole language, which is not really mastered even so, and is later forgotten. This would also avoid the danger that only a few chance, disconnected fragments of the

overwhelming abundance of materials would stick in memory, since the young person would be given only the most noteworthy parts to learn, and the sifting according to importance would have been done for him.

The general grounding thus given would be quite enough for most people, even for later life, while it would give anyone who really needed the language later the opportunity to build up on it, and by his own choice to work on it and learn it thoroughly.

This would gain the necessary time in the schedule for physical culture and for the increased requirements in the fields already mentioned.

In particular there must be a change in previous methods of instruction in the teaching of history. Hardly any people has more to learn from history than the Germans; but there is scarcely any people that makes a worse use of it. If politics is history in the making, our historical education is directed by the nature of our political activity. It will not do here either to pout over the miserable results of our political performances if we are not resolved to assure better training for politics. In ninety-nine out of a hundred cases the result of our present-day history-teaching is pitiable. A few scraps, dates and names are usually what remains, while there is a total lack of any large, clear line. The essentials that really count are not taught at all; it is left to the more or less brilliant abilities of the individual to find the inner motive causes in the flood of information, in the sequence of events. We may resist this bitter realization as we will; but we have only to read attentively the speeches delivered by our parliamentarians on political problems, say questions of foreign policy, during a single session, remembering that this is (at least so it is claimed) the flower of the German nation, and that in any case a great part of these people wore out the benches of our secondary schools, some even of institutions of higher learning, and we shall see how totally inadequate the historical education of these people is. If they had never studied history at all, but simply had a sound instinct, it would be a good deal better and more useful to the nation.

Particularly in the teaching of history the amount of material must be cut down. The chief value is in grasping the great lines of development. The more the teaching is limited to this, the more hope there is that the individual's knowledge will later bring in a profit that, added up, will in turn benefit the community. For we do not learn history simply in order to know what has been; we learn history so that it may be our preceptor for the future and for the survival of our own nationality. This is the purpose, and historical instruction is only a means toward it. But even here the means today has become the end, and the end no longer exists. Let no one say that a thorough study of history requires consideration of all these individual bits of information as they alone make it possible to determine the broad outlines. To determine these is the task of specialized scholarship. The ordinary average man is no professor of history. For him history exists primarily to give him that measure of historical insight which he needs in order to make up his mind about the political affairs of his nationality. Anyone who wishes to become a history professor may give the subject profound study later. Naturally he will have to concern himself with every detail, even the smallest. But for that even our present-day historical instruction is not enough; it is too extensive for the ordinary average man, but far too limited for the scholar.

It is also the task of a populist state to take care that a world history shall be written at last in which the race question is elevated to the dominating position.

Summing up: the populist state will have to put general scholastic instruction into a shortened form, including the very essentials. Outside of that, opportunity must be offered for thorough, specialized scholarly training. It is enough if the individual person is given a store of general knowledge in broad outline, receiving a thorough detailed and specialized training only in the field which will be his in later life. General training should be obligatory here in all fields, while specialization should be left to the choice of the individual.

The shortening of the schedule and of the number of classes

thus attained would be used for the benefit of the development of the body, the character, of will and resolution.

How unimportant our present-day school instruction, particularly in the secondary schools, is for a subsequent life work, is best shown by the fact that people may arrive in the same situation from three altogether different sorts of schools. The fact is that general cultivation, and not the special knowledge that has been poured in, is what counts. And where real special knowledge is necessary, as aforesaid, of course it cannot be obtained within the curriculum of our present-day secondary schools.

This sort of half-measures the populist state must therefore some day clear away.

The populist state's second change in the scholastic program must be the following:

It lies in the nature of our present materialistic age that scholastic training turns more and more toward subjects of pure science, that is toward mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. Necessary as this is for an age in which technology and chemistry are kings, at least outwardly the most obvious characteristics of daily life, it is equally dangerous for the general education of a nation to be aimed ever more exclusively in their direction. This education, on the contrary, must always be idealistic. It should be adapted more to humanistic studies, offering only the rudiments in preparation for later specialization. Otherwise we shall be sacrificing powers that are more important for the preservation of the nation than any technical or other skill. Specifically, the study of Antiquity must not be left out of historical teaching. Roman history, properly grasped in broad outline, is the best of preceptors, not only for today but probably for all time. The wonderful beauty of the Hellenic cultural ideal, too, we must preserve. The differences of individual peoples must not be allowed to break down the greater community of race. The struggle raging today has a great goal: the culture that is fighting for its existence embodies thousands of years, and includes Greeks and Teutons together.

There should be a sharp distinction between general cultivation and specialized knowledge. As the latter threatens, especially today, to sink more and more into pure service of Mammon, general cultivation, at least so far as its more idealistic approach is concerned, must be preserved as a counter-weight. Here too the principle must be incessantly pounded in that *industry and technology, trade and commerce can flourish only so long as an idealistically-minded national community provides the necessary conditions. These conditions are founded not on materialistic egoism, but on self-denying readiness for sacrifice.*

On the whole the present education of youth has taken for its chief object to pump into the young person the knowledge he will need for his own advancement in later life. It is expressed this way: "The boy must be a useful member of human society." But by this they mean his ability to earn his daily bread in a decent fashion. The superficial civic training that goes with it on the side is feeble from the outset. Since a state in itself is but a form, it is very hard to train people for it, let alone make them feel obligation toward it. A form is too easily broken. But the idea of a *State*, as we have seen, has no clear meaning. So there is nothing left but the ordinary "patriotic" education. In the old Germany its chief emphasis was on an often unwise, but usually very insipid glorification of petty potentates, whose number forced from the outset the abandonment of any comprehensive evaluation of our people's truly great men. The result among our broad masses was a very deficient knowledge of German history. Here too the sweeping line was lacking.

It is perfectly obvious that in this fashion there was no arriving at any true nationalist enthusiasm. Our training lacked the skill to pick out a few names from the historical growth of our people, and to make them the universal property of the entire German people, thus holding the entire nation with a uniformly firm bond of uniform knowledge and uniform enthusiasm. They were not able to make the really important men of our people seem towering heroes in the eyes of the present day, to concentrate general

attention upon them, and thus produce a united state of mind. They were not able to pick out from the various school subjects what was glorious for the nation, to raise it above the level of a matter-of-fact account, and to kindle the national pride by such shining examples. At that time this would have seemed like chauvinism of the worst sort, which would hardly have been popular in that form. Righteous dynastic patriotism seemed pleasanter and easier to bear than the blazing passion of free national pride. The former was always ready to serve, while some day the latter might take control. Monarchist patriotism ended in veterans' associations; nationalist passion's course would have been hard to predict. It is like a high-bred horse, which will not stand everyone in the saddle. What wonder if people preferred to keep away from such a menace? No one seemed to think it possible that some day a war might come whose drum-fire and gas attacks would be a radical test of the durability of patriotic sentiment. But when it came, the lack of supreme nationalist passion was fearfully requited. People had little inclination left to die for their imperial and royal masters, and to most of them the "nation" was unknown.

Now that the Revolution has come upon Germany, and monarchical patriotism is thus automatically extinguished, the purport of history-teaching is really nothing but simple acquisition of knowledge. This state has no use for nationalist enthusiasm, and what it does want it will never get. There could be no dynastic patriotism of ultimate vitality in an age when the principle of nationalities held sway; even less could there be a republican enthusiasm. For there can scarcely be much doubt that the German people would not stay four and a half years on the battlefield under the motto, "For the Republic"; least of all would those stay who created this miracle structure.

As a matter of fact this Republic owes its unshorn subsistence only to the expressed general readiness voluntarily to pay any tribute and to sign any surrender of territory. It is pleasing to the rest of the world, just as every weakling seems more agreeable than a man of oak to those who meet him. *Of course this enemy fondness for this particular state form is also the most devastating*

criticism of it. They like the German Republic, and let it live because they could never possibly find a better ally in the work of enslaving our people. To this fact alone the splendid structure owes its present existence. That is why it can abandon any really nationalist education, and be satisfied with the "hoch" of Reich banner heroes who would run like hares if they had to protect this banner with their blood.

The Nationalist state will have to fight for its existence. It will neither receive it by signing Dawes Plans nor be able to defend its subsistence by them. But for its existence and its protection it will need the very thing which it is now thought possible to abandon. The more precious and incomparable form and substance are, the greater will be the envy and resistance of the enemy. The best protection will not be in arms, but in citizens; not fortress walls will defend the State, but a living wall of men and women, filled with supreme love of Fatherland and fanatical nationalist enthusiasm.

Hence the third thing to considered in scholastic education is:

In scholarship too the Nationalist state must see a means to further the national pride. Not only world history but the whole history of civilization must be taught this standpoint. An inventor must not seem great merely as an inventor, but he must seem greater yet as a member of the people. Admiration for any great deed must be transmuted into pride over its fortunate accomplisher as a member of one's own people. Out of all the myriad great names in German history the greatest must be selected, and so impressively presented to youth that they become pillars of an unshakable national feeling.

What is taught must be systematically built up from that standpoint; systematically education must be so shaped that the young person leaves school not as a half-pacifist, democrat, or something else, but as a complete German.

So that this national feeling may be genuine from the outset, and not a mere hollow sham, one iron principle must be hammered into the still plastic heads of youth: *He who loves his people proves it only by the sacrifices he is ready to make for it. There*

is no such thing as national feeling that looks only to advantage. No more is there nationalism that includes only certain classes. Huzzaing proves nothing, and gives no right to call oneself a nationalist unless a great, loving care for the preservation of a common, healthy nationality stands behind it. There is no reason to be proud of one's people so long as one must still be ashamed of any single class. But a people half of which is wretched and careworn, even degraded, offers such a sad picture that no one should be proud of it. Only when a nationality is sound in every limb in body and soul, can joy in belonging to it rightfully rise in everyone's breast to that height of feeling which we call national pride. And only the man who knows the greatness of his nationality will feel this highest pride.

Intimate fusion of nationalism and a sense of social justice must be implanted in the heart while still young. If that is done, some day a people of citizens will arise, bound to one another and forged together by a common love and a common pride, unshakable and invincible forever.

Our age's fear of chauvinism is the symptom of its impotence. Not merely lacking any overflowing strength, but finding it downright disagreeable, our age is no longer chosen by Fate for a great deed. For the greatest upheavals in this world would not have been thinkable if their driving force had been merely the middle-class virtues of peace and good order, instead of fanatical, nay hysterical passions.

Yet assuredly this world is moving toward a great upheaval. And the one possible question is whether it will turn out for the good of Aryan humanity or the profit of the wandering Jew.

By appropriate education of youth the race-Nationalist state will have to see to the preservation of a generation ripe for the last and greatest decisions on the globe.

The people that first travels this road will be victorious.

The consummation of the racial state's educational work must consist in burning a sense and feeling of race into hearts and brains of the youth entrusted to it, impressing it through both in-

stinct and understanding. No boy and no girl must leave school without having been brought to an ultimate comprehension of the necessity and nature of blood-purity. That will create the basis for the preservation of our nationality's racial foundations, and this in turn the assurance of the conditions for further cultural development.

For all the physical and all the intellectual training in the world would at bottom still be useless if it were bestowed on a creature which was not fundamentally ready and determined to preserve itself and its special nature.

Otherwise the thing would happen that we Germans have already to bewail on a large scale, perhaps without as yet grasping the whole extent of our tragic misfortune: *Even in the future we would remain mere cultural fertilizer—not only in the narrow sense of our present bourgeois view, which sees in a lost individual member of our people merely a lost citizen, but in the sense of the painful realization that despite all our knowledge and ability our blood is nevertheless marked for decline. By continually mating with other races we no doubt lift them from their previous cultural level to a higher grade, but we fall forever from our own elevation.*

This education from the standpoint of race, furthermore must likewise receive its final consummation in army service. And indeed the period of military service should be considered the conclusion of the ordinary education of the average German.

Important as the nature of physical and mental training in the populist state will be, the winnowing of human beings in itself is no less so. Today we take it lightly. In general the children of upper-class, momentarily prosperous parents are those considered worthy in their turn of higher education. Here questions of talent play a subordinate part. A peasant boy may have far greater gifts than the child of parents whose station in life has been a high one for generations, even though he may be inferior to the city child in general knowledge. But the latter's greater knowledge has in itself nothing to do with superior or inferior talents; it is rooted in the considerably greater abundance of impressions

which the child keeps receiving as a result of his more rounded education and his rich surroundings. If the talented peasant boy had grown up from babyhood in similar surroundings, his capacity for intellectual achievement would be altogether different.

There is today perhaps one single field in which a man's origin really counts less than his own native endowments—the field of art. Here, where one cannot simply “learn,” but must have everything born in him, and is only later subject to more or less fortunate development in the sense of wise fostering of the existing gift, the parents' money and property cut almost no figure. This is the best of proof that genius is not confined to the upper classes nor to wealth. The greatest artist not infrequently comes from the poorest home. And many a village small boy has later become a celebrated master.

It does not speak well for the deep thinking of our age that this realization is not made to serve for all our intellectual life. People believe that what cannot be denied in regard to art is not true of the so-called exact sciences. No doubt a man can be trained in certain mechanical skills, just as an expert trainer can teach an apt poodle the most astonishing tricks. But in animal-training it is not the animal's own intelligence which of itself leads to such exercises; and the same is true of man. It is possible, without consideration of any other talent, to teach a man certain scientific tricks, but the process is just as lifeless, as uninspired, as with the animal. It is even possible by dint of a certain intellectual drill to pound above-average knowledge into an average person; but it still remains lifeless, and at bottom sterile, knowledge. The product is a man who may indeed be a walking encyclopedia, but who nevertheless fails miserably in every particular situation and at every crucial moment in life; he has to be given special new training for every requirement, no matter how modest, and is unable to make the slightest contribution on his own account to the development of mankind. Knowledge produced by this sort of mechanical drill may suffice at best for the filling of a present-day State office.

It is to be taken for granted that in the totality of a nation's

population there will be talents for every possible field of daily life. It is further to be taken for granted that the value of knowledge will be the greater, the more the mere information is animated by the appropriate talent of the individual. *Creative achievements can occur only when ability and knowledge are mated.*

How boundless the sins of modern mankind in this direction are, another example may serve to show. From time to time the illustrated papers show the German bourgeois how a negro has for the first time become a lawyer, a teacher, perhaps even a minister or a heroic tenor somewhere or other. The feeble-minded bourgeoisie takes notice of such a miracle of animal-training with admiring astonishment, and is full of respect for this marvelous result of modern education; in the meanwhile the Jew is very shrewd about constructing from it a new proof that the theory of the equality of man, which he is forcing down the peoples' throats, is sound. It never dawns on the degenerate middle-class world that this is truly a sin against all reason—that it is criminal madness to train a born half-ape until one believes one has made a lawyer of him, while millions of members of the highest of civilized races must remain in a position altogether unworthy of them; that it is a sin against the will of the Eternal Creator to let hundreds and hundreds of thousands of his most gifted creatures decay in the modern proletarian bog while Hottentots and Zulus are being gentled for intellectual professions. For animal-training it is, just as with the poodle, and not “scholastic” education. The same care and pains spent upon intelligent races would equip every individual for similar achievements a thousand times more quickly.

This state of affairs would be intolerable if it were ever more than a question of individual cases; and it exists intolerably today, because talent and aptitude are not what count for higher education. The thought is positively intolerable that hundreds of thousands of absolutely untalented persons are thought worthy of higher education every year, while other hundreds of thousands, highly gifted, remain without any advanced training. The loss

which the nation thus suffers is incalculable. If the wealth of important inventions during the last few decades has shown extraordinary increase particularly in North America, this is in no small part because considerably more people of talent from the lower classes have a chance at higher education there than is the case in Europe.

Knowledge merely ladled out is not enough for inventing; it must be brought alive by talent. But to this we attach no importance; good marks alone are supposed to count.

Here too educational intervention from the state will be needed. *It is not the state's job to conserve the dominant influence of an existing class of society; its job is to find the most able brains among the totality of the nation, and to clothe them with honor and dignity.* It has not only an obligation to give the average child a definite education in the primary schools, but the duty to set talent on the road where it belongs. Above all, it must regard as its highest concern that of opening the doors of the state institutions of higher learning to every talent, no matter from what class it comes. This task it must perform because that is the only way in which the inspired leadership of the nation can grow out of the class representing mere sterile knowledge.

For another reason as well, the state must exercise foresight in this direction. Particularly in Germany our intellectual classes are so isolated and fossilized that they have no living connection with those beneath them. This has evil results in two ways: in the first place they have no understanding of and feeling for the broad masses. Their connection here has been broken too long for them still to have the necessary psychological understanding of the people. They have become strangers. Secondly, these upper classes have not the necessary strength of will. This is always weaker in caste-bound intellectual circles than in the primitive mass of the people. Academic education, Heaven knows, we Germans have never had any lack of; but of strong will and decisiveness only all the more. The more "intellectual" our statesmen have been, for instance, usually the feebler have been their real accomplishments. The political preparations and technical arm-

ament for the World War were inadequate not because insufficiently educated brains governed our people, but because the men in the government were over-educated, stuffed with knowledge and intelligence, but without any healthy instinct, and lacking in all energy and boldness. It was a catastrophe that our people had to fight this battle for existence under the Chancellorship of a philosophizing weakling. If instead of Bethmann-Hollweg we had had a more robust man of the people as a leader, the hero blood of the simple grenadier would not have flowed in vain. In the same way, the excessively rarefied intellectual refinement of our leadership was the best ally for the revolutionary November scoundrels. By shamefully holding back the national substance entrusted to them, instead of staking it in its entirety, these intellectuals themselves made possible the success of the others.

In this the Catholic Church is a splendid model to learn from. The fact that its priests are unmarried forces it to draw the new generation of the clergy from the great masses of the people, instead of from its own ranks. This particular significance of celibacy is usually not realized at all. It is the cause of the incredibly vigorous strength in this ancient institution. Because the giant army of ecclesiastics is recruited without interruption from the lowest classes of the peoples, the Church not only preserves an instinctive nearness to the emotional world of the people, but assures itself of a sum of energy and activity such as is always available only in the broad masses of the people. Hence the amazing youthfulness of this giant organism, its intellectual adaptability and iron strength of will.

It will be the business of a populist state in its educational system to take care that there is a constant replenishment of the existing intellectual classes by new blood from below. It is the state's duty carefully and scrupulously to sift the entire national population, discovering human material of obvious innate ability, and putting it to work for society. State and state offices do not exist to provide posts for special classes, but to accomplish the tasks that are set them. But that will be possible only if able and strong-willed personalities alone are trained for service. This

holds not only for all government positions but for the intellectual leadership of the nation in every field. To succeed in training the most able brains for the fields that they are fitted for, and to put them to work for the national community, is one element in the greatness of a people. *If two peoples of intrinsically equal endowments are competing, that one will win whose best talents are represented throughout its intellectual leadership; and the one will be defeated whose leadership is but one great common feeding-trough for certain groups or classes without consideration of the innate ability of individual members.*

In our present-day world this does seem impossible for the present. It will be objected at once that the son of a high state functionary, for instance, cannot be expected to become, let us say, an artisan simply because someone else, whose parents were artisans, seem abler. That may be true in the present social status of manual labor. And for that reason the populist state will have to arrive in principle at a new attitude toward the idea of work. *By centuries of education, if necessary, it will have to break the mischievous habit of despising physical labor. It will have to judge the individual man on principle not by the nature of his work, but by the form and excellence of his performance.* This may seem monstrous to an age in which the most vapid penny-a-liner is more highly thought of, simply because he works with the pen, than the most intelligent precision mechanic. But, as aforesaid, this wrong evaluation is not inherent in the nature of things, but has been artificially inculcated, and has not always existed. The present unnatural state of affairs results simply from the general diseased condition of our materialistic age.

The value of every piece of work is in principle double: a purely material and an ideal one. The material value lies in the importance, the material importance, of a job for the life of the community. The more members of the nation derive advantage from a given accomplishment—advantage both direct and indirect—the more highly the material value must be rated. This evaluation finds concrete expression in the material reward which the individual receives for his work. Contrasting with this purely

material value is the ideal one. It depends not on the importance by a material standard of the work accomplished, but on its intrinsic necessity. Certainly the material advantage of an invention may be greater than that of an ordinary hod-carrier's job, but just as certainly society depends on the small service as much as on the great one. Society may make a concrete distinction in evaluating the advantage of the individual job to the community, and it may give expression to this by varying the rate of pay; but it must establish the subjective equality of everyone whenever each individual takes pains to do his best in his own field, whatever that may be. On this the evaluation of a man must depend, not on his wages.

In a reasonable state, care must be taken to assign to the individual the activity that suits his ability, or in other words to train able minds for the work they can do best. Ability, however, is not inculcated but inborn, a gift of Nature and no merit of the man. Consequently social position must not depend upon the job more or less forced on the individual. This job is to be attributed to his birth, and to the particular education which led to the community's giving it to him. The evaluation of a man must be based on the way he handles the job for which society has made him responsible. The vocation which an individual pursues is not the purpose of his existence, but only the means to it. He himself should, on the contrary, go on cultivating and refining himself as a human being; but he can do this only within the confines of his cultural community, which must always rest on the foundation of a state. To the preservation of this foundation he must make his contribution. Nature decides the form of the contribution; all he must do is to pay back to the national community honestly and industriously what it has given him. The man who does this earns the top rank and the highest respect. *The material reward may be given to him whose achievement is correspondingly profitable to society; but the subjective reward must consist in the appreciation to which everyone is entitled who devotes to the service of his nationality the powers that Nature has given him, and the national community has*

trained. That means it is no longer shameful to be a good artisan; but it is shameful to waste God's days and the nation's bread and butter as an incompetent civil servant. And it will then be taken for granted that a man shall not be assigned to a duty which he is unequal to from the outset.

Such activity, furthermore, is the sole standard for the right to universal, equal, legal-civil participation.

The present age is cutting its own throat: it introduces universal suffrage, and chatters about equal rights, but can cite no foundation for them. It accepts a man's value as expressed in his material reward, and thus destroys the basis for the noblest equality that can possibly exist. Equality does not and cannot depend upon the accomplishments of individuals; but it is possible in the way in which each individual fulfils his special obligations. Only thus can the accident of Nature be eliminated in judging the value of a man, and the individual made the architect of his own importance.

In the present age, when whole groups of people know no way of judging one another except by salary classes, people have, as aforesaid, no comprehension of this. But this can be no reason for us to abandon the assertion of our ideas. On the contrary, *he who would heal this inwardly sick and rotten age must first muster up the courage to lay bare the causes of the disease. That must be the concern of the National-Socialist movement: to gather and range in order out of our own nationality, beyond all hidebound mediocrity, those forces capable of initiating the battle for a new world-concept.*

No doubt the objection will be made that in general the subjective evaluation is hard to separate from the material one, and that in fact the declining esteem in which physical work is held has been produced precisely by the lower rate of pay. This lower rate of pay, in turn, causes a restriction in the individual man's participation in the cultural wealth of his nation. But this very fact damages the man's subjective culture, which need have nothing to do with his work in itself. Indeed the best of reasons

for aversion to physical work is that owing to the poorer rate of pay the cultural level of the manual laborer is perforce depressed, thus justifying a lower evaluation.

There is a great deal of truth in this. For that very reason it will be necessary in the future to avoid excessive differentiation in wage scales. Let no one say that then accomplishment would cease. It would be the saddest sign of an age's decay if the impulse toward higher intellectual achievement lay only in higher pay. If this standpoint had been the prevalent one in the world thus far, mankind would be without its greatest scientific and cultural possessions. For the greatest inventions, the greatest discoveries, the most revolutionary scientific work, the most splendid monuments of human civilization were not given to the world through an urge for money. On the contrary, their creation not infrequently has represented an actual surrender of the earthly happiness of wealth.

It may be that money has become the sole sovereign of life today; but the time will come when man will kneel to higher gods once more. Many things may owe their existence solely to the craving for money and property, but there is probably very little of it whose absence would make mankind any poorer.

That is a further task of our movement: even now it must presage the coming day that will give the individual what he needs to live on, but at the same time will uphold the principle that man does not live exclusively for material enjoyment. This will find expression in a wisely restricted graduation of pay, which will allow every honest working man an honorable and decent existence at all times as a human being and a member of the nation.

Let it not be said that this is an ideal condition, such as this world could never endure in practice, and actually would never achieve.

We too are not so simple as to believe that a perfect age can ever be brought about. But this does not relieve anyone of the obligation to combat recognized faults, to overcome weaknesses, and to strive for the ideal. Harsh reality will of itself produce

all too many restrictions. But for that very reason man must do his utmost for the ultimate goal, and failures must not divert him from his purpose, any more than he can abandon a judicial system simply because errors slip through, or any more than he would condemn medicine because there will always be sickness in spite of it.

We must beware of holding the strength of an ideal too lightly. If anyone is faint-hearted in that respect, I would like to remind him, in case he has been a soldier, of a time whose heroism was the most overpowering testimony to the strength of idealistic motives. The thing that men died for then was not concern for their daily bread, but love of Fatherland, belief in its greatness, the universal feeling for the honor of the nation. And only when the German people abandoned these ideals to follow the practical promises of the Revolution, and exchanged the rifle for a knapsack, did it arrive not in a Heaven on earth, but in the purgatory of universal contempt and universal distress.

For that reason it is particularly necessary to set up against the arithmeticians of the present *realistic* Republic a faith in an *idealistic* Reich.

3. STATE MEMBER VS. STATE CITIZEN

IN GENERAL the structure today falsely termed a State knows but two sorts of men: citizens and foreigners. Those persons are citizens who possess the right of citizenship either by birth or by later naturalization; those persons are foreigners who enjoy the same right in another state. Here and there there are also comet-like beings—the so-called stateless; these are persons who have the honor not to belong to any of the present-day states—that is, to possess no right of citizenship anywhere.

Today the right of citizenship is acquired, as above mentioned, primarily by birth within the boundaries of a state. Race or membership in the nation plays no part whatever. A negro who used to live in the German protectorates, and now has a residence in Germany, thus brings a “German citizen” into the world if he has a child. In the same way any Jewish or Polish, African or Asiatic child can be declared a German citizen without more ado.

Aside from naturalization by birth there is the possibility of later naturalization. There are various qualifications connected with this, for instance that the prospective candidate shall if possible not be a burglar or a pimp, that he shall be politically safe, *i.e.* an innocuous political nincompoop, and finally that he shall not become a burden upon his new national home. In the present realistic age this means, of course, only a financial burden. In fact it is considered a recommendation to introduce a probable good taxpayer in order to hasten his acquisition of the modern kind of state citizenship.

Racial obstacles play no part whatever.

The whole process of acquiring citizenship is quite like that of joining an automobile club, for instance. The man sends in his

credentials, they are passed upon and seconded, and one fine day he is informed on a slip of paper that he has become a citizen—and the information is even put in a humorous and jocose form. The particular Zulu in question is told: “You have hereby become a German.”

This conjuring trick is accomplished by a State President. What Heaven could not attempt, one of these Theophrastus Paracelsuses does in the turn of a hand. One scratch of the pen, and a Mongolian ragamuffin is suddenly turned into a real “German.”

But not only is no attention paid to the race of one of these new citizens; even his physical health is not considered. He may be as much eaten away by syphilis as he pleases; to the modern state he is nevertheless welcome as a citizen so long as he is not, as aforesaid, a financial burden or a political menace.

Year by year these edifices under the name of states absorb poisons which they can hardly overcome.

The citizen is further distinguished from the foreigner by the fact that the path to all public offices is open to him, that he may be obliged to do military service, and that he is allowed to take an active and a passive part in elections. By and large this is all. Protection of personal rights and personal liberty the foreigner enjoys in equal measure, and not infrequently even more; such at any rate is the case in our present German Republic.

I know that people will not enjoy hearing all this; but anything more empty-headed, nay brainsick than our present naturalization law scarcely exists. There is at present one state in which at least feeble efforts toward a sounder approach are to be discovered. Of course it is not our model German Republic, but the American Union where they are trying once more to make at least some use of reason. By excluding on principle all immigrants unsound in health, and simply barring certain races from naturalization, the American Union is showing at least faint signs of an attitude inherent in the race-Nationalist state idea.

The race-Nationalist state divides its inhabitants into three classes: State citizens, state members, and foreigners.

Only *state membership* is acquired by mere birth. State membership as such does not entitle its possessor to hold public office, nor to political activity in the sense of participation in elections, either active or passive. It is a matter of principle that race and nationality of every state member must be determined. The state member is free at any time to surrender his state membership, and to become a citizen of the country whose nationality corresponds with his own. The foreigner is distinguished from the state member only by the fact that he possesses state membership in a foreign state.

The young state member of German nationality is obliged to go through the school education prescribed for every German. He thus undergoes the training to make him into a racially and nationally conscious member of the people. Subsequently he has to go through the further physical training prescribed by the state, and finally enters the army. The army training is universal; it must include every single German, training him for the sphere of military usefulness suited to his physical and intellectual abilities. On completion of his military duty, *state citizenship* is solemnly bestowed on the healthy young man of irreproachable character. This is the most valuable document of his entire earthly life. He thus enters upon all the rights of the state citizen, and enjoys all his privileges. For the state must make a sharp distinction between members of the people, who are the cause and the mainstay of its existence and its greatness, and persons who simply take up their residence as "gainfully employed" elements within a state.

The bestowal of the certificates of state citizenship should be made the occasion for the taking of a solemn oath to national community and state. This document must be a common bond bridging all other gulfs. *It must become a greater honor to be a street-cleaner and a citizen of the Reich than to be a King in a foreign state. As against the foreigner the state citizen is a privileged character. He is the master of the Reich.* But higher dignity has its obligations. The man without honor or character, the common criminal, the traitor to the Fatherland, etc., may be de-

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prived of this honor at any time. He then becomes once more a state member.

The German girl is a state member, and becomes a citizen only upon marriage. Citizenship may, however, be bestowed on female German state members engaged in earning a livelihood.

4. PERSONALITY AND THE IDEA OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE

IF THE racial National-Socialist State sees as its chief concern the development and preservation of the human mainstay of the state, it is not sufficient simply to foster the racial elements as such, then to educate them, and finally to prepare them for practical life; it will have also to adjust its own organization to this task.

It would be madness to judge man's value by the race he belongs to, and consequently to declare war on the Marxist standpoint, "a man's a man," if one were not determined to follow through to the logical conclusion. The logical conclusion of the recognition of the importance of blood, that is of the racial basis in general, is the transfer of this evaluation to the individual person. Just as I must assess peoples differently on the basis of the race they belong to, I must assess the individual person within a national community. The fact that a people is not simply a people carries over to the individual within a national community, about in the same sense that a mind is not simply a mind, since here too the elements of blood are probably by and large the same, but are subject to a thousand delicate differentiations in detail.

The first deduction from this realization is at the same time what I may call the cruder one—the attempt to foster the elements found to be racially particularly valuable within the national community, and to take thought for their especial multiplication.

This task is the cruder one because it may be recognized and accomplished almost mechanically. It is more difficult to recognize among the total community all the intellectually and idealistically most valuable minds, and to accord them the influence

that is not merely due the superior brain, but above all is useful to the nation. This winnowing according to ability and capacity cannot be mechanically undertaken; it is a labor uninterruptedly performed by the battel of daily life.

A world-concept whose effort it is, rejecting the democratic mass idea, to give the world to the best nation, that is to the highest human beings, must in logic obey the same aristocratic principle within this people, and assure to the best minds the leadership and the predominant influence in the people in question. It is thus not building upon the idea of majority, but on that of personality.

Anyone who today supposes that a racial National-Socialist state must differ from other states only purely mechanically—through better construction of its economic life, that is through a better balance of wealth and poverty, or a greater voice in the economic process for the broad masses, or by more equitable pay through the elimination of excessive wage differentials—has been caught in the merest externals, and has not the faintest notion of what we must describe as a world-concept. Everything I have just described still offers not the slightest security for permanent survival, and even less any claim to greatness. A people that got bogged in these altogether outward reforms would not thereby have the slightest guarantee of its victory in the general struggle of the peoples. A movement that feels this sort of generally balancing and undoubtedly equitable development to be the sole substance of its mission will not in reality produce any great or any true (because deep) reform of existing conditions, since its whole activity eventually becomes entangled in superficialities, without giving the people the inner preparedness which will finally allow it to overcome, I might almost say with mechanical certainty, those weaknesses from which we suffer today.

In order more easily to understand this, it may be useful for us to glance once more at the real origins and causes of human cultural development.

The first step which visibly removed man from the animal was that of invention. Invention itself originally consisted in the

discovery of ruses and stratagems whose employment made easier the fight for life against other creatures, and sometimes was the sole resource for its successful termination. These most primitive of all inventions do not reveal personalities sufficiently clearly, because naturally the later, or rather the present-day, human observer becomes conscious of them only as a mass phenomenon. There are for instance certain dodges and shrewd precautions that man may observe in animals, and that merely summarily come to his notice as a fact; and he is unable to determine or explore their origin, but simply resorts to describing such processes as "instinctive."

In the present case this last word means nothing. Anyone who believes in a higher development of living creatures is bound to admit that every manifestation of their vital urge and their battle for life must have had a beginning at some time—that *one* individual must have begun it, and that this process must have been repeated more and more often, and more and more widely, until at last it became almost a part of the subconscious of all the members of a given species, and made its appearance as an instinct.

This is easier to understand and believe in the case of man. His first shrewd steps in the battle with other animals must by origin surely have been actions of particularly gifted individuals. Even here, personality was once the absolute source of decisions and conduct that were later adopted and taken for granted by the whole of mankind. In just the same way any military commonplace, today perhaps the basis of all strategy, originally had its origin nevertheless in some one particular mind, and came to be generally taken for granted only in the course of many years, perhaps of tens of centuries.

Man supplements this first inventing by a second process: he learns to put other objects, and even living creatures, to work in the struggle to preserve his own existence; and here begins the real inventive activity of man as we see it everywhere around us today. These material inventions, starting with the use of the stone as a weapon, going on to the domestication of animals, the artificial production of fire by man, and so on to the varied and

admirable inventions of our day, lead us to recognize personalities as the components of such creations more and more clearly, the nearer the individual inventions are to our day, or the more significant and decisive they are. We know in any case that everything we see around us in the way of material inventions is the product of the creative vigor and ability of individual persons. And fundamentally all these inventions help to raise man higher and higher above the level of the animal world, and indeed definitely to remove him from it. Thus they serve, basically, humanity's constant development to higher levels. But even what made life easier as a simple ruse for the man hunting in the jungle long ago helps again now, in the shape of brilliant scientific perceptions, to make mankind's battle for its present existence easier, and to forge the weapons for the struggles of the future. In its ultimate consequences all human thinking and invention serve man's fight for life on this planet, even if the so-called practical use of an invention or a discovery or a profound scientific insight into the nature of things may not be visible at the moment. All things together help to raise man more and more out of the class of the living creatures around him; thus they strengthen and consolidate his position so that he expands and becomes in every respect the dominating creature on earth.

All inventions, then, are the result of the work of one person. Intentionally or unintentionally all these persons are more or less great benefactors of mankind. Their work later gives tools to millions, nay thousands of millions of human beings, to make their life-struggle an easier one.

If at the origin of the present material civilization we always see individual persons as inventors, complementing one another and building each on the one before, the same thing is true of the practice and execution of the things devised and discovered by the inventors. For all the processes of production are in turn originally equivalent to inventions, and thus dependent on personalities. Even purely theoretical mental work, quite impossible to measure in detail, yet nevertheless indispensable for all further material inventions, itself appears as the exclusive product of an

individual person. It is not the masses that invent, and not the majority that organizes or thinks, but always and only the individual man, the personality.

A human community cannot be considered well organized unless it is as helpful as possible in facilitating the work of these creative forces, and employing it usefully for the community. The most valuable part of the invention itself, whether material or in the world of ideas, is the inventor as a personality. To place him, then, in a position useful to the community is the first and highest concern of the organization of a national society. Indeed the organization itself should be but the carrying-out of this principle. Only thus is it released from the curse of mechanism, taking on life in its turn. *In itself it must be an embodiment of the endeavor to set heads above the masses, and consequently to subordinate the latter to the heads.*

Accordingly, the organization must not only not prevent the emergence of the heads from the masses, but on the contrary, through its own character it must facilitate and make this possible to the highest degree. In doing so it must go on the principle that mankind's salvation has never been in the masses, but in its creative minds, who thus in reality must be described as the benefactors of the human race. It is to the interest of the community to assure them of the preponderant influence and to facilitate their efforts. Unquestionably these interests are not satisfied and not served by the rule of the masses (which are neither experts nor possessed of thinking power, and certainly are not Divinely endowed), but only by the leadership of those whom Nature has equipped with special talents for the purpose.

The searching-out of these minds is taken care of, as aforesaid, primarily by the hard battle of life itself. Much is broken and destroyed, thus proving it is not fated for the ultimate, and only a few appear at last as the chosen. This process of selection still goes on today in the realm of thought, of creative art, even of economic life, although in the last particularly it is already subject to severe handicaps. The administration of the state and also its power, embodied in the organized defense forces of the

nation, are likewise ruled by this idea. In all these directions the idea of personality, of its authority over those below and its responsibility to the person above, still dominates. Political life alone has today entirely turned its back on this most natural of principles. While all of human civilization is but the result of the creative activity of persons in the entire directing body of the national community, but particularly at its head, the principle of the validity of the majority becomes the prime consideration, and, starting down from there, gradually begins to poison all of life, i. e. in reality to dissolve it. Even the destructive effect of Jewry's activity in other national bodies is to be attributed fundamentally only to its perpetual attempts to undermine the importance of the person among its host peoples, and to put the masses in its place. But thus instead of the organizing principle of Aryan humanity, we have the destructive principle of the Jew. He thus becomes the "decomposition ferment" of peoples and races, and in a larger sense the dissolvent of human culture.

Marxism appears as the pure essence of the Jew's attempts to eliminate the dominating importance of the personality in every field of human life, replacing it by the number of the masses. Its political counterpart is the parliamentary form of government, whose disastrous work we can see going on from the tiny nucleus of the village all the way up to the top of the government of the entire Reich; the economic counterpart is the system of a trade-union movement which serves not the real interests of the wage-earner but only the destructive purposes of the international world Jew. To whatever degree the economic system is removed from the influence of the personality principle, and surrendered instead to the action and effects of the masses, it is bound in its productive capacity to serve and be valuable to all, and must gradually become involved in inevitable retrogression. All works councils that try, instead of protecting the interests of their employes, to gain an influence on production itself, serve the same destructive purpose. They are hurtful to the total achievement, and thus, in reality, to the individual person. For the members of a body politic are satisfied in the long run not

entirely by mere theoretical catchwords, but rather by the good things of daily life which fall to the individual's lot, and by the resulting firm conviction that every achievement of a national community preserves the interests of individuals.

It makes no difference whether Marxism, on the basis of its mass theory, happens to seem capable of taking over and carrying on the existing economic structure of the moment. The soundness or fallacy of this principle is determined not by the proof of its ability to govern in the future what now exists, but only by its demonstration that it could itself create such a culture. Though Marxism were to take over and continue the present economic structure under its own leadership a thousand times over, even success in this activity would prove nothing as against the fact that Marxism would not be able, by using this principle, to create for itself what it takes over today in a finished state.

And of this Marxism has given practical proof. Not only has it nowhere succeeded in creating a civilization, or even an economic structure, but it has actually not been able to carry on existing ones according to its principles, and has had almost immediately to return by way of concessions to the ideas of the personality principle; nor can it do without these principles in its own organization.

What must fundamentally distinguish the populist world-concept from the Marxist one is the fact that it recognizes not only the value of race, but the importance of the personality, and thus makes these the pillars of its whole structure. These are the factors that carry its world-concept.

If the National-Socialist movement were not to understand the fundamental significance of this basic realization, and instead were superficially to patch up the present State, or actually to regard the mass standpoint as its own, it would really be only a party competing with Marxism; it would not on that account have a right to call itself a world-concept. If the social program of the movement consisted merely in crowding out personalities and putting the masses in their stead, that would mean the National Socialism itself was already eaten away by the poison of

Marxism, just as the world of our bourgeois parties is today.

The populist state must care for the welfare of its citizens by recognizing the importance of the personality's value in anything and everything, and thus introducing in every field that maximum of productive capacity which assures the individual of a maximum share.

Accordingly the populist State must release all leadership, but particularly the highest—that is the political—leadership, from its parliamentary principle of majority (*i.e.* mass) rule, unimpeachably assuring the right of personality instead.

Thence we draw the following deduction:

The best state constitution and state form is that which is most intrinsically certain to give leading importance and governing influence to the best minds of the national community.

Able men in the economic world cannot be appointed from above; they must fight their own way up. They give themselves the endless training from the smallest deal all the way through the greatest enterprise, and Life alone does the testing. Similarly, political brains cannot be suddenly "discovered." Geniuses of an extraordinary kind permit no regard for normal humanity.

The personality principle must be anchored in the state's organization, from the smallest nucleus of the village through the head of the government of the entire Reich.

There must be no majority decisions, but only those of responsible persons; and the word "council" must be brought back to its original meaning. Of course every man has counsellors to assist him, *but one man makes the decision.*

The principle which once made the Prussian army the most marvelous instrument of the German people must some day be, in a transferred sense, the basis of the upbuilding of our whole state conception: *authority of every leader over those below, and responsibility toward those above.*

Even then we shall not be able to do without those bodies which today are called parliaments. But their counsellors will really counsel, and only *one* man can have the responsibility, and he alone therefore the authority and the right to command.

Parliaments as such are necessary particularly because in them it is possible for those minds gradually to emerge that can later be entrusted with particularly responsible jobs.

The resulting general picture is as follows:

From the village up through the government of the Reich the populist state does not have a representative body which decides anything by majorities, but only advisory bodies that assist the particular chosen leader; he divides up the work among them, and at need they resume absolute responsibility in certain fields, just as the leader or chairman of the particular body has the responsibility on a larger scale.

On principle the populist state will not tolerate the practice of asking advice or judgment upon matters of a special, for instance an economic, nature from people who cannot possibly understand anything about it on the basis of their training and work.

From the outset, therefore, it divides its representative bodies into political and occupational Estate Chambers.

To assure satisfactory cooperation between the two there is always a picked special Senate above them.

No vote is ever taken in either of the Chambers or in the Senate. They are working institutions, not voting machines. The individual member has an advisory, but never a decisive, voice. This belongs solely to the particular chairman who is responsible for it.

This principle of direct connection between absolute responsibility and absolute authority will gradually evolve a picked group of leaders such as is quite unthinkable in our present age of irresponsible parliamentarism.

Thus the nation's state constitution is brought into agreement with the law to which it already owes its greatness in the cultural and economic field.

So far as the practical applicability of these conclusions is concerned, I would ask that it be not forgotten that the parliamentary principle of democratic majority rule has by no means

always held sway over mankind; on the contrary, it is to be found only in very brief periods of history, which have always been periods of the decay of peoples and states.

But of course it must not be supposed that such a transformation can be produced by purely theoretical measures from above, since logically it must not even stop with the constitution of a state, but must penetrate all other legislation, even the whole of civil life. An upheaval such as this can and will occur only through a movement which is itself built up in the spirit of these ideas, and thus bears the coming state within itself.

Hence the National-Socialist movement even today should make itself completely at home with these ideas, and put them into practical effect within its own organization, so that in the future it may not only lay down the same lines of guidance for the state, but may put at its disposal the perfected body of its own state.

5. WORLD-CONCEPT AND ORGANIZATION

THE populist state, of which I have tried to draw a general picture, will not be realized by the mere perception of what is necessary to the state. It is not sufficient to know how a populist state should look. Much more important is the problem of its creation. We cannot expect that the existing parties, which primarily are usufructuaries of the present state, shall of themselves effect a change and voluntarily alter their present attitude. This is the more impossible because their real directing elements are Jews and more Jews. The development we are going through at the moment would, if continued without hindrance, finally result in the all-Jewish prophecy—the Jew would devour the peoples of the earth and become their master.

Thus in his relation to the millions of German “bourgeois” and “proletarians” who shamble to their destruction largely out of cowardice coupled with indolence and stupidity, he pursues his way irresistibly, fully conscious of his future aim. A party led by him can therefore fight for none but his own interests; these have nothing in common with the concerns of Aryan peoples.

If one wishes to try to transform the ideal image of a racial-Nationalist state into practical reality, one must independent of the forces of public life hitherto, seek a new force willing and able to undertake the battle for such an ideal. For a battle it must be, inasmuch as its first task is not the creation of a populist conception of the state, but above all the elimination of the present Jewish conception. As so often in history, the main difficulty lies not in the formation of the new state of affairs but in making room for it. Prejudices and interests league themselves in a solid phalanx, and

try by every means to prevent the victory of a disagreeable and menacing idea.

Thus the fighter for such an ideal, with all his positive emphasis on it, is, alas, forced primarily to fight out the negative part of the battle, the part that is to bring about the elimination of the present condition.

Unpleasant as it may be to the individual, a young doctrine of great and new insignificance in principle must use the probing of criticism in all sharpness as its first weapon.

It shows little insight into historical developments when the so-called populists today thing it worth while to keep declaring that they by no means intend to indulge in negative criticism, but only in constructive work. This gabble is as childish and idiotic as it is truly "populist," and it proves how little trace even the history of their own times has left on them. Marxism too, has had an aim and it too is no stranger to "constructive work," (even if only the erection of a despotism of international world-finance Jewry!) But it began by practicing criticism for seventy years, nevertheless. It was destructive, disintegrating criticism, until the constant gnawing of the acid had undermined the old State and brought about its collapse. Only then did its so-called "building-up" begin. And this was natural, right and logical. An existing condition is not removed by mere emphasis and insistence on a future one. It is not to be expected that the followers, let alone those with an interest in the already existing state of affairs, can be completely converted and won over to the new one merely by defining a necessity. On the contrary it may all too easily happen that both conditions will exist side by side, so that the so-called *world-concept* becomes a *party*, from whose limitations it can never afterwards escape. For world-concepts are intolerant, and cannot be satisfied with the role of a "party among others;" they imperiously demand complete and exclusive recognition of themselves, along with a complete transformation of public life in accordance with their views. They cannot tolerate any simultaneously continuing defense of a previous state of affairs.

This is equally true of religions. Christianity, too, could not be content with building its own altar, but had perforce to proceed to the destruction of the heathen altars. The apodictic faith could grow only out of this fanatical intolerance: indeed intolerance is absolutely indispensable to it.

No doubt one can object that most such phenomena in world history are a matter of a specifically Jewish way of thinking; that this kind of intolerance and fanaticism is the absolute embodiment of the Jewish character. This may be a thousand times true, and we may deeply deplore the fact, and may, with all the well founded disquiet, remark its appearance in the history of mankind as something hitherto unknown—but that does not alter the fact that this condition exists to-day. The men who want to deliver our German people from its present situation must not rack their brains about how wonderful it would be if this and that did not exist, but must try to find out how what does exist can be got rid of. A world-concept full of hellish intolerance cannot be shattered except on an idea impelled on by a similar spirit, defended by the same intense will, but at the same time pure and absolutely true in itself.

The individual today may be pained to discover that the first intellectual terrorism befell the much freer ancient world with the appearance of Christianity; but he will not be able to dispute the fact that since then the world has been driven and dominated by this coercion, and that coercion can be broken only by coercion, and terrorism by terrorism. Only then can a new condition be constructively created.

Political parties are inclined to compromise; world-concepts never. Political parties count on adversaries; world-concepts proclaim their infallibility.

Political parties, too, almost always intend originally to achieve sole and despotic domination; they almost always have some tiny urge toward a world-concept. But the very narrowness of their program robs them of the heroism that a world-concept demands. This conciliatory intent brings them small and feeble souls, with whom no crusades can be undertaken. The result is that they

very soon stick fast in their own miserable pettiness. By doing that they give up the fight for a world-concept, and try instead, by so-called "constructive cooperation," to reserve themselves a place at the feeding-trough of existing institutions, and to keep it as long as possible. This is their whole aim. And if they are ever pushed away from the common trough by some brutally-inclined feeder, they do nothing but strive and scheme, whether by force or by guile, to push to the fore again among the hungry drove, to refresh themselves at last at the cherished fountain of nutriment, even though it cost their most sacred conviction. Jackals of politics!

As no world-concept is ever ready to share with another, it can never be ready to help in an existing state of affairs which it condemns, but feels duty bound to fight the condition and the entire world of hostile ideas by all means, *i.e.*, to contrive its downfall.

Both this purely disintegrative battle, which the others instantly recognize as a threat, and therefore oppose with united resistance, and the positive battle, attacking in order to establish its own new ideology, require determined warriors. Thus a world-concept can lead its ideas to victory only if it unites in its ranks the most courageous and energetic elements of its age and people, shaping them solidly into a vigorous fighting organizations. But for this end it is necessary for it, keeping these elements in mind, to pick certain ideas from its worlds image, and to clothe them in a form whose brief, precise, slogan-like quality makes them seem suitable as a credo for a new fellowship of men. While the platform of a merely political party is a formula for success in the coming election, the program of a world-concept is a formulated declaration of war on an existing order, an existing state of things, in short on an existing attitude toward the world.

That does not mean it is necessary for every individual fighting for this world-concept to have complete understanding and knowledge of the ultimate ideas and reasoning of the movement's

leaders. It is much more necessary that a few large points of view be made clear to him, and the most essential basic lines stamped indelibly on his mind, so that he is absolutely impregnated with the necessity of his movement's and his doctrine's victory.

The individual soldier is not initiated into the trains of reasoning in higher strategy. Instead he is trained to rigid discipline and a fanatical belief in the justice and strength of his cause, and to complete assimilation to it; the same thing must be done to the individual follower of a movement great in stature and future, and supreme in purpose.

An army whose soldiers were all generals, if only by training and comprehension, would be worthless; a political movement as the upholder of a world-concept is equally so if it tries to be a mere reservoir of "thinking" people. No: it needs the primitive soldier as well, or no inner discipline can be achieved.

It lies in the nature of any organization that it can subsist only if the supreme intellectual leadership is served by a broad and more emotional-minded mass of people. A company of two hundred men all equal in intellectual capacity would in the long run be harder to discipline than one of a hundred and ninety with smaller intellectual capacity, and ten more cultivated men.

In the past this fact has been of the greatest service to Social Democracy. It got hold of those members of the broad masses of our people who had been discharged from the army, where they had already been broken to discipline; and took them under its own equally rigid discipline. Its organization too constituted an army of officers and soldiers. The German laborer discharged from the army was the soldier, the Jewish intellectual the officer; the German trade-union officials may be regarded as the non-commissioned officers. The thing that our bourgeoisie always shook its head over, viz. the fact that only the so-called uneducated masses belonged to Marxism, was in reality the essential presumption for its success. For whereas the bourgeois parties, one-sidedly intellectual, constituted a useless and undisciplined mob, Marxism formed from its unintellectual human material an army of party soldiers who obeyed their Jewish director as

blindly as they had once obeyed their German officer. The German bourgeoisie, being exalted far above psychological problems, paid no attention to them on principle, and here too considered it unnecessary to ponder and so to recognize the deepest meaning and the peril of this fact. On the contrary, they believed that a political movement formed only from circles of the "intelligentsia" was superior for that very reason, and had more right, nay actually more chance, of getting into power than the uneducated masses would have. *They never realized that the strength of a political party by no means consists in the greatest possible and most independent intellectuality of the individual members, but rather in the disciplined obedience with which its members follow their intellectual leadership.* What counts is the leadership itself. If two bodies of troops are fighting, it is not the one each of whose members has the most advanced strategical training that will win, but the one with the superior leadership and at the same time the better-disciplined, more blindly obedient and better-drilled troops.

This is a fundamental perception which we must keep constantly in view in testing the possibility of translating a world-concept into action.

If, then, we must transform a world-concept into a fighting movement in order to lead it to victory, logically the movement's program must take into account the human material at its disposal. On one hand the ultimate aims and guiding ideas must be immovable; on the other the recruiting program must be brilliant and psychologically sound in its adaptation to the soul of those without whose help even the most splendid idea would always remain but an idea.

If the race-Nationalist idea is to grow from the vague washing of today into a clear success, it must pick out from the wide world of its ideas certain guiding principles calculated by nature and substance to attract and hold a great mass of men—specifically, that mass which alone can guarantee the battle of this idea as a world-concept. That is the German working class.

For this reason the program of the new movement was summed

up in a few guiding principles—twenty-five in all. They are intended to give a rough picture of the movement's intent primarily to the man of the people. They are to a certain extent a *political profession of faith*, on the one hand enlisting support for the movement, and on the other binding and welding the recruits together through a jointly recognized obligation.

At the same time the following realization must never be absent from our minds: Since the so-called *program of the movement*, while undoubtedly absolutely sound in its ultimate aims, has had to be formulated with due consideration of psychological factors, the conviction may in the course of time very well arise that perhaps certain tenets ought to be worded differently, *i.e.* formulated better. But any such attempt usually works out disastrously. For this opens to discussion something which ought to be unshakably firm; and if an individual point be deprived of dogmatic, doctrinal formulation, discussion will not immediately produce a new, better, and above all a unified formulation; it is far more likely to lead to endless debate and general anarchy. In such a case the alternatives must always be weighed—a new and happier formulation that causes a dispute within the movement, or a form perhaps not the very best at the moment, but constituting a coherent, unshakable, inwardly unified organism. Consideration will show that the latter is preferable every time. For since changes will never be more than a matter of outward form, such corrections may come to seem possible or desirable time after time. *And lastly, in view of men's superficiality there is great danger that they may see this purely external formulation of a program as the fundamental business of a movement.* But with that the will and strength to fight for the idea diminish, and the energy which should be directed outward is consumed in internal battles over the program.

With a doctrine actually sound in broad outline, it is less harmful to retain a formulation even though it no longer accords exactly with the truth, than to improve it and thus open up to discussion, with its mischievous consequences, what has thus far been considered a rock-ribbed basic law. That is in fact quite

impossible so long as the movement itself is still struggling for victory. How are we to fill men with blind faith in the truth of a doctrine if we spread uncertainty and doubt by constant alterations in its external structure?

After all, we must seek the essence not in outward shape, but always in the inner meaning. This, however, is unchangeable; and for its sake we can in the end but hope that, by keeping all disjunctive and doubt-producing processes at bay, the movement may gain the strength necessary for it to maintain itself.

Here too we can learn from the Catholic Church. Although its doctrinal structure conflicts at many points sometimes quite unnecessarily, with exact science and research, it is nevertheless not ready to sacrifice one syllable of its theses. It very rightly realizes that its vitality is not in more or less close adaptation to scientific results of the moment (which in reality are constantly wavering), but in tenacious adherence to dogmas once laid down, which alone give the whole its character of a faith. And so it is more solid today than ever. We may safely prophesy that the more appearances flee, the more blind devotion the Church, as a pole at rest amid the flight of appearances, will attract.

Accordingly, anyone who really and seriously desires the victory of a populist world-concept must realize not merely that only a movement capable of fighting is equipped to gain such success, but secondly that such a movement can itself hold its own only if built on an unshakably safe and solid program. In formulating its program, the movement must never presume to make concessions to the momentary spirit of the times, but must keep forever to the form originally found advantageous, or in any case at least until victory has crowned the movement. Until this has happened, any attempt to introduce arguments about the expediency of this or that point of the program will shatter the unity and fighting strength of the movement to whatever degree its followers take part in such inner discussion. That does not mean that an "improvement" carried out today might not be subjected to renewed critical scrutiny tomorrow, only to encounter another better substitute the day after. Anyone who lets down

the bars here opens up a road whose beginning he knows, but whose end is lost in a boundless expanse.

This important realization had to be put to use in the young National-Socialist movement. *In the program of the Twenty-Five Theses the National-Socialist German Workers' Party has a foundation which must be immovable.* The task of our movement's present and coming members must consist not in critically reworking these guiding principles, but in pledging themselves to them. Otherwise the next generation might, with equally good right, once more waste its strength on similar purely formal work within the party, instead of bringing new followers and thus new force to the movement. For the greater the number of followers the less will the essence of our movement consist in the letter of our tenets than in the meaning we succeed in giving them.

To these conclusions the young movement originally owed its name; in accordance with them the program was later drawn up; and in them the manner of its promulgation is rooted. To bring victory to populist ideas it was necessary to create a people's party, a party consisting not of intellectual leaders alone, but of manual workers as well.

Any attempt to proceed to the realization of populist lines of thought without such a forceful organization would be futile today and forever, just as in the past. Hence it is not only the movement's right but its duty to feel itself the advance guard and thus the embodiment of these ideas. As the basic ideas of the National-Socialist movement are populist ones, so too populist ideas are National-Socialistic. And if National Socialism is to conquer, it must avow this absolutely and exclusively. Here too it has the duty as well as the right to emphasize most sharply the fact that any attempt to maintain the populist idea outside the confines of the National-Socialist German Workers' Party is impossible, and in most cases actually based on fraud.

If anyone today accuses the movement of acting as if it "owned" the populist idea, there can be but a single answer:

It not only owns it, but for practical purposes it created it.

Nothing previously existing under that name was fitted to in-

fluence the destiny of our people in the slightest, because all these ideas were without any clear, unified formulation. It was in most cases a matter of mere isolated, disconnected convictions of various degrees of soundness, which not infrequently contradicted one another, and in no case had any cohesion among themselves. Even if this cohesion had existed, it was too weak ever to have sufficed as a basis on which to plan and build a movement.

This the National-Socialist movement alone accomplished.

Today all sorts of societies and petty societies, groups and petty groups, even "great parties," if you please, lay claim to the word *populist*; this in itself is a result of the National-Socialist movement's labors. *Except for its work, none of these organizations would ever have dreamed even of saying the word "populist"*; the word would have conveyed nothing to them, and their guiding minds, in particular, would have had no relation of any sort to that concept. It was only the work of the N. S. D. A. P. (*Nationalsozialistische deutsche Arbeiterpartei*) that made this concept into a meaningful word, which all sorts of people now lay their tongues to; its successful work in enlisting support, above all, has shown the power of populist ideas, so that the others are forced, if only by their own cupidity, at least to pretend they desire something similar.

Just as they have always made everything serve their petty speculation in elections, so now to these parties the concept, "populist," remains a wholly external empty catch word, by which they try to offset the National-Socialist movement's drawing-power with their own members. For it is only fear for their own survival and alarm at the rise of a movement supported by a new world-concept, whose universal significance and dangerous exclusiveness both they have inklings of, that puts into their mouths words they did not know of eight years ago, laughed at seven years ago, called idiocy six years ago, combatted five years ago, hated four years ago, prosecuted three years ago, and finally themselves annexed two years ago to use along with the rest of their vocabulary as a war-whoop in battle.

Even today we have still to keep pointing out that none of these parties has any inkling of *what the German people needs*. The most striking proof of this is the superficiality with which they mouth the word "populist."

No less dangerous are all those who roam around as sham populists, forging fantastic plans based mostly on nothing beyond some *fixed idea* that may be sound enough in itself, but whose isolation makes it quite meaningless in forming a great, unified fighting fellowship, and certainly unfitted to build one up. These people who stir together a program partly from their own thinking and partly from what they have read are often more dangerous than the confessed enemies of the populist idea. At best they are sterile theorists; but they are usually unconscionable blusters, who not infrequently believe they can mask the spiritual and intellectual hollowness of their actions and abilities behind a flowing beard and a primitive-Germanic to-do.

In contrast with all these unprofitable attempts, therefore, it is a good thing for us to recall the time when the young National-Socialist movement began its struggle.

6. *THE STRUGGLE OF THE EARLY DAYS*
THE IMPORTANCE OF SPEECHES

The first great meeting, on February 24th, 1920, in the Hofbräuhaus Banquet Hall, had not yet ceased to echo within us by the time we began preparing for the next. Whereas it had always been thought doubtfully advisable to hold a little meeting once a month or even once a fortnight in a city the size of Munich, it was now planned to have a great mass-meeting once a week. I need not say that one fear and one alone kept plaguing us: would people come, and would they listen to us?—even though I personally was unshakably convinced even then that once people are there they will stay and follow the speech.

During those days the Munich Hofbräuhaus Banquet Hall took on for us an almost consecrated significance. A meeting every week, almost always in that hall; and the place better filled, and the people more attentive every time. Starting with "War guilt," to which at that time nobody paid any attention, and going on through the Peace Treaties, almost everything was dealt with that seemed expedient for purposes of agitation or necessary as a matter of ideas. In particular the greatest attention was given to the Peace Treaties. Again and again the young movement kept prophesying to the great masses of people, and by now almost every prophecy has been fulfilled. Today it is easy to talk or write about those things. But in those days a public mass-meeting embracing not bourgeois mediocrities but inflamed proletarians, and dealing with the subject of "The Peace Treaty of Versailles," was tantamount to an attack on the Republic and a sign of reactionary if not monarchist principles. At the very first sentence criticizing Versailles one was the target of the stereotyped inter-

ruption, "And Brest-Litovsk?" "Brest-Litovsk!" The crowd would keep roaring this again and again, until it gradually got hoarse, or the speaker gave up trying to convince it. One could have beaten his head against the wall for despair of such a people! It would not listen and would not understand that Versailles was a shame and a disgrace; not even that that dictation amounted to an unheard-of plundering of our people. The Marxist work of destruction, and enemy propaganda poison, had put these people beyond reach of reason. And even so we had no right to complain. For how immeasurable was the guilt on the other side! What had the bourgeoisie done to call a halt to this fearful disintegration, to oppose it, and to clear the path for truth by better and more complete enlightenment? Nothing, and again nothing! In those days I never saw them anywhere—the great populist apostles of today. They may have been talking in clubs, at tea-tables, in like-minded circles; but where they should have been, among the wolves, there they never ventured—unless there was an opportunity to howl with them.

I myself realized that the question of War guilt must be cleared up, and cleared up in the sense of historical truth, for the little band that as yet made up the Party. That our movement should give a knowledge of the Peace Treaty to the great masses was an indispensable step toward the movement's success in the future. In those days, when they all still saw the Peace as a success for democracy, it was necessary to make a stand against it, burning oneself into people's brains forever as an enemy of that Treaty, so that later, when bitter reality should reveal the delusive tinsel unadorned, in all its naked hatred, the memory of our earlier attitude would win us their confidence.

Even that long ago I always advocated making a stand against the whole of public opinion, without regard for popularity, hatred, or battle, on certain important basic questions where its attitude was wrong. The N. S. D. A. P. must not be a tool of public opinion, but must become its master. It must be not the masses' menial, but their lord.

Particularly for a movement that is still weak, there naturally

exists a great temptation, at times when an overwhelmingly superior adversary has succeeded by his seductive wiles in driving the people to a mad decision or a wrong attitude, to follow along and join in the shouting, especially if from the young movement's own standpoint a few reasons—though they be but apparent ones—seem to speak for it. Human cowardice seeks such reasons so eagerly that it almost always finds something to give colorable justification for joining in such a crime even from "its own standpoint."

Several times I have met with cases where it took supreme energy not to let the ship of the movement float into the artificially-induced general current, or rather to let it drift with it. The last time was when our hellish press, to which after all the German people's existence is as Hecuba, succeeded in lifting the South Tyrol question to an importance which will yet be disastrous to the German people. Without stopping to reflect whose work they were doing, many so-called "nationalist" men and parties and societies joined the general outcry simply out of cowardice in face of the public opinion inflamed by the Jews, and helped senselessly to support the struggle against a system which we Germans, precisely in the present situation, ought to regard as the one ray of light in a degenerate world. While the international world-Jew slowly but surely throttles us, our so-called patriots roar against the man and the system that have dared at least in one place on earth to withdraw from the Jewish-masonic embrace, and to offer nationalist resistance to this international world poison. But it was too tempting for weak characters simply to set their sails before the wind, capitulating to the outcry of public opinion. And a capitulation it was. Though people in their badness and falsity may not admit it, perhaps not even to themselves, it is nevertheless the truth that only cowardice and fear of the people's temper, stirred up by the Jew, made them take part. All other explanations are contemptible excuses of the guilty little sinner.

Here it was necessary to yank the movement around with an iron hand in order to preserve it from ruin by this tendency. To undertake such a change of front at the moment when public

opinion, fanned by every force that could drive it, is burning like a great flame in one single direction, is indeed a course momentarily not altogether popular, and in fact often almost dangerous to the life of the daring attempter. Not a few men in history have been stoned at such moments for an action that posterity later had every reason to thank them for on its knees.

That is what a movement must count on, not the momentary applause of the present. No doubt it is true that at such moments the individual grows fearful; but he must never forget that after every such moment comes deliverance, and that a movement seeking to renew a world must serve not the moment but the future.

In fact we can remark that the greatest and most lasting successes in history are usually those that met with the least understanding at the beginning, because they were in sharp opposition to general public opinion, its conclusions and its desires.

This we were able to learn for ourselves even then, on the first day of our public appearance. Verily we did not "court the favor of the masses," but opposed the madness of the people, everywhere. During those years it almost always happened that I was appearing before a gathering of people who believed the opposite of what I meant to say, and wanted the opposite of what I believed. Then it would be a task of two hours to raise two to three thousand people out of their former convictions, to shatter the foundations of their old comprehensions blow by blow, and finally to lead them on to the ground of our conviction and our world-concept.

In the short time I learned something important, viz. to knock the weapon of the opponent's retort from his hand myself at the outset. It was soon noticed that our adversaries, particularly as represented by their open-forum speakers, had a very definite "repertoire" in which constantly recurring objections were made to our assertions, so that the uniformity of the process indicated a purposeful and regular training. And so it was. Here we encountered the incredible discipline of our adversaries' propaganda; and it is still my chief pride that I found the means not

simply to make that propaganda ineffectual, but with it eventually to smite its own creators. Within two years I was a master in the art.

It was important in every single speech to realize in advance the probable substance and form of the objections to be expected in the discussion, and to pull these entirely to pieces beforehand in one's own speech. It was expedient always to cite the possible objections oneself, and to prove their inapplicability; thus the listener, who came in an honest spirit even though stuffed with the objections he had been trained in, was more easily won over by the anticipatory refuting of the difficulties that had been impressed on his memory. The stuff he had been drilled in was automatically refuted, and his attention was attracted more and more to the speech.

This was the reason why after my very first lecture on "The Peace Treaty of Versailles," which I delivered while still a so-called "education man" for the troops, I altered it to the extent of talking on subsequent occasions on "The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles." For I had remarked within a very short time, in fact during the discussion after my first lecture, that in reality people knew nothing whatever about the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but that their parties' skilled propaganda had contrived to pillory this particular treaty as one of the world's most shameful acts of outrage. It was to be ascribed to the perseverance with which this lie was forever served up to the great masses that millions of Germans saw the Peace Treaty of Versailles merely as the retribution for the crime we had committed at Brest-Litovsk, and thus felt that any real struggle against Versailles was wrong and persisted in a moral indignation often deeply honest. And this was one of the reasons why the impudent, monstrous term "making amends" managed to get adopted in Germany. This most truthless of all hypocrisy seemed a real execution of higher justice to millions of our misled fellow-nationals. Horrible, but so it was. The best proof of this was the success of the propaganda which I now initiated against the Peace Treaty of Versailles, which I prefaced with a disquisition

on the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. I matched the two Peace Treaties, comparing them point by point, and showing the actual absolutely boundless humaneness of the one treaty as against the inhuman cruelty of the second; and my success was a smashing one. I have talked on that subject before meetings of two thousand people, where I was often met by the looks of thirty-six hundred hostile eyes. And three hours later I would have before me a billowing mass filled with holiest indignation and unbounded wrath. Once again a great lie had been torn from the hearts and brains of a crowd numbering thousands, and a truth planted in its stead.

At that time I considered these two lectures, viz: "The true causes of the World War" and "The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles," my most important ones, so that I repeated and repeated them dozens of times in constantly new shapes until a certain clear and unified attitude on at least this one point was common among the people from among whom the movement drew its first members.

For me myself these meetings had the further advantage that I gradually changed over into a mass-meeting speaker, and grew adept in pathos and the gestures that a great room holding a thousand people demands.

Except—as I have emphasized before—for some small circles, I saw no enlightenment in this direction from the parties that now throw out their chests, acting as if *they* had produced a transformation in public opinion. But if a so-called nationalist politician did give a lecture of that tendency somewhere, it was sure to be only for circles already largely of his opinion, to whom what was said was at best a reinforcement of their own convictions. In those days that was not what counted; the important thing was to recruit, through enlightenment and propaganda, those people who by training and intellectual attitude were on the other side of the fence.

The leaflet too we put to work for this enlightenment. While I was still in the army I had written a leaflet with a comparison of the Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles that had

been distributed in tremendous editions. Later I took over elements of it for the Party, and here also the effect was good. The first meetings were indeed generally distinguished by the fact that the tables were covered with all kinds of leaflets, newspapers, pamphlets, etc. Still, the main emphasis was put on the spoken word. And it is in fact alone capable of producing really great upheavals, and this for general psychological reasons.

In the first volume I showed that every great and world-shaking event has been produced not by the written but by the spoken word. In part of the press this was followed by a long discussion in which naturally a very sharp stand was taken against that assertion, particularly by our bourgeois wisecracks. But the very reason this occurred confounded the doubters. For the bourgeois intelligentsia protests against that sort of approach only because it plainly lacks the vigor and capacity to influence the masses by the spoken word, having concentrated more and more on purely literary activity, abandoning the real agitator's weapon of oratory. But in time such a habit leads perforce to that which distinguishes our bourgeoisie today, viz., the loss of the psychological instinct for mass effect and mass-influence.

While the speaker receives constant guidance from the crowd he is speaking before, inasmuch as he can judge all the time from the faces of his audience whether they are following his disquisition with understanding, and whether the effect and the impression of his words is leading to the desired goal, the writer does not know his readers at all. Consequently he will not aim from the outset at any definite crowd of people before his eyes, but will keep his treatment general. In that way he loses to a certain extent in psychological delicacy, and consequently in adaptability. And in general a brilliant speaker will write better than a brilliant writer speaks, unless he practices the art constantly. There is also the further fact that the masses of people are lazy by nature, remaining sluggishly in the rut of old habit, and they do not like to pick up anything written unless it accords with what they themselves believe, and offers what they hope for. Hence a written work of a given tendency is usually read

only by people who already belong to that movement. At most a poster or a leaflet may be short enough to count on a moment's attention from one who thinks differently. There is a better chance for the picture in all its forms, up to and including the moving picture. Here a man needs to depend still less on his understanding; it is enough simply to look, or at most to read very short captions; and consequently many people are much readier to take in a pictorial representation than to read a longer written work. Much more quickly—I might almost say at one blow—a picture gives a man enlightenment which he could get from written matter only by tedious reading.

But the most essential point is that written matter never knows what hands it will fall into, and yet it must retain its fixed form. In general the effect will be the greater, the more this form accords with the intellectual level and character of those who are to be its readers. A book intended for the broad masses must consequently try from the outset to give a different effect in style and elevation from a work destined for higher intellectual levels.

Only in this sort of adaptability does written matter approach the spoken word. The speaker may treat the same theme as the book; but if he is a great and inspired popular speaker he will scarcely repeat the same subject twice in the same form. He will always let himself be carried along by the broad masses in such fashion that his feeling will give him precisely the words he needs to move his audience of the moment. If he makes even the slightest mistake, he has the living correction constantly in front of him. As above mentioned, he can read from the expressions of his listeners in the first place whether they understand what he is saying, in the second place whether they can follow it all, and in the third place how completely they are convinced of the soundness of what they hear. If he sees—firstly—that they do not understand him, he will make his explanation so primitive and plain that the dullest must grasp it; if he feels—secondly—that they cannot follow him, he will build up his ideas so cautiously and slowly that even the feeblest among the whole crowd is

not left behind; and—thirdly—if he suspects that they do not seem convinced of the truth of what he says, he will go on repeating with new illustrations, putting forward the unspoken objections he can sense, and refuting and shattering them until finally even the last opposition group shows by attitude and expression that it has surrendered to his arguments.

With human beings it is not infrequently a matter of overcoming prejudices that are not founded on reason, but supported only by feeling, mostly unconsciously. To overcome this barrier of instinctive dislike, emotional hatred, and prejudiced objection is a thousand times harder to correct than a faulty or mistaken intellectual opinion. False ideas and wrong knowledge can be eliminated by instruction, emotional resistances never. Only an appeal to these mysterious forces themselves can take effect here; and that can hardly ever be done by the writer, but almost solely by the speaker.

Of this the most striking proof is the fact that the bourgeois press, often very adroitly presented, flooding our people in editions of unheard-of millions, has not prevented the great masses from becoming the bitterest enemies of this very bourgeois world. The whole newspaper flood and all the books produced year after year by intellectualism flow off the millions of the lower classes like water off oiled leather. This can prove but two things: the unsound substance of this whole writing production of our bourgeois world, or else the impossibility of reaching the hearts of the broad masses by writing alone—particularly, of course, when the writing has so little psychological sense as is the case here.

Let it by no means be replied (as a great German-Nationalist paper in Berlin attempted to do) that Marxism itself disproves this assertion by its very writings, particularly by the effect of the basic work of Karl Marx. Probably no more superficial defense of an erroneous view has ever been attempted. What has given Marxism its astonishing power over the broad masses is by no means the formal, written product of Jewish brainwork, but the enormous wave of oratorical propaganda that has pos-

essed itself of the masses in the course of years. Out of a hundred thousand German workers, on an average not a hundred know this book, which has always been studied by a thousand times more intellectuals, and particularly Jews, than real followers of the movement from the great lower classes. And in fact the book was written not for the broad masses at all, but entirely for the intellectual leadership of the Jewish machine of world conquest; that machine has been stoked with other fuel—the press. For this it is that distinguishes the Marxist press from our bourgeois one. *The Marxist press is written by agitators, and the bourgeois press attempts to carry on agitation by writers.* The Social Democratic back-alley editor, who almost always comes to the editorial chair from the meeting-hall, has an unparalleled knowledge of his customers. But the bourgeois pen-wielder, appearing before the broad masses out of his study, is made unwell by their mere exhalations, and is thus helpless in dealing with them by the written word as well.

What has won the millions of workers for Marxism is less the Marxist Church Fathers' way of writing than the tireless and truly tremendous propaganda work of ten-thousands of tireless agitators, from the great apostle of trouble-making down to the little union official and the picked man and question-period speaker; than the hundreds of thousands of meetings at which these speakers, standing on the table in a smoky pub room, have hammered away at the masses, thus acquiring a wonderful knowledge of this human material, a knowledge that has enabled them to choose the right weapons to attack the citadel of public opinion. And it is the gigantic mass demonstrations, the marches of a hundred thousand men, which have burned into the shabby little man the proud conviction that even though a poor worm he is a limb of a great dragon whose fiery breath will some day send the hated bourgeois world up in flames, and bring final victory to the proletarian dictatorship.

It was from such propaganda that the men came who were willing and prepared to read the Social Democratic press—a press which itself is not written but spoken. For whereas in the

bourgeois camp, professors and bookish scholars, theorists and writers of every sort sometimes try to speak, in Marxism the speakers sometimes try to write. And especially the Jew (here particularly in evidence) will be, owing to his worthless dialectical adroitness and suppleness, more an oratorical agitator than a formative writer, even as an author.

This is why the bourgeois newspaper world (quite aside from the fact that it is largely Judasized too, and thus has no interest in really instructing the broad masses) has not the slightest influence on the attitude of the broadest classes of our people.

How hard it is to overthrow emotional prejudices, states of mind, feelings, etc., and to replace them with others, on how many scarcely tangible influences and conditions success depends—all this the sensitive speaker can judge from the fact that even the time of day at which his speech takes place may be of decisive importance for its effectiveness. The same speech, the same speaker, the same subject have entirely different results at ten in the morning, at three in the afternoon, and in the evening. I myself as a beginner sometimes called meetings for the morning, and I still remember particularly a demonstration which we staged in the Münchener-Kindl Cellar as a protest "against the oppression of German territories." At that time this was Munich's largest hall, and it seemed a very risky venture. To make attendance specially easy for the movement's followers and for everyone else who might come, I set the meeting for a Sunday morning at ten o'clock. The result was crushing, but extremely instructive. The hall was full, the impression really stunning, but the general level of feeling was like ice; nobody warmed up, and I as a speaker was deeply unhappy at not being able to establish any relationship, even the slightest contact, with my audience. I believed I had spoken no worse than at other times, but the result seemed to be nil. When I left the meeting I was completely dissatisfied, if one experience the richer. Similar attempts that I made later led to the same result.

This need not surprise us. One has but to go to a theatrical performance, and look at a play at three in the afternoon, and

the same play with the same cast at eight in the evening, and he will be astonished at the difference in the impression and effectiveness. A person with a sensitive feel and the ability to analyze this emotional state will notice at once that the impressiveness of the afternoon performance is less than that in the evening. The same statement holds even for a film. This is important, because in the case of the theater it might be said that possibly the actor does not work so hard in the afternoon as in the evening. But the movie does not differ in the afternoon and at nine in the evening. No: the time itself has a definite effect here, just as halls have on me. There are halls that likewise leave one cold, for reasons hard to discover, that somehow violently resist any generation of warmth. Traditional memories and conceptions existing in man may also decisively influence an impression. Thus a performance of *Parsifal* at Bayreuth will always have a different effect from one anywhere else in the world. The mysterious magic spell of the building on the Festspielhügel of the old Margraves' city cannot be replaced or even compensated for by externals.

All these cases are a matter of diminishing man's freedom of will. Of course this is truest of political meetings, which of their nature are attended by people of contrary will, who have then to be won over to a new purpose. In the morning, and even during the day, people's will-power seems to resist with utmost energy the imposition of an outside will and an outside opinion. In the evening, on the other hand, it more easily succumbs to the dominating force of a stronger will. For in truth every such meeting represents the wrestling of two opposing forces. A man of dominating, apostolic character will by his outstanding oratory succeed in winning to the new purpose men whose resistance has already been quite naturally weakened, more easily than those still in full possession of their force of mind and will.

The same purpose is served by the artificial and yet mysterious twilight of Catholic churches, the burning candles, incense, censers, etc.

In wrestling with the adversaries to be converted, the speaker

will gradually develop that wonderful sensitivity to the psychological requirements of propaganda which the writer almost always lacks. Consequently written work, with its limited effectiveness, ordinarily will serve rather to preserve, strengthen and deepen an already existing view or set of principles. Really great historical upheavals have never been produced, but at most accompanied, by the written word.

It must not be supposed that the French Revolution would ever have been brought into being by philosophic theories if it had not found an army of trouble-makers led by demagogues in the grand manner, who inflamed the passions of a people already tormented, until at last the fearful volcanic eruption followed that froze all Europe with horror. And similarly the greatest revolutionary upheaval of recent times, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, came about not through Lenin's writings, but through the hate-stirring oratorical activity of countless incendiary apostles great and small.

This people of illiterates really was not inspired to the Communist Revolution by theoretical reading of such as Karl Marx, but by the shining heaven that thousands of agitators—who were, it is true, all working for an idea—promised to the people.

So it was, and so it will always be.

It accords perfectly with our German intelligentsia's obstinate isolation from life to believe that the writer must necessarily be the speaker's superior in intellect. This notion is deliciously illustrated by a review in the nationalist paper already mentioned, in which it is remarked that one is often disappointed on suddenly seeing an admittedly great orator's speech in print. That reminds me of another review that fell into my hands during the war; it put the speeches of Lloyd George, who was at that time still Munitions Minister, painstakingly under the magnifying glass—to arrive at the brilliant conclusion that these addresses were intellectually and philosophically inferior products, banal and obvious. I got hold of some of these speeches myself, in the shape of a tiny volume, and I could not help laughing aloud at the way these masterpieces of psychological and spiritual steering

of the masses left the ordinary German goose-quill warrior completely blank. This man judged the speeches simply by the impression they made on his own blasé nature, while the great English demagogue was working exclusively to influence the mass of his listeners and, in the widest sense, the entire lower-class English nation, as much as possible. From that standpoint this Englishman's speeches were marvelous performances, because they displayed an absolutely astonishing knowledge of the soul of the lower levels of the common people. And their effect was in fact tremendous.

Compare with this the helpless babble of a Bethmann-Hollweg. His speeches did indeed appear to be more intelligent, but in reality they showed only the man's inability to speak to his people, which he was a stranger to. And yet the birdlike brain of a German scribbler, naturally of the highest scientific cultivation, could evaluate the intellectuality of the English Minister by the impression which a speech intended for mass effect made on his own nature, ossified for very knowledge; and could compare it with the kind of a German statesman whose intellectual chatter of course fell on much more fruitful soil in his own case. That Lloyd George was in genius not merely equal to a Bethmann-Hollweg, but a thousand times superior, he proved by the way he found for his speeches the form and the expression that opened the heart of his people to him, and finally brought the people to work absolutely for his will. The very primitiveness of the language, the directness of its forms of expression, and the use of easily understandable elementary illustrations prove the Englishman's outstanding political capacity. *For I must measure a statesman's speeches to his people not by the impression they will make on a university professor, but by the effect they have on the people.* That alone is the yardstick of the speaker's genius.

The astonishing development of our movement, which was founded a few years ago out of nothing, and today is already thought worthy of being bitterly hounded by every enemy of our people within and without, is to be attributed to constant

mindfulness and application of these conclusions.

Important as the writings of the movement may be, in our present situation they will mean more to the unified and uniform training of superior and subordinate leaders than to the enlisting of hostile masses. Only in the rarest cases will a convinced Social Democrat or a fanatical Communist condescend to purchase a National-Socialist book or even a pamphlet, read it, and from it gain an insight into our conception of the universe, or study the criticism of his own. Even a newspaper will very seldom be read unless it bears the stamp of party regularity from the outset. Even if it were, it would do little good, for the total impression of a single issue of a newspaper is so diffuse, and its effect so disconnected, that no effect on the reader must be expected from a single reading. Nor must one expect of a person for whom even pennies count that he should subscribe to an opposition paper out of a pure urge for objective enlightenment. Scarcely one among thousands will do it. Only the man who has already been won by the movement will regularly read the party organ as the current news service of his movement.

The "spoken" leaflet is another matter. Somebody is much more likely to look at it, particularly if he gets it gratis, and even more if the very headline vividly treats a theme that is in everyone's mouth at the moment. When he has read it more or less carefully, he may possibly be made aware of new attitudes and points of view, even of a new movement. But even this at best merely gives a gentle push, and never creates an accomplished fact. For the leaflet too can only suggest or call attention to something, and it becomes effective only in connection with subsequent and more thorough instruction and enlightenment of its readers. And that always means the *mass meeting*.

The mass meeting is necessary because (if for no other reason) there the individual, who feels isolated as a budding member of a young movement, and may easily come to fear he will be alone, sees for the first time the spectacle of a larger fellowship, which has a strengthening and encouraging effect on most people. The same man would go over the top as a unit in a company or a

battalion, surrounded by all his comrades, with a lighter heart than he would if he had to depend altogether on himself. In a pack he always feels somewhat safer, even though in reality there may be a thousand reasons against it.

The community character of a big demonstration not only strengthens the individual, but unites, and helps to produce *esprit de corps*. The man who is first in his office or factor to assert a new doctrine, and hence is subjected to heavy pressures, has need of the strength to be found in the conviction that he is a fighter for and a member of a great, all-embracing body. He can get his first impression of this body only from a common mass demonstration. When he comes from his little workshop or from the big firm, in which he feels small indeed, into a mass meeting for the first time, and finds thousands and thousands of men with similar convictions around him; when he is swept away as a seeker into the tremendous stream of hypnotic intoxication and enthusiasm of three to four thousand others; when the visible success and the affirmation of thousands confirm the rightness of the new doctrine, and awaken for the first time a doubt of his previous belief's truth—then he himself succumbs to the magic influence of what we describe by the words *mass suggestion*. The will, the longing, and likewise the strength of thousands accumulates in each individual. The man who comes into such a meeting doubting and wavering goes away inwardly fortified; he has become a member of a community.

The National-Socialist movement must never forget this, and above all it must never let itself be influenced by the bourgeois nit-wits that know better about everything, but have nevertheless tossed away a great State along with their own existence and the domination of their class. They are monstrously smart, no doubt, can do anything, understand everything—only one thing they could not do: prevent the German people from falling into the arms of Marxism. Here they were a wretched and pitiful failure, so that their present conceit is but presumption, which is well-known as the yokefellow of stupidity: ignorance is the mother of presumption.

If today these people allow no special merit to the spoken word, it is merely because they have already convinced themselves, thank God, of the ineffectuality of their own harangues.

7. THE STRUGGLE WITH THE RED FRONT

IN 1919-20 and in 1921 I personally visited some so-called bourgeois meetings. They always affected me as the prescribed spoonful of cod-liver oil used to in my childhood. One is supposed to take it, and it is supposed to be very good, but it tastes dreadful! If the German people were to be tied with ropes and dragged by force to these bourgeois "demonstrations," and the doors were barred and no one let out until the close of each performance, it might bring success within a few centuries. Still, I must frankly confess that I would probably take no further pleasure in life, and that I would not want to be a German any more. But since this cannot be done, thank Heavens, we must not be surprised that the sound and unspoiled people avoids "bourgeois mass meetings" as the Devil does holy water.

I have come to know them, these prophets of a bourgeois world-concept, and am truly not surprised, no, I understand why they attach no importance to the spoken word. I have attended meetings of the Democrats, the German Nationalists, the German People's Party, and of the Bavarian People's Party (the Bavarian Centrists). The thing that struck one immediately was the homogeneous unity of the audience. It was nearly always all party members that took part in such a demonstration. The whole affair, quite without discipline, was more like a yawning card-club than a meeting of the people that had just gone through its greatest revolution.

And to preserve this peaceful temper the speakers did everything that could possibly be done. They spoke, or rather they usually read speeches aloud, in the style of a highbrow newspaper article or a scientific dissertation, avoided all rough language, and

occasionally sprinkled in a feeble professorial joke, at which the honorable Party Officers' table would begin to laugh dutifully—if not loud, *i.e.*, provocatively, at least with genteel quiet and restraint.

And the table itself:

I once saw a meeting in the Wagnersaal at Munich; it was a demonstration to commemorate the anniversary of the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig. The address was delivered, or read, by a dignified old gentleman, a professor at some university. On the platform sat the officers of the party. On the left a monocle, on the right a monocle, and in between one without a monocle. They were all three in Prince Alberts, so that one had the impression either of a court of law about to undertake an execution, or of a solemn baptism—at any rate, some religious act of consecration. The so-called speech, which might have looked quite well in print, was simply fearful in effect. Within three-quarters of an hour the whole meeting was dozing in a trance condition, interrupted only by the exit of occasional men and women, the rattle of the waitresses, and the yawning of ever more numerous listeners. Three workingmen who were attending, whether from curiosity or as a commissioned lookout, and behind whom I took up my stand, looked at one another from time to time with ill-concealed grins, and finally nudged one another, whereupon they very quietly left the hall. One could tell from looking at them that they would not have caused any disturbance for anything. And in that company it was really not necessary.

Finally the meeting seemed to be drawing to a close. After the professor, whose voice had grown fainter and fainter, had finished his speech, the chairman of the meeting got up from between the two monocle-wearers, and crashed out at the “German sisters” and “brothers” present how great was his feeling of gratitude, and how great theirs must also be, for the unique and splendid speech which Professor X had given so enjoyably and so profoundly, and which in the truest sense of the words had been an “experience,” nay an “achievement.” It would be a profanation

of this consecrated moment to follow these lucid statements with a discussion, so on behalf of all those present he would omit that period, and instead would request all to rise and join in the cry, "We are a united nation of brothers," etc. (*Wir sind ein einzig Volk von Brüdern*). Finally, in conclusion, he asked everyone to sing *Deutschland ueber Alles*.

They sang; and it seemed to me that by the second stanza the voices grew a bit fewer, only swelling again tremendously in the refrain, and on the third stanza my feeling was strengthened, so that I believed not everyone was quite sure of the words.

But what difference does that make, when such a song resounds to heaven with all the fervor of a German-Nationalist heart?

Thereupon the meeting broke up, *i.e.*, everyone rushed to get out quickly, some for a beer, some to a café, and still others to the fresh air.

Yes, out, out into the fresh air! That was my only feeling. And this was to glorify a heroic struggle by hundreds of thousands of Prussians and Germans? For shame, and again for shame!

The government, no doubt, may be fond of such things. Naturally it is a "peaceful assembly." The Minister for Peace and Good Order need have no fear that the billows of enthusiasm will suddenly burst the legal limits of civil decency, that people intoxicated with enthusiasm may suddenly stream from the hall not to hasten to the café or the pub but to march in step by fours through the streets to the tune of *Deutschland hoch in Ehren*, causing unpleasantnesses for a peace-loving police.

No, those are citizens they can be satisfied with.

On the other hand the National-Socialist meetings; it must be admitted, were no "peaceful assemblies." There the waves of two world-concepts collided; and they ended, not with the dull grinding-out of some patriotic song, but with a fanatical outburst of populist and national passion.

From the very beginning it was important to introduce blind discipline in our meetings, and to assure absolutely the authority

of the meeting's management. For what we said was not the lifeless slop of a bourgeois speaker; it was always fitted by substance and form to provoke the adversary to reply. And there were adversaries in our meetings. How often they came in great crowds, a few agitators among them, all their faces mirroring the conviction, Tonight we'll take care of you!

Yes, how often they were literally led in by columns, our Red friends, with the duty carefully drilled into them of smashing the whole affair that evening, and putting a stop to the thing! And how often everything hung in the balance, and only the ruthless energy of our meeting-committee and the brutal recklessness of our hall guard balked the opponents' intention!

They had every reason to be provoked.

Even the red color of our posters by itself pulled them into our meeting-halls. The ordinary bourgeoisie was quite horrified that we too should resort to the red of the Bolsheviks, and regarded it as a very dubious matter. German-Nationalist spirits kept whispering to one another their suspicion that at bottom we were only a variety of Marxism, perhaps even mere Marxists or rather Socialists in disguise. For these brains have not grasped the difference between Socialism and Marxism even yet. Particularly when they discovered that at our meetings it was a principle not to greet the "ladies and gentlemen" but the "comrades," and that among ourselves we talked only of Party comrades, the Marxist ghost seemed to many to be proved. How often we shook with laughter at these simple-minded, scared bourgeois rabbits with their ingenious guesswork about our origin, our intentions, and our aim.

We chose the red color of our posters after careful and thorough consideration, in order to provoke the Left wing, to arouse it to fury, and to lure in into our meetings even if only to break them up, so that in this fashion we could at least talk to the people.

It was delicious during those years to follow the puzzlement and helplessness of our adversaries by their perpetually shifting tactics. First they called on their adherents to take no notice of us, and to stay away from our meetings. This was in fact gen-

erally complied with. But in the course of time a few people did come; the number increased slowly but constantly, and the impression made by our doctrine was obvious; so the leaders gradually became nervous and uneasy, and made the mistake of becoming convinced that this development could not be watched forever in silence, but must be put an end to by terrorism.

Then came the appeals to "class-conscious proletarians" to attend our meetings in a body, in order to strike the representatives of "monarchist, reactionary agitation" with the fists of the proletariat.

All at once our meetings began to be filled with workmen three-quarters of an hour beforehand. They were like a powder-barrel that might blow up at any moment, and that had the burning fuse already laid to it. But it never turned out that way. People came in as our enemies, and went out, if not as our adherents, at least as thoughtful and in fact critical examiners of the soundness of their own doctrine. Gradually it came about that after my three-hour speech, followers and adversaries would be fused into one single enthusiastic mass. By then any signal to break up the meeting would be futile.

Now the leaders really did become frightened, and they began to turn back to those who had originally opposed these tactics, and who now, with some show of justice, recalled their opinion that the only sound thing to do was to forbid the worker to attend our meetings at all.

Then they came no longer, or at least fewer of them. But within a short time the whole game began over again.

The prohibition was not observed after all; more and more of the Comrades came, and finally the advocates of radical tactics gained the ascendancy again. We must be dispersed.

When it turned out after two, three, often after eight or ten meetings that the dispersing was more easily said than done, and the result of every single meeting was a crumbling away of the Red shock troops, the old watchword was suddenly heard again: "Proletarians! Comrades! Stay away from the meetings of the National-Socialist incendiaries!"

The same perpetually wavering policy was also evident in the Red press. First they would try to freeze us with silence, and then, convinced of the futility of the attempt, they would go back to the opposite extreme. We were "mentioned" somehow every day, mostly to explain to the worker the absolute ridiculousness of our whole existence. But after a while these gentry could not help feeling that it not only did us no harm, but on the contrary helped us in so far as many individuals were naturally bound to ask themselves why so many words were devoted to anything, if it was so ridiculous. People grew curious. Thereupon there was a sudden shift, and for a time we were treated as veritable all-around criminals against humanity. Article after article explaining our criminality and proving it again and again, and scandalous stories, even though made up out of whole cloth from A to Z, were supposed to do the rest. But within a short time they seemed to be convinced of the ineffectiveness even of these attacks; at bottom it all simply helped to concentrate general attention upon us more than ever.

At that time I took this standpoint: it makes no difference whether they laugh at us or abuse us, whether they describe us as merry-andrews or criminals; the main thing is for them to mention us, to keep on concerning themselves with us, and for us gradually to appear in the eyes of the workers themselves as the only force with which a conflict is now actually going on. What we really are and what we really want we will show the pack of Jewish journalist hounds some fine day.

One reason why there were seldom direct dispersions of our meetings was, it is true, the unbelievable cowardice of our opponents' leaders. In every crucial case they sent young cubs ahead, and themselves at best waited outside the hall for the result of the dispersion.

We were almost always well informed about the intentions of these gentry. Not only because for reasons of expediency we left many of our Party members within the Red formations, but because the Red wire-pullers themselves were seized with a garrulity that in this case was very useful to us, and that un-

fortunately is very common among our German people in general. They could never hold their tongues when they had hatched anything of this sort, and in fact they usually cackled before the egg was laid. Indeed we had often made extensive preparations before the Red dispersion-groups themselves had any idea how close their ejection was upon them.

That period compelled us to take the protection of our meetings into our own hands; there was no counting on official protection; on the contrary, experience shows that it never benefits anyone except the disturbers. For the sole actual result of official intervention by the police was the dissolution of the meeting, *i.e.*, its being closed. And that, after all, was the sole aim and intention of the hostile intruders.

In fact the police had developed here a practice representing the most monstrous illegality one can imagine. If the authorities learn from some threat or other that there is danger of a meeting's being broken up they do not arrest the threatener, but forbid the other and innocent parties to hold their meeting,—a piece of wisdom of which a normal police mind is monstrously proud. They call it a "preventive measure against infraction of the law."

The resolute bandit, therefore, has it in his power at any moment to make the decent person's political activities impossible. In the name of peace and good order the governmental authority bows to the bandit, and requests the other kindly not to provoke him. So if National-Socialists wanted to hold meetings at certain places, and the trade-unions declared this would lead to resistance by their members, the police never dreamed of putting these blackmailing scoundrels under lock and key, but forbade us our meeting. Indeed these organs of the law even had the incredible shamelessness to give us this information in writing on countless occasions.

If we were to protect ourselves from such eventualities, it was necessary to take care that any attempts at dispersion should be made impossible in embryo.

In this connection there was the following further consideration: *Any meeting whose protection comes exclusively from*

the police discredits its organizers in the eyes of the broad masses. Meetings which can be guaranteed only by the assignment of a large police detail has no attraction for others, because conspicuous strength is indispensable in winning over the lower levels of a people.

Just as a courageous man can conquer women's hearts more easily than a coward, a heroic movement will win the heart of a people sooner than a cowardly movement that is kept alive only by police protection.

For this last reason in particular the young Party had to take care of upholding its own existence, of protecting itself, and itself breaking the enemy terror.

Protection of meetings could thereby be built in two ways:

1. The energetic and psychologically sound management of the meetings;*

When we National-Socialists held a meeting in those days, *we* and nobody else were masters there. And we kept sharply emphasizing our mastery without intemtion every single minute. Our opponents knew very well that anyone who ventured on provocation would be ungently thrown out, even though we might be a dozen against half a thousand. In the meetings at that time, particularly outside of Munich, there would be fifteen or sixteen National-Socialists to five, six, seven or eight hundred opponents. But even so we would have tolerated no provocation, and the audience at our meetings was well aware that we would have been killed before we would capitulate. More than once a handful of Party members successfully maintained themselves in heroic fashion against a roaring and flailing superior force of Reds.

In such cases no doubt the fifteen or twenty men would have been overpowered in the end. But the others knew that the skulls of at least twice or three times that many of their own people would have been cracked first, and this they did not like to risk.

Here we tried to learn, and in fact did learn, by studying the technique of Marxist and bourgeois meetings.

* Later editions include: 2. *An organized group of regulators.*

The Marxists always maintained blind discipline, so that there could be no thought whatever of the breaking up of a Marxist meeting, at least from a bourgeois quarter. All the more did the Reds concern themselves with such intentions. They not only attained a certain virtuosity in this direction, but finally went so far in large sections of the Reich as to describe a non-Marxist meeting as a provocation of the proletariat in itself—particularly when the wire-pullers had reason to suspect that their own sins might be recounted at the meeting in order to reveal the baseness of their activity in swindling and lying to the people. And whenever such a meeting was announced, the whole Red press raised a furious outcry, during which these despisers of all law not infrequently began by addressing to the authorities a request both urgent and menacing to prevent this “provocation of the proletariat,” “lest worse things happen.” They chose their language and accomplished their aims according to the particular official’s degree of asininity. But if such a post was occupied, for once, by a real German civil servant, instead of a mere creature in office, and he refused the insolent request, the result would be the familiar appeal not to tolerate such a “provocation of the proletariat,” but to attend the meeting in a body on the such-and-suchth to “put an end to the shameful machinations of these bourgeois creatures with the calloused hand of the proletariat.”

There is no substitute for having watched one of these bourgeois meetings, and having experienced the whole pitifulness and terror in which it is conducted. Often indeed a meeting was simply called off as a result of such threats. But in any case the fear was so great that the opening seldom took place before quarter of nine or nine, instead of at eight. By nine dozen compliments the chairman tried to make it clear to the “gentlemen of the opposition,” who were in attendance, how happy he and all the others present were (an outright lie!) at the presence of men who were not yet on their side of the fence, because it was only through mutual discussion (which from the outset he would solemnly promise them) that ideas could be brought closer together, mutual understanding created, and the gap bridged. At

the same time he assured them that it was far from the meeting's purpose to alienate people from their previous views. No indeed; everyone should find salvation in his own fashion, but he should also let his neighbor find his own, and he would therefore request that the speaker be allowed to finish his remarks, which in any case would not be very long, lest the world be offered once more, at this meeting, the shameful spectacle of bad blood between German brothers . . . brrr.

The brothers from the Left, it must be said, usually did not take kindly to this; before the speaker had even begun, he had to fold up his tent amid the grossest insults. Not infrequently one had the impression that he was even grateful to Fate for cutting short the agonizing process. Amid stupendous uproar these bourgeois toreadors would leave the arena, unless they whizzed downstairs with broken heads, which in fact often happened.

Thus it was a novelty to the Marxists when (and particularly how) we put on our first meetings. They walked in, convinced that of course they could repeat with us the little game they had so often played before. "Today we'll clean up." How many a one yelled those words in loud-mouthed fashion to another as he went into our meeting—to find himself in a flash, before he could interrupt again, sitting outside the entrance to the hall.

In the first place even the conduct of our meetings was different. We did not beg that our speech should graciously be permitted, nor did we start by promising endless discussion to everyone; it was simply abruptly remarked that we were the masters of the meeting, that we were therefore masters in our own house, and that anyone who ventured so much as a single interruption would be pitilessly thrown out the way he had come. Further, that we must decline any further responsibility for the fellow; if there was time, and it happened to suit us, we would have a discussion, if not, then not, and the speaker, Party comrade so-and-so, now had the floor.

Even this astonished them.

In the second place we had a strictly organized hall guard. With the bourgeois parties the hall guard, or rather regulator

service, consisted mostly of gentlemen who thought that the dignity appropriate to their age gave them a certain right to authority and respect. As the masses in their superinduced Marxist excitement cared less than nothing for age, authority and respect, the bourgeois hall guard, practically speaking, did not exist.

From the very beginning of our real activity in holding the meetings I introduced the organization of a hall guard as a *regulator group*, which on principle included nothing but young lads. Some of them were comrades whom I knew from the army, and others young recently recruited members of the Party who were instructed and trained from the outset to believe that terrorism can be broken only by terrorism, that the bold and determined man has always been the one to succeed in the world; that we are fighting for a tremendous idea, so great and so noble that it well deserves to be sheltered and protected with the last drop of blood. They were saturated with the doctrine that if reason is silent and violence has the last word, the best defensive weapon is attack; and that our regulator troops should be preceded by the reputation of being no debating club, but a desperately determined fighting fellowship.

And how these young people had been longing for such a battle-cry! How disappointed and outraged that trench generation has been, full of disgust and abhorrence of bourgeois mean-spiritedness!

Then one really began to understand how the Revolution had actually been possible only because of the devastating bourgeois leadership of our people. The fists to protect the German people would have been there even then, but the heads to be pledged were lacking. How my lads' eyes used to shine at me when I explained to them the necessity of their mission, assuring them again and again that all the wisdom in the world will fail if it be not served by vigor, protected and defended; that the gentle Goddess of Peace can walk only by the side of the War-God, and that every great deed of peace requires the protection and help of power. In how much more vivid a light they now saw the idea of compulsory military duty! Not in the frozen sense of

old, ossified official souls, serving the dead authority of a dead State, but in living realization of the duty to surrender the individual's life in defending the existence of his people as a whole, always and everywhere.

And how those lads stood up to it!

Like a swarm of hornets they would fly at the disturbers of our meetings, reckless of no matter how great a superior force, reckless of wounds and bloody sacrifices, full of the great idea of clearing the road for our movement's holy mission.

As early as midsummer of 1920 the organization of the regulator groups gradually began to take on definite form; in the spring of 1921 it began bit by bit to break up into divisions called Hundreds, which in turn were divided into groups.

This was urgently necessary, because in the meantime our activity in holding meetings had kept growing. We did, indeed, still frequently meet in the Munich Hofbräuhaus Banquet Hall, but even more often it was in the larger halls in the city. The Bürgerbräu Banquet Hall and the Münchner-Kindl Cellar in the fall and winter of 1920-21 were the scenes of ever greater mass meetings, and the picture was always the same: *even that long ago, demonstrations of the National-Socialist German Workers' Party usually had to be shut off by the police because of overcrowding even before the opening.*

The organization of our regulator troops raised a very important question. Thus far the movement had no party symbols and no party flag. The absence of these symbols not only had immediate disadvantages but was intolerable for the future. The disadvantage consisted particularly in the fact that the party members had no distinguishing outer mark of belonging together, while for the future it was insupportable to be without a mark that had the character of a symbol of the movement, and as such could be opposed to the Internationale.

Even in my youth I had had more than one opportunity to realize and to understand emotionally how important such a symbol is psychologically. And then after the war in Berlin I observed a mass demonstration of Marxism in front of the Royal

Chateau and Pleasure Garden. A sea of red flags, red armbands and red flowers gave a perfectly tremendous aspect, even outwardly, to this demonstration, in which a hundred and twenty thousand persons are estimated to have taken part. I myself could feel and understand how easily the man of the people may succumb to the hypnotic spell of such a grandiose spectacle. The bourgeoisie, which, as a political party, represents or maintains no world-concept of any kind, had for this reason also no flag of its own. It consisted of "patriots," and accordingly ran around in the colors of the Reich. If these had themselves been the symbol of a definite world-concept, one could have understood that the proprietors of the State saw in its flag the sign of their world-concept, since the symbol of their world-concept had after all become the State and Reich flag through their own activity.

But this was not the true state of affairs. The Reich had been put together without the help of the bourgeoisie, and the flag itself was born of the war. Therefore it was actually only a State flag, having no meaning in the sense of a particular mission for some world-concept.

At only one spot in the German language territory was there anything like a bourgeois party flag—German Austria. Some of the nationalist bourgeoisie there had chosen for their party flag the colors of 1848, black, red and gold, thus creating a symbol which, while it had no importance whatever for a world-concept, nevertheless had a revolutionary character from the stand-point of State policy. *The bitterest enemies of this black-red-gold flag at that time were—as we today should never forget—Social Democrats and Christian Socialists or Clericals.* In those days they were the very ones who insulted, besmirched and befouled those colors, just as later, in 1918, they dragged the black-white-red in the gutter. True, the black, red and gold of the German parties of old Austria was the color of 1848, that is of a period which, while it may have been fantastic, was represented individually by the most honorable of German souls, even though the Jew stood invisibly in the background as a wire-puller. It was, therefore, only treason to the Fatherland and shameless selling of the German people and German substance which made these

flags so congenial to Marxism and the Center that they revere them today as sacred, and set up militias to protect the flag they once spat upon.

Up until 1920, then, there was actually no flag opposed to Marxism which would have represented its diametrical opposite as a world-concept. Even if the better parties of the German bourgeoisie after 1918 would no longer condescend to take over the now suddenly discovered black-red-gold national flag as their own symbol, they still had no program of their own for the future to oppose the new development; at best their idea was to reconstruct the vanished Empire.

To this idea the black-white-red flag of the old Empire owes its resurrection as the standard of our so-called national bourgeois parties.

Now it is perfectly obvious that the symbol of the state of affairs which Marxism succeeded in overcoming, under rather inglorious circumstances, is ill-suited to be the sign under which this same Marxism is to be destroyed again. Sacred and dear as the old and beautiful colors must be in their fresh, youthful combination to every decent German who has fought beneath them and seen the sacrifice of so many, that flag is no symbol for a battle of the future.

In contrast to the bourgeois politicians, I have always maintained in our movement the standpoint that it is a real blessing for the German nation to have lost the old flag. What the Republic may do under its flag is nothing to us. But we should thank Fate from the bottom of our hearts that it was merciful enough to protect the most glorious battle-flag of all times from being used as a sheet for the most shameful prostitution. The present Reich, which sells itself and its citizens, must never fly the heroic black-white-red flag of honor.

As long as the November disgrace lasts, let it wear its own outer garment, and not steal even this from a more honest past. Our bourgeois politicians' consciences should tell them that anyone who desires the black-white-red flag for this State is committing theft from our past. The old flag really was beautiful only for the old Empire, just as the Republic, thank Heaven, has chosen

the one suitable to itself.

This was the reason why we National-Socialists could not regard the raising of the old flag as an expressive symbol of our own activity. After all, we did not want to awaken the old Empire, destroyed by its own faults, from the dead, but to build a new State.

The movement which today is fighting against Marxism on that principle must show the symbol of the new State even in its flag.

The question of the new flag, *i.e.* of its appearance, occupied our minds a great deal at that time. Proposals came from all sides, though they were mostly more well-intended than acceptable. For the new flag had both to be a symbol of our own battle and to have a striking poster-like effect. Anyone who has had to concern himself much with the masses will realize that these apparent trifles are actually very important matters. An effective badge may give the first impulse toward an interest in a movement in hundreds of thousands of cases.

For this reason we had to decline the suggestion of a white flag, made in many quarters, which would have identified our movement with the old State, or rather with those feeble parties whose sole political aim is the restoration of vanished conditions. Besides, white is not a compelling color. It is suitable for chaste societies of maidens, but not for insurgent movements in a revolutionary age.

Black was also proposed. In itself it was fitting for the present day, but there was almost no way of deducing from it any suggestion of our movement's intent. And finally this color is not compelling enough either.

Blue and white was out of the question, despite its wonderful aesthetic effect, as the color of one German State [Bavaria] and of a political attitude of narrow particularism whose reputation unfortunately was not of the best. Here too, furthermore, it would have been hard to find any indication of our movement. The same was true of black and white.

Black, red and gold was out of the question in itself.

So was black-white-red, for reasons which have been mentioned—at least in the accustomed form. In effectiveness, however, this color combination stands far above all others. It is the most radiant harmony there is.

I myself always retaining the old colors, not only because they are the most sacred thing to me as a soldier, but because their artistic effect appeals far more than any other to my aesthetic sense. Nevertheless I had to decline without exception all the countless sketches that came in from the members of the young movement, most of them incorporating the swastika into the old flag. I myself, as Leader, did not want to appear immediately before the public with my own design, since it was quite possible that someone else might produce one equally good, perhaps even better. And in fact a dentist from Starnberg brought in a design that was not at all bad; it was a good deal like mine, but had the one fault that the swastika was fitted into a white circle by means of curved ends.

Meanwhile I myself, after endless attempts, had laid down a final form: a flag with a red ground, bearing a white disk with a black swastika in its center. After many experiments I also established a definite relation between the size of the flag and the size of the white disk, as well as the shape and weight of the swastika.

And so it remained.

Similarly, arm bands for the regulator companies were ordered at once, red bands likewise bearing the white disk with the white swastika. BLACK

The party badge was designed along the same lines: a white disk on a red field, with the swastika in the middle. A Munich goldsmith, Füss, produced the first usable design, which has since been retained.

In mid-summer of 1920 the new flag appeared in public for the first time. It suited our young movement admirably. One, like the other, was young and new. No one had ever seen it before; its effect was like a firebrand. We were all almost childishly delighted when a faithful woman Party member executed the de-

sign for the first time, and finished the flag. Within a few months we had half a dozen of them in Munich, and the constantly expanding regulator troops in particular helped to spread about the new symbol of the movement.

And this is truly a symbol. Not only because our respect for the past is attested by each color, passionately loved by us all, which called forth so much honor from the German people, but it was also the best embodiment of the desires of the people of the movement. As National-Socialists we see our program in our flag. In the red we see the social ideas of the movement; in the white, the nationalistic; in the *swastika* the mission of the fight for the victory of the Aryan man, and with it, simultaneously the victory of creating work, which in itself was anti-semitic, and will be anti-semitic eternally. Two years later, when out of regulator troops a great many thousand men had become an elaborate Storm Detachment, it seemed necessary to give this defense organization of the young world-concept a special symbol of victory: *the Standard*. I sketched it myself, and gave it to the master goldsmith, Gahr, to execute.

Since then the *Standard* has been the token and field-badge of the National-Socialist battle.

The meeting activity, which kept growing in the year 1920, lead finally in many weeks to our holding two meetings.

Crowds gathered in front of our posters, the largest halls in the city were always filled, and tens of thousands of misled Marxists found their way back to their national community, to become warriors for a coming free German Reich. The public in Munich had come to know us. We were talked about; the word "National-Socialist" became familiar in many people's mouths, and stood for a program. The crowd of followers, even of members, began to grow without interruption, so that by the winter of 1920-21 we were a strong party in Munich.

Except for the Marxist parties there was at that time no party, above all none of the nationalist parties, that could point to such mass demonstrations as we. The Münchener-Kindl Cellar, hold-

ing five thousand, was full to bursting more than once, and there was but one hall we had not yet dared to try, the Zirkus Krone.

At the end of January, 1921, grave worries arose once more for Germany. The Paris Agreement, on the basis of which Germany agreed to pay the insane sum of a hundred billion gold marks, was to be translated into reality in the form of the dictated agreement of London.

A working group of so-called populist societies that had existed for a long time in Munich proposed to send out invitations for a large general protest on this occasion. Time was very urgent, and in view of the perpetual hesitation and delay in carrying out resolutions once taken, I myself was nervous. First they talked of a demonstration in the Königsplatz; but they let it drop because they were afraid of being violently scattered by the Reds, and projected a protest demonstration in front of the Feldherrnhalle. But this too they discarded, and finally proposed a joint meeting in the Münchener-Kindl Cellar. Meanwhile day after day had passed, the big parties had taken no notice whatever of the great event, and the working group itself could not make up its mind to set a definite date for the proposed demonstration.

On Tuesday, the first of February, 1921, I urgently demanded a final decision. I was put off until Wednesday. On Wednesday I absolutely insisted on a clear statement whether and when the meeting was to take place. Again the answer was indefinite and evasive; the story was that they "intended" to turn out the working group for a demonstration a week from Wednesday.

At that my patience gave way, and I decided to carry out the protest demonstration by myself. On Wednesday afternoon I dictated the poster on to the typewriter in ten minutes' time, and had the Zirkus Krone hired for the next day, Thursday, February 3d.

This was then a piece of infinite daring. Not only did it seem questionable whether the gigantic room could be filled, but there was the further danger of being dispersed.

Our regulator troop was far from adequate for this colossal room. Nor did I have any real notion of the possible method of

procedure in case of a dispersion. I then supposed this would be much harder in the Zirkus building than in an ordinary hall. But as it turned out, the reverse was true. In the giant room it was actually easier to master a dispersion troop than in closely-packed halls.

Only one thing was sure! any failure might put us back for a long time. For a single successful dispersion would have destroyed our aura at a blow, and encouraged our adversaries to keep on trying what had once succeeded. It might have led to the sabotaging of our entire activity in holding meetings—something that could have been overcome only after many months and desperate battles.

We had only one day for our posters to work, namely Thursday itself. Unfortunately it rained all morning, and the fear seemed reasonable that under such circumstances many people would prefer to staying at home to hurrying through rain and snow to a meeting where there might possibly be violence and killings.

Thursday morning I suddenly began to be afraid the hall would not be filled (of course then I would have been the one disgraced in the eyes of the working group), so I hastily dictated a few leaflets, and got them printed for distribution in the afternoon. Of course they were an appeal to attend the meeting.

Two trucks that I hired were swathed in as much red as possible; a few of our flags were stuck up on them, and each one was manned with fifteen or twenty party members; they were ordered to keep on driving around the streets of the city, throwing out leaflets, and in short carrying on propaganda for the mass demonstration of that evening. It was the first time that trucks with flags had ever gone through the city with no Marxists on board. Hence the bourgeoisie gaped after the cars, decorated in red and adorned with fluttering swastika flags; while in the outer districts countless clenched fists were raised whose possessors seemed obviously afire with rage at the latest "provocation of the proletariat." For Marxism alone had the right to hold meetings, just as it did to ride around on trucks.

If these things were done by others, then it was the Marxists' holy right to consider it a provocation to those, who until now were sole owners of this monopoly.

By seven in the evening the Zirkus was not yet well filled. I got telephone reports every ten minutes, and was fairly uneasy myself; for by seven or quarter past seven the other halls had usually been half and often nearly filled. But this was soon explained. I had not counted on the new hall's vast dimensions. A thousand people made the Hofbräuhaus Hall look very nicely filled, while the Zirkus Krone simply swallowed them up. One hardly saw them. But more encouraging reports came a little while later, and by quarter of eight they said that the hall was three-quarters full, with great crowds standing in front of the ticket booths. There-upon I drove off.

At two minutes past eight I arrived in front of the Zirkus. There was still a crowd of people in front, part of them merely curious, and many of them opponents who meant to await events outside.

When I went into the mighty hall, I was filled with the same joy as a year before, at the first meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhaus Banquet Hall. But only when I had squeezed my way through the human walls, and had reached the high platform, did I see the full extent of the triumph. Like a giant shell the hall lay before me, filled with thousands and thousands of people. Even the manège was black with spectators. More than 5600 tickets had been sold, and if the total number of unemployed, poor students, and our regulator troops, were counted, about 6500 people must have been there.

"Future or downfall" was the theme; and my heart leaped with the conviction that the future was lying before me down there.

I began to talk, and spoke for about two and a half hours; after the first half-hour my feeling told me the meeting would be a great success. The contact with all the thousands of individuals was established. By the end of the first hour the applause began to interrupt me with ever-greater spontaneous outbursts,

to ebb again after two hours, going over into that solemn stillness which I had experienced so often since in that hall, and which will scarcely be forgotten by a single person who was there. The breathing of the vast crowd was almost the only thing to be heard; not until I had spoken my last word was there a sudden surge that found its outlet and its conclusion in *Deutschland über Alles*, sung with supreme fervor.

I waited to watch the gigantic hall slowly begin to empty itself, and the tremendous human sea crowd its way out for almost twenty minutes through the great central exit. Then at last I left my post, supremely happy, to go home.

Photographs were taken of this first meeting in the Zirkus Krone at Munich. They show the magnitude of the demonstration better than any words. Bourgeois papers printed illustrations and reports, but mentioned merely that it had been a "nationalist" demonstration, and omitted the names of those responsible, in the usual modest fashion.

Thus for the first time we advanced far beyond the confines of an ordinary party of the day. We could no longer be ignored. To prevent the impression from gaining any currency that the meeting's success was an ephemeral one, I immediately scheduled a second demonstration at the Zirkus for the following week, and the success was the same as before. Once more the gigantic hall was filled to bursting with masses of people, so that I decided to hold a third meeting on the same scale the following week. And for the third time the giant circus was jammed with people from top to bottom.

After this beginning of the year 1921, our activity in holding meetings at Munich increased still further. I now began to hold not merely one a week, but in many weeks two mass meetings; in mid-summer and late fall there were even sometimes three. From now on we always held our meetings in the Zirkus, and found to our satisfaction that each evening was a similar success.

The result was a constantly growing number of followers of the movement and a great increase in members.

Such successes naturally gave our opponents no rest. Their tactics having wavered between terrorism, and a conspiracy of silence, they themselves were forced to realize that they could hinder the movement's development neither with the one nor with the other. So, as a last supreme effort, they decided on an act of terrorism to put a definite stop to further meetings on our part.

As the outward occasion for the action, they made use of a highly mysterious assault on a Landtag deputy by the name of Erhard Auer. The said Erhard Auer was alleged to have been shot at by somebody one evening. That is, he was not actually shot at, but an attempt had been made to shoot at him. Superb presence of mind, however, and the proverbial courage of a Social Democratic party leader, had not only foiled the dastardly attack, but had put its nefarious perpetrators to ignominious flight. They fled so fast and so far that the police were never able to find the slightest trace of them.

This mysterious occurrence was now made use of by the Social Democratic party organ in Munich to carry on the most unmeasured agitation against our movement; in the course of this, with their accustomed garrulity, they hinted what was to happen next. Measures had been taken to be sure we did not get out of hand, and proletarian fists would intervene in good time.

Within a few days the time for the intervention arrived.

A meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhaus Banquet Hall, at which I was to speak, had been chosen for the final settlement.

On the 4th of November, 1921, between six and seven in the evening, I received my first positive information that the meeting would definitely be broken up, and that for this purpose it was intended to send to the meeting great masses of workers from some of the Red shops.

It was due to an unlucky chance that we did not get this information earlier. That day we had given up our venerable business office in the Sterneckergerasse in Munich, and had moved to a new one—that is, we were out of the old one, but could not get into the new one because work on it was still in progress. And

as the telephone had been pulled out of the one, and not yet installed in the other, a number of telephonic attempts to inform us that day of the intended dispersion were vain.

The consequence of this was that the meeting itself was protected only by very weak troops of regulators. Only an incomplete Hundred quite small in number—about forty-six men—was on hand; and the alarm system was not yet well enough developed to fetch in any considerable reinforcements in the course of an hour at night. Besides, that sort of alarming rumors had reached our ears countless times without anything's happening out of the ordinary. The old saying that announced revolutions seldom take place had thus far always proved true in our case as well.

And so, for this reason as well, perhaps not everything was done that might have been done that day to prepare with brutal determination against a dispersion.

Lastly, we thought the Munich Hofbräuhaus Banquet Hall completely unsuited to a dispersion. This we had been more afraid of in the largest halls, particularly the Zirkus. In that respect the day taught us a valuable lesson. Afterward we studied the entire question with, I can truthfully say, scientific method, and arrived at results some of which were as surprising as they were interesting, and subsequently of fundamental importance in the organization and tactical management of our Storm Troops.

When I came into the vestibule of the Hofbräuhaus at quarter of eight, however, there could no longer be any doubt of the existing intention. The hall was overcrowded, and had been shut off by the police. The opponents, who had come very early, were inside the hall, and our followers largely outside. The little Storm Troop awaited me in the vestibule. I had the doors to the big hall closed, and then I lined up the forty-five or forty-six men. I told the lads that today for the first time they would probably have to be true to the movement, bend or break; and that none of us must leave the hall unless we were carried out dead. I would stay in the hall, and did not believe that a single one of them

would desert me; but if I saw anyone acting the coward, I personally would tear off his colors and take his badge. Then I instructed them to rush in at once on the slightest attempt to break up the meeting, and to remember that the best defense is in attack.

A triple *Heil*, which sounded rougher and hoarser than usual, was the answer.

Then I went into the hall, and looked over the situation with my own eyes. They were sitting thick inside, trying to drill me with their very eyes. Countless faces were turned toward me with grim hatred, while others, with mocking grimaces, emitted shouts that were anything but ambiguous. They would "take care of us" today, we should look out for our guts, they would stop our mouths for good, and various other pretty phrases. They were conscious of their superior force, and felt accordingly.

Nevertheless it was possible to open the meeting, and I began to speak. In the Hofbräuhaus Banquet Hall I always stood against one of the long walls of the hall, and my platform was a beer table. Thus I was really in the very midst of the crowd. Perhaps that was one reason why there was always in this particular hall a temper such as I have never found anywhere else.

In front of me, and particularly to my left, there were nothing but opponents, sitting and standing. They were extremely robust men and youths, largely from the Maffei locomotive works, from Kustermann, the Isaria works, etc. Along the left wall of the hall they had pushed up close to my table, and they now began to collect beer-mugs—that is, they kept ordering beer, and putting the empty mugs under the table. They gathered whole batteries, and I would have been surprised if the affair had gone off smoothly.

After about an hour and a half—I was able to speak that long despite all the heckling—it almost seemed as if I would become master of the situation. The leaders of the dispersion troops seemed to feel this themselves, for they grew more and more uneasy, kept going out and coming back in, and talked very nervously to their people.

A small psychological error which I committed in warding off

an interruption, and which I myself realized the moment it was out of my mouth, was the signal for them to cut loose.

There were a few angry interruptions, and a man suddenly jumped on a table and bellowed into the hall, "Freedom!" [The battle-cry of the Social Democrats.] Upon this signal the fighters for freedom began their work.

Within a few seconds the whole hall was filled with a roaring and yelling mass of men, above which countless beer-mugs flew like howitzer shots; through it all came the cracking of chair-legs, the smashing of the mugs, whooping and yowling and screeching.

It was an insane uproar.

I stood still where I was, and was able to see my lads doing their duty to the limit.

I would have liked to see a bourgeois meeting under such circumstances!

The game had not yet begun when my Storm Troopers (for so they were called from that day forward) attacked. In packs of eight or ten they fell like wolves upon their adversaries, and gradually began actually to hammer them out of the hall. Within five minutes I saw scarcely one who was not streaming with blood. Many of them I thus came really to know for the first time—at their head my faithful Maurice, my present private secretary, Hess, and many others, who, although severely wounded, kept on attacking as long as they could stay on their feet. The hellish turmoil lasted twenty minutes; then my less than fifty men had largely finished with pounding our adversaries, who may have been seven or eight hundred strong, out of the hall and down the stairs. Only in the left rear corner of the hall a large knot held out, resisting desperately. Suddenly there were two pistol shots from the entrance toward the platform, and then a wild fusillade began. Such a refreshing of one's old war memories almost made one's heart leap up.

From then on there was no saying who was doing the shooting; only one thing was to be remarked—that from that moment the fury of my bleeding lads increased mightily; and finally the

last disturbers, overpowered, were driven from the hall.

About twenty-five minutes had passed; the hall itself looked as if a shell had burst. Many of my followers were being bandaged; others had to be taken away in cars; but we had remained masters of the situation. Hermann Esser, who had taken over the chairmanship of the meeting that night, said, "The meeting will continue. The speaker has the floor," and I resumed speaking.

After we had terminated the meeting, an excited police lieutenant suddenly rushed in, madly waving his arms, and crowed into the hall, "The meeting is dissolved."

In spite of myself I could not help laughing at this straggler after events—true police self-importance. The smaller they are, the larger at least they must appear.

We really learned much that evening, and our adversaries, too, did not forget the lesson they had had.

Until the fall of 1923 the *Muenchener Post* did not warn us of any more proletarian fists.

8. THE STRONG MAN IS MIGHTIEST WHEN ALONE

I HAVE mentioned above the existence of a *working group* of German-populist societies, and will take this occasion to discuss in brief the problem of these working groups.

In general we mean by a working group a number of societies that enter into a certain mutual relationship to facilitate their work; they chose a common leadership of lesser or greater authority, and carry out joint actions together. This in itself means the clubs, societies or parties must be such that their aims and methods are not too far apart. And it is asserted that this is always the cast. The ordinary average citizen finds it pleasing and reassuring to learn that the societies, in forming such a working group, have found their "points of agreement," and "put aside their differences." The belief is general that such a union means a vast increase in strength, and that the little groups, otherwise feeble, thus suddenly become a power.

But this is usually not so.

It is interesting, and I think important for the better understanding of this question, to understand clearly how the formation of societies, clubs or the like, all claiming to be pursuing the same end, can come about at all. In itself it would be logical for one aim to be fought for by but one society; it does not seem reasonable for several societies to work for the same end. Undoubtedly that end was originally envisaged by only one society. Somewhere a man proclaims a truth, summons people to solve a certain problem, sets a goal, and forms a movement to realize his purpose.

Thus a club or a party is founded which—depending on its program—purposes either to eliminate existing abuses or to achieve a certain state of affairs in future.

When such a movement comes into existence, it has in practice a certain *right of priority*. It really ought to be taken for granted that everyone who intended to work for the same end would take his place in the movement, strengthening it, and thus better serving the common purpose. Every intellectually alert mind, in particular, ought to consider his joining indispensable to the real success of the common struggle. Hence, supposing reason and a certain straightforwardness (this, as I shall later demonstrate, is very important), there should be but one movement for one goal.

That this is not so may be attributed to two causes. One I might almost call tragic, while the second is pitiful, and is to be found in human weakness itself. But at bottom I see both as facts that are capable of strengthening the will, its energy and intensity, and of making possible at last, through this increase in human vigor, the solution of the problem in question.

The tragic reason why there is usually more than one society trying to solve a given difficulty is this: any really large achievement on this earth is generally the fulfilment of a wish that has long existed within millions of men, of a longing silently cherished by many. In fact it may happen that centuries pine for the solution of some question, because they are sighing under some intolerable condition, without this universal desire's being fulfilled. Peoples that can no longer find any heroic solution for such distress may be described as impotent, while the best proof of a people's vitality, and thus of its being fated to live, is the fact that some day Fate grants it the man endowed to bring about the long-desired fulfilment—release from some great pressure, elimination of bitter distress, or contentment of the people's soul, restless in its uncertainty.

It is quite in the nature of so-called great questions of the times that thousands take part in their solution, that many feel called upon, in fact that Fate itself nominates several choices, and allows the free play of forces to bring victory to the strongest and ablest, and to entrust him with the solution of the problem.

Thus it may happen that centuries, dissatisfied with the state

of their religious life, long for a revival; and that because this spiritual pressure dozens of men arise who believe themselves chosen to relieve this religious distress by virtue of their insight and their knowledge, as prophets of a new teaching, or at least as fighters against an existing one.

Here too, of course, by force of natural order, the strongest man is fated to carry out the great mission; but the knowledge that he alone is called usually comes late indeed to the others. On the contrary, they regard themselves as equally entitled to and chosen for the accomplishment of the task, and their contemporaries are usually the last people able to distinguish the one man among them who, being supremely gifted, deserves their sole support.

Thus in the course of centuries, nay within a single age, various men arise and found movements to fight for aims which (at least so it is claimed) are the same, or at any rate are felt by the great masses to be the same. The people itself no doubt has vague desires and general convictions, and cannot clearly conceive the real nature of its goal or of its wishes, let alone the possibility of their realization.

The tragedy is that those men are striving toward a single goal by altogether different roads, without knowing one another, and therefore, with the purest faith in their own mission, they think it their duty to go their own ways without regard to others.

That such movements, parties, or religious groups come into being absolutely independently, simply from the universal urge of the times, to work in a single direction, is what seems tragic, at least at first glance, because people are too much inclined to the opinion that the strength scattered on various roads would, if united on one, bring success faster and more surely. But this is not the case. Nature herself, with implacable logic, makes the decision by setting the various groups to compete with one another and struggle for the palm of victory, and leading to success that movement which has chosen the clearest, shortest and surest road.

And how is the rightness or wrongness of a path to be decided

from without, if the interplay of forces is not given a clear track, the final decision withdrawn from the doctrinaire conclusions of human wisecracks, and left to the trustworthy proof furnished by visible success, which after all always sets the final stamp on the rightness of an action?

If, then, various groups are marching by separate roads toward the same goal, they will—in so far as they have learned of the existence of similar efforts—test the nature of their own path more thoroughly, shorten it if possible, and try by the exertion of their utmost energy to arrive sooner at the goal.

This contest improves the breed of the individual fighter, and mankind not infrequently owes its successes to those lessons, among others, that have been drawn from the mistakes of unsuccessful previous attempts.

Thus we recognize, in what at first sight seems the tragic fact of original disjunction without any conscious fault of individuals, the means by which the best method is eventually achieved.

We can see from history that in most people's opinion the two possible paths for the solution of the German question, represented and upheld primarily by Austria and Prussia, Hapsburg and Hohenzollern, should have been united from the outset; in their opinion one road or the other should have been followed with united forces.

But in that case the road of the party that in the end was the most impressive would have been chosen; yet the Austrian purpose would never have led to a German Empire.

The Empire of strongest German unity arose from the very thing that millions of Germans with bleeding hearts felt was the final and most fearful sign of our fratricidal quarrel: the German Imperial Crown was in truth brought home from the battlefield of Königgrätz, and not from the struggles before Paris, as people afterward thought.

Thus the founding of the German Empire was not the result of common intent pursued along a common road, but the result of a conscious, and sometimes an unconscious, struggle for hegemony; from this struggle Prussia eventually emerged vic-

torious. Anyone whose political partisanship does not blind him to the truth must agree that the so-called wisdom of men would never have made the same wise decision as that finally realized by the wisdom of life, *i.e.* the free play of forces. For who in the German lands two hundred years ago would seriously have believed that the Prussia of the Hohenzollerns, and not the House of Hapsburg, would some day be the nucleus, the founder and teacher of the new Empire? And who, on the other hand, would today deny that Fate acted better as it did; indeed who could imagine a German Empire at all, based on the principles of a decayed and degenerate dynasty?

No: natural development, even if only after centuries of struggle, finally put the best man in the one place where he belonged.

That will always be and eternally remain as it has always been.

For that reason it is not to be regretted when various people take the road for a single goal; the strongest and swiftest will thus be recognized, and will be the victor.

There is also a second reason why movements of apparently similar nature in the life of peoples try to reach apparently similar goals by different roads. This reason is not only not tragic, but actually altogether pitiful. It originates in the sorry mixture of envy, jealousy, ambition and a thievish disposition that is unfortunately often found in individual members of the human race.

Whenever these appears a man who deeply realizes the distress of his people, and who—first acquiring a full understanding of the nature of the disease—seriously attempts to alleviate it, then, the moment he envisages a goal and chooses the road that may lead to it, all the small and smallest spirits prick up their ears, and zealously follow the action of this man who has drawn the public eye. These people are just like sparrows watching a more fortunate fellow that has found a piece of bread; apparently quite uninterested, they nevertheless keep vigilant watch, to maraud him in an unguarded moment. A man has only to start on a new road, and immediately many lazy loafers become alert, scenting some profitable tidbit that may be at the end of that

road. The moment they have found out where, they set out eagerly to reach the goal by another and, if possible, quicker road.

Once the new movement is founded, and its definite program established, these people rise to assert that they are fighting for the same end—but not by honestly joining the ranks of the movement, and thus acknowledging its priority; instead they plunder the program, and then start a new party of their own. And they are brazen enough to assure their unthinking contemporaries that they had had the same purpose long before the other man; not infrequently they succeed in putting themselves in a favorable light, instead of attracting justified universal contempt. For it is not, after all, a piece of cool impudence to pretend to write on one's own banner the task that another has already written there, to lift the basic points of his program, and then, as if one had created all this oneself, to go one's own way? The impudence is particularly evident in the fact that the very elements that originally caused the disruption by their new organization are, experience shows, the ones that talk most about the necessity for harmony and unity as soon as they think the adversary's head-start is too great to be overcome.

To that process the so-called "populist disunion" is due.

On the other hand it is true that the formation of a whole series of groups described as populist resulted entirely from the natural development of affairs in 1918-19, quite without any fault of the founders. As early as 1920 the N. S. D. A. P. had gradually crystallized out as the victor among them all. Nothing could more brilliantly prove the fundamental honesty of the various founders than the decision, in many cases truly admirable, to sacrifice their own obviously less successful movement to the stronger one, *i.e.* to dissolve it or unconditionally incorporate it in the other.

This is particularly true of the chief warrior of the then German Socialist Party in Nuremberg, Julius Streicher. The N. S. D. A. P. and the German Socialist Party had been founded with the same ultimate aims, but quite independently. The chief advance guard of the German Socialist Party was, as aforesaid, the

then school-teacher Julius Streicher, of Nuremberg. At first, naturally, he too was filled with holy conviction of his movement's mission and future. But as soon as he saw clearly and beyond doubt the greater strength and swifter growth of the N. S. D. A. P., he discontinued his activity for the German Socialist Party and the working group, and urged his followers to take their places in the N. S. D. A. P., which had emerged victorious from the struggle, and to go on fighting for the common aim within its ranks. This was a personal decision as difficult as it was absolutely honorable.

Almost no disunion remains from these early days of the movement; the honest will and intent of the other men at that time led almost without exception to an honorable, upright, and proper end. What is now called "populist disunion" owes its existence, as I have already emphasized, exclusively to the second of the causes I cited: ambitious men who had never had any ideas of their own before, let alone any aims, felt "called upon" precisely at the moment when they saw the N. S. D. A. P.'s success undeniably ripening.

Suddenly programs arose that were copied altogether from ours, ideas were promulgated that had been borrowed from us, aims set up for which we had been fighting for years, paths chosen that the N. S. D. A. P. had long since traveled. By every means they tried to explain why, despite the long-established N. S. D. A. P., they were compelled to found these new parties; but the nobler the motives that were claimed, the more untruthful these pretenses were.

In reality but one reason had counted: the personal ambition of the founders to play a role to which their own dwarfishness contributed nothing beyond great audacity in appropriating the ideas of others—an audacity which in ordinary civil life is usually called thievish.

There was nothing among the ideas and conceptions of others that one of these political kleptomaniacs did not soon gather up for his new business. The people who did this were the same who later tearfully bewailed the "populist disunion," and talked con-

stantly of the "necessity of union," in the secret hope of taking in the others to such an extent that they would grow tired of the perpetual accusing outcry, and fling after the stolen ideas the movements created to carry them out.

But if the thieves did not succeed in that, and if the profits of the new enterprises failed to keep step with expectations, owing to the trifling intellectual stature of their proprietors, they often sold out cheaper, and were pleased enough if they managed to land in one of the so-called working groups.

All those who could not stand on their own feet at that time united into these working groups—no doubt in the belief that eight lame men, arm in arm, would make one gladiator.

But if there really was one sound man among the lame ones, he needed all his strength to keep the others on their feet, and in the end was lamed himself.

Joining in such working groups must always be regarded as a question of tactics; but at the same time we must never lose sight of the following basic conclusion:

The formation of a working group never turns weak organizations into strong ones, but it may and not infrequently will weaken a strong organization. The belief that an element of strength must result from the union of weak groups is mistaken, since the majority in any form and under any conditions has been shown by experience to be the embodiment of stupidity and cowardice, so that any multiplicity of societies, if ruled by an elected governing body of several persons, succumbs to cowardice and weakness. This sort of union also prevents the free play of forces, stops the struggle for selection of the best man, and thus forever prevents the necessary and final victory of the healthier and stronger. Such unions are thus enemies of natural development; usually they hinder the solution of the problem being fought for far more than they further it.

It may happen that for purely tactical reasons the supreme leadership of a movement, looking to the future, will nevertheless make an agreement with similar organizations on the treatment of certain questions for a very short time, and will even

undertake joint measures. But this must never lead to the perpetuation of such a situation, if the movement itself is not to abandon its mission of salvation. For once it is finally entangled in such a group, it loses the opportunity and the right to use its strength to the full in the direction of natural development, overcome its rivals, and reach the goal as victor.

It must never be forgotten that nothing really great in the world has ever been achieved by coalitions; it has always been the accomplishment of a single victor. Joint successes by their very origin bear within them the seeds of future attrition, indeed of loss of what is already achieved. Great intellectual revolutions that really overturn the world are thinkable and possible at all only as titanic struggles of individual units, never as enterprises of coalitions.

Above all, the populist State will never be created by the irresolute intent of a populist working group, but only by the iron will of a single movement that has fought its way through in the face of everyone.

9. BASIC THOUGHTS ON THE MEANING AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STORM TROOPS

THE strength of the old State rested on three pillars: the monarchical form of government, the administrative bodies and the army. The Revolution of the year 1918 did away with the government, disorganized the army, and delivered the administrative bodies over to party corruption. Therewith, the fundamental supports of a so-called state authority were smashed to bits. These depend almost always on three elements, which lie fundamentally at the basis of all authority.

The first basis for the formation of authority is constant popularity. At the same time, authority, which rests on this foundation alone, is utterly weak, unreliable and wavering. Every holder of such a pure dependent authority must aim at popularity, at bettering the basis of this authority and at insuring it through the generation of power. *In power, therefore, in might, we have the second basis for every authority.* It is readily and essentially more stable, reliable, but throughout not always stronger than the first. *If popularity and power are united, and can survive in common for a certain time, then an authority may be found to rest on an even firmer basis, the authority of tradition.* If, finally, *popularity, power and tradition are united, authority can be considered unshakable.*

By the Revolution this last possibility was cut out. There is, in fact, no longer an authority of tradition. With the break-up of the old government, the removal of the old form of state, the annihilation of its former grandeur and national symbols, tradition was rudely torn down. The result was a heavy blow to state authority.

Even the second pillar of state authority, power, was no longer

present. In order to carry through the Revolution at all, one was forced to disembody the organized force and power of the State, that is, the army; indeed, one had to use the tattered fragment of the army itself as the fighting element of revolution. Although the armies from the front had not been affected by this destruction in a body, still the acid of disorganization in the homeland started to gnaw at them when they returned from the glorious fields of their heroic battle that had lasted four and a half years, and that had ended, once arrived at the point of demobilization and in the hub-bub of the so-called voluntary submission to the era of soldier self-government.

No authority could get support from this horde of collected soldiers who thought of military service as an eight-hour day. Thus, the second element is the very one that first guaranteed security for authority, and the Revolution has actually only the original one, popularity, on which to build up its authority. But this basis was an unusually unreliable one. Indeed, the Revolution succeeded with a single, mighty heave in shattering the old state structure, for one most profound reason, alone: the normal equilibrium within the structure of our people was removed by the war.

Every national body can be divided into three classes: on the one hand, the best of mankind, good in the sense of every virtue, especially distinguished by courage and by pleasure in self-sacrifice; on the other hand, at the other extreme, the worst wrecks of mankind, bad in the sense of existing for every selfish impulse and vice. Between the two extremes lies a third class, the large, broad intermediate stratum in whom is embodied neither a gleaming heroism nor a mean criminal temper.

Periods of marked ascent of a national body exist indeed only by the absolute leadership of the extremes. Periods marked by a normal, even development or by a stable condition exist by the evident domination of the middle element, whereby the two extremes maintain the balance reciprocally, respectively cancelling each other out. Periods of the break-up of a national body will be certain through the work of the worst elements.

But it is thereby remarkable that the broad mass, the intermediate class, as I wish to call them, comes tangibly into view only if the two extremes themselves engage in conflict, but that they submit readily in case of the victory of one of the extremes to the victor. In case of the domination of the best, the broad mass will follow them; in case of the ascendancy of the worst, they will at least offer them no resistance; for the intermediate mass will itself never fight.

The war in its four-and-a-half years of bloody events disturbed the inner equilibrium of these three classes. One realizes this by recognizing all the sacrifice of the intermediate class, which led to an almost complete blood-letting of the best men. And what was shed of the irreplaceable blood of German heroes in these four and a half years, is monstrous. One adds up all the hundred thousand particulars. Each time they kept asking for: *volunteers* for the front, *volunteer* patrols, *volunteer* spies, *volunteers* for the telephone squad, *volunteers* for bridge-crossings, *volunteers* for the U-boats, *volunteers* for aviation, *volunteers* for the storm battalions, and so forth—again and again for four and a half years on thousands of occasions, volunteers and more volunteers—and one saw invariably the same failure: The beardless youths or the ripe men, both filled with passionate love of the Fatherland, reported with great, personal courage, or the highest consciousness of duty. Ten thousand, nay an hundred thousand of such cases are recorded, and gradually this human species grew scarcer and scarcer. What did not die was either shot to pieces or crippled gradually, because of the smallness of the remaining number. But one considers before everything that the year 1914 with the whole army made up of so-called volunteers who, thanks to the criminal unscrupulousness of our parliamentary do-nothings, had obtained no valid, perfecting peace, and so now had surrendered like defenceless cannon-fodder to the enemy. The four hundred thousand who fell or were maimed at the battle of Flanders could no longer be replaced.

Their loss was more than the loss of a mere number. By their death the balance was weighted too little on the good side, and

now the elements of meanness, of vileness and of cowardliness, in short, the mass of the worst extreme were launched.

And added to that: Not only the best extreme became thinned on the battlefield in the most monstrous way for four and a half years, but the worst, in the meantime, in the most remarkable way were conserved. To be sure on every volunteer hero climbing the steps to Valhalla by the holy death of sacrifice, fell a poltroon who very cautiously turned his back to death in order to give practical proof of his being more or less useful in the homeland in their stead.

Thus the end of the war presented the following picture: The broad, intermediate stratum duly sacrificed its toll of blood; the best extreme sacrificed itself with typical heroism; the worst extreme was unfortunately preserved intact, supported, on the one hand, by the most stupid laws, and on the other, by the non-application of the Articles of War.

This well-preserved scum of our nation then made the Revolution and only it could make it because the extreme of the best element no longer opposed it; it was no longer alive.

Thus, the German Revolution was from the outset limited in popularity. It was not the German people who were guilty of this act of Cain, but the purblind riff-raff of deserters, kept women, etc.

The man at the front was happy to greet the end of the bloody fight, to be able again to go home, to be allowed to see wife and child. Alone he had nothing intrinsically to do with the Revolution itself; he did not like it, and still less did he like its agitators and organizers. In four and a half years of the hardest fighting he had forgotten the party hyenas; their strife was foreign to him.

The Revolution became really popular only with a small part of the German people; that is, with every class of their supporters who had chosen the rucksack as the distinguishing sign of all honorary citizens of this new State. They did not like the Revolution for its own sake, as so many misguidedly still believe today, but because of its consequences.

The authority of these Marxist freebooters could not, in truth,

rest on popularity alone for long, except with difficulty. And the young Republic needed authority immediately at any price, if it did not want suddenly to be entangled again after a short period of chaos with an administrative power linked together out of the last elements of the good part of our people.

Every supporter of the Revolution feared nothing more than that in the whirlpool of their own chaos they themselves would lose every footing, and suddenly be seized by a brazen fist, and be placed on another footing, has happened more than once in such a course of events in the life of the people. The Republic had to consolidate at any price.

It was momentarily almost forced to create again, alongside the tottering pillars of its weak popularity, an organization of power in order to be able to find a more solid authority on it.

When during December, January and February, 1918 and 1919, the matadors of the Revolution felt the ground under their feet wobbling, they were on the lookout for men who would be ready to strengthen their weak position by force of arms, and who offered them the love of their people. The "anti-militaristic" Republic needed soldiers.

But since the first and only support for their government authority, that is, their popularity, was rooted only in a society of kept women, thieves, burglars, deserters, poltroons, etc., and therefore, in every part of the people whom we must designate as the worst extreme, enrolling men who were ready to sacrifice their own lives in the service of the new ideal, in the circle of the futile labor of love, was everything. *The supporting stratum of the revolutionary idea was neither capable nor ready to invite the soldiers to protect it. And this stratum wished by no means for the organization of a republican form of government, but for the disorganization of the existing one for the better gratification of their instincts. Their slogan did not mean: order and establishment of the German Republic, but rather—the plundering of it.*

Thus the cries for help which the leaders uttered in their mortal terror went unheeded in this group, yes, they even aroused

repulsion and bitterness. For in such action there was felt to be a breach between loyalty and faith; after all one sensed in the formation of an authority resting not only upon popularity, but supported also by power, the beginning of a battle against that which alone represented for these elements the valid features of the Revolution: against the right of thievery and the dissolute reign of a horde of thieves and plunderers, in short, trash, lately freed from prison walls and loosed from chains.

Shout as they might, no one came from their ranks to the aid of the leaders and only the call of "traitor" told them of the state of mind of those bearers of their popularity.

Countless young Germans found themselves ready then for the first time to put on the uniform, and take up arms in the service of "Peace and Order," as they thought, to march steel-helmeted against the destroyers of their homeland. *As volunteers they formed volunteer corps, and although they hated revolution bitterly, they began to defend and thus to strengthen this Revolution.*

They did this moved by the best of intentions.

The real organizer of the Revolution and the one who pulled its strings, the international Jew, had sized up the situation correctly: "The German people was not yet ripe enough to be able to be pulled into the bloody swamp of Bolshevism, as happened in Russia." This was due to the closer racial unity of the German intellectuals and the German artisan. Mass education such as we also find in other Western European states but which is lacking in Russia also played a part. In Russia the intellectuals had no Russian nationality or at least were not of the Slavic race. This thin intellectual layer of the Russia of that time could be supplanted easily because there was no unity at all between it and the mass of the Russian people. The spiritual and moral niveau of the latter was, however, horribly low.

When they succeeded in Russia in inciting the illiterate masses against the thin intellectual upper layer, which was entirely foreign to the masses, the fate of this country was decided, the Revolution successful. The Russian alphabet thus became a

defenseless slave of the Jewish dictators, who, however, were clever enough to call this dictatorship a "Dictatorship of the People."

In Germany there was something additional: As surely as the Revolution could be successful only as a result of the gradual deterioration of the army, just so surely the soldiers at the front could not have been the bearer of the Revolution and the dissolver of the army. This was the work of the rabble, more or less shunning the light, either loafing around in the home garrisons or because "unfit" for duty doing domestic work somewhere. This army was strengthened by thousands of deserters, who were able to turn away from the front with nothing to lose. The real coward, of course, shuns nothing so much as death. At the front he had death before him day after day in all of its thousandfold forms. *If you want weak, wavering or even cowardly fellows to do their duty, then there has been from time immemorial only one possibility: The deserter must realize that his desertion will always result in that which he is trying to escape.* At the front you *may* die, as a deserter you *must* die. Only through such a severe threat to every attempt at desertion can such a warning result be achieved not only in individual cases, but in totality.

And here lay the meaning and purpose of the Articles of War.

It was a prettier belief that the struggle for existence of a people could be fought out by relying solely upon the voluntary loyalty born of and preserved by the knowledge of necessity. The voluntary fulfilment of duty has always guided the best of men in their conduct, never the average man. Therefore such laws, like those against robbery, are necessary. They were not made for the genuinely honest but for the weak and fickle elements of the population. By their warning to the evildoers, such laws are intended to prevent a condition's arising in which in the end the honest man would be considered the more stupid one, and in which, moreover, the point of view would gain the upper-hand that it is also better to participate in robbery than to stand by emptyhanded or even allow oneself to be robbed.

Thus it was wrong to believe that, in a battle which as far as

man could judge might very well rage for years, those time-tried means could be dispensed with which are able to force people weak and lacking in confidence to do their duty even in most serious times and in moments demanding the greatest test of nerves.

Of course, no Articles of War were necessary for the heroes who volunteered; they were needed for the cowardly egotist, who, in the hour of his people's need, values his life higher than that of his country. Such a spineless weakling can be diverted from becoming a victim of his cowardice only by the harshest threats. Only by the ruthless application of the death penalty can the unreliable fellow be kept at his post when men are constantly fighting with death, and often must hold out for weeks in slimy shell-holes, with the worst possible food. Here threats of jail or prison sentence are of no value, for he knows from experience that in such times jail, or even prison, is many times safer than the battlefield, especially since in prison, at least, his priceless life is not threatened. It was a bad mistake to eliminate practically the death penalty during the War, to call in the Articles of War, so to speak. Especially in 1918, an army of deserters gushed forth, both in the troops, behind the line, and at home, and helped form that large, destructive organization which we suddenly saw before us as the makers of the Revolution after November 7, 1918.

The front was really not involved at all. To be sure all those at the front longed for peace. But there lay in this desire for peace a danger to the Revolution. For when after the Armistice the German armies began returning home the worried revolutionaries had only one question: "*What will the front-troops do? Will they stand for this?*"

At least outwardly in these weeks the Revolution in Germany had to appear temperate, if it did not want to run the danger of being suddenly destroyed by a few German divisions. *For if at that time only a single division commander had decided to pull down the Red rag with the division loyal to him, and to stand the leaders up against the wall and to break down any possible*

opposition with trench-mortars and hand-grenades, this division would have grown to an army of sixty divisions in less than four weeks. The Jews pulling the strings were more afraid of this than of anything else. And simply to avoid this the Revolution had to seem somewhat moderate, it could not be allowed to degenerate into Bolshevism, it had to simulate "Peace and Order." Hence the numerous great concessions, the appeal to the old officialdom, to the old army leaders. They were still needed for a time at least, and not until the Moors had done their duty could one venture to give them the kick they deserved, and take the Republic out of the hands of the old servants of the State, and deliver it to the claws of the revolutionary vultures.

Only thus could they hope to fool old generals and old state officials, and so disarm any eventual opposition from them from the start through the apparent innocence and mildness of the new situation.

The facts show how successful this was.

But the Revolution had not been created by elements of peace and order but by those of rebellion, theft, and plundering. And for these elements the development of the Revolution neither proceeded according to their own desire nor could its course be made clear and palatable to them because of tactical reasons.

With the gradual increase of the Social Democratic Party, this party had lost more and more the character of a brutal revolutionary party. Not that they had ever had any other goal than that of the Revolution, or that its leaders had had any other intentions; not at all. But what finally remained was only the intention and a body no longer capable of realizing it. *With a party of ten million members one can no longer carry out a Revolution.* In such a movement one no longer has an extreme of activity before him, but the broad inactive mass of the middle, and a burden of inactivity.

In the realization of this even during the War, the famous split of the Social Democratic Party by the Jews took place; that is, while the Social Democratic Party, because of the inactivity of its mass clung like a dead weight to the national defense, the

radical activistic elements were withdrawn from it and were formed into especially strong columns of attack. *The Independent party and the Spartacist Union were the storm battalions of revolutionary Marxism.* They had to create the completed fact, upon whose ground the mass of the Social Democratic Party, which had prepared for it for decades, could walk. The cowardly middle-class was in thus correctly rated by Marxism and treated simply "*en canaille.*" They took no notice of it at all, realizing that the fawning servility of the political structure of an old superannuated generation would never be capable of serious opposition.

When the Revolution had succeeded, and the main supports of the old State could be considered broken, the returning front army began to appear like an uncanny sphinx, and the brakes had to be applied in the natural development of the Revolution; the greater part of the Social Democratic Party occupied the newly-won positions and the Independent and Spartacist storm battalions were pushed aside.

This did not proceed however without a battle.

Not alone because these activistic attack-formations of the Revolution felt themselves deceived because they were not satisfied and on their own initiative wanted to continue the attack, was their uncontrolled brawling desired by those who pulled the strings of the Revolution themselves. For hardly had the collapse taken place, when two camps became evident, namely; the party of peace and order and the group of bloody terror. What could be more natural now than that our middle-class at once moved into the camp of peace and order with flying banners? Now all of a sudden there was the possibility of an activity for these most pitiable political organizations, by which, without having to say so, they had nevertheless in secret already found ground under their feet again, and had come into a certain position of solidarity with the power which they hated, but feared even more. The political German middle-class had received the high honor of being able to seat themselves at one table with the thrice-damned Marxist leaders in order to fight the Bolshevists. Thus already

in December 1918 and January 1919 the following situation arose:

A Revolution was carried out by a minority of the worst elements, which all the Marxist parties immediately backed. The Revolution itself has an apparently moderate stamp, which arouses the hostility of the fanatic extremists. The latter begin to throw around hand grenades and to fire off machine guns, to occupy public buildings, in short, to threaten the moderate Revolution.

In order to check the fear of such a development an armistice is declared between the backers of the new situation and the supporters of the old so that they may be able to fight together against the extremists. The result is that the enemies of the Republic have discontinued their battle with the Republic as such and assist in forcing down those who themselves, for quite different reasons, to be sure, are likewise enemies of the Republic. The further result is, however, that in so doing the danger of a battle of the defenders of the old State against those of the new seems once and for all to be diverted.

One cannot emphasize this fact too often. Only he who understands this realizes how it was possible that a people, nine-tenths of whom did not carry out a revolution, seven-tenths of whom reject it, six-tenths hate it, nevertheless can finally have this Revolution forced upon it by one-tenth.

Gradually the Spartacist barricade-fighters on the one side and the nationalist fanatics and idealists on the other bled to death, and in the degree in which the two extremes incited each other, to that degree did the mass of the middle come out victorious. Middle-class and Marxism found themselves on the ground of the accepted facts and the Republic began to consolidate. This, to be sure, for the time being did not prevent the middle-class parties, especially before elections, from quoting monarchistic ideas for a time, in order to be able, with the spirits of the past, to conjure up and catch anew the smaller spirits of their disciples.

This was not really honest. Secretly all of them had long since broken with the Monarchy, and the uncleanness of the new

situation also began to make its seductive effects felt in the camp of the middle-class party. The ordinary middle-class politician feels more at home today in the mire of corruption of the Republic than in the clean severity which he still remembers from the past régime.

As has already been mentioned, the Revolution was forced after the destruction of the old army, to create a new agent of power to strengthen its state authority. As things lay it could obtain this agent only from the followers of a world-concept really opposed to its own. Only from them could slowly arise a new army, which externally limited by the Peace Treaties, had to be transformed in the course of time to an instrument of the new conception of state.

If we therefore ask ourselves, how the Revolution could succeed as an action—disregarding the real mistakes of the old State which became the cause of it—we come to this conclusion:

1. *as the result of the paralyzing of our ideas of duty and obedience and*
2. *as the result of the cowardly passivity of our so-called state supporting parties.*

To this might be added:

The paralyzing of our ideas of duty and obedience has its real foundation in our entirely non-national and always purely public education. Here, too, the result is the want of appreciation of means and ends. Realization of one's duty, performance of one's duty and obedience are no more ends in themselves than the state is an end in itself, but they should all be the means of making possible and securing the existence upon this earth of a community of spiritually and physically similar beings. *In an hour when the body of a state visibly collapses and to all appearances is most sorely oppressed, thanks to the action of a few scoundrels, obedience and performance of one's duty becomes important to them from the standpoint of theoretical formalism or even pure lack of reason providing on the other hand a people would be saved from destruction by refusing obedience and "performance*

of *one's duty*." According to our present bourgeois conception of state the division commander who for his part received the order from his superior not to shoot naturally is justified in not shooting since to the bourgeois world thoughtless formal obedience is worth more than the life of his own people. According to the National-Socialist conception, not obedience to weak superiors but obedience to the community operates in such moments. In such an hour the duty of personal responsibility to a whole nation appears.

That a real interpretation of these ideas among our people or rather in our governments has been lost in favor of a purely theoretical and formal interpretation accounts for the success of the Revolution.

To the second point might be added:

The more profound reason for the cowardice of the "state supporting parties is especially the disappearance from their ranks of the activistic and well disposed section of the people which died on the field of battle. Apart from this our bourgeois parties, which we can designate as the only political structures standing on the ground of the old State, were convinced that they could represent their views solely upon an intellectual path and with intellectual means, since only the State had the right to make use of physical means. Not only do we see in such a conception the signs of a gradually developing decadent weakness but the conception itself was absurd at a time when the one political opponent had long since forsaken this point of view, and instead of it quite openly emphasized that he would, if possible, attain his political ends even through force. The moment in which Marxism appeared in the world of bourgeois democracies as a consequence of it, their slogan to fight with intellectual weapons was nonsense for which they would have to pay dearly some day. For Marxism itself had always had the point of view that weapons are to be used only if expedient and that the justification for their use always lies in the success of their use.

How correct this point of view is was demonstrated in the days from the 7th to the 11th of November 1918. At that time

Marxism cared not in the least for parliamentarism and democracy but gave both the death-thrust through howling and pilfering criminal hordes. That the bourgeois chatter-box groups were defenseless in this moment is of course self-evident.

After the Revolution when the bourgeois parties suddenly appeared again (even though they had changed their nameplates) and their brave leaders crept forth from the security of dark cellars and drafty attics, they had not forgotten their old mistakes nor learned anything new, just as all representatives of those old structures. Their political program lay in the past to the extent that they were not already reconciled to the new situation. Their aim, however, was to participate in the new government, and now as before their lone weapons continued to be merely words.

Also after the Revolution the bourgeois parties have at all times capitulated in the most pitiful manner.

When the defense law of the Republic was to be adopted there was no majority for it. But the bourgeois "statesmen" feared the two hundred thousand demonstrating Marxists so greatly that they passed the law against their convictions, quite understandably fearing that otherwise they would be beaten to pulp while leaving the Reichstag. Unfortunately because of the adoption this did not occur.

Thus did the development of the new State run its course as though there were no nationalistic opposition at all.

The only organizations which at this time would have had courage and strength to combat Marxism and its stirred-up masses were at first the volunteer corps, later the organizations for self-preservation, citizens corps, etc., and finally the *Traditionverbände*.

The reason that their existence brought about in the development of German history no perceptible change was:

Just as the so-called nationalistic parties were unable to exert any influence because they lacked any threatening authority in the streets, so the so-called defense units were unable to exert any influence because they had no political idea of any sort and lacked particularly any real political goal.

What had once given Marxism success was the consummate interplay of political desire and activist brutality. That which excluded the national Germany from any form of German development was the lack of a close cooperation of brutal force with ingenious political desire.

Whatever the nature of the desire of the "nationalist" parties might be they had not the least strength to fight for this desire, least of all in the streets.

The defense units had all the strength, they were the lords of the street and the State, but they possessed no political idea and no political goal for which their power might have been used to the advantage of nationalist Germany. In both cases it was the cleverness of the Jew which brought about, by clever talking and strengthening, literally a perpetuation, in any case, however, and further deepening of this unhappy fate.

It was the Jew who through his press very cleverly launched the idea of the "non-political character" of the defense units just as he cunningly praised and demanded pure intellectualism in political life. Millions of German blockheads now babbled this nonsense without having the slightest idea how they actually disarmed themselves in so doing and surrendered themselves completely to the Jew.

But this also has its natural explanation. *The lack of a great re-forming conception always means a restriction of fighting strength. The conviction of the right to use even the most brutal weapons is always dependent upon the existence of a fanatic faith in the necessity of victory for a new revolutionary order of things upon this earth.*

A movement which does not fight for these highest aims and ideals will therefore never reach for the last weapon.

The revealing of a new great idea was the secret of the success of the French Revolution; the Russian Revolution owes its victory to the idea, and Facism has retained its strength only through the idea of subjecting a whole people very successfully to a most comprehensive re-generation.

Bourgeois parties are not capable of this.

Not only did the bourgeois parties see their political goal in a restoration of the past, but also the defense units, in so far as they concerned themselves with political aid. The tendencies of the old societies of veterans and of *Kyffhäuser* were revived in them and aided politically to dull the sharpest weapon which the nationalist Germany had at that time, and to let it degenerate in lowly service of the Republic. That they in so doing were acting with the best intentions and faith does not change this wretched lack of reason of these events in the least.

Gradually Marxism received the necessary support of its authority in the now consolidated Reichswehr and began systematically and logically to eliminate the seemingly dangerous national defense units because they were now superfluous. Individual and particularly bold leaders whom one mistrusted were ordered to appear before the courts and placed behind bars. For whatever lot befell them they were themselves to blame.

With the founding of the N. S. D. A. P. there appeared for the first time a movement whose aim was not like that of the bourgeois parties, whose aim was not the mechanical restoration of the past but lay in the attempt to set up in place of today's non-sensical mechanism on organic populist state.

The point of view of the young movement from the very beginning was that their idea was to be represented intellectually, but that the protection of this representation must be assured if necessary even by forceful means. True to its conviction of the tremendous significance of the new doctrine, it seems to it as a matter of course that no sacrifice is too great in the realizing of the goal.

I have already indicated the motives which oblige a movement that intends to win the heart of a people, to defend from its own ranks the terroristic attempts of its opponents. Likewise it is the eternal experience of world history that a terror represented by a world-concept never can be broken by a formal state authority but always succumbs only to a new and different world-concept, equally bold and determined. This will always be unpleasant

to the official guardians of the state although this does not alter the fact in the least. State authority can guarantee peace and order only when the state and the ruling world-concept agree, so that violent elements possess only the character of individual criminal natures and are not considered as representatives of a purpose extremely opposed to the views of the state. In such a case the state can apply for centuries the most violent measures against a terror threatening it; in the end, however, the state will succumb being unable to accomplish anything against it.

The German State is assaulted most vigorously by Marxism. The State in its seventy year struggle has not been able to prevent the victory of this world-concept. On the contrary in spite of thousands of years of prison and jail sentences and bloodiest measures which it inflicted upon the defenders of the Marxist world-concept threatening it, the State has been forced to an almost complete capitulation. (The normal bourgeois state leader will want to deny this, too, but of course without being able to convince anyone).

The State which on the 9th of November 1918 unconditionally surrendered to Marxism, will not suddenly arise tomorrow as its conqueror; on the contrary, bourgeois simpletons occupying Ministers' seats are already today talking at random about the necessity of not ruling against the workers, using the word "worker" in the Marxist sense. By identifying the German worker with Marxism, they are committing a cowardly and mendacious perjury, and thus also attempt to hide their own collapse in the face of the Marxist idea and organization. In view of this fact, that is, the complete surrender of the present-day State of Marxism, there arises for the National-Socialist movement the real duty of not only preparing spiritually for the victory of their idea but also of assuming its defense against the terror of the victory-drunk International itself.

I have already described how quite naturally there slowly developed in our young movement a group to protect our meetings, and how this group gradually assumed the character of a definite police troop and strove for an organizing formation.

Although the gradually arising structure externally resembled a so-called defense group, it was not to be compared with such a group.

As has already been mentioned, the German defense organizations had no definite political plan of their own. They were actually only units for self-protection more or less suitably trained and organized, so that they really represented an illegal complement to the existing legal instruments of power of the state. Their similarity to volunteer corps was due only to the nature of their formation and to the condition of the State at that time. In the sense that they were independent units fighting for an independent and individual conviction this title is not appropriate. They certainly did not have such a conviction in spite of the fact that individual leaders and whole groups were opposed to the Republic. *For in order to be able to speak of a conviction in the higher sense, it is not sufficient to be convinced of the inferiority of an existing order. For the root of a conviction lies solely in the knowledge and inner perception of a new order which we feel must be achieved under any circumstances and the realization of which we consider our highest task in life.*

What fundamentally distinguishes the police troop of the National-Socialist movement at that time from all defense units is that it was not in the least and did not want to be a servant of the conditions created by the Revolution, but that it was fighting exclusively for a new Germany.

At first this troop was simply a guard at meetings. Its first task was simply to make it possible to hold meetings which otherwise would definitely have been prevented by the opposition. Even at that time this troop was trained to attack blindly; not that it regarded the rubber blackjack as the highest ideal, as some stupid German nationalists claimed, but because these men understood that the highest ideal can be exterminated if its leader is killed by a rubber blackjack. In fact not infrequently in history, the most important leaders have fallen under the blows of the most insignificant helot. It did not want to consider violence as a goal, but it wanted to protect the proclaimers of a spiritual

aim from oppression by violence. It understood at the same time that it was not duty-bound to assume the protection of a State which affords no protection to the nation, but that on the contrary it was to protect the nation against those threatening to destroy both people and State.

After the massacre at the meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhaus the police troop received once and for always the name *Storm Troop* as a lasting recollection of their courageous storming of the small group at that time. It is obvious from the name itself that this group represents only one part of the movement, just as propaganda, the press, the scientific institutions, etc., are merely single parts of the Party.

We could see how necessary its extension was not only from this memorable meeting, but also from our attempt to spread the movement gradually from Munich throughout the rest of Germany. As soon as we had begun to appear dangerous to Marxism, it left no stone unturned to nip every attempt at a National-Socialistic meeting in the bud, or to prevent its being held by breaking it up. At the same time it was quite a matter of course that the Marxist Party organizations of all shades should completely hide any such purpose and each occurrence of this kind in the representative bodies. What, however, should one say about bourgeois parties, which, thrashed down by Marxism themselves, do not dare to let their speakers appear publicly in many places, and who in spite of that carry on, in one way or another, very unsatisfactory struggles against Marxism with a feeling of satisfaction which is quite foolish and incomprehensible to us. They were happy that Marxism which could not be conquered by them, which indeed was overcoming them, could not be defeated by us either. What should one say about state officials, police-presidents, yes, even ministers, who, indecently unprincipled, chose to pass outwardly as "nationalist," but who in all disagreements which we had with Marxists, gave them the most reprehensible, underhanded assistance. What should one say about people who go so far in their self-debasement that for the miserable praise of Jewish newspapers persecute without further

ado the men whose heroic intercession they have to thank in part for their own lives that they were not hanged by the Red pack as rotting corpses to light-posts only a few years ago.

These were such wretched figures that on one occasion they drove our unforgettable late President Pöhner, who in his severe straightforwardness hated all fawning as only an honorable man can hate, to the blunt expression of opinion: "In my whole life I never wanted to be anything except a German in the first place, and then a public officer, and I should never like to be confused with those creatures who as official whores prostitute themselves for everyone who at the moment is able to play the master."

It was especially pitiful that this sort of people gradually got not only tens of thousands of the most honorable and upright servants of the State under their power, but also slowly infected them with their own want of character. On the other hand they persecuted the honest with grim hate and finally gnawed them out of office and position while they represented themselves in lying hypocrisy as "nationalist."

From such men we may never hope for any kind of support and we have received it only on very rare occasions. Only the extension of our own protection could safeguard the activity of the movement and at the same time achieve for it that public attention and common respect which one pays to him who defends himself when attacked.

In the development of this Storm Troop, the guiding idea, besides physical improvement, was the intention to make it the inviolably convinced representative of the National-Socialist idea, and finally to strengthen its disciples to the highest degree. It was to have nothing to do with a defense organization in the bourgeois sense, nor with any secret organization.

The following consideration explains why I already, at that time most vehemently struggled against developing the S. A. (*Sturm-Abteilung*, i.e. Storm Troop) of the N. S. D. A. P. as a so-called defense unit:

From a purely practical point of view the defense of a people cannot be carried out by private units, without the greatest

amount of assistance from the State. Any other belief is based upon an exaggerated opinion of one's own ability. It is simply impossible to develop an organization having military value beyond a certain point with so-called "voluntary discipline." The most important support for the authority to give orders is gone, namely the authority to punish. To be sure, it was possible in the fall and more so in the spring of 1919 to organize "volunteer corps," but that at least for a time this group obeyed like soldiers, was not simply because they were men who had fought at the front and for the most part had been through the school of the old army, but also because of the type of duty imposed on each individual.

This is entirely lacking in a volunteer "defense organization" of today. The larger the unit becomes, the more lax the discipline, the less significant the demands upon the members, the more the whole thing will assume the character of the non-political associations of soldiers and veterans.

Volunteer training for an army without assured, unconditional authority to give orders will never be possible for great numbers. There will always be only a few who will be ready of their own accord to render an obedience which in the army is considered a matter of course.

The ridiculously insignificant means at the disposal of a defense unit for purposes of self-training constitute another real obstacle. The very best, most reliable training would have to be the main purpose of such an institution. Eight years have passed since the War, and in that time not a single year's class of our youth has been systematically trained. It certainly cannot be the task of a defense unit to take hold of the already trained generations, since it can be determined with mathematical certainty when the last member will leave the corporation. Even the youngest soldier of 1918 will be too old to fight in twenty years, a time which will all too soon be upon us. Thus every defense unit of necessity becomes more and more like the old Association of Trained Soldiers. This cannot be the purpose of an institution which does not call itself an organization of fighters but a defense unit, and

simply through its very name strives to express that it sees as its mission not only the maintenance of the tradition and feeling of solidarity among former soldiers, but also the development of the defense idea and the practical realization of this idea, the creation of a unit capable of defense.

This task demands then unconditionally the training of those elements which had as yet had no military drill, and in practice this is actually impossible. With one or two hours of training a week one can really not create a soldier. In view of the enormously increased demands which military service makes on the individual man today, a two-year service period is perhaps just about sufficient to transform the untrained young man into an educated soldier. We all have before our eyes on the battlefield the terrible consequences which befell soldiers not thoroughly trained in military affairs. Units of volunteers, who with iron determination and infinite devotion had been drilled for fifteen or twenty weeks, offered at the front, none the less, only cannon fodder. Only distributed into the ranks of experienced old soldiers, could the younger recruits, trained from four to six months, serve as useful members of a regiment; in this way they were guided by the "old ones" and then gradually grew into their tasks.

In comparison how unpromising does the attempt seem—to rear troops by means of a one to two hour so-called training each week without a clear power of command and comprehensive means! In that way perhaps one can freshen up old soldiers again, but can never make young men into soldiers.

How indifferent and completely worthless such a procedure would be in its results can again be exemplified through the fact that: At the same time when a so-called volunteer defense unit in difficulty and despair trains or seeks to train in the idea of defense a few thousand well-meaning men (those of a different sort it does not even approach)—the State itself consistently robs millions of young people of their natural instincts through the pacifist-democratic type of education, poisons their logical patriotic thought and so transforms them gradually into a herd

of sheep tolerant of every despotism. How ridiculous in comparison to that are all efforts of the defense units to communicate their thoughts to German youth. But almost still more important is the following point of view, which caused me always to take a position against every attempt of a so-called military defense procedure on the basis of a volunteer unit!

Assuming a unit would succeed in spite of the previously mentioned difficulties in training year after year a definite number of Germans to be men capable of defense, even in respect to their temperament as well as physical proficiency, and military training, even then the result would have to be absolute zero in a State which, according to its entire tendency, does not at all desire such a defense procedure, yes, even thoroughly hates it, since it completely opposes the innermost aim of its leaders, the destroyers of this State.

In any case such a result would be worthless under regimes which have not only shown through their deeds that they care nothing about the military power of the nation, but who would never at all be inclined to allow an appeal to this power except for the extreme instance of the support of their destructive existence.

And today that is absolutely true. Or is it not ridiculous for a regiment to attempt to train some ten-thousand men in the twilight of decline when the State, a few years before, abandoned eight and a half million men disgracefully, not only no longer made use of them but, as a reward for their sacrifices, even exposed them to general insult?

Does one then intend to train soldiers for the regiment of a State which befouled and spat upon the soldiers who were once the most honorable, which ripped their cockades from their chests, trampled their banners and degraded their performances? Or has this present State ever undertaken a step to reestablish the honor of the old army, and to take to task their destroyers and slanderers. Not in the least! On the contrary: we can see the latter enthroned in the highest state offices. As it was said at Leipzig. "Right goes with might." Since today in our Republic

the power lies in the hands of the same men who once plotted the Revolution, this Revolution, nay, the basest treason, which represents the most wretched rascality of all German history, then no reason can be found for increasing the power of these very characters through the training of a new young army. All principles of reason in any case speak against it.

Whatever worth this State, even after the Revolution of 1918, attributed to the military strength of its position proceeded clearly and simply from its attitude to the great contemporary organizations for its own defense. As long as they had to contribute to the defense of personally cowardly creatures of revolution they were not unwelcome. However as soon as—thanks to the gradual ruin of our people—the danger for them seemed to have passed, and the existence of these units meant a national political strength again, then they were superfluous, and everything was done to disarm them, even if possible to disperse them.

History shows the gratitude of princes only in rare instances. But only a bourgeois patriot of the present day would reckon upon the gratitude of revolutionary incendiaries, exploiters of the people, and national traitors. In any case at an investigation of the problem whether volunteer defense units were to be created, I could never resist the question: For whom am I training the young people, for what purpose are they to be used, and when are they to be called upon? The answer to that yields at the same time the best lines of direction for one's own conduct.

If the present day State should call upon trained reserves of this kind, then this would never take place as a representation of foreign interests of the nation, but always as a protection to the tyrants within the nation from the general rage of the deceived, betrayed, and bartered people, which may some day break out in flames.

The S. A. of the N. S. D. A. P. could on this basis have nothing to do with a military organization. It was a means of education and protection for the National-Socialist movement and its tasks lay in a sphere entirely different from that of the so-called defense units.

But too, it was not to have the character of a secret organization. The purpose of secret organizations can only be contrary to law. In this way, however, the size of such an organization is of itself limited. It is not possible, especially in the face of the talkativeness of the German people, to build up an organization of some size and at the same time to keep it a secret to the outside, or even to conceal its aims. Every such intention will be thwarted in a thousand ways. It is not only that a staff of pimps and similar rabble is at the service of our police courts who will for the Judas fee of thirty pieces of silver betray what they can find, and invent what is to be betrayed, but the members themselves are never to be brought to the silence necessary in such a case. Only very little groups can assume the character of a true secret organization through years of sifting. The very smallness of such structures would nullify their value for the National-Socialist movement. *What we needed and do need, were and are not a hundred or two hundred bold conspirators, but hundreds and hundreds of thousands of fanatical fighters for our world-concept. Not in little secret gatherings is the work to be done, but in mighty mass processions, and not by means of dagger and poison or pistol can the path be broken for the movement, but through the capture of the highway. We have to show Marxism that the future lord of the highway is National Socialism, just as it will some day be the lord of the State.*

The danger of the secret organizations today further lies in this fact that the greatness of the task is totally misunderstood frequently among the members, and instead the opinion develops that actually through a single murder the fate of a people could be suddenly decided favorably. Such an opinion may have its historical justification, in a case when a people languishes under the tyranny of some sort of talented oppressor, of whom one is certain that only the inner security and the frightfulness of hostile oppression grants him his towering personality. In such a case a man ready for the sacrifice may suddenly spring forth from the people to plunge the dagger of death into the breast of the hated individual. And only the republican temperament of little

rascals conscious of guilt will look upon such a deed as abhorrent, while the greatest poet of freedom of our people took it upon himself to present in his *Tell* a glorification of such an action.

In the years 1919 and 1920 there was danger in the fact that the member of secret organizations, spurred on by the great examples of history and horrified by the boundless misfortune of his Fatherland, sought to revenge himself on the plunderers of his home in the belief that by his deed he was preparing an end to the misery of his people. Every such attempt was nonsense, however, since Marxism had not at all conquered because of the superior talent and personal importance of an individual, but much more because of the boundless misery, the cowardly despair of the bourgeois world. The most horrible criticism which one can launch against our citizenry is the certainty that the Revolution itself did not bring forth a single brain of any greatness, and that nevertheless they subjugated themselves to it. It is still comprehensible that one would capitulate to a Robespierre, a Danton, or a Marat, but to grovel before a dull Scheidemann, a fat Herr Erzberger and a Friedrich Ebert and all the countless other political pigmies is annihilating. There was really not one intelligence there, in which one could have seen the talented man of the Revolution and in him the misfortune of the Fatherland, but they were, as a whole and singly, nothing but the vermin of revolution, petty Spartacists. To put one of those out of the way was perfectly pointless and had, at the most, only one successful result—that a few others just as great and just as thirsty advanced to his position all the more quickly.

One could not proceed sharply enough in those years against such an idea which had its cause and foundation in the truly great phenomena of history, but was not suited in the least to the momentary age of dwarves.

Even in connection with the question of the *disposal of so-called traitors* the same consideration is to be made. It is ridiculously illogical to kill a fellow who has betrayed a cannon while nearby in the highest positions of dignity sit nobodies who sold out a whole realm, who have the vain sacrifice of two million

dead on their conscience, who must be responsible for millions of cripples, yet at the same time, spiritually calm, carry on their republican business. To dispose of little traitors is nonsensical in a State whose government itself frees these traitors from every punishment. So it can come to pass some day that an honorable idealist, who in behalf of his people does away with a rascally military traitor, is taken to task by national traitors of the first magnitude. And there is certainly an important question: Is one to allow such a treacherous little creature to be disposed of by another creature or by an idealist? In one case the success is doubtful and subsequent treachery sure; in the other case a little scoundrel is disposed of and in the process the life of an idealist is risked who cannot perhaps be replaced.

Besides my position in the question is this, that one should not hang little thieves in order to let the big ones run free; but that some time a German national law court will have to condemn and execute ten thousand or so of the organizers and therefore criminals of the November treason and all that goes with it. Such an example will be the necessary lesson even for the petty military traitor once and for all.

All these are the considerations, which caused me to forbid again and again participation in secret organizations and to guard the S. A. itself against the character of such organizations. I kept the National-Socialist movement in those years far removed from experiments, where executors were mostly gloriously idealistic-minded young Germans, whose deed however, would mean only their sacrifice, while they were not able in the least to better the fate of their Fatherland.

If the S. A. could be neither a military defense organization nor a secret union, then these conclusions must result:

1. *Its training must follow not according to military views, but according to those in keeping with the aims of the Party.*

In promoting physical health of the members, the chief emphasis was not to be laid on military exercise but much more on sports. Boxing and Jiu-Jitsu have always seemed to me more im-

portant than any sort of poor, because only half vigorous, rifle-training. Let the German nation be given six million athletically trained bodies, all of them inflamed with fanatical love of their country and all of them reared to the highest pitch of aggressive spirit, and a national state will have created out of them an army, in not even five years time if necessary, at least in so far as a certain basic stock is at hand. The physical conditioning will inject into the individual the conviction of his superiority and give him that confidence which forever lies in the consciousness of his own power; besides it must give him those athletic skills which will serve as a weapon of defense for the movement.

2. *In order to ward off from the very beginning every characteristic of secrecy from the S. A., apart from the uniform immediately recognizable to anyone, the greatness of its constituency must itself point the way, of use to the movement, and known to the whole public.* It must not assemble in secret, but march in the open air and in that way be directed in activity which would destroy absolutely all legends about a "secret organization." In order to withhold it spiritually, too, from all attempts to satisfy its desire for activity through small conspiracies, it must from the beginning be completely consecrated to the great idea of the movement, and to the task of representing this idea. It must be so unceasingly trained that from its inception the horizon would be broadened and the individual would see his mission not in the disposal of some smaller or greater rogue, but in his participation in the erection of a new National-Socialist State of the people. By this means, however, the struggle against the present State was elevated from the realm of petty actions of revenge and conspiracy to the magnitude of a philosophical war of annihilation against Marxism and its structures.

3. *The formation of the S. A., as well as its uniform and equipment, is rationally not to be inclined toward the models of the old army but in keeping with its own purpose defined by its task.*

These views which guided me in the year 1920 to 1921, and which I attempted gradually to inject into the young organiza-

tion had this success, that by the middle of the Summer of 1922 we already had under control an impressive number of groups of hundred, which in the late autumn of 1922 one after the other received their special characteristic uniform. Infinitely important for the further formation of the S. A. were three events.

1. The great general demonstration of all patriotic associations against the republican defense law in the late summer of 1922, on the Königsplatz in Munich.

The patriotic associations of Munich at that time had issued the proclamation which demanded as a protest against the introduction of the republican defense law a gigantic demonstration in Munich. Even the National-Socialist movement was to take part in it. The closed ranks of the Party were introduced by six groups of a hundred from Munich which were followed by the sections of the political party. In the parade itself there marched two bands, and fifteen banners were carried along. The assembly of the National Socialists on the great square, which was already half filled and otherwise was without flags, aroused an immeasurable enthusiasm. I myself had the honor of being permitted to speak as one of the orators before the crowd numbering about sixty thousand.

The success of the arrangement was overwhelming, especially because, in spite of all Red threats, it was demonstrated for the first time that national Munich could march on the street too. The Red republican defense schemers who attempted to hinder with terror the marching columns were within a few minutes scattered with bloody heads by the S. A. groups of a hundred. The National-Socialist movement had demonstrated then for the first time its determination to claim for itself in the future the right of the highway, and to wrest this monopoly from the hands of the international traitors and enemies of the Fatherland.

The result of this day was the no longer to be contended proof of the psychological and organizational correctness of our ideas about the structure of the S. A.

It was now energetically expanded on the successful principle,

so that already a few weeks later the number of groups of a hundred was doubled.

2. *The March to Coburg in 1922*

"Populist" associations intended to hold in Coburg a so-called "German day." I myself received an invitation to it with the note that it would be desired that I bring along some following. This request which I received in the forenoon about eleven o'clock came very opportunely. An hour later the orders for a visit to this German were already given out. As a following I designated eight hundred men of the S. A., who were to be transported in about fourteen groups by special train from Munich to the village which had become Bavarian. Corresponding commands went out to the National-Socialist S. A. groups which had been formed in the meantime at other places.

It was the first time that a train of this sort travelled in Germany. At all the places where new S. A. men boarded, the transport attracted the greatest attention. Many had never seen our banners before; their effect was very great.

When we assembled at the station in Coburg a deputation of the festival committee of the "German Day" received us, which handed over to us a signed command, designated as "agreement", of the local organizations, that is, of the Independents and of the Communistic Party, that we would not be allowed to enter the city with unfurled banners nor with music (we had brought along our own band of forty-two men) nor in closed ranks. I dismissed these disgraceful conditions immediately, but did not hesitate to express to those gentlemen of the festival committee who were present my astonishment that arrangements had been made and that they had come to an agreement with these people and explained that the S. A. would immediately approach in companies and would march into the city with sounding music and with waving banners. And so it happened.

Already at the depot thousands of howling, hooting people received us. "Murderers," "Bandits," "Robbers," "Criminals." These were some of the pet names which the model founders of the German Republic graciously showered upon us. The young

S. A. maintained exemplary order, the squads of one hundred assembled on the square before the railway station and at first ignored the abuse. The marching procession was directed by the nervous police into the Hofbräuhaus near the center of the town, instead of into our quarters, lying on the outskirts of Coburg, a city quite strange to us all. To the right and to the left of the procession the noise of the accompanying masses constantly increased. Hardly had the last squad turned into the courtyard of the beer garden when large crowds attempted to follow amidst deafening shrieks. To avoid this the police locked up the building. Since this situation was intolerable I let the S. A. approach once more, admonish them briefly and demanded of the police that they open the gates immediately. After rather long hesitation they complied.

We now marched back the way we had come to get to our quarters and there we finally had to face the mob. After they were unable to disturb the squads by shouts and insulting remarks the representatives of the true socialism, equality and brotherhood changed over to throwing stones. This exhausted our patience, and thus for ten minutes we attacked furiously to the right and left and fifteen minutes later nothing Red was to be seen on the streets any more.

At night there were more serious attacks. Patrols of the S. A. had found members of the National-Socialist Party, who had been attacked, when alone in mutilated condition. After that we made short work of our opponents. Already the following morning the Red Terror under which Coburg had suffered for years was broken down.

With genuinely Marxist-Jewish untruthfulness they tried once more by means of handbills to get the members of the International Proletariat out onto the street, maintaining that our bands of murderers had begun a war to exterminate the peaceful workers in Coburg. At one-thirty the great "demonstration of the people" was to take place and it was hoped that tens of thousands of workers from the vicinity would be present. Firmly resolved to put an end to this Red Terror once and for all I had the S. A.

assemble at twelve o'clock, the S. A. now numbering nearly fifteen hundred, and marched with them to the Coburg fortress across the large square where the Red demonstration was to take place. As we entered the square there were only a few hundred present instead of the announced ten thousand. As we approached they remained in general quiet, although some ran away. Only here and there did Red troops, who in the meantime had come from outside and who as yet did not know us, try to renew hostilities; but any desire to do so was quickly taken from them. And now we could see how the population, formerly so cowed, slowly awoke, took courage, and ventured to greet us with shouts, and in the evening at our departure broke out in spontaneous loud rejoicing.

Suddenly we were told at the station that the train would not be run. Thereupon I had a few leaders of the mob informed that in this case I intended to capture whatever Red big shots I happened to find, and also that we would operate the train ourselves, planning to take along in the locomotive tender and each coach a few dozen brothers of the international solidarity. Nor did I neglect to make it clear to the gentlemen that the trip managed by our own forces naturally would be a very risky undertaking and that it was quite possible that we would all break our necks. And that it would be a pleasure to enter eternity not alone but accompanied by the Red gentlemen who advocate equality and fraternity.

After that the train left very punctually, and we arrived in Munich safe and sound the next morning.

For the first time since 1914 the equality of citizens before the law was thus restored in Coburg. For if today some ninny of a higher official claims that the State protects the lives of its citizens, at least it was not true at that time; for the citizens had to defend themselves against the representatives of the present-day State.

It was impossible to estimate at once the full significance of this day. It wasn't only that the victorious S. A. greatly added to their self-confidence and to their faith in the correctness of their leadership, but the people began to take a greater interest in us, and

many recognized for the first time in the National-Socialist movement that institution which most probably would one day be called to put the appropriate finishing touches to the Marxist madness.

Only the democratic party groaned that we had not let our skulls be crushed peacefully, but that we had dared in a democratic Republic to meet with brutal attack with fists and sticks instead of with pacifistic songs.

In general the bourgeois press was partly pitiable, partly vulgar and only a few decent papers welcomed our defeating the Marxist footpads in one place at least.

In Coburg itself a part of the Marxist workers, who themselves moreover had simply been misled, had been taught by the fists of National-Socialist workers to realize that the latter were also fighting for ideals, since it is a matter of experience that one only fights for something in which one believes and which one loves.

To be sure the S. A. itself profited most. It grew rapidly so that on the first Party Day on the 27th of January, 1923 already nearly six thousand men, of which the first companies were dressed completely in their new uniforms, could take part in the dedication of the Banner.

The experiences in Coburg had simply demonstrated how essential it is to introduce a uniform dress for the S. A. not only in order to strengthen the corps spirit but also in order to avoid mistakes and failures to recognize comrades. Up to this point the men wore simply arm-bands, now a windbreaker and the well-known cap were added.

The experiences in Coburg were further significant because from now on we began to break systematically the Red Terror which in many places had prevented for years any meeting of opponents. We restored the freedom of public meeting. From now on, the National-Socialist battalions assembled in such places, and gradually in Bavaria one Red citadel after another fell victim to the Nazi propaganda. The S. A. had understood its task better and better, and thus had moved farther and farther from the character of a meaningless and unessential defense movement, and had

risen into a living organization fighting for the establishment of a new German State.

This logical development lasted until March 1933. Then an event happened which forced me to take the movement out of its previous course and to inaugurate a change.

3. The occupation in the Ruhr which was carried out in the first months of year 1923 by the French was subsequently of great significance for the development of the S. A.

Even today it is not possible and in the interests of the nation not practicable to talk or write about it publicly. I can only say as much as has been touched upon in public discussions, and thus already been placed before the public.

The occupation of the Ruhr, which did not come as a complete surprise to us, gave rise to the justified hope that from now on, once and for all, an end had been made of the cowardly policy of retreat, and therefore a very definite assignment would be placed upon the defense units. The S. A., too, which at that time already numbered among its members many thousands of powerful young men, could not escape this national service. In the Spring and Summer of 1923 its transformation into a military fighting organization was completed. The later developments of the year 1923, in so far as they concerned our movement, can to a great extent be traced back to this transformation.

In as much as I discussed elsewhere in outline the development of the year 1923, I want to state here merely that the transformation of the S. A. at that time, from the point of view of the movement, was a harmful one if the presuppositions which had led to its transformation (I mean the assumption of active resistance against France) were not correct.

The conclusion of the year 1923, however awful it may appear in the first moment, was practically a necessary one when viewed from a higher standpoint, in so far as with a single blow it put an end to the transformation of the S. A. which was made innocuous by the attitude of the German Government, and which was harmful to the movement itself. In this manner the possibility was opened to build anew one day where once we were forced to

forsake the correct course.

The N. S. D. A. P., founded anew in 1925 must set up, develop and organize its S. A. according to the principles mentioned at the outset. It must therefore return again to the originally sound principles, and it must again regard its highest duty to be the creation in its S. A. of an instrument to represent and strengthen the fight for the philosophy of the movement.

It must not permit the S. A. to sink to a kind of defense unit or secret organization; it must, on the contrary, try to develop a guard of a hundred-thousand men for the National-Socialist and thus really the populist idea.

10. *FEDERALISM AS A DISGUISE*

IN the winter of the year 1919 and still more in the spring and summer of 1920, the young Party was forced to take a position about a question which had already arisen to extraordinary significance during the War. In the first volume in the short description of the symptoms of the threatening German collapse which had become evident to me personally, I pointed to the special type of propaganda which was being spread from the English as well as from the French side for the purpose of tearing open the old cleft between North and South. In the spring of 1915 the first systematic incendiary pamphlets against Prussia as the one guilty party in the War appeared. Up to the year 1916 this system had arrived at a state of complete development, just as clever as vile. The incitement of the South German against North Germans, which was aimed at the basest instincts, even began in a short time to bear fruit. It is a reproach which one must launch against the authoritative positions of that time in the government as well as in the army, or better in the Bavarian positions of command, and a reproach which these people cannot shake from themselves: that they in a complete forgetfulness of duty did not proceed against it with the necessary determination. Nothing was done! On the contrary in various positions they appeared to look upon it not at all with disfavor and were perhaps stupid enough to think that through such propaganda not only would the development toward unity of the German people be checked, but that at the same time a strengthening of the federative powers would have to arise automatically. Hardly ever in history has a malicious neglect been more maliciously avenged. The weakening which they thought to attribute to Prussia struck all Germany. Its conse-

quence however was the hastening of the collapse which nevertheless devastated not only Germany, but in the first instance even the individual states themselves.

In the city in which the artificially stirred-up hatred against Prussia raged most violently, there broke out first of all the revolution against the hereditary Royal House.

To be sure it would be wrong to believe that the fabrication of this anti-Prussian feeling was to be ascribed alone to the hostile war propaganda, and that there was at hand no reason for pardoning the people seized by it. The incredible type of organization of our military economy which in an almost mad centralization represented the entire realm and—swindled it, was a chief reason for the growth of that anti-Prussian feeling. *Since for the normal little man the military societies which now had their headquarters in Berlin were identical with Berlin, and Berlin itself synonymous with Prussia.* That the organizers of this predatory institution, the so-called military societies, were neither Berliners nor Prussians, indeed were not Germans at all, hardly entered upon the consciousness of the individual at that time. He saw only the crass faultiness and the constant encroachments of this hateful arrangement in the capitol, and of course transferred his entire hatred at the same time to this capitol and Prussia, all the more since from a certain side not only was nothing undertaken against it, but in quiet such an interpretation was even smirkingly welcomed.

The Jew was much too clever not to understand even at that time that the infamous raid of plunder which he organized beneath the cloak of the military societies against the German people would, indeed, must invoke opposition. As long as this opposition did not spring at his own throat he did not need to fear it. In order, however, to prevent in this direction an explosion of the masses driven to despair and revolution there could be no better recipe than to let their rage flame up at a distance, and so in this way to use it.

Let Bavaria go on fighting against Prussia and Prussia against Bavaria, the more the better! The most arduous contest of the

two meant for the Jew the most secure peace. The attention of the public was by that means completely diverted from the international maggot of the nations; one seems to have forgotten it. And if ever the danger seemed to arise that enlightened elements (of which there were numerous ones in Bavaria too) would admonish insight and contemplation and reserve, and through that the embittered struggle would threaten to die down, then the Jew in Berlin only needed to set a new provocation on the scene and to await its success. Immediately all of the profiteers of the conflict between the North and the South pounced upon every such occasion and blew upon the flame until the glow of revolution had again risen to bright fire.

It was a clever, subtle game which the Jew played at that time for the purpose of constantly occupying and diverting the various German peoples in order to be able to plunder them in the meantime all the more thoroughly.

Then came the Revolution.

If now up to the year 1918, or more correctly, up to November of that year, the average man, but especially the poorly cultivated philistine and worker, could not yet fully comprehend the actual process and the inevitable consequences of the conflict among the German peoples, above all in Bavaria, then at least that group which called itself "national" would have had to comprehend it on the day of the outbreak of the Revolution. For hardly had the action succeeded when in Bavaria the very leader and organizer of the revolution became the representative of "Bavarian" interests. The international Jew, Kurt Eisner, began to play off Bavaria against Prussia. It was obvious however that precisely this oriental who had constantly wandered about here and there in the rest of Germany as a journalist would be perhaps the last to be called upon to safeguard Bavarian interests, and that precisely Bavaria could be the most indifferent thing to him in God's wide world.

While Kurt Eisner gave the revolutionary uprising in Bavaria a completely conscious spearpoint against the rest of the nation, he did not act in the least from the Bavarian point of view, but

only as a commissioner of Jewry. He made use of the instincts and inclinations of the Bavarian people at hand in order to be able more easily to destroy Germany by means of them. The devastated nation would have indeed easily become the booty of Bolshevism.

The tactics employed by him were continued even after his death. Marxism, which had bathed the individual states and their princes in Germany with the bloodiest mockery suddenly appealed as "an independent party" to those feelings and instincts which had their strongest roots in princely houses and individual states.

The struggle of the Soviet Republic against the advancing contingents of liberation was written up with much propaganda in the first instance as a "struggle of Bavarian workers" against "Prussian militarism." Only on that basis is it comprehensible why in Munich, quite apart from other German regions, the overthrow of the Soviet Republic did not lead to deliberation on the part of the broad masses, but much more to a still greater embitterment and resentment toward Prussia.

The skill with which the Bolshevistic agitators understood how to represent the disposal of the Soviet Republic as a "Prussian-militaristic" victory against the "anti-militaristic" and "anti-Prussian"-minded Bavarian people bore rich fruits. While Kurt Eisner on the occasion of the elections did not summon up even ten thousand followers in the legislative Bavarian provincial diet in Munich, and the Communist party remained even under three thousand, both parties had arisen together after the collapse of the Republic to approximately a hundred-thousand voters.

Just at this time my personal struggle against the insane incitement of the German peoples against each other began.

I think I have never in my life begun a more unpopular business than my opposition to the baiting of Prussia at that time. In Munich there had already taken place during the Soviet period the first mass assemblies in which the hatred against the rest of Germany, especially, however, against Prussia, was whipped up to such a boiling point that it was not only linked with mortal

danger for a North German to attend such a meeting, but that the close of such demonstrations usually concluded quite openly with the insane shout: "Free from Prussia!"—"Down with Prussia!"—"War against Prussia!" a mood which an especially brilliant representative of Bavarian sovereign interests in the German Reichstag summed up in the battle cry: "Rather die a Bavarian than go to ruin a Prussian!"

One must have experienced the gatherings of that time in order to understand what it meant for me when I for the first time, surrounded by a handful of friends, set out in a gathering in the Loewenbräukeller in Munich to warn against this madness. They were war comrades who afforded me support then, and perhaps one can project himself into our sensations when an irrational mob roared at us and threatened to strike us down, a mob which, during that period when we had defended the Fatherland had wandered around for the most part as deserters and shirkers in army bases or at home. To be sure these appearances had this good fortune; that the band of my faithful felt itself really bound with me for the first time and soon were sworn to me to the death. These battles, which were always repeated and which extended through the whole year 1919, seemed even to be augmented right after the year 1920. There were meetings—I remember especially one in Wagner Hall in Sonnenstrasse in Munich—, in which my group, which in the meantime had grown much larger, had to endure very serious fights ending not rarely in the maltreatment of dozens of my followers who were beaten, kicked and finally thrown out of the halls more dead than alive.

The battle which I as an individual had begun, supported only by my war companions, now was carried on by the young movement as a holy task.

I am proud to be able to say today that we at that time—forced to rely almost exclusively upon our Bavarian supporters—nevertheless slowly but surely put an end to this mixture of stupidity and treason. I say stupidity and treason because I can not give the organizers and instigators credit for such simplicity, convinced as I am of the really goodnatured but stupid followers. I

considered and still consider them today to be traitors hired and paid by France. In one case, the case of Dorten, history has already spoken its judgment.

What really made it especially dangerous at that time was the cleverness with which they concealed the real tendencies by pushing into the foreground federalist intentions as the only motive for such activity. That the stirring up of hate against Prussia has nothing to do with federalism is, of course, obvious. Similarly does a (federative activity) which attempts to dissolve or divide another federal state seem unusual. For a genuine federalist for whom the quoting of the Bismarck conception of the Empire does not represent an untruthful phrase, could not in the same breath wish to separate parts from the Prussian State created by or at least perfected by Bismarck, or even openly support such separatist efforts. How they would have shouted in Munich if a conservative party had favored or openly desired and promoted the release of Franconia from Bavaria. One could feel sorry only for the genuinely federalist-minded people who did not see through this reprehensible swindling; for they were first of all the ones who were deceived. By burdening the federalist idea to such an extent, its own supporters were actually digging its grave. One can not promote a federative formation of the Empire if one besmirches and insults the most important member of such a state-structure, namely Prussia. This was all the more unbelievable since the battle of these so-called federalists was directed against *that* Prussia which had least connection with the November democracy. The insults and attacks of these federalists were not directed against the fathers of the Weimar Constitution, who for the most part were South Germans or Jews, but against the representatives of the old conservative Prussia, the antipodes of the Weimar Constitution. It is not surprising that one avoided particularly attacking the Jews, but it is probably the key to the solution of the whole riddle.

Just as before the Revolution the Jew knew how to divert the attention from his War-associations or more exactly from himself, and understood how to change the attitude of the masses,

particularly of Bavaria, against Prussia, so now after the Revolution he had somehow to cover up the new and now ten times greater raid. And again in this case he succeeded in inciting the so called "nationalist elements" of Germany against each other; *conservative Bavaria against equally conservative Prussia*. He did this in the most cunning manner, while holding the fate of the Empire in his hands, he provoked such crude and tactless encroachments that he made the blood of the affected ones boil. Never against the Jew, but always against his German brother. *The Bavarian did not see the Berlin of four million busily working, industrious people but he saw the rotten decomposed Berlin of the west side! But his hate was not directed against this west side of Berlin, but against the "Prussian" city.*

It was often enough to drive one to despair.

This cleverness of the Jew in diverting the public attention from himself one can study again today.

In the year 1918, it was impossible to speak of a systematic anti-semitism. I can still recall the difficulties one encountered simply in mentioning the word Jew. One was either stared at or he encountered the most violent resistance. Our first attempts to point out to the people the real enemy seemed at that time to be practically hopeless, and only very slowly did things take a turn for the better. Although the Protective Society (*Der Schutz-und Trutzbund*) was organized on a faulty plan it nevertheless deserved much credit for having reopened the Jewish question. In any case there began to take root in the winter of 1918 something approaching anti-semitism. Later to be sure, the National-Socialist movement brought the Jewish question to the fore in a much different manner. It succeeded especially in raising this question out of the narrow circle of upper and lower bourgeois classes and to change it into the leading motiff of a great national movement. Hardly had they succeeded in giving to the German people the great uniting idea of combating this question, when the Jew already made a counter attack. He used his old method. With remarkable speed he hurled the burning torch of contention into the popular movement and sowed the seeds of dissention. *In rais-*

ing the ultramontane question and in the mutual attack of Catholicism and Protestantism growing out of it there lay, as things were then, the only possibility of occupying the public attention with other problems in order to stave off the concentrated attack upon Jewry. The men who cast this question among our people have sinned so grievously against it that they will never be able to make restitution for their sin. The Jew, however, attained the goal he wished; Catholics and Protestants carried on a very nice war together and the arch-enemy of Aryan humanity and of the whole Christendom laughs up his sleeve.

Just as he had once been able to occupy public opinion for years with the struggle between federalism and unitarianism, and to incite it to take sides in this struggle, while the Jew was bartering away the freedom of the nation and betraying our Fatherland to international high finance, he succeeds again in getting the two German confessions to fight against each other, while the foundations of both are being destroyed and undermined by the poison of the international Jew.

Let one keep in mind the destruction which the Jewish bastardization commits upon our people every day and consider that this poisoning of the blood can be removed from the German people only after centuries, if at all; and consider further how this racial disintegration pulls down or even destroys the last Aryan values of our German people, so that our national strength as a bearer of civilization is visibly on the decline, and we run the danger, at least in our big cities, of reaching the point which Southern Italy already has reached. This infection of our blood which hundreds of thousands of our people seem to disregard is carried on by the Jew today according to a regular plan. According to plan these black parasites of nations ravish our inexperienced blond young girls and in so doing destroy something which in this world can never be replaced. Both, yes, both Christian confessions observe with indifference this desecration and destruction of a noble and unique creature given to this world by the grace of God. For the future of the world it is not important whether the Protestants conquer the Catholics or vice versa, but

whether Aryans will be preserved or will die out. And yet the two confessions are not fighting against the destroyer of this Aryan, but they try to destroy one another. *It would seem that the nationally minded person would have as his holy duty, each in his own confession, to see to it that one does not always outwardly discuss the will of God but actually also does the will of God, and does not let God's work be desecrated.* For the Will of God once gave to mankind its form, its being, and its capacities. Whoever destroys His work declares war upon that which God created, upon Divine Will. Therefore, let everybody, really everybody, be active in his own confession, and let everyone consider it his first and holiest duty to oppose him who in his actions, by word or deed, steps out of the framework of his own church community and attempts to pry his way into the other community. For to fight against the idiosyncrasies of a confession within our once-existing religious split, will in Germany of necessity lead to a war of destruction between the two confessions. We can not compare the conditions here with say, those in France, Spain or, least of all, Italy. One can for instance in all three countries promote a battle against clericalism or Ultramontaniam without running the danger that in so doing the French, Spanish or Italian people as such would disintegrate. In Germany, however, this may not be done, for certainly here the Protestants would also take part. Therefore the defense would in Germany at once assume the character of an attack of Protestantism by Catholicism which elsewhere would only be carried on by Catholics against attacks of a political nature upon their own leaders. That which is tolerated, even though unjust, by members of one's own confession is immediately most vigorously rejected from the start, if the antagonist belongs to another confession. This is carried to such extremes that even people who without ado would be ready to stop an apparent grievance within their own religious community, at once go away from it and turn their resistance outward when such a correction is recommended or even demanded by an office not belonging to their community. They consider it an unjustifiable and inadmissible, even indecent attempt to mix

into affairs which do not concern them. Such attempts are not even pardoned when they are justified according to the higher right of the interests of the national community, because today religious feelings are still deeper than all national and political expediency. Nor is this changed if the two confessions are driven into a bitter war against each other. This could only be changed by giving to the nation by means of mutual compatibility a future which in its greatness would have a conciliatory effect in this domain also.

I do not hesitate to declare that I see in these men who today draw the populist movement into the crisis of religious controversies worse enemies of my people than any Communist on an international basis. For to convert this Communist is the mission of the National-Socialist movement. He who, however, separates these people from their own ranks, from their real mission, acts most outrageously. He is, whether consciously or unconsciously—it makes no difference—a fighter for Jewish interests. For it is today the interest of the Jews to let the populist movement drain away its blood in a religious struggle in that moment when it begins to become dangerous for the Jew. And I emphasize expressly the word, "let drain away its blood;" for only a man completely unversed in history can imagine himself capable of solving today with this movement a question on which centuries and great statesmen have been shattered.

For the rest the facts speak for themselves. The gentlemen who in the year 1924 suddenly discovered that the supreme mission of the populist movement was the struggle against Ultramontanism did not break Ultramontanism, but ripped to bits the populist movement. I too must see to it, that in the ranks of the populist movement some immature intelligence does not think himself capable of that which even a Bismarck could not do. It will always be the supreme duty of the administration of the National-Socialist movement to oppose most sharply every attempt to place the National-Socialist movement in the service of such struggles, and to remove propagandists with such a purpose immediately from the ranks of the movement. Actually it had succeeded with-

out exception up to the Fall of 1923. In the ranks of our movement the *most pious Protestant could sit beside the most pious Catholic* without ever having to get into the least conflict of conscience with his religious conviction. The mighty struggle which the two together carried on against the destroyer of Aryan humanity had taught them on the contrary to respect and to appreciate each other. And exactly at the same time in these years the movement fought out its sharpest struggle against the Center, never, to be sure, on the basis of religion, but exclusively on the national, racial and economic basis. Success spoke then in our favor just as today it testifies against those "who know better."

Often in the last years it went so far that populist circles in the God-forsaken blindness of their confessional squabbles did not recognize the insanity of their action in this point: that atheistic Marxist newspapers, according to need, suddenly became the magistrates of religious congregations, in order through the mediation of statements, often really too stupid, to defame the one or the other side, and in that way to make the fire blaze.

Among a people like the Germans, in whose history it has so often been shown capable of carrying on wars for phantoms until the very end, such a call to battle will be mortally dangerous. Our people were always in that way diverted from the really true questions of their existence. While we devastated ourselves in religious controversies, the rest of the world was parcelled. And while the populist movement considers whether the Ultramontane or the Jewish danger is the greater, or vice versa, the Jew destroys the racial principles of *our existence and annihilates thereby our people forever*. Insofar as this type of "populist" fighter is concerned, I can only wish the National-Socialist movement and with it the German people most sincerely: Lord guard it against such friends and then it will certainly settle with its enemies.

The dispute between federalism and a national state that had been propagated by the Jews in such a cunning way during the years 1919-1921, and even later, compelled the National Socialist movement, though it belonged to the opposition, to clarify its

attitude in reference to its fundamental problems. Is Germany to be a confederation of states or one national state, and what constitutes a practical definition of both? It seems to me that the second question is the more important one, since it is not only fundamental for the understanding of the whole problem, but is also in itself of a clarifying and conciliatory nature.

What is a confederation of states?

According to our understanding, a confederation of states is a union of sovereign states which unite voluntarily and by virtue of their sovereignty. In doing so they assign such particular sovereign rights to the corporate body that will make possible and safeguard the existence of such a mutual union.

Practically, this theoretical definition does not apply unreservedly to any existing confederation of states. To the American Union it applies least of all, since most of these individual states originally never possessed any sovereignty whatsoever but most of them were gradually drawn, as it were, into the framework of the whole Union. Therefore the various states of the American Union constitute in most instances smaller or larger territories that were formed for technical administrative reasons, their borders having been frequently drawn with a ruler. Previously these states had never had any sovereignty of their own, because practically that would have been impossible, for these states did not create the Union, but it was rather the Union that created these so-called states. The comprehensive autonomous rights that were relinquished, or rather granted to the different territories, are not only in harmony with the whole character of this confederation of states, but also with the vastness of its area and dimensions, almost attaining those of a continent. Thus, in referring to the states of the American Union, one cannot speak of their state sovereignty, but only of their constitutionally guaranteed rights, or rather privileges.

Likewise neither does the above given definition apply fully and completely to Germany. There is no doubt that originally the individual states in Germany had existed as sovereign states, from which the Empire was formed. The formation of the Empire,

however, did not take place by virtue of the free will or joint cooperation of the individual states, but it was the result of one state, Prussia, having achieved hegemony over the others. The very difference in the territorial size of the German states alone does not permit any comparison with the formation of, for instance, the American Union. The difference in size between the erstwhile smallest German federal states and the larger one, or better the largest of them, is evidence of the inequality of their achievements as well as of the varying degrees of their share in the founding of the Empire and the formation of the confederation of states. As a matter of fact, one cannot speak of most of these states as having enjoyed real sovereignty, unless one deprive the word of all other meaning but that of an official phrase. In reality, not only the past but also the present generation has done away with numerous of these so-called "sovereign states", thus proving definitely the weakness of these "sovereign" units.

It is not our purpose to go into a detailed historical account of the formation of these various states, but we merely point out the fact that their borders were in no case coinciding with the ethnological borderlines. They are purely political phenomena and most of their roots reach back into the saddest period of weakness of the German Empire which caused and finally brought about the division of our German Fatherland.

All this was at least partially taken into account by the constitution of the old Empire in so far as it did not grant the same representation to the individual states in the Federal Council at the time of the founding of the Empire, but provided for a graduation according to the size and actual importance, as well as the achievements of the individual states.

The sovereign rights which the individual states renounced in order to make possible the formation of the Empire were surrendered voluntarily only in a small measure. In most cases these rights were already practically non-existent, or they had simply been taken away from them under the pressure of Prussia's superior strength. Bismarck, however, was not guided in this by the principle of taking away anything that could be taken away

from the individual states; he demanded them to surrender only that which was absolutely essential to the Empire. It was a moderate as well as wise principle, since on the one hand it took into consideration customs and traditions, and on the other secured for the Empire from the very outset a great measure of love and enthusiastic cooperation. It is a great mistake, however, to ascribe this course of Bismarck, for instance, to his conviction that the Empire was thus acquiring sovereign rights sufficient for all time. Bismarck never had such a conviction; on the contrary, he intended to leave to the future what would have been hard to accomplish and to bear at the moment. He hoped for the gradual balancing effect of time and for the pressure arising from natural development which he reasoned would ultimately exert more power than an attempt to break existing resistance of the separate states. Thus he gave a demonstration and the best proof of his great ability as a statesman. As a matter of fact the sovereignty of the Empire has continually increased at the expense of the sovereignty of the individual states. Time had fulfilled all of Bismarck's expectations.

As a matter of course these developments have been hastened by the German collapse and the destruction of the monarchic form of state. Since the individual German states ascribed their existence less to ethnological reasons, but to purely political causes, the importance of these individual states was bound to cease at the very moment of the elimination of the monarchic form of state and its dynasties, they being the very embodiment of the political development of these states. Thus a large number of these "state-patterns" lost the basis of their internal structure to such a degree, that they automatically gave up their separate existence and united with others for purely practical purposes, or consented to be absorbed by larger states; the most striking proof of the exceptional weakness of the actual sovereignty of these small states and of the light esteem they were held in by their own citizens.

The removal of the monarchial form of state and its representatives was a hard blow to the federative character of the Empire,

but the assumption of the obligations resulting from the "Peace" Treaty was a harder blow still.

It was natural and obvious that the different states which had up to that time controlled their own finances, lost this prerogative to the Reich at the very moment when the Empire was subjected to a financial obligation on account of the lost war, which could never have been met by separate treaties with the individual states. Also the further steps leading to the taking over of postal and railway service by the Reich were natural results of the gradual enslavement of our people, brought about by the Peace Treaties. The Reich was compelled to take full possession of more and more sources of revenue in order to meet the obligations incurred by further extortions.

Though the forms under which this process of unification with the Reich took place were frequently absurd, the process itself was logical and a matter of course. The parties and the men who formerly had failed to do everything in their power in order to end the war victoriously were to blame for it. As far as Bavaria is concerned, primarily those parties were to blame which during the war had refused to think of the Reich because they were pursuing selfish purposes, all of which they had to pay for it tenfold after the war was lost. Avenging history! Seldom did Heaven's judgment follow the act of sinning as rapidly as in this case. The same parties which only a few years previously had placed the interest of their own states above the interests of the Reich—this was particularly the case in Bavaria—were now compelled to witness the throttling of the existence of the individual states by the interests of the Reich, which situation was brought about by the pressure of events.

It is an unparalleled hypocrisy towards the electorate (with which alone the agitation of our present parties is concerned) to deplore the loss of sovereignty by different states, while at the same time these very parties endeavored to outbid each other in pursuing a fulfillment policy, the consequences of which were bound to lead to far-reaching internal changes in Germany. Bismarck's Reich was externally free and unbound. At that time

the Reich did not have such heavy as well as totally unproductive financial obligations as are being born by the Dawes-Germany of today. Even in its domestic affairs it was confined to a few and absolutely necessary expenditures. It was therefore well able to get along without having any financial supremacy and to live on the contributions made by the individual states. It goes without saying that the possession of their own sovereign rights on the one hand, and the comparatively small financial contributions to the Reich on the other hand were great factors in the contentment of the states to be a part of the Reich. It is incorrect, and even dishonest, however, to propagate the assertion that any existing lack of satisfaction to belong to the Reich must solely be attributed to the financial obligations of the individual states to the Reich. No, indeed! The situation is entirely different. *The vanishing joy at the thought of the Empire must not be attributed to the loss of sovereign rights by the various states, but it is the result of the miserable way in which the German nation is at present represented by its State.* In spite of all Imperial Flag and Constitution Festivals, the present Reich has not found a place in the heart of any class of the people. Republican protective laws may be able to frighten people from violating republican institutions, but they will never be able to gain the love of even one single German. *The enormous zeal to protect the Republic against its own citizens by means of laws and jails is the most annihilating criticism and disparagement of the whole institution.*

There is a further reason to brand as untrue the assertion made today by certain parties that the vanishing joy of being a part of the Reich is due to encroachments of the Reich upon certain sovereign rights of the states. Supposing the Reich had not expanded its authority, it would be wrong to believe even then that the love of the different states for the Reich would have been thereby increased, for the total sum of assessments would have remained the same it is now. On the contrary, if the various state were today under obligation to pay the amount of assessments needed by the Reich to fulfill the enslaving dictates,

the animosity towards the Reich would be exceedingly greater. It would not only be very difficult to collect the contributions to the Reich from the states, but they would have to be obtained by distraint. The Republic is bound to fulfill the obligations of the Peace Treaties, since it has accepted them, and has neither the courage nor the intention of breaking them. *And again the blame rests solely upon the parties, which incessantly preach to a patient electorate the sovereignty of the states, and at the same time foster a policy for the Reich which as a matter of course must bring about the abolition of even the last of these so-called "sovereign rights."*

I say as a matter of course, because the present Reich has no other way of shouldering the burdens by which it is being weighed down as a result of a rotten domestic and foreign policy. In this case too one nail drives out another; every new obligation which the Reich assumes as a result of its criminal foreign representation of German interests must be compensated for by a stronger downward pressure: this again requires the gradual elimination of all sovereign rights in the different states, lest they might become or remain germ-cells of resistance.

There is one characteristic difference between the past and present Reich's policies: *the old Empire granted freedom internally and showed power in its foreign affairs, while the Republic displays weakness in foreign affairs, while at home it is suppressing its citizens. In both cases we can see cause and effect. The powerful national state does not need so many domestic laws, since its citizens love it and are attached to it. The international slave state can resort only to compulsory means, in order to make its subjects do forced labor.* Thus it is one of the greatest atrocities of the present regime to speak of "free citizens"; such could only be found in the old Germany. *The Republic, as a slave-colony of foreign countries, has no citizens, but at best subjects.* For that very reason it has no national flag, but only a trade-mark introduced and guarded by official decrees and regulations. This symbol is felt to be like a Gessler's hat put up by the German democracy, and it will therefore always remain

alien to the heart of our people. The day will come when the Republic will be astonished to see how superficially its subjects honor its own symbols, after they have thrown the symbols of the past into the gutter without any respect whatsoever for tradition and greatness. The Republic has given itself the character of just an intermezzo in German history.

Thus for reasons of self-preservation the State is forced today to curtail more and more the sovereign rights of the different states, not only from material but also from the ideological point of view. For, seeing that it drains the last drop of blood out of its citizens by its tactics of financial extortion, it is bound to take away from them even the last of their rights unless it is prepared to witness the general discontent some day turn into open revolution.

Reversing the above statement, we National Socialists find the following basic principle: *A powerful national Empire that takes care of and protects its citizens in the widest sense by its foreign policy, is able to offer liberty at home without harboring any fear as to the solidity of the State. On the other hand a powerful national government may encroach considerably upon the liberty of individuals as well as of the different states, and assume the responsibility for it, without weakening the Empire idea, if only every citizen recognizes such measures as means for making his nation greater.*

There is no doubt that all the states in the world are headed for a certain unification of their internal organization. Germany too will be no exception in this respect. Even today it is a folly to speak of the "state sovereignty" of the different states. The ridiculous size of these units in itself makes such an idea baseless. In the province of communications as well as in that of technical administration, the individual states are being more and more deprived of their importance. Modern communication and modern technique are constantly causing distance and space to shrivel. What was once considered a state represents today only a mere province, and states of today were formerly regarded as equal to continents. From a technical standpoint it is not more

difficult to administer a state like Germany today than it was to administer the province of Brandenburg a hundred and twenty years ago. The distance from Munich to Berlin has nowadays become shorter than the distance from Munich to Starnberg a hundred years ago. And the whole territory of the Reich today is, in comparison with the communication facilities of those days, smaller than any average German federated state at the time of the Napoleonic wars. Anybody who refuses to face the consequences of given facts, does not march with the times. There have always been such people and they will be found in the future too. But they can hardly slow up the 'wheel of history' and they can never arrest it.

We National-Socialists must not be blind to the consequences of these truths. We must not allow ourselves to be caught by the phrases used by our so-called national bourgeois parties. I use the expression "phrases" firstly, because these parties themselves do not seriously believe in the possibility of carrying out their intentions, and secondly, because they themselves are partly or rather chiefly to blame for the present development. Especially in Bavaria the cry for a decrease in centralization is nothing but a party manoeuvre, without any serious purpose. Whenever there arose an opportunity for these parties to practise what they preach with their phrases, they failed pitifully, without exception. Each time the Bavarian State suffered a so-called "robbery of sovereign rights" on the part of the Reich, it was, except for some repulsive yelping, practically accepted without any resistance. *But if anybody did dare seriously to oppose this crazy system, then the same parties would outlaw and condemn him as "one who is not in harmony with the present State," and they would persecute him until he was silenced either by landing in prison or by illegal suppression of free speech.* This very situation should be the greatest help to our partisans in recognizing the inner untruthfulness of these so-called federalistic circles. They use the federalist state idea in the same way as they often use religion, namely as a means of furthering their frequently dirty party interests.

Even if certain unification, especially in the domain of communications, may appear to be a natural process, yet we as National-Socialists may be obliged to register our vehement protest against such a development in the present State. Such is, for instance, the case when these measures serve the sole purpose of covering up a disastrous foreign policy and thus making it possible. The very fact that the Reich of today has assumed control of railways, postal service, finances, etc., not for reasons of higher national viewpoints, but solely to acquire the means and pledges for carrying out an unlimited fulfilment-policy, should urge us National-Socialists to do everything to hinder and if possible to prevent the carrying out of such a policy. This must include the fight against the present centralization of institutions vital to people, which has but one object: to make the billions in money and other pledges, the payment of which was assumed by our post-war policy, available for the benefit of countries abroad.

This is the reason for the opposition of the National-Socialist movement to any such attempts.

The second reason for opposing a centralization of this sort is the fact that it might help more firmly to establish the domestic power of that system of government which has by all its activities brought the greatest disaster upon the German nation. *The present Jewish-democratic Reich, which has become a real curse to the German nation, attempts to render impotent the criticism of those individual states that have not yet fully imbibed this spirit of today by relegating them to complete insignificance.* In contrast to this tendency, we National-Socialists have every reason to provide for the opposition of these individual states not only the basis for a promising power of state, but to make their fight against centralization the expression of a higher, national, general German interest. *While the Bavarian People's Party, for narrow, particularistic reasons, endeavors to obtain "special privileges" for the Bavarian State, we must use this privileged position in the service of a higher national interest, directed against the present November-Democracy.*

The third reason that influences us in fight against the present

centralization is the conviction that a good deal of the so-called "assumption of control by the Reich" is no unification and under no circumstances a simplification. Frequently it is only a case of taking powers away from the sovereign rights of the states, in order to make them available later to those who are especially interested in the revolutionary parties. Never in German history has there been witnessed a more shameless favoritism than that in the democratic Republic. *A good share of the present craze for centralization must be charged to the account of those parties which once promised to pave the way for every efficient man, yet considered only their partisans when it came to filling an office or a position.* Especially the Jews have, since the founding of the Republic, overflowed in incredible numbers the economic institutions and administrative offices, which had been hastily thrown together by the Reich, so that today both have become domains of Jewish activities.

For tactical reasons it is especially this third consideration which makes it our duty to study most thoroughly each further measure on the road to centralization, and, if necessary, to oppose it. *But our standpoint must always be that of a higher national policy and never become narrow or particularistic.*

This latter observation is necessary, lest our adherents form the opinion that we National-Socialists were denying that the Reich has a right to exercise a higher sovereignty than the individual states. Among us this right should not and cannot be questioned. *Since to us the State is but a vessel, the essential being its contents—the nation, the people—it is clear that everything else must be subordinated to their sovereign interests. In particular we cannot permit any single state within the nation and its representative, the Reich, to enjoy political sovereignty and state supremacy.* The nuisance of several federated states maintaining so-called legations at home and abroad must be stopped. As long as such conditions exist we must not be surprised if foreign countries continue to doubt the stability of the structure of the Reich and act accordingly. The folly of maintaining such legations is all the greater, since besides doing harm they are

perfectly useless. If the interests of a German living abroad cannot be looked after by the ambassador of the Reich, they most certainly cannot be taken care of by the ambassador of a small state, the size of which looks ridiculous within the framework of the present world order. These little federated states are indeed nothing but an excuse for efforts to disintegrate the Reich within and without, efforts which are still being welcomed especially *by one* of the states. At National-Socialists we must further not show any understanding, when some senile aristocratic family tree wants to give a new fertile soil to one of its usually rather withered branches. Even in the days of the old Empire our diplomatic representation abroad was so deplorable that it is certainly very undesirable to continue these experiences.

The influence of the individual states will necessarily be shifted in the future to the cultural domain. The monarch who did the most in fostering the importance of Bavaria, was not some stubborn partisan with anti-German tendencies, but Ludwig I, a man with a great feeling for art and with the ideal of a greater Germany. Since he used the powers of the state primarily for the extension of Bavaria's cultural position and not for the strengthening of its political position, he has rendered a better and more lasting service than would otherwise have been possible. By elevating Munich in his day from an unimportant provincial residence to the position of a German metropolis of art, he created a spiritual center which even today keeps the essentially different Frankonians attached to this state. Suppose Munich had remained what it once was? Then Bavaria would have passed through experience similar to that of Saxony, with the only difference that the Bavarian Leipzig, Nuernberg, would have become a Frankish town instead of a Bavarian one. It was not the agitators who cried: "Down with Prussia" who made Munich famous; instead the town became important through the efforts of the King, who wanted to give the German nation thereby a treasure of art that would have to be seen and noted. And it was seen and noted. This holds also for the future. *The importance of the individual states will no longer lie in the state*

and the domain of power politics. I see it either in the regional domain or in the sphere of cultural politics. Even here time will show its balancing effect. Modern communications throw men together in such a way that slowly but steadily the provincial boundaries are being blurred, and thus even the cultural picture gradually begins to become more uniform.

The army must definitively be kept away from all influences of the individual states. The future National-Socialist State shall not repeat the mistake of the past and assign to the army a task which it does not and should not have. *It is not the purpose of the German army to be a school for the preservation of provincial peculiarities, but rather a school for the mutual understanding and adaptation of all Germans.* Whatever may be of a disrupting character in the life of a nation is to be made into a unifying factor by the army. Furthermore it should lift each individual young man above the narrow sphere of his own little country and make him conscious of being a member of the German nation. He must learn to see the boundaries of his Fatherland rather than those of his own provincial community, for it is the boundaries of his Fatherland that he will some day have to protect. It is therefore a folly to let the young German stay in his home state, but it is more useful to show him all of Germany during his military service. Today this is all the more necessary, since the young German does not go journeying as he used to do, thus broadening his horizon. In view of this fact is it not contrary to reason to leave the young Bavarian if possible in Munich, the Frankonian in Nuernberg, the man of Baden in Karlsruhe, the man from Wuerttemberg in Stuttgart, etc.? Would it not be more reasonable to show the young Bavarian the Rhine and the North Sea, the man from Hamburg the Alps, the East Prussian the German central chain of mountains, etc.? A small troop may preserve its provincial character, but not so the whole garrison. We may disapprove every attempt of centralization, but we approve when the army is concerned! On the contrary, even if we could not welcome any such general attempt, we would be glad to see this particular one made. Aside from the fact that with

the size of the present Reich's army it would be absurd to maintain separate groups representing the different states, we see in the unification of the Reich's army that has been undertaken, a course which we must never abandon, even in the future when the national army will be reinstated.

At any rate, a young triumphant idea must avert every fetter which paralyzes its active power to advance its ideology. National Socialism must claim as a matter of principle, the right, to force upon the entire German nation its principles, (without consideration to the former boundaries of the federated states) and to educate it to its ideas and thoughts. The National-Socialist idea finds itself just as unencumbered by the respective state territories of our Fatherland as the churches feel themselves not bound and limited by political boundaries.

The National-Socialist doctrine is not the servant of the political interests of individual federated states, but is to be ruler of the German nation. It has the life of a people to destine and to regulate anew, and therefore it must positively claim the right to ignore boundaries, drawn by evolutionary forces, which we reject.

The more complete the victory of the National-Socialist doctrine, the greater may be the particular freedom which it offers at home.

11. PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION

THE year 1921 has become important for me and for the movement in more than one respect.

After joining the German Workers Party I immediately took charge of the propaganda. I regarded this field the most important one at the time. In the beginning it was less a question of breaking one's head in respect to questions of organization, than conveying the idea to a larger number of people. Propaganda had to run far ahead of organization in order to win over the human material needed for the work of organization. I too am an enemy of over-hasty and pedantic organization, the result being usually a dead mechanism and seldom a live organization. Organization is something that owes its existence to organic life and organic development. Ideas that have taken hold of a certain number of men will always strive for a certain order, and this internal work of upbuilding is of very great value; but even in this case one must take into account the human weakness, which, at least in the beginning, causes individuals to resist the influence of a superior brain. If an organization is developed mechanically, there exists the great danger that an officer, once appointed, although he has not yet been tried out and although he is perhaps not qualified at all, will try to prevent the rise of more able elements within the movement for reasons of jealousy. In such a case the damage can assume fatal proportions, especially if the movement is still young.

For this reason it is best first to propagate an idea from a centre, and then to search and examine carefully the gradually accumulating human material for leaders. It will be frequently found that insignificant-looking men turn out to be born leaders.

However it would be absolutely wrong to regard an abundance of theoretical knowledge as characteristic proof for the qualities and efficiency which are necessary for a leader.

The contrary is often the case.

Great theorists are seldom great organizers as the greatness of a theorist lies primarily in the understanding and the establishment of correct, abstract laws, while the organizer must primarily be a psychologist. He has to accept man as he is, and therefore he must understand him. He must neither over-rate him nor under-estimate him when confronting him in large numbers. On the contrary he must try to take weakness and bestiality equally into account, in order to create, after consideration of all factors, a structure which like a living organism is filled with live and constant power. Then it will be suited to embody an idea and to pave the way for its success.

A great theorist is even less frequently a great leader. It is much more likely that an agitator is a leader, a fact which many who study only the scientific side of a question will not like; yet it is obvious. An agitator, who is capable of conveying an idea to the masses, must necessarily be a psychologist, even if he were only a demagogue. He will be better qualified for leadership than the theorist who knows neither men nor the world. *Because to be a leader means to be able to move the masses.* The gift of creating ideas has nothing to do with the qualification for leadership. In this connection it is quite worthless to discuss the question as to which is of greater importance, to establish human ideals and aims or to make them a reality. As it happens so often in life, one would be meaningless without the other. The most beautiful theoretical idea remains without purpose and value, unless the leader directs the masses towards it. On the other hand all genial leadership and all the zest of a leader would be of no avail if the clever theorist had not established a goal for struggling mankind. The combination of theorist, organizer, and leader in one person is the rarest thing to be found upon this planet; this combination will create a great man.

As already stated, I have given much attention to propaganda

in the earlier days of my activities in the Movement. It was to be the means of inoculating a small nucleus of men with the new doctrine, thus winning the material with which to form later on the first elements of an organization. The aims of propaganda usually far exceeded those of organization.

If a movement is intended to tear down one world in order to replace it by another, then its leaders must clearly understand the following principles: *Each movement will first have to sift the human material won over by it, and to divide it into two large groups: adherents and members.*

It is the task of propaganda to win adherents, that of the organization to win members.

An adherent of a movement is he who declares himself to be in harmony with its aims; a member is he who fights for it.

An adherent is won over to the movement by propaganda. A member is encouraged by the organization to cooperate personally in the winning of new adherents, some of whom may eventually become members.

Moreover adherence requires but a passive acceptance of an idea, while membership demands its active representation and defense. Therefore among ten adherents, as a rule, only two members will be found.

Adherence is based upon understanding, membership upon the courage to personally represent the newly found truth and to propagate it.

Understanding in its passive form will be found with the majority of mankind, which is indolent and faint-hearted. Membership requires an active mind, which is found only in a minority of mankind.

Therefore it must be the incessant care of propaganda to win over adherents to an idea, while the untiring effort of an organization, however, must be to convert the most valuable of the adherents into members. Propaganda therefore does not need to worry about the value of each of its followers, nor about his qualities, efficiency, intellect or character, while it is the task of organization carefully to search this mass of elements for any

who will really be conducive to the final triumph of the movement.

Propaganda attempts to force a doctrine on the entire people. The organization includes as members only those who are not liable for psychological reasons to become a dragchain to the further propagation of the idea.

Propaganda attempts to win over the people as a whole to an idea and to prepare it for the time of the victory of this idea while the organization fights for this victory by constantly and organically joining together in battle formation those of the adherents who are capable and willing to fight for the victory.

The more comprehensively propaganda has worked the masses, and the more exclusively, rigidly and firmly the organization has been built up, the more likely is the final triumph of an idea.

This means that the number of adherents can never be large enough, but that the number of members can more easily be too large than too small.

After propaganda has converted a whole people to an idea, a mere handful of men is sufficient to draw the consequences. This goes to show that propaganda and organization, i.e. adherents and members, stand in a certain mutual relationship to each other. The better the propaganda has worked, the smaller the organization needs to be and the larger the number of adherents is, so the more modest the number of members needs to be and vice versa: the weaker the propaganda is the stronger the organization must be, and the smaller the number of adherents to a movement remains, so much the larger must its membership necessarily be, if it expects any success whatsoever.

The first task of propaganda is to win men for the coming organization; the first task of organization is to win men for

carrying on the propaganda. The second task of propaganda is the disintegration of existing conditions by means of the new doctrine, while the second task of organization is the fight for power, in order to secure through it the final success of the doctrine.

A Revolution based on a world-concept will only be completely successful, if the new world philosophy is taught, if possible, to everyone, and later, if necessary, forced upon everyone. The organization however, i.e. the movement, needs to comprise only as many members as are necessary to take charge of the nerve centers of the coming state.

In other words: In every great world-revolutionizing movement the idea of this movement will first have to be disseminated by means of propaganda. It will constantly attempt to explain the new ideas to others, thus winning them over or at least making them uncertain in respect to their former convictions. Since the promulgation of such doctrine, i.e. the propaganda, needs a backbone, the doctrine must be supported by a rigid organization. The members of the organization will be drawn from the number of adherents won by propaganda. The more intensive the propaganda, the quicker the growth of the organization. The work of propaganda in turn will be better, if it is backed by a strong and forceful organization.

It is therefore the main task of the organization to see to it that no discords within lead eventually to a splitting up and thus to a weakening of the work within the movement; it must further see to it that the spirit of determined attack does not die out, instead of being constantly rejuvenated and strengthened. This does not mean that the membership has to grow indefinitely — on the contrary; since but a limited portion of mankind is energetic and bold, a movement which increases its organization indefinitely, would of necessity one day become weak. *Organizations whose membership grow beyond a certain number gradually lose their fighting power. Then they are no longer capable (by resolutely taking the offensive) of supporting and making full use of the propaganda for an idea.*

The greater and more revolutionary an idea, the more active becomes its membership, for the revolutionary power of the doctrine spells danger for its ambassador, a danger which is apt to keep away small, cowardly philistines. Privately they too will consider themselves adherents, but they decline to confess it publicly by the act of becoming members. In this way the organization of a really revolutionary idea takes in as members only the most active of the adherents won over by propaganda. This activity of the membership of a movement, brought about by a natural selection guarantees its future just, active propagation and a successful fight for the realization of the idea.

The greatest danger of any movement is a membership that has grown abnormally by reason of too rapid successes. For while all cowards and egoists carefully shun a movement as long as it is engaged in a bitter struggle, they usually try to join it, if through the developments the party has either gained a big success or such a success has become likely. To it can be attributed how many movements, victorious before success or rather before the final completion of the will, that lose out suddenly because of a vague, inner weakness, suspend the fight, and finally die. Because of their first victory so many bad, unworthy but particularly rotten elements have entered into their organization that these least worthy things attain the ascendancy, finally, over the fighting strength, in order to force the movement into the service of their own interests; they reduce it to the level of their own, trifling heroism, and do nothing to complete the victory of the original idea. The fanatical goal is thus effaced, the fighting strength becomes crippled, or as the bourgeois world in such a case chooses very rightly to say: "Water also has now come into the wine." And then indeed can the trees no longer grow into heaven.

It is therefore essential that a movement for the very purpose of self-preservation stop adding to its membership, as soon as it has become successful. From that time on it should exercise the greatest caution and should thoroughly examine the situation before enlarging its organization.

before enlarging its organization. Only by such means will it be able to keep the nucleus of the movement pure, fresh and sound. It must further take care that this nucleus exclusively leads on the movement, decides upon the propaganda which is to bring about its general recognition, and, being in possession of all power, shall perform all actions necessary for the practical realization of its ideals.

From the main body of the old movement it has not only to fill all important positions of the conquered formation, but it must also form the entire leadership. This has to be done until such a time when the old principles and doctrines of the Party shall have become the basis and purpose of the new State. Not until such a time can the reins be gradually given over to the particular constitution of this State, born out of that spirit. That, moreover, usually takes place only after a mutual struggle, since it is less a question of a human insight than the play and working of powers which from the very start may well be recognized, but cannot be guided forever.

All large movements, be they of a religious or of a political nature, can ascribe their tremendous successes only to the realization and application of these principles, but all lasting successes are especially unthinkable if these laws are not taken into consideration.

As the leader of the party propaganda I not only took special pains to prepare the way for the future greatness of the movement, but by means of a very radical conception of this work I have endeavored to secure only the best material for the organization. For the more radical and exciting my propaganda was the more it frightened away the weaklings and timid natures, and prevented their penetration into the main nucleus of our organization. They may have remained adherents, but certainly without proclaiming it publicly, and with an anxious uneasy concealment of the fact. How many thousands assured me at that time that while they were wholly in accord with everything, they could nevertheless under no circumstances be members! The move-

ment, they said, was so radical that a membership in it would subject them individually to severe criticism, yes, even dangers, so that the honorable, peaceful citizen could not be blamed if, for the moment at least, he stood aside, even though at heart he was in full harmony with the idea.

And this was all right.

If these people who at heart were not in accord with the Revolution, had all joined our Party at that time as members, then we could consider ourselves today only a pious brotherhood but no longer as a young movement full of fight.

The live and daring form which I gave to our propaganda at that time established and guaranteed the radical tendency of our movement since, from then on, only radical people—with a few exceptions—were ready for membership.

Nevertheless, our propaganda had such an effect that after a short time hundred of thousands at heart not only agreed with us but wished for our victory even though personally they were too cowardly to make any sacrifices for it, or even to defend it.

Up to the middle of 1921 this mere soliciting activity sufficed and was useful to the movement. Special events during the mid-summer of this year made it seem advisable that after the success of the propaganda became gradually visible, the organization now be conformed and adapted to it.

The attempt of a group of populist visionaries to obtain control of it with the help of the president of the Party, led to the collapse of this little intrigue, and during a general meeting of all members the total leadership of the movement was unanimously placed in my hands. At the same time a new statute was accepted which delegated the complete responsibility of the movement to the leader, did away with decisions of committees as a matter of principle, and instituted instead a system of division of work which has proved since to be the greatest blessing.

Since the first of August 1921 I have taken over the inner reorganization of the movement, and I found a large number of excellent helpers to aid me. I consider it necessary to mention them later in a special appendix.

In trying to use the results of the propaganda for organization purposes and to thus establish them, I had to do away with a number of former customs and I had to introduce principles which no existing party possessed or would even have acknowledged.

In the years 1919 to 1920 the movement had for its leadership a committee, elected by the members in special assemblies which in turn were prescribed by our laws. The committee consisted of a first and second treasurer, a first and second secretary, the heads being a first and second chairman. In addition to that there was a membership secretary, the chief of propaganda, and several committee members.

This committee, comically enough, embodied in reality that which the movement itself intended to combat most vigorously, namely *parliamentarism*. For it goes without saying that in this a principle was involved, which, from the smallest local group, over the future districts, provinces and states up to the Reich's leadership embodied a system under which we all suffered, and are still suffering today.

It was an urgent necessity some day to change this situation, if the movement, because of the poor basis for its organization, was not to be permanently spoiled, thereby becoming incapable, of fulfilling its high mission when the time arrived.

The committee meetings, a record of which was kept in the minutes, and during which decisions were made according to the vote of the majority, represented in reality a miniature parliament. There, too, every personal accountability and responsibility was lacking. There, too, the same nonsense and the same folly reigned as in our large representative bodies of the State. Men were elected to serve on this committee as secretaries, others as treasurers, other men for the membership of the organization, and men for the propaganda, and God knows for what else. Yet later they all had to take a stand for or against each particular question, deciding it by vote. For instance, the man who had to look after the propaganda voted upon a matter that concerned the man who looked after the finances, and the latter again had to

vote on matters which concerned the man who looked after organization, who in turn voted upon a matter that was purely a business of the secretaries, etc.

Why a special man should be appointed for propaganda, if treasurers, secretaries, membership-secretaries, etc., had to vote on matters belonging to its domain, appears just as unreasonable to a normal brain as it would seem unreasonable if in a big factory the heads or technical leaders of other departments and other branches would have to decide questions that were not at all related to their work.

I refused to submit to such folly, but after only a very short time had passed I stayed away from the sessions. I made my propaganda, and that was that; moreover, I declined to permit any good-for-nothing to attempt to interfere with my work, just as I did not concern myself with the business of the others.

As soon as the acceptance of the new by-laws and my appointment to the office of first chairman had given me the necessary authority and the corresponding rights, this folly was immediately stopped. The principle of absolute responsibility was introduced to replace the committee resolutions.

The first chairman is responsible for the entire leadership of the movement. He assigns the work that is to be done to the members of the committee under him and to the other needed co-workers. Each one of these men is thereby absolutely responsible for the tasks assigned to him. He is accountable to the first chairman, who must see to it that all cooperate, or who must himself bring this cooperation about by his choice of men and by establishing general guiding principles.

This law of responsibility by principle has gradually become a matter of course within the movement, at least as far as the leadership of the Party is concerned. In the little local groups, and maybe even in the provinces and districts it will take years before these principles are fully established, since cowards and good-for-nothings will of course always struggle against it. They will always feel uneasy if they carry the sole responsibility for an undertaking. They feel freer and better if for every far-

reaching decision they have the support of the majority of a so-called committee. However, I deem it necessary to oppose such sentiment with utmost vigor, not to make concessions to cowardice in the question of responsibility, and thus to attain, even if it should take a long time, a conception of the duty and the efficiency of leadership which will allow only those to become leaders who are really called and selected.

At any rate, a movement that intends to fight against the folly of parliamentarism, must keep itself free from it. Only on such a basis can it gain the strength for its struggle.

A movement which, in a time when the majority rules in all and everything, adapts itself to the principle of the leader-idea and to the responsibility going with it, will some day with mathematical certainty overcome the situation hitherto existing and will emerge victorious.

This thought led to a complete reorganization within the movement. Its logical effect also led to a very strict separation of the business departments of the movement from the general political leadership. As a matter of principle the idea of responsibility was extended to the entire business management of the party; thus putting it, as a matter of course, upon a sound basis since it was liberated from political influences and now concentrated upon purely economic interests.

When I came to the old Six-man Party in the autumn of 1919 it had neither a business office nor an employee, yes, not even letterheads or rubber stamps, indeed nothing printed existed. The committee room was at first an inn in the Herrengasse and later a café on the Gasteig. This was an impossible situation. Therefore, soon afterward I got busy and looked over quite a number of Munich restaurants and inns, with the intention of renting a separate room or another enclosed space for the Party. In the former Sterneckerbrau inn Tal there existed a small vault-like room, which formerly had served the Imperial Councillors of Bavaria as a place for their drinking bouts. It was dark and gloomy, and thereby served its former purpose extremely well, but it hardly answered its new purpose. Its only window faced

an alley which was so narrow that even on the brightest summer day the room remained dark and gloomy. This became our first business office. Since the monthly rent amounted to only fifty marks (a large sum for us in those days) we were in no position to demand much, and we could not even complain, when before we moved in the wooden paneling of the walls was quickly torn off, since it had been put there for the sake of the Imperial councillors. Now the room really seemed more like a vault than an office.

And nevertheless this represented great progress. By and by electric light was installed, but it took even more time to get a telephone; a table with a few rented chairs was added, finally a shelf, and still later a cabinet; two sideboards that belonged to the inn keeper were to serve as a storage place for pamphlets, posters, etc.

The former management, *i.e.*, directing the movement through one weekly committee meeting could not possibly be kept up in the long run. Only a salaried official paid by the movement was able to safeguard a steady business management.

At that time this was rather difficult. The movement had as yet so few members that it became a trick to find a suitable man among them who would satisfy the many demands of the movement, while demanding but very little for himself.

Finally, after an extended search, the first business manager of the party was found in the person of Schüssler, a former comrade of mine. At first he worked daily between 6 and 8 P. M. in our new office, later between 5 and 8 P. M. and finally every afternoon, and a short time later he was given full time work, doing his duty from morning till late at night. He was just as diligent as he was straight and honest, a man who personally did all he could and who was a faithful adherent to the movement. Schüssler brought a little Adler typewriter along that he possessed. It was the first instrument of that kind in the service of our movement. Later it was bought by the Party on the installment plan. It appeared necessary to have a little safe in order to protect the files and the membership lists against thieves. It was, therefore,

bought not in order to deposit any big funds which supposedly we might have had at that time. To the contrary, everything was extremely poor, and I personally have often helped out with my own scant savings.

One and a half years later the business office became too small and we moved into the new locality on Cornelius Street. Again it was an inn into which we moved, but this time we did not possess just one room but three rooms, and in addition a large hall. In those days we thought this was a great achievement. We remained there until November 1923.

In December 1920 the *Völkische Beobachter* was bought. This paper, which by its name alone, advocated racial ideas, was to be transformed into an organ of the N. S. D. A. P. In the beginning the paper was published twice weekly; early in 1923 it became a daily, and at the end of August 1923 it had its later well-known large format.

In those days, being an absolute novice in the newspaper business I frequently had to pay dearly for bought experience.

It should, indeed, give one food for thought to think of the fact that in contrast to the enormous Jewish press there existed scarcely one single really important racial-Nationalist newspaper. Later I had often the opportunity to convince myself by practical experience that this was mostly due to the fact that the so-called populist enterprises were not managed in a business-like way. They were conducted too much from the viewpoint that conviction is more essential than efficiency. This is an entirely false viewpoint, since conviction which, in itself is not externally perceptible, finds its best expression in efficient accomplishment. He who creates something of actual value to his people, thereby reveals just as valuable a conviction, while another one, who only pretends to have the conviction yet does not actually render his people any service, is harmful to all real conviction and a liability to those of the same conviction.

As the name indicates, the *Völkische Beobachter* too was a so-called "racial-Nationalist" organ with all the merits, and also with all the mistakes and weaknesses connected with such institutions.

Its contents were noble, but the management of the enterprise was impossible from a business standpoint. It too was based upon the opinion that populist newspapers had to be maintained by populist donations, instead of realizing that they must succeed in spite of the competition of others, and that it is an indecency to cover up the negligence or mistakes of the business management by donations of well-minded patriots.

I for one have endeavored to change the condition which I soon recognized as a dangerous one. Luck was with me inasmuch as it let me make the acquaintance of the man who since that time has rendered the movement extremely valuable services not only as business manager of the paper, but also as business manager of the Party. In the year 1914, at the front, I made the acquaintance of the present general manager of the Party, Max Aman, (at that time my superior). During the four years of the war I had every opportunity of observing the very great capability, the diligence, and the painstaking conscientiousness of my later co-worker.

In mid-summer of 1921, when the movement passed through a grave crisis, and I could no longer be satisfied with a number of the employees, after having had a most bitter experience with one of them, I addressed myself to my former comrade in the same regiment, whom I met accidentally one day, and requested him to become the business manager of the Party. After considerable hesitation—Aman held a position with a future—he finally consented, however, with the definite reservation that he would never become the beadle for any incompetent committee, but would recognize only one master.

It was the everlasting merit of this first business manager of the movement, thoroughly trained commercially as he was, which brought order and honesty into the departments of the Party. From then on, they remained a pattern which could not be equalled, and certainly not be improved upon, by any of the subdivisions of the movement. As always happens in life, efficiency is often the cause of envy and self-will. The same had to be expected in this case and had to be borne with patience.

As early as the year 1922 we had, generally speaking, fixed methods of procedure for the upbuilding of the movement along business lines. We already had a central card index comprising all the members belonging to the Party. The movement had also been put upon a sound financial basis. Current expenses had to be covered by the current income; the special income was used for special expenses. In spite of the hard times the movement thus remained almost free of debt, except for a few small current bills; yes, it even succeeded in constantly increasing its *assets*. The work was done in the same way as in a private business; the employed personnel had to distinguish itself by efficiency and could not just appeal to the famous "conviction." The convictions of every National-Socialist is demonstrated first by his willingness, by his diligence and ability to do the work that has been assigned to him by the community of the people. Anyone who does not do his duty in this respect must not boast of his conviction, against which he is actually sinning. The new business manager of the Party defended most energetically his standpoint, against all kinds of influences, that Party offices are not a sinecure for lazy adherents or members.

A movement that so strongly fights the party corruption of our present administrative apparatus must keep its own apparatus clean of such vices. It happened that the management of the newspaper hired employees who, according to their former conviction belonged to the Bavarian People's Party, but whose work alone proved them to be extremely qualified. The result of this experiment was generally excellent. The very fact that the movement honestly and frankly acknowledged real individual efficiency did more to win the hearts of the employees quickly and fully than would ever have been the case otherwise. Later on they became good National-Socialists, and they remained faithful, not only by word of mouth, but they proved it by doing conscientious, good and honest work in the service of the new movement. It goes without saying that the well qualified members of the Party were preferred to just as well qualified non-members of the Party. But nobody was hired on the basis of his

membership in the Party. The resolute way in which the new business manager stood for these principles, and gradually carried them out in spite of all resistance was later of the greatest advantage to the movement. During the difficult time of the inflation when tens of thousands of enterprises collapsed, and thousands of newspapers ceased to exist, it was thus possible for the management of the movement not only to continue and to accomplish its task, but to build up the *Völkische Beobachter* more and more. At that time it took its place among the large newspapers.

The year 1921 was significant in another respect: In my position as head of the Party I succeeded in gradually liberating the departments of the Party from the criticism and the lectures of so many of the committee members. This was important because it was impossible to secure a really competent man for a task if men of no ability whatsoever constantly interfered, always knowing better about everything yet in reality only creating a terrible confusion. Usually these wiseacres retired very modestly in order to seek a new field for their controlling and inspiring activities. These were men who were beset by the malady of seeing some ulterior motive behind everything and all things. They were permanently pregnant with excellent plans, ideas, projects and methods. Their most ideal and highest aim then usually consisted of appointing a committee which, as controlling agency, would have to poke its nose expertly into the work of the others. It never seemed to occur to most of these committee-hounds that it is offensive and non-National-Socialistic for an ignoramus continuously to lecture the real experts. Anyhow, I for one considered it to be my duty during these years, to protect all assistants who worked well and carried heavy responsibilities in the movement against such elements, thus giving them the necessary backing and a free hand to go forward.

The best way to render powerless these committees which did nothing, or only hatched up resolutions that could not in fact be carried out, was to assign a real task to them. It made me laugh, to see how the members of such a group would sneak away and suddenly were nowhere to be found. It made me think of our

greatest similar institution, the Reichstag. How quickly they would all vanish into thin air, if, in the place of mere idle talk, they were assigned a real task, a task for which each of these chatterers would be held personally responsible.

Even in those days I always demanded that, just as it is done in private business, so in the movement we should search until the obviously capable and honest official, administrator or leader was found. He would then have to have absolute authority and freedom of action with his subordinates, while on the other hand he would have to be completely responsible to his superiors. At the same time, no one should be given any authority over subordinates who is not himself an expert in the respective work. In the course of two years I have succeeded in putting over my idea, and today it is generally accepted in the movement, at least by those in highest authority.

The visible success of this attitude became apparent in 1923. When I had come to the movement four years previously not even a rubber stamp could be found. On November 9, 1923, the party was dissolved and its property was confiscated. Already, the assets, including all valuables and the paper, then amounted to over one hundred and seventy thousand gold marks.

12. THE UNION QUESTION

THE rapid growth of the movement compelled us in 1922 to make our position clear on a question which has not yet been fully solved.

In our attempts to study those methods which would quickly and easily appeal to the masses, we were always confronted with the objection that the working man would never completely belong to us as long as his purely professional and economic interests were represented by men holding a different opinion, and their respective organizations.

This objection had, of course, much in its favor. The worker who was employed by a concern could not exist, according to the general opinion, if he were not a member of a trade-union. Not only the interest of his particular occupation seemed to be thus protected, but his very position with the concern was possible only, in the long run, if he were a member of the union. The majority of the workers were members of trade-unions. These unions generally had fought for higher wages, and had concluded wage agreements which guaranteed to the worker a certain income. No doubt all workers of this particular concern profited as a result of the fights, and an honest man was bound to have pangs of conscience if he pocketed the wages fought for and obtained by the unions while he himself did not join the fight.

It was very difficult to discuss these problems with the average middle-class employers. They neither manifested (nor wanted to manifest) any understanding of the material or the moral side of the question. After all, because of what they consider their own economic interests, they are opposed from the very start to any organized union of their laborers. For this reason alone most of

them cannot form an unbiased opinion. In this as in many cases we must turn to those who are disinterested and who do not succumb to the temptation of not being able to see the wood for the trees. With even a degree of good-will, they will be much more sympathetic toward a problem so vital to our present and future life, when viewed from any angle.

In the first volume I have already given my opinion in regard to the character, purpose and necessity of trade-unions. I then took the position that as long as the relationships of the employer to the employee is not changed, either by government decrees (which usually are of no effect), or by general education, the employee has no other choice than to claim his right to defend his own interests as one of the contracting parties in the economic life. I further emphasized that such a course would be perfectly in harmony with the interests of the whole community, if they were able to prevent grave social injustices that otherwise would lead to grave injuries of the entire community of a people. Furthermore I declared that such a necessity was likely to continue as long as there were men among the contractors who personally have no feeling either social duties or for the most elementary human rights. From this I drew the conclusion that should such a self-defense once be considered necessary, it would logically have to be in the form of uniting all workers in trade-unions.

This, my general opinion, had not changed even in 1922. However, a clear and precise definition of the attitude regarding these problems had now to be found. It was impossible to go on just being satisfied with the knowledge, but it was necessary to draw practical conclusions from it.

The following questions had to be answered:

1. *Are trade-unions indispensable?*
2. *Should the N. S. D. A. P. itself take an active part in the trade-unions, or direct its members to participate in any form of such activities?*
3. *What must be the character of a National-Socialistic trade-union? What are our tasks, and what is its aim?*
4. *How can we establish such trade-unions?*

I believe that I have sufficiently answered the *first question*. It is my conviction that under the present circumstances we cannot dispense with the trade-unions. To the contrary, they are a part of the most important institutions of the national economic life. Their significance does not lie only in the social-political, but to a much larger extent in the general national-political domain. For a people whose masses enjoy the necessities of life as well as an education through an orderly trade-union movement will thereby be greatly strengthened in their entire power of resistance in the struggle for existence.

The trade-unions are indeed indispensable since they are the material for the future parliament of economics or the chamber of the guilds.

The *second question* can also be easily answered. If the trade-unions are important, then it is clear that National Socialism must not purely theoretically but also practically take a definite stand in regard to them; but *how*? That is a more difficult question.

The National-Socialist movement, which is working with one goal in mind: the National-Socialist National State must not entertain any doubts that all future institutions of this coming State must grow out of the movement itself. It is a big mistake to believe that all of a sudden, with nothing in hand but the possession of power, a definite reorganization could be brought about, without having previously provided for a certain basic group of men who are trained along the lines of our conviction. Even in this case the principle obtains that, more important than the outward form,—which can easily be created mechanically—is always the spirit which fills such a form. For instance, one can command dictatorially that the principle of leadership be ingrafted in a state organism.

However, it will only live if it has evolved from the smallest beginnings and gradually developed itself, gaining in the course of many years by means of the continuous selection, which is effected incessantly by the hard realities of life, the number of leaders necessary in order to carry out this principle.

Therefore, we should not believe it possible to suddenly pull

out of a briefcase the outlines for a new state constitution which could then be "introduced" through pressure from above, though such attempts are being made, but the result is bound to die or is already a stillborn child. That reminds me of the constitution of Weimar, and of the attempt to treat the German people along with a new constitution also to a new flag, which was in no way in itself related to the experiences of our people during the last half century.

The National-Socialist State, too, must be careful not to make similar experiments. It can, when the time comes, develop only out of an organization that has been in existence for a considerable time. This organization must possess the National-Socialist life as its element from the beginning, in order to be able to create a living National-Socialist State.

As has been emphasized, the germ-cells for the chambers of economics will have to be found in the various representative bodies of the trade-unions, therefore especially in the trade-unions. If, however, the future chamber of the guilds and the central parliament of economics are to represent a National-Socialist institution, then these important germ-cells too must be the agents of a National-Socialist conviction and conception. The institutions of the movement are to be incorporated into the State, but the State is unable to suddenly produce corresponding institutions out of nothing by the power of magic, if they are to be more than lifeless formations.

From this highest viewpoint alone, the National-Socialist movement must acknowledge the necessity of engaging itself in activities along the lines of trade-unions.

It must do so for a further reason. A genuine National-Socialist education of employers as well as of employees, with the object of making them both members of the people's community within its common framework, is not effected by means of theoretical instruction, appeals or admonitions, but by the struggle of the daily life. In it and through it the movement must educate the various large economic groups in order to get them closer together in regard to the important viewpoints. Without such pre-

liminary work all hope for the development of a future real people's community is but a mere illusion. Only the great world-concept ideal for which the movement is fighting, can slowly produce, by and by, that general style, which in days to come will make the new order appear really firmly consolidated inwardly, and not only outwardly consolidated.

Therefore the movement must not only answer the question as to the idea of trade-unions in the affirmative, but it must provide its large membership with the necessary education for the coming National-Socialist State by practical activities.

The answer to the *third question* is included in the statements made above.

The National-Socialist trade-union is not an organ of the class struggle, but an organ of the vocational representation. The National-Socialist State does not know any "classes", but, politically speaking, only "citizens" with fully equal rights and, accordingly, with fully equal general duties, and in addition those belonging to the State, but, from a state-political viewpoint having no rights whatsoever.

In the National-Socialist sense the trade-union does not have the task of bringing certain members of the people into a union in order gradually to transform them into a class with which to take up later the fight against other, similarly organized formations. We would never assign such a task to a trade-union. It was not assigned to it until the moment it became the instrument for the fight of Marxism. *The trades-union in itself does not mean "class struggle," but Marxism has turned it into an instrument for its class struggle.* It has created the economic weapon used by international world Jewry for the crushing of the economic basis of the free independent national states, for the destruction of their national industry and their national trade, and thereby the enslavement of free peoples in the service of the super-state, world-finance-Jewry.

In contrast to this the National-Socialist trade-union, by an organized unification of certain groups of participants in the national economic process, must increase the safety of the national

economy and strengthen its power, by correctively removing all those imperfections which in the long run have a destructive influence upon the national community of the people, harm the life power of the people's community, and thereby also that of the state, and finally bring destruction and disaster upon the economic structure.

Therefore, for the National-Socialist trades-union the strike is not a means for destroying and making unstable the national production, but rather serves to increase and improve it, by fighting all those imperfections which, on account of their anti-social character, hinder the economic productivity and thereby the existence of the people as a whole. For the capacity for work of an individual is always fundamentally related to the general legal and social position which he occupies in the economic process, and which alone makes him recognize the necessity of making this process a prosperous one for his own advantage.

The National-Socialist employee must know that the prosperity of the national economic structure means his own material welfare.

The National-Socialist employer must know that the happiness and the contentment of his employees are the basis for the development of his own economic power.

National-Socialist employees and employers are both representatives and solicitors for the entire community of the people. The high degree of personal liberty accorded to them in their work can be explained by the fact that experience has proved that the individual capacity for work is increased much more by according far-reaching liberty than by force. Thus one also avoids hindering the natural process of elimination by which the most capable, able and diligent ones are to be promoted.

For the National-Socialist trade-union the strike is, therefore, a means which can and probably must be employed as long as there is no national and racially orientated state. This, however, must take over the legal care and protection of all, thus eliminating the mass struggle between the two large groups—employers and employees—(which in its consequences, by decreasing pro-

duction, is always harmful to the people's community as a whole!). The *chambers of economics* will have to see to it that the function of national economy is kept up, and that the imperfections and errors harmful to it be eliminated. What today is being decided by the struggles of millions, will have to be settled in the future in *guild-chambers* and in the central *parliament of economics*. Then employers and employees will not fight furiously against each other in their struggle for wages and wage scales, thus mutually injuring the economic influence, but they will solve these problems together before a higher authority, which, in turn, must be guided by flaming letters, thus keeping constantly before it the well-being of the people and the State.

In this too the iron principle must prevail that the Fatherland is of first importance, and next the Party.

The task of the National-Socialist trade-union is the education and the preparation for this goal which is: *the cooperative work of all, for the maintenance and protection of our people and their State, in a degree corresponding to the individual abilities, capacities and powers which are either inherent or developed by the community of the people.*

The *fourth question*, namely, how can we get such trade-unions, appeared at that time rather difficult to answer.

Generally it is easier to organize something new in virgin territory than in an old territory which already had a similar organization. In a town in which a business of a certain kind does not exist, it is easy to start such a business. It is more difficult to do so if a similar business already exists, and it is most difficult if only one can prosper under the prevailing conditions. Because in this case the organizers face the task not only of introducing their own new business, but also of destroying the older establishment in the same town in order to exist themselves.

A National-Socialist trade-union along with other unions is senseless. Because it too must be fully convinced of the necessity of performing the task based on its world-concept and the consequent obligation of intolerance toward other similar or even hostile institutions, thus emphasizing the exclusive necessity of

its own individuality. Even in this case there must be no getting together and no compromise with related organizations, but only the maintenance of the *absolute sole right*.

There were only two ways which led to such a development.

1. *It was possible to organize our own trade-union, and then gradually take up the fight against the international Marxist trade-unions, or one could*

2. *Invade the Marxist trade-unions and endeavor to fill them with the new spirit, or transform them into instruments of the new ideas.*

The following difficulties stood in the way of taking the first course: Our financial difficulties were still rather considerable at that time. The means at our disposal were very insignificant. The gradually increasing inflation made the situation still more difficult, since in those years it was impossible to speak of any visible and material advantages of the trade-union for the individual member. Viewed from this angle the individual worker had at that time no reason whatsoever for paying his dues to the trade-union. Even the already existing Marxist unions were near their collapse until all of a sudden millions fell into their lap because of the brilliant Ruhr-action of Herr Cuno. This so-called national Reich Chancellor may be called the saviour of the Marxist trade-unions.

In those days we could not count upon such financial possibilities. It was no incentive to anyone to join a new trade-union which, on account of its financial inability, could not offer him the least advantage. On the other hand, I had to object strongly to making such a new organization a sinecure for more or less brilliant men.

Indeed, the question of personnel played the most important role. At that time I did not know of a single man whom I would have trusted with the solution of this gigantic task. *Anyone who in those days would have really crushed the Marxist trade-unions and replaced this institution of destructive class war, by helping the idea of National-Socialist trade-unions to win the victory, would belong to the really great men of our people and his bust*

would have had to find a place in the Valhalla at Regensburg for the sake of posterity.

However, I did not know of any head which would have fitted such a pedestal.

It is quite erroneous to change one's view in this respect because of the fact that the international trade-unions themselves were also led only by men of average intelligence. This really does not mean a thing, because at the time when they were organized nothing else existed. Today the National-Socialist movement must fight against the gigantic organization which has been in existence for a long time, and developed in its every detail. The conqueror, however, must always be a greater genius than the defender whom he wishes to subdue. While it is possible today to manage the fortress of the Marxist trade-union with the help of common bigwigs, it can only be stormed by the great energy and brilliant capacity of an overwhelmingly greater man on the other side. If such a man cannot be found it is useless to quarrel with Fate, and it is still more foolish to attempt to force the issue with insufficient substitutes.

Here again we must make use of the knowledge that in life it is sometimes better to let a matter rest for the time being than to start it only half-way or improperly because of the lack of proper forces.

In addition to this there was another consideration which should not be called a demagogic one. I had in those days, and I still have it today, the firm conviction that it is dangerous to connect a great political world-philosophical fight too early with matters of economics. This is especially true with regard to our German people. For in such a case the economic struggle will at once direct the energy away from the political battle. As soon as the people have gained the conviction that by their economy they will be able to buy a little house, they will devote themselves to this task only, and they will have no more time for a political fight against those who plan to take away from them some day their saved pennies, one way or another. Instead of fighting in a political battle for the knowledge and conviction obtained, they become fully absorbed

in their kitchen economics, and in the end they find themselves sitting on no chair whatsoever.

Today the National-Socialist movement has just begun its struggle. To a large degree it has yet to form and to perfect the image of its world-concept. It must fight with its entire energy for the realization of its great ideals, and success is only possible if the complete power is unreservedly used in the service of this battle.

Today we have a classic example for the fact that the occupation with purely economic problems will paralyze the active fighting power:

The Revolution of November 1918 was not brought about by trade-unions, but it prevailed over them. And the German middle-class does not fight for the German future in a political battle because it believes this future to be sufficiently secured by constructive economic work.

We should learn from such experiences because the same thing would happen to us. The more we gather the complete strength of our movement for the political battle, the sooner we can count on success along the whole line, and the more we take upon ourselves *prematurely* the load of trade-unions, settlements and similar problems, the less will be the benefit for our cause as a whole. It is true that these objectives are important, yet they can only be realized on a large scale if we are in the position to press the public power into the service of this idea. Until that time these problems would only paralyze the movement, and all the more so the earlier it undertakes to solve them, and the more it permits them to lessen its *world-political* ambitions. *Then it could easily happen that trade-union interests would guide the political movement instead of the world-concept forcing the trade-union to march along with it.*

However, a National-Socialist trade-union movement can only be of real benefit to the movement as well as to our people if from the viewpoint of world-concept it has already been so strongly influenced by our national ideas that it is no longer in danger of following Marxist ways. For a National-Socialist trade-union

which sees its mission only in competition with the Marxist trade-union, would be worse than none at all. It must declare war against the Marxist trade-union, not only as an *organization* but above all as an *idea*. In striking at it, it must also strike at the exponent of class strife and class idea in order to become the guardian of the vocational interests of the German citizens in its stead.

All these viewpoints argued then and still argue *against* the organization of trade-unions of *our own*, only in the event there suddenly appeared an *individual* obviously called by fate to solve this very question.

Therefore, there remained but two other possibilities: either to recommend to our own Party members that they quit the trade-unions or that they remain in them in order to work there in a most destructive way.

Generally I have recommended this latter course.

In the years 1922 to 1923 especially, this could be accomplished without much difficulty; for the financial advantage which the trade-union had during the inflation from our membership was nil, since our membership was not yet large enough because of its only recent organization. But the damage done to them was really great because the National-Socialist adherents were their severest critics, thereby becoming disintegrating factors.

In those days I declined all such experiments which were bound to fail from the very start. I would have considered it a crime to take so and so much money from the scanty earnings of a worker to use for an institution which I was not convinced would be of any advantage to its members.

When a new political party disappears it is hardly a calamity but almost always an advantage, and no one has a right to complain, because the contributions of an individual to a political movement are given by him *a fonds perdu*, but anyone who pays his dues to a trade-union has a right to expect the benefits which have been guaranteed to him. If this is not taken into account, then the organizers of such a trade-union are swindlers, or at least unscrupulous men who must be brought to account.

Therefore, it was this view which guided our actions in the year

1922. There were other people who apparently knew better and who organized trade-unions. They censured us for not having one, that being to them the most obvious proof of our erroneous and limited insight. But it was not long before these organizations themselves disappeared. Thus the final result was the same as ours, with but one difference: we had neither deceived ourselves nor others.

13. GERMAN ALLIANCE POLICIES AFTER THE WAR

THE desultoriness of the leaders of the Reich's foreign policy in establishing guiding principles for a purposeful policy of alliances not only continued after the Revolution, but became worse. For if before the war a general confusion of political ideas was in the first place the cause of our poor state leadership in foreign affairs, then after the war it was just plain lack of honest intention. It was obvious that those groups which had finally achieved their destructive aims by the Revolution, were not interested in a policy of alliances, the object of which would have been the reconstruction of a free German State. Not only would such a development have contradicted the real sense of the November crime, not only would it have interrupted or even ended the process of internationalizing German economy and workers, but beyond that the political domestic effect resulting from a battle for liberty in the domain of foreign politics, would have had dire consequences later on for the present representatives of the Reich's government. For it is impossible to think of the rise of a nation, before it has first been nationalized; on the other hand, each huge success in foreign policy has as a matter of course an effect along similar lines. It has been proven by experience that every battle for liberty leads to an increase of nationalism, or self-assurance, and, along with it, to a greater sensitiveness in regard to anti-national elements and similar tendencies. Conditions and persons which are tolerated or not even noticed in peace times, in periods of stirring national enthusiasm meet not only with rejection but with a resistance which often proves to be their undoing. One needs only to remember, for instance, the general spy-scare which, upon the out-

break of war, suddenly bursts forth in the feverish heat of human passions, leading frequently even to unjust persecutions, although everybody ought to realize that the danger of espionage is much greater during the long years of peace; but for evident reasons it does not then attract general attention to such a degree.

The State parasites, carried to the surface by the November events, have, with their fine instincts alone a foreboding of the possible destruction of their own criminal existence, should our nation, backed by a wise foreign policy, arise to a battle for liberty and kindle the national passions.

Thus one understands why since 1918 the responsible government officials made a failure of their foreign policy and why the national government almost constantly and intentionally worked against the real interests of the German nation.

For what may seem purposeless at first sight is unmasked upon closer study as the logical pursuance of a policy adopted publicly for the first time in 1918 in the November Revolution.

Of course, we must in this connection differentiate between the responsible (or rather the "should-have-been responsible") leaders of our national affairs, the average of our parliamentary would-be-politicians, and the large, stupid flock of sheep, our own people with the patience of sheep.

Those on the one hand know what they want. The others just follow suit, because, although they know what they have recognized and feel to be harmful, yet they are too cowardly to fight ruthlessly against it. Still others are submissive on account of their lack of understanding and their stupidity.

As long as the National Socialist German Workers' Party was but a small and little-known society, problems of foreign policy were regarded by some of its adherents as of minor importance. A special reason for this lies in the fact that our movement must proclaim and has always proclaimed, as a matter of principle, that external freedom is never given as a gift either by the heavenly or the earthly powers, but that it can only be the fruit of forces which work from within. *Only the removal of the causes of our collapse and the destruction of those who are tak-*

ing advantage thereof will bring about the external battle for liberty.

Viewed from such a standpoint it is therefore easy to understand why during the first days of the young movement the importance of questions of foreign policy took second place as compared with the vital aims for domestic reform.

However, as soon as the scope of the little insignificant society was enlarged and finally blown up, and as soon as the young organization rose to the importance of a large union, the necessity arose at once to outline a definite program in regard to developments in foreign policy. Standards had to be established, which had not only to be in harmony with our world-concept but which had to be the result of our way of thinking.

The very lack of schooling of our people in matters of foreign policy carries with it an obligation for the young movement to impart to the individual leaders as well as to the large masses in broad outlines a line of thought concerning foreign policy. This is the basis of any coming practical fulfillment of the foreign policy in preparing for the work of regaining the liberty of our people and of a real sovereignty of the Reich.

As an essential principle and guide we must always bear in mind that the foreign policy too is but a means to an end whose purpose is exclusively the improvement of our own nation. It is impossible to decide any problem in the domain of foreign policy from any other viewpoint than this one: *It is now or in the future profitable to our people, or will it be harmful to them?*

This is the only preconceived opinion that must have any weight in deciding this question. Party-political, religious, humanitarian and all other viewpoints must be completely disregarded.

Before the war it was the task of German foreign policy to assure the sustenance of our people and their children on this planet by paving the way to this goal, and to win the needed auxiliary forces in the form of allies. Today's task is the same, with one difference: *before the war the aim was the preservation of the German people, taking into account, however, the actual forces*

of the independent power-state. The task is still first to give the people strength in the form of a free power-state. This is the basis for the practical foreign policy of the future, which aims to preserve, foster and nourish our people in days to come.

In other words: the aim of Germany's foreign policy today must be to take preparatory steps towards regaining tomorrow's freedom.

In this connection one must not lose sight of a fundamental principle, the possibility of regaining independence for a people does not rest entirely upon the existence of a fully established nation, but rather upon the existence of a part of this people or state—however small it may be—which enjoys the necessary freedom and is capable of assuming the leadership not only of the spiritual union of the whole people, but also of the preparations for a military battle for freedom.

If a people of one hundred million men, in order to preserve their existence as a state, jointly take upon themselves the yoke of slavery, it is worse than if such a state and such a people had been crushed, leaving only a part of them enjoying full liberty, provided this last remnant has a vision of its holy mission, not only to constantly proclaim its spiritual and cultural indivisibility but also to prepare along military lines for the final liberation and the reunion of the unlucky oppressed parts.

We have to consider, moreover, that the question of regaining lost territories once belonging to a people of a state, is always primarily a question of regaining political power and independence for the mother country. In other words, the interests of the lost territories must in such a case be ruthlessly ignored, the chief interest being concentrated upon regaining liberty for the main part of the country. For the liberation of oppressed and cut-off splinters of a nation or of provinces of an empire is not brought about through any desire on the part of the oppressed population, nor through a protest by those who have been left behind, but by the power of the remnants of the once common fatherland which have more or less kept their sovereignty.

Therefore, the first step in the regaining of lost territories is

the intensive development and the strengthening of the remaining part of the State, as well as of the indwelling unchangeable resolve to dedicate the newly won power, when the time comes, to the liberation and unification of the entire nation! Thus we must *ignore* the interests of the lost territory as against but one interest, namely to gain for the remainder of the country that degree of political power and strength, which alone is apt to change the mind of victorious enemies. *It is not by flaming protests that oppressed lands are brought back into the fold of a common Reich but by a sword ready to strike.*

It is the task of the national leaders to forge that sword through the means of their domestic policy. The purpose of their foreign policy must be the safeguarding of the work of forging and the securing of allies.

In Part I of this volume I have discussed the half-heartedness of our policy of alliances before the war. Of the four possible ways of preserving and sustaining our nation the fourth and least practical one was chosen. Instead of a sound European land policy we concentrated on a colonial and trade policy. This was all the more erroneous, since the leaders thought they would avoid a decision by arms. It was an attempt to sit on all chairs at the same time, and the result was the proverbial fall between them. The World War was but the last of the bills presented to the Reich in testimony of its ill-conceived foreign policy.

Even at that time the right way would have been the *third one: a strengthening of the power on the continent by winning new territory in Europe*, thus making a later solution of the colonial question more likely and feasible. This policy, however, could only have been carried out by an alliance with England or through so abnormal a strengthening of military power that for forty to fifty years cultural tasks would have had to be completely ignored. Yet one could have taken the responsibility for such a course. The cultural importance of a nation is almost always derived from its freedom and independence, the latter being the basis of the former. No sacrifice is too great if it is made in the

interest of safeguarding political freedom. Whatever is taken away from cultural aspirations by an exceedingly strong development of the military powers of state, will later be restored fully. It is in fact safe to say that after such a concentrated effort along the lines of preserving the national independence, usually a counterbalancing relaxation sets in, in the form of an astonishing flourishing of the previously neglected cultural energies of the nation. The distress of the Persian wars led to the bloom of the Periclean age and even amid the worries of the Punic wars the Roman State began to devote itself to the service of a higher culture.

It is true, however, that such complete subordination of all the interests of a nation to the one task of preparing for a coming decision by arms for the future protection of the state, cannot be left to the decision of a majority of parliamentary simpletons and good-for-nothings. The father of Frederick the Great was indeed able to prepare for war by ignoring everything else, but the fathers of our parliamentary folly, of the Jewish brand, are not able to do it.

For this reason alone armed preparation for the acquisition of new land and soil in Europe could be only moderate in the pre-war days. That is why one could not do without the help of proper allies.

But since one did not like at all the idea of a systematic preparation for war, the thought of acquiring new territory in Europe was given up, and, by turning to colonial and trade policies, the then possible alliance with England was sacrificed, but without doing the next logical thing, namely leaning towards Russia; and deserted by all but the Hapsburg 'arch-evil' we finally stumbled into the World War.

In characterizing our present foreign policy, it must be stated that no evident or distinct standards are existent at all. While before the War, the fourth method was erroneously chosen, though only in a half-hearted way, after the Revolution no method at all can be discovered even by the keenest eye. All careful planning is

lacking to a larger extent than before the War, except perhaps for the attempt to crush the last possibility of a renewed rise of our nation.

An unprejudiced evaluation of the distribution of power in the Europe of today leads to the following result:

For the last three hundred years, the history of our continent has been decisively influenced by England's attempt in roundabout ways to maintain the balance of power of the European countries and to insure herself the necessary protective covering for her great world political aims.

The traditional tendency of British diplomacy—which in Germany has but one counterpart—the tradition of the Prussian army—has since the days of Queen Elizabeth been directed deliberately towards preventing by every possible means the rise of any European power beyond the scope of the established balance of power and, if necessary, to block it by force of arms. The means employed by England in such a case varied according to the situation or the task at hand, but the will and the determination to use such means were always the same. The more difficult the position of England became in the course of time, the more the British government felt the necessity of maintaining in a generally paralyzed condition the powers in the different European states, caused by mutual rivalry as to their respective greatness. The political detachment of the erstwhile North American colonial territory led to even more concentrated efforts to safeguard the certainty of eventual support in Europe. After Spain and the Netherlands had been destroyed and ceased to be great sea powers, the efforts of the British State were concentrated against the rising power of France, until finally, with the fall of Napoleon I, the danger of a hegemony of this military power, which was the most dangerous of all to England, appeared to be definitely broken.

British statesmanship moved slowly before it changed to a hostile attitude towards Germany. The German nation, because of its lack of any national unity within, did not seem to present any evident menace to England. Furthermore, public opinion,

once it has been influenced in a certain direction by means of government propaganda, is rather slow in changing toward a new aim. The cool reasoning of the statesmen appears here to take into account sentimental values, which are not only stronger in their effect, but also more stable as time goes on. After a statesman has reached his goal, he may without hesitancy turn his thoughts towards new aims, but the masses can be won over to becoming instruments of the new views of their leader only by the slow work of propaganda.

By 1870-71, however, England had already taken a definite new stand. Unfortunately Germany did not take advantage of England's occasional hesitations, caused by America's importance in world economics and Russia's development of power politics, so that the historic tendency of British statesmanship became more and more firmly established.

England regarded Germany as the power whose influence in trade and therefore in world politics (as a consequence of her enormous industrialization) was growing so menacingly fast, that it became possible to counterbalance the power of the two states in certain identical spheres of influence. The conquest of the world by "peaceful penetration," which appeared to our statesmen to be the last word in wisdom, became for the British politicians the basis for organizing the resistance against it. The fact that this resistance assumed the form of a thoroughly organized attack was fully consistent with a statesmanship whose aim never was the maintenance of a questionable world-peace, but the strengthening of British world dominion. The fact that England secured as allies all the states which might eventually render military assistance, was the natural result of her traditional caution in estimating the strength of her opponent as well as her own weakness at the time being. This cannot be termed as "unscrupulousness," since such a comprehensive organization of a war must not be judged by heroic standards but by its suitability. *It is the task of diplomacy to see to it that a nation does not perish heroically but is maintained by practical means. Every road that leads in that direction answers the purpose. Not to fol-*

low it is a neglect of duty and a crime.

When Germany turned revolutionary, the British worries with respect to a threatening German world hegemony ceased in a way quite satisfactory to British statesmanship.

Since that time England has no longer been interested in seeing Germany *completely* wiped off the map of Europe. On the contrary, the disastrous collapse of November, 1918 put British diplomacy face to face with a new situation, which at first had appeared to be impossible:

For four and a half years the British Empire had fought in order to break the presumed predominance of a continental power. All of a sudden a collapse occurred, that seemed to wipe out this power entirely. The lack of even the most primitive spirit of self-preservation became apparent to such an extent, that within forty-eight hours the European balance of power seemed to have been taken off its hinges: *Germany destroyed, and France the strongest political power in Europe.*

The enormous propaganda promulgated during the War in order to influence the British people to persevere and to maintain their ground, at the same time inciting it boundlessly by stirring up all primitive instincts and passions, rested now upon the power of decision of the British statesmen like a load of lead. The British war aim was reached when Germany's colonial, economic and trade policy was destroyed and anything going beyond this would be harmful to British interests. Only England's enemies would profit by the wiping-out of German power in continental Europe. In spite of it all it was no longer possible for British diplomacy (from the November days of 1918 till late in the summer of 1919) to change its attitude, since it had during the long war exploited the emotional powers of the masses more extensively than ever. A change was not possible in view of the acquired position of the military powers. France had taken the law of action into her own hands and was in a position to dictate to others. The only power which might have brought about a change during those months of bargaining and trading, Germany herself, was lying in the convulsions of civil war, and repeatedly

announced through the mouths of her so-called statesmen her readiness to accept any dictate whatsoever.

If in the life of nations one nation ceases to be an "active" ally on account of its complete lack of a spirit of self-preservation, it usually degenerates into a nation of slaves and its country has to share the fate of a colony.

Now in order to prevent the power of France from becoming too great, the only remaining possibility for an initiative of its own was the participation of England in France's lust for robbery.

In fact England had failed to achieve her war aim. The rise of a European state beyond the ratio of power in the continental state-system of Europe had not only not been prevented, but it had rather been firmly established.

Germany, as a military state, was in 1914 wedged in between two countries, one of them being equal in power, the other being more powerful. Then there was the superior strength of England as a sea-power. France and Russia alone hindered and resisted all extraordinary development of German greatness. In addition to this also the unfavorable military and geographic position of the Reich was a further safeguarding factor against too great an increase of power in this country. The coastline, especially, was, from a military standpoint, unfavorable to a battle with England, being small and cramped, while the battlefield of the interior would be wide and open.

France's position is quite different today: from a military standpoint she is the greatest power, without any serious rival on the continent; her borders in the South near Spain and Italy are as good as safe; she is protected against Germany by the impotency of our Fatherland; her coastline runs in a long front parallel to the life nerves of the British Empire. Not only are these British centers of life important targets for airplanes and long-range batteries, but the arteries of British trade would be wide open to the effect of submarines. A submarine war, with the long stretch of the Atlantic coast and the equally long stretches of the French territories bordering on the Mediterranean in Europe and North-Africa as bases, would have disastrous effects.

Thus the political result of the battle against Germany's developing power was the creation of a French hegemony on the continent. The military result: the consolidation of France as the greatest power on land, and the acknowledgment of the Union as an equally strong seapower. The economic result: surrender of large British spheres of influence to the former Allies.

To the same degree that British traditional political aims desire and need a Balkanization of Europe, those of France strive to bring about a Balkanization of Germany.

England's permanent desire is the prevention of the rise of one continental power to world importance, i. e., the maintenance of a certain balance of power among the European states, for this is the basis for British world hegemony.

France's permanent desire is to prevent Germany from becoming a united power to maintain the system of small German states, with well-balanced powers and no unified leadership, by the occupation of the left bank of the Rhine as a basis for the creation and the safeguarding of her hegemony in Europe.

The final aim of French diplomacy will be in eternal contradiction to the final tendencies of British statesmanship.

Anyone who examines from the above stated point of view the present *possibilities for alliance* with Germany, must get the conviction that as a last possible connection there remains only a dependence upon England. Although the result of the British war policy has been disastrous for Germany, yet one must not overlook the fact that England today is no longer interested in completely *destroying* Germany. On the contrary, British policy is bound to aim more and more as the years go on at hindering the boundless urge for a French hegemony. Now an alliance policy is not made from the standpoint of past misunderstandings, but it is rather made fruitful by the knowledge gained from past experiences. We should have learned that alliances with *negative* aims are inherently weak. *The fate of nations is welded together only by the expectation of a common success, in the sense of common acquisitions, conquests in short, by mutual expansion of power.*

That our people are not used to thinking in terms of foreign policy can be seen best by reading the current press reports concerning the more or less great "love of Germany" on the part of this or that foreign statesman. One looks upon the supposed attitude of such individuals towards our people as being a special guarantee for political aid to us. This is an incredible folly and a speculation on the unparalleled simplicity of the normal small town German playing politics. There is no British, American or Italian statesman whose real attitude could be classified as "*pro-German*." As a statesman every Englishman is of course an *Englishman* first of all, an American is first of all an *American*, and no Italian will ever be ready to pursue another policy than one which is *pro-Italian*. Therefore, anyone who expects to build up alliances with foreign nations relying upon the *pro-German* attitude of their statesman is either an ass or a dishonest man. The linking together of the fate of nations is never based upon mutual esteem or even love, but rather upon the expectancy of some practical results for both parties. For instance: an English statesman will always pursue pro-English and never pro-German politics. Yet it is possible that some particular elements of this *pro-English* policy are for a number of reasons identical with *pro-German* interests. This of course may be so only to a certain degree and may turn some day to the contrary; *here it is where a statesman will show his masterful hand: if he wants to carry out plans vital to his own nation he will, when the necessity arises, find those partners who must travel the same road to promote their own interests.*

The practical consequences drawn for the benefit of the present time must be found in the answers to the following questions: *What states are at the present time not vitally interested in seeing France's military and economic power attaining an absolute and predominant hegemony by the elimination of a German Central Europe? What states will in view of their own situation and their hitherto traditional policy look upon such a development as a menace to their own future?*

About this finally one must be perfectly clear: France is and remains the inexorable enemy of the German people. Whoever

reigned or will reign in France, whether Bourbons or Jacobines, followers of Napoleon or bourgeois democrats, clerical Republicans or red Bolsheviks, the final aim of their foreign policy will always be an attempt to take possession of the Rhine frontier and to make this river secure for France by keeping Germany broken up and crushed.

England does not desire Germany as a world power, France however does not want Germany to have any power whatsoever: a very essential difference! Today, however, we are not fighting to regain our world power, because we have to struggle for the very existence of our Fatherland, for our national unity, and the daily bread for our children. If we look around from this standpoint in search for European allies, only two states are left over for us: *England and Italy.*

England does not desire a France, whose military fist, unrestrained by the rest of Europe, is able to protect a policy which sooner or later is bound to clash with British interests. England can never desire a France, which, being in possession of the huge western European iron and coal mines, might easily attain a dangerous economic world position. Furthermore England can never desire a France, whose continental-political position appears to be safeguarded to such a degree by crushing the rest of Europe, that the resuming of a more expansive French world policy is not only possible but becomes a necessity. The Zeppelin bombs of old might be multiplied a thousand times every night; France's military predominance presses sorely on the heart of Great Britain's world empire.

Nor can Italy desire a further strengthening of French predominance in Europe. Italy's future will always depend on developments affecting the territories close to the Mediterranean basin. Italy's motive for entering the War was not any desire to aggrandize France, but rather a determination to give the death-blow to her hated rival on the Adriatic. Any further increase of France's strength on the continent means a hindrance to Italy in the future, because we would be deceiving ourselves by believing that any kind of kinship among the nations excludes rivalries.

Cool and unbiased consideration will show that primarily *England* and *Italy* are the two states whose own natural interests are least in opposition to the conditions essential to the existence of the German nation, and are, to a certain degree, identical with them.

But in weighing the possibilities of such alliances we must not overlook three factors. The first one lies with us, the other two with the respective states.

Is it possible for any state to ally itself with the Germany of today? Is it possible for a power, which looks upon an alliance as a help to carry out its own *aggressive* aims, to ally with a State, whose leadership has for years presented a picture of pitiful impotence and pacifistic cowardice and the greater part of whose citizens, blinded by democratic-marxist doctrines, betray the interests of their own people and country in a revolting way? Could any power today expect to enter into a valuable relationship with a State, hoping to fight some day unitedly for common interests, when this State evidently lacks all courage and desire to do even the least bit in defense of its own bare life? Will any power that sees more in an alliance than the maintenance of a state of slow decay (like the disastrous former Triple-Alliance) risk its very existence by binding itself with obligation to a State, whose characteristic actions consist of cringing servility towards those outside and shameful suppression of national virtues at home; to a state, that has lost all greatness, since it does not deserve it any longer on account of its general conduct; to a government that cannot boast being held in any esteem by its own citizens, thus hardly stimulating any admiration in countries abroad?

No, a power that wants to preserve its dignity and expects more of alliances than graft for greedy politicians, will not enter upon an alliance with the Germany of today; indeed it would be simply impossible. *After all, our present unfitness for alliances is the main and last reason for the solidarity of our enemy-robbers.* Since Germany never defends herself, except by a few flaming protests from our elite parliamentarians, and since the rest of the world

does not see any reason to fight for our protection, and since the Lord, as a matter of principle, never liberates cowardly people—in spite of the continued whining of our patriotic societies—even those states that are not *directly* interested in our complete destruction, do not see any other way but to participate in France's marauding expeditions, even if it be for the sole reason of prohibiting, by concurring and participating in the robbery, the exclusive strengthening of France.

Secondly it must not be overlooked that it is difficult to change the attitude of the people at large, in the former enemy countries, after they have influenced by means of mass-propaganda in a certain direction. It is impossible to denounce for years a nation as "Huns," "Robbers," "Vandals," etc., and then discover all of a sudden the opposite and to recommend the erstwhile enemy for a future ally.

Still more attention must be paid to a third fact, which will be of essential importance for the relationship of coming European alliances:

Little though it is to England's interest—viewed from the standpoint of British State policy—that Germany should be further crushed, such a development is very much to the interests of Jews of international finance. The contrast between the official or rather traditional British statesmanship and the leading Jewish financial powers can be most easily noticed by looking at the different attitudes some take in regard to the questions of British foreign policy. *The Jewry of finance wishes not only the complete economic destruction of Germany but her entire political enslavement*, which is contrary to the interests of the welfare of the British State. The internationalization of our German economics, *i.e.* the transfer of German working power into the possession of Jewish world finance, can only be carried out completely in a politically Bolshevik state; but if the Marxist soldiers of the international Jewish capitalists finally do break the backbone of the German National State, it can only be done by kind cooperation from outside. Therefore France's armies must storm the structure of the German State until the battered Reich falls

prey to the Bolshevik soldiers of the international world Jewry of finance.

Therefore the Jew is today the great agitator for the complete destruction of Germany. Wherever in the world we read offensive articles against Germany, the Jews have manufactured them, just as during peacetime as well as during the war, the Jewish financial and Marxist press stirred up intentionally the barred against Germany, until one state after the other gave up its neutrality and joined the World War coalition, thus ignoring the real interests of their people.

The trend of thought in Jewry is clear. The Bolshevizing of Germany, *i. e.* the extermination of the national, racial, German intelligence, and the exploitation of German workers under the yoke of Jewish world finance, is only preliminary to the further spreading of this Jewish tendency of conquering the world. Just as it has happened so often in history, Germany is again the great center in the huge struggle. If our people and our State become victims of these blood-thirsty and money-thirsty Jewish tyrants, then the whole world will be ensnared by this polyp; if Germany succeeds in liberating herself from its embrace, this greatest danger for all the nations of the world may be regarded as passed.

Thus it is quite certain that Jewry will do all the undermining work it possibly can, in order not only to maintain the animosity of the nations towards Germany, but to increase it if possible, just as it is as certain that this activity is only to a small extent identical with the real interests of the nations thus poisoned. *In general Jewry will now fight in the varied national bodies more and more with such weapons as appear to be the most powerful ones on the basis of the recognized mentality of these nations and which promise the most success.* In our own national body, very much torn from the standpoint of 'blood', Jewry employs as weapons in its fight for power the pacifist-ideologic thoughts, which are more or less thoughts of a "world-citizenry," in short, the international tendencies. In France it is with the recognized and correctly evaluated chauvinism, in England with economic and world-political viewpoints. In short it employs always the essen-

tial qualities representing the mentality of the respective nation. Not until it has in such a manner achieved a certain overshadowing influence by means of economic and political powers does it throw off the fetters of such traditional weapons and begin to emphasize the real intentions of its aspirations and fight. It destroys faster and faster, until it had laid state after state into ruins, upon which the sovereignty of the eternal Jewish Empire is to be established.

In England as well as in Italy the divergence of views between the old and more solid statesmanship and the aspirations of the Jewish financial world is not only obvious but often crudely apparent.

It is only in France that there exists today more than ever a conformity between the intentions of the stock exchange, as represented by the Jews, and the desires of a chauvinistically orientated national statesmanship. This very identity constitutes an immense danger for Germany. For this reason France remains by far the most terrible enemy of Germany. *This nation, which is being permeated more and more with negro blood, represents, on account of its identity with the aims of Jewish world dominion, a lurking danger to the existence of the white race in Europe.* The poisoning through negro blood along the Rhine, in the heart of Europe, corresponds just as much to the sadistic-perverse hate of this chauvinistic arch-enemy of our nation as to the cool-blooded reasoning of the Jews, who want to start in this way the bastardizing of the European continent right in the center, thus depriving the white race of the basis for its sovereign existence by mixing it with a lower type of people.

The present acts of France, instigated by her own hatred and carried out under the leadership of the Jews, constitute a sin against the existence of the white race and will some day turn loose upon that nation all avenging spirits of a generation, which has recognized degradation of race to be the original sin of humanity.

For Germany, nevertheless the French danger means the duty to forget all sentimental feelings and to join hands with those

who, just as much menaced as we, are unwilling to suffer and bear France's lust for dominion.

For some time to come there will be only two possible allies for Germany: England and Italy.

Anyone who goes to the trouble of studying the foreign policy of Germany's leaders since the Revolution must be shocked by the incessant failures of our government; as a result he will then either give up, or in flaming protest declare war upon such a government. These acts cannot be classified as acts of lack of under-brainstanding. For the mental cyclops of our November parties have done what would appear unconceivable to any thinking brain: they strove for France's favor. Yes, indeed, with the touching simplicity of an incorrigible visionary they have tried during these years again and again to offer themselves to France, made bows to the "great nation," and believed that they could see at once in every shrewd trick of the French executioner the first signs of a change of heart. *The actual wire-pullers in our politics of course never entertained such foolish ideas. For them the wooing of France was nothing but the obvious means of blocking every sound policy of alliance.* They never were in the dark in respect to the aims of France and her backers. However they were forced to pretend to believe honestly in the possibility of a change in the fate of Germany by the sober acknowledgment that otherwise, indeed, our people themselves would probably have chosen a different path.

It is, of course, not easy for us, to present England to the rank and file of the Nationalist-Socialist movement as a possible future ally. Our Jewish press has always succeeded in concentrating all hate upon England, whereat so many a good and stupid German bullfinch readily landed upon the lime-twigg offered by the Jew, chattered of the "new strength" of the German seapower, protested against the robbery of our colonies, recommended regaining them, thus helping to gather the material which the Jewish scoundrel could transmit to his racial friends in England for purposes of practical propaganda. It should by now become clear

to even our bourgeois simpletons, playing in politics, that our fight is not one for "Power on the seas," etc. Even before the war it was madness to concentrate the German national forces upon this aim, without having first positively safeguarded our position in Europe. In politics today such follies are called crimes.

It became very often a matter of despair to have just to look at the way the Jewish wire-pullers succeeded in keeping our people busy with matters of no account, agitating demonstrations and protests, while at the same time France snatched one piece after the other out of the body of our nation, and we were deprived of the basis for our independence according to planned purpose.

I must mention, moreover, one particular hobby pursued in these years by the Jew with special skill: South Tyrol.

Yes, *South Tyrol*. On which of the intellectual faces of our philistines does not the flame of utter indignation burn? If I take up this question here at this juncture, I do this in order to settle an account with that mendacious rabble, which, counting upon forgetfulness and the stupidity of the masses of our people, takes it upon itself to fake a national indignation, which these parliamentary rascals possess less than a magpie possesses a conception of the rights of property.

I wish to state that I personally belong to those, who at the time when the fate of South Tyrol was being decided—early August 1914 until November 1918—went where the actual defense of this territory took place, namely into the army. I did my share of fighting in those years, not that South Tyrol should be lost, but that together with every other German territory it should be preserved for the Fatherland.

Those who did not join the actual fighting were the parliamentary vagabonds, the whole gang of the political mob. On the contrary, while we fought under the conviction that victory alone could preserve South Tyrol as well to the German people, the mouths of these Ephialtes contrived and plotted so long against this victory that finally the fighting Siegfried succumbed to the thrust of the dagger into his back. *For the possession of*

South Tyrol by Germany was of course not guaranteed by the lying and inflammatory speeches of smart parliamentarians on the Vienna Rothaus Square, or before the Feldherrnhalle in Munich, but solely by the battalions at the fighting front. Those who broke up this front did not only betray South Tyrol, but at the same time all the other German territories.

Anyone who believes today that the question of South Tyrol can be solved by means of protests, declarations, and by local parades, is either an especially great rascal or a typical German small-town burgher.

It must be thoroughly understood by this time, that the lost territories will never be won back by solemn appeals to the good Lord nor by pious hopes in a League of Nations, but only by force of arms.

Therefore the only question is: who is willing to obtain the regaining of the lost territories by armed forces?

As far as I am concerned, I can assure anyone that I could still muster up enough courage to put myself at the head of a newly formed parliamentary storm-battalion, consisting of parliamentary chatter-boxes and party leaders, and various councilors, to take part in the victorious conquest of South Tyrol. The devil knows I would love it if all of a sudden some shrapnel would burst over the heads of such a "flaming" protest-demonstration. I am convinced that if a fox would break into a fowl-house, the cackling could hardly be worse, and the chicken could hardly run for safety faster than such a "protest-demonstration."

The disgraceful part of it all is that these gentlemen themselves do not believe that anything is to be gained by such procedure. They know better than anybody else that all their to-do is harmless and hopeless. They do it only because naturally it is easier today to *chatter* about recovering South Tyrol than it was at one time to *fight* for its retention. Everyone does his bit: we offered our blood in those days, now these people are sharpening their noses.

It is amusing to see how the Vienna legitimists bristle up in their work for the regaining of South Tyrol. Seven years ago,

however, their noble and illustrious dynasty helped the world-coalition, by means of the villainous act of a perjured treachery, to gain the victory and with it also South Tyrol. In those days the same men supported the policy of their treacherous dynasty and did not care a bit about South Tyrol nor anything else. Today, of course, it is much simpler to take up the battle for these lands, since now it is fought only with "spiritual" weapons, and it is easier, too, to talk oneself hoarse in a "protest meeting"—due to righteous indignation—and to cripple one's hands in writing an article for a paper than, for instance, to blow up bridges during the occupation of the Ruhr territory.

The reason why certain groups in recent years have made the question "South Tyrol" a center of German-Italian relationships, is very obvious. *Jews and Hapsburg legitimists are deeply interested in blocking a German alliance policy that might eventually lead to the regeneration of a free German Fatherland. It is not love for South Tyrol which prompts all these sham activities,—because the interests of South Tyrol are not furthered but rather harmed by them—but the fear of a possible German-Italian understanding.*

It is in harmony with the general lying and slandering tendencies of these groups to attempt to present the situation with impudence and a high head in such a fashion as though we had "betrayed" South Tyrol.

These gentlemen should be told in very plain language: *First, that South Tyrol was "betrayed" by every German, who, from 1914-1918, was a healthy man yet could not be found anywhere at the front or did not offer his services to the Fatherland;*

Secondly by everyone, who has not cooperated during these years to strengthen the power of resistance of our nation for the finishing of the war, and to build up the perseverance of the people for seeing this struggle through to the end.

Thirdly, South Tyrol was betrayed by everyone participating in the November Revolution—either directly by action, or indirectly by cravenly allowing it to happen—thus destroying the only weapon that might have saved Tyrol.

In the fourth place South Tyrol has been betrayed by all those parties and their partisans, who put their signatures under the shameful Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

Yes, my dear gentlemen of word-protests, this is the situation!

Today I am only guided by the cool reasoning that lost territories cannot be conquered by the volubility of sharp parliamentary tongues, but by a sharp sword, i. e. through a bloody battle.

In this connection I do not refrain from stating that now, since the dice is cast, I consider the regaining of South Tyrol by means of war not only impossible, but also I personally would decline to take such a course, because I am convinced, that in this question it would be impossible to stir up enough flaming national enthusiasm in the German people in a mass to guarantee a victory. To the contrary, I believe, that if such blood has to be sacrificed, it would be a crime to do it in behalf of two hundred-thousand Germans, while close by seven millions are languishing under a foreign regime, and the vital highway of the German people has become the playground of hords of African negroes.

If the German nation is to end a condition which threatens to exterminate it in Europe, it must not fall into the errors of the pre-war period, and make enemies of God and the world, but it must instead ascertain who is its most dangerous opponent, in order to strike at him with the whole concentrated force. And if such victory is to be won by sacrifices in other places, the coming generations of our people will not condemn us for it. They will be able to appreciate the great emergency and the deep worries which lead up to such a resolution all the more, if the result is a radiant success.

Today we must be continuously guided by the principle that the regaining of territories lost by a government is primarily a question of regaining the lost political independence and power for the mother country.

It is the first task of a powerful foreign policy of our State to make this possible by means of a wise policy of alliances.

We National Socialists must be especially careful not to be taken in tow by our bourgeois word-patriots, who are under the

leadership of the Jews. *Woe to our movement if it too would indulge in protest-speeches, instead of preparing to fight!*

One reason for the ruin of Germany was the fantastic idea of a Nibelung-alliance with the dead carcass of the Hapsburg State. Fantastic sentimentality in connection with the possibilities of our foreign policy of today is the best means for definitely preventing our rise to power.

I am obliged to take this opportunity to deal briefly with the objections to the above mentioned three questions, namely: whether anyone

first; will be willing to enter upon an alliance with the present Germany in view of her obvious weakness;

secondly; whether such a change of attitude of the enemy-nations will be possible and

thirdly; whether the doubtless existing influence of Jewry is stronger than all reason and good will, so that it is apt to cross and destroy all plans.

I believe that I have answered the first part of the first question sufficiently. It goes without saying that nobody will seek an alliance with present Germany. No nation in the world will dare to link its fate with a State, the governments of which are bound to destroy all confidence. If many of our fellow-countrymen attempt to condone or even excuse the acts of the government by pointing out the pitiful mental condition of our people at that time, we must strongly protest against such a course.

There is no doubt that for the last six years the fickleness of our people has been pitiful, their indifference towards the most important interests of our nation has been depressing, indeed, and the cowardness has frequently cried out towards heaven. However, one must not forget that in spite of it all it is the same people that only a few years earlier gave the world a wonderful example of the highest human virtues. Beginning with the days of August 1914 till the end of the huge struggle of the nations, no people on earth have revealed more manly courage, persevering endurance and patient bearing than our German people,

which has now become so miserable. Nobody can assert that the present shame is a telling expression of the character of our people. What we find today in us and around us is but the dreadful, unreasonable and illogical influence of the perjured act of November 9th, 1918. Well may we apply the word of the poet, who speaks of the evil that continues to beget evil. Yet even in these days the good basic elements have not been fully lost to our people, they just slumber under the surface and once in a while, like lightning against a dark sky, virtues flare up, which the future Germany will once remember as the first signs of an approaching recovery. More than once thousands and thousands of young Germans have united, resolved to sacrifice and to offer their young lives again, voluntarily and joyfully, as in 1914, upon the altar of the Fatherland. Again millions of men are working industriously and diligently, as though no revolution had even brought destruction. The blacksmith is standing again at his anvil, the farmer follows the plough, and the scholar sits in his study, all toiling and trying to do their duty.

The suppression coming from our enemies does not meet any longer with the one-time smile, but with embittered and care-worn faces. There is no doubt that a great change of opinion has taken place.

If all this has not yet led to a regeneration of the political idea of power and of the spirit of self-preservation in our people, then it is the fault of those men who since 1918, not by the call of heaven, but by their own, rule our people to death.

Yes, indeed, if one deploras today the state of our nation, one may well ask: What has been done to improve it? Is the meagre support of the decisions of our government, what little there was of them—significant for the diminished vitality of our people or rather a sign of the complete failure in handling this precious treasure? *What did our governments do to instil into this nation once again the spirit of proud independence, manly defiance and passionate hatred?*

When in 1919 the Peace Treaty was imposed upon the German people, one would have been justified in hoping that this instru-

ment of unlimited oppression would greatly intensify the cry for German liberty. *Peace treaties, the demands of which fall upon a nation like lashes with a scourge, frequently are the first drum-call to a future uprising.*

How much might have been made out of the Treaty of Versailles!

How easily might this instrument of boundless extortion and shameful humiliation have been turned by a determined government into an instrument of inciting the national passions to fever point! How easy it would have been by means of a genial propaganda to turn the indifference of a people into revolution, and the revolution into flaming rage on account of these sadistic cruelties!

How easy it would have been to keep on burning every single one of these points into the brain and into the heart of this people, until finally in sixty million heads of men and women the commonly felt shame and the common hatred would have become one sea of flaming fire! Out of its glow a will of steel would have emerged, and a cry would have been heard:

We want to rearm!

Yes, indeed, such a peace treaty may serve such a purpose. The very exorbitance of its oppression, and the shamelessness of its demands constitute the greatest weapon of propaganda for the arousing of the dormant spirit of the life of a nation.

Then, of course, everything, beginning with the primer of the children, every last newspaper, every theater and every motion picture show, every bill-board and every available space must be pressed into the service of this one great mission, until the prayer of fear of our present club-patriots: "Lord, make us free!" changes even in the brain of the smallest boy into the glowing prayer: "*Almighty God, bless our arms when the day comes; be as just as Thou hast been always; judge now as to whether we deserve the freedom or not; Lord, bless our battle!*"

Every opportunity was missed and nothing was done.

Who wonders that our nation is not what it ought to be or what it might be? What else is possible, since the rest of the

world sees nothing in us but the beadle, the willing dog, which gratefully licks the hands of those who have beaten it?

There is no doubt that our people are no asset to our ability to enter upon alliances. But our governments are the greatest drawback. Their corruptness is to blame for the fact that after eight years of boundless oppression so little desire for liberty exists.

While on the one hand an active policy of alliances is dependent on our people enjoying the necessary esteem on the part of the other nations, this in turn is later dependent on the existence of a powerful government, which does not intend to be only the handy-man for foreign states or a taskmaker of its own power, but rather the herald of the national conscience.

Should our people get such a government that understands its mission in this respect, no six years will pass, and the leaders of a daring foreign policy of the Reich will have the cooperation of a just as daring people longing for freedom.

To the second objection, namely the great difficulty changing the erstwhile enemy nations into friendly allies, we offer the following answer:

The general anti-German psychosis, existing in the other countries as a result of the war propaganda, is bound to remain in existence, until the German Reich has acquired again the characteristics of a State by a plainly noticeable revival of a German will and spirit of self-preservation, a State that plays its game on the European common chess-board and with which others can play the game also. Not until government and people offer the necessary security for a possible capacity for alliances, will it be feasible for one or the other powers, prompted by parallel interests, to think of changing the public opinion by means of propaganda. This, too, will, of course, require years of continuous, clever work. The very fact that a change in public opinion requires so much time is the reason for the precaution in undertaking it, *i.e.* nobody wants to start such activities before having the absolute conviction that such work will be valuable and bear fruit in the future. The empty talk of a more or less in-

genious foreign minister does not offer sufficient motive for changing the mental attitude of a nation, before one has the guarantee that such a changed attitude will be of real value. Otherwise such a course would lead to a complete division of the public opinion. The firm security for the possibility of a future alliance with a state is not given by big talks of some members of the government, but rather by the obvious stability of a certain practical government tendency, and a corresponding public opinion. The faith in it will be all the firmer, the greater the visible activity of a government is as to propagandist preparation and support of its work, and, contrarwise, the more unequivocally the desires of public opinion are reflected in the tendencies of the government.

A nation—in a position such as ours—will thus only be considered fit for alliances, when government and public opinion jointly and fanatically proclaim and upheld their determination to fight for liberty. This is the basis for a later change in the public opinion of other states, which, on account of their knowledge of the situation, and in pursuit of their own interests, are willing to join hands with a suitable partner, *i.e.* to enter upon an alliance.

There is still another matter to be considered: *Since it is a very difficult task to change a certain mental attitude of a nation, a task that will not be understood at first by many, it is a crime as well as a folly to commit such errors as will furnish the opposing elements with weapons for their counterwork.*

One must understand that it will require a certain time before a people has fully grasped the intentions of a government, since the final aims of certain political efforts cannot always be explained publicly, but can only be counted on either with the blind confidence of the masses or the intuitive understanding of intellectually higher developed leading groups. Since not many possess this visionary political feeling and understanding, and since on the other hand, for political reasons, no explanations can be offered, a part of the intellectual leaders will always oppose new tendencies, which, on account of their apparant haziness

may easily be considered a mere experiment. This arouses the opposition of the conservative elements in the state.

Nevertheless for this reason it is a supreme duty to see to it that as early as possible all likely weapons are taken out of the hands of these disturbers of a policy of mutual understanding, especially so, when, as in our case, it is only a question of purely fantastic chatter of puffed up would-be politicians and small town coffee-house politicians. For with cool reasoning one cannot deny that the cry for a new war fleet, restoration of our colonies, etc., is obviously mere silly talk, without so much as possessing an idea of practical possibility. But that in England political use is made of these foolish statements of such part harmless, part insane political warriors who are once more always quietly serving the purposes of our arch-enemies, cannot be defined as favorable to Germany. In this way one exhausts oneself in harmful demonstrations against God and the rest of the world, forgetting the first principle which is essential to all success: *Whatever you do, do it thoroughly. By howling at five or ten states, we neglect to concentrate the entire intellectual and physical forces for a blow at the heart of our infamous opponent, and we are sacrificing the possibility of strengthening ourselves for the final struggle by means of alliances.*

In this connection too the National-Socialist movement has a mission. It must teach our people to disregard trifles and to keep in mind the great aim, not to split up on account of negligible matters, but never to forget that the goal for which we have to fight today is the bare existence of our nation, and that the sole enemy at whom we have to strike is ever the power which is robbing us of that existence.

Many things may bitterly hurt us. But this must not lead us to abandon all reason and to quarrel with the whole world by foolishly hollering at it, instead of concentrating all our powers against the deadly enemy.

Moreover, the German nation has no moral right to accuse the rest of the world for its attitude, until it has called to account criminals who sold and betrayed their own country. There is no

holy earnestness in howling and protesting from a long distance against England, Italy, etc., while at the same time one allows the scoundrels to carry on, who, paid by enemy war propaganda, wrested from us our weapons, broke our moral backbone and sold the paralyzed Reich for thirty pieces of silver.

The enemy does only what might have been expected. We should learn from his attitude and actions.

But anyone who does not agree with the loftiness of such a comprehension should know that the only other way out is resignation, since the possibility for any alliance has been definitely eliminated. Since we cannot enter upon an alliance with England, because she robbed us of our colonies, nor with Italy, since it took South Tyrol, nor with Poland or Czechoslovakia, then, outside of France nobody else is left in Europe.

There can be hardly any doubts as to whether or not this would serve the interests of the German people. The only element of doubt lies in the question: Is this opinion represented by a simpleton, or by a sly rascal?

As far as leaders are concerned, I always believe the latter.

Therefore, according to human judgment, a change in the psychological attitude of the various hitherto hostile nations may well be brought about if their future interests are parallel to our own, and if the domestic power of our state and its obvious resolution to defend our existence make us appear again as a worthwhile ally, and furthermore, if the opponents of such alliances with our former enemies are not furnished with reasons for their opposition by our ineptitude or even criminal acts.

The answer to the third objection is the most difficult one.

Is it conceivable that those who represent the true interests of the nations with whom an alliance is possible, will be able to carry out their intentions against the will of the Jewish arch-enemy of states formed by free peoples and nations?

Will the powers of the British traditional statesmanship, for instance, still be able to break the disastrous Jewish influence? This is a very difficult question to answer. It depends on too many

factors for a conclusive judgment to be pronounced. One thing is sure however: *In ONE state the present government appears to be so firmly established, serving so exclusively the interests of the country, that a really successful prevention of political necessities by international Jewish groups has been made impossible.*

The fight waged by FASCIST ITALY against the three main weapons of Jewry, unconsciously perhaps (though I personally do not believe that) is the best indication that, indirectly at least, the venomous fangs of this super-state are being drawn. The suppression of the secret Free Mason Lodges, the persecution of the super-national press and the constant displacement of international Marxism on one hand, and the steady strengthening of the Fascist conception of state on the other hand, will in the course of years allow the Italian government more and more to serve the interests of the Italian people, without paying any attention to the hissing of the Jewish world hydra.

The situation in England is more difficult. In this country of the "freest democracy" the Jew dictates still almost absolutely today by the indirect means of public opinion. Yet, even there a constant struggle is going on between the representatives of the British state interests and the partisans of a Jewish world dictatorship.

The contrasting view-points often collide vehemently, as could be seen clearly for the first time after the war by the attitude towards the Japanese problem of the British government on the one hand, and of the press on the other hand.

As soon as the war was over, the old mutual animosity between America and Japan appeared again. Of course it was impossible for the great European powers to remain impassive in front of this new threatening war peril. All ties of affinity cannot prevent England from a certain feeling and envious anxiety in regard to the constant growth of the American Union in every domain of international economic and power politics. It seems as though the one time colonial territory, the child of the great mother, is growing to become a new mistress of the world. It can easily be understood why England today reviews her old

alliances with vexed care, and why British statesmanship awaits with fear the time when the slogan will not be:

"England over the seas" but: *"The ocean for America."*

It is much harder to get after the gigantic American State colossus with its enormous riches in its virgin soil than after the wedged-in German Reich. If the dice should ever be cast in this respect, then England would face disaster, if she should find herself alone. Therefore the yellow fist is most eagerly grasped and all hope is staked on an alliance which, from a racial standpoint is perhaps unjustifiable, which however from a national-political viewpoint offers the only possibility for a strengthening of the British world position against the growing influence of the American continent.

While the British government, in spite of the common battles fought on the European battlefields, could not make up its mind to loosen up the alliance with the Asiatic partner, the entire Jewish world press suddenly attacked it.

How is it possible that the papers of a Northcliffe, the faithful shield-bearers in the British battle against the German Empire, suddenly broke faith and chose a path of their own?

The destruction of Germany did not lie primarily in the British but in the Jewish interest exactly as today destruction of Japan does not lie in the political interest of England but rather complies with the far-reaching aspirations of the leaders of the hoped-for Jewish world-empire. While England over-exerts herself for the preservation of her world position, the Jew is organizing an attack in order to conquer it.

He sees the present European states already as willingless tools in his fist, be it through the indirect means of a so-called western democracy, or in the form of direct control through the Russian Bolshevism. But it is not only the old world that he holds in his net but also the new world is threatened with the same fate. The Jews are the masters of the financial powers in the American Union. Each year makes them more and more the master, controlling the working power of one hundred-and-twenty-million-people; there is today a single great man, Ford, who still has pre-

served his independence, thus irritating the Jews.

With cunning skill they mold the public opinion and turn it into a weapon for the battle in behalf of their own future.

The big leaders of Jewry already see the time approach for the fulfilment of their testamentary goal of completely devouring the nations of the earth.

One single independent state within this big herd of de-nationalized colonial territories might still be able to ruin the whole work at the last moment, for a Bolshevized world can only exist if it completely comprises everything.

If there remains but one state preserved in its national power and greatness, the Jewish satrapal-world-empire like every tyranny in this world is bound to succumb to the powers of the national idea.

The Jew, after his thousand years of experience in adaptation, now knows very well that he is able to undermine European nations and to bring them up to be neuter bastards but that he could hardly do the same to an Asiatic national state such as Japan. Today he may fake to be a German, or an Englishman, or an American or a Frenchman, but he is at loss when it comes to the yellow Asiatic. Therefore he tries to destroy the Japanese national state with the help of similar existing institutions in order to get rid of the dangerous adversary, before in his fist the last political power is being changed to tyranny over defenseless beings.

He is afraid of a Japanese national state in his Jewish millennium; therefore he wishes to destroy it before establishing his own dictatorship.

For this reason he is today inciting the nations against Japan, as he once did against Germany, and thus it may happen that, while British statesmanship is still counting to build on the alliance with Japan, the British-Jewish press already calls for a fight against the ally, preparing the war of annihilation under the proclamation of democracy, and under the war slogan: Down with Japanese militarism and imperialism!

Thus the Jew in England has become a rebel today.

For this very reason the struggle against the Jewish world menace will start there.

And again the National-Socialist movement has its biggest task to fulfill:

It must open the eyes of the people across the foreign nations, reminding them again and again of the real enemy of our present day. Instead of hating Aryans, who did everything to alienate us, with whom, nevertheless, we are tied together by bonds of blood and of a traditional common culture, it must expose the arch-enemy of humanity as the actual cause of all suffering, in order that he may be hated by all.

But above all it must see to it that, at least in our own country, the deadly enemy is recognized, and that the fight against him may become a flaming sign of a brighter time, also showing the way to other nations for the salvation of struggling mankind.

Then may reason be our guide, and will our strength. May the holy duty, which prompts our actions, give us perseverance, and may faith remain our highest patron.

14. EASTWARD ORIENTATION VS. EASTERN POLITICS

* I HAVE two reasons that cause me to examine in particular the relationship between Germany and Russia:

- ① the question in this case is perhaps the most critical business in German foreign policy in general, and
- ② this question is the test for the political ability of the young National-Socialist movement in respect to clear thinking and correct acting.

I must confess that especially the second point often causes me great worry. Since our movement does not get its adherents from the camp of the indifferent, but rather from the rank and file of people with radical world points of view, it is only natural that these people are at first encumbered with the prejudices and the lack of understanding of those groups, of which they were former members. This holds by no means only true in regard to the man who comes to us from the Leftists. On the contrary. His previous instruction in such problems may have been dangerous; yet frequently it was balanced by a remainder of natural and healthy instinct. In such a case it was only necessary to replace the former influence by a better attitude. Very often the still existing healthy instinct and spirit of self-preservation could be acknowledged as a very good ally.

But it is much more difficult, to educate a man to a clear political thinking whose previous education along these lines did not only lack reason and logic, but who had also sacrificed the last remnant of a natural instinct on the altar of objectivity. The members of our so-called intelligentsia are the ones who are especially slow in learning to represent their own interests and those of their people in a really clear and logical way. Not only

are they weighed down by a leaden weight of foolish prejudices and ideas, but in addition they have lost and given up all natural urge for self-preservation. The National-Socialist movement, too, has to fight hard battles with these people, hard, because in spite of a complete incapacity, frequently they are extremely conceited. This conceit makes them look down upon other usually more sound people, without being at all entitled to it. They are haughty, arrogant persons who know everything better, lacking all capacity for cool testing and weighing which is of basic importance in all plans and acts in foreign policy.

X Since these very groups are today in a most dangerous fashion beginning to divert our foreign policy from a real representation of the racial interests of our people in order that it may serve instead their fantastic ideology, I feel called upon to discuss with my adherent the most important question of foreign policy, namely our relation to Russia, as thoroughly and distinctly as it is possible within the scope of a book of this kind.

I will make first this general statement:

If foreign policy is the regulation of the relations of a nation to the rest of the world, the mode of regulation must be determined by certain definite facts. As National Socialists we want to make the following statement regarding the meaning of foreign policy in a racial state:

X *The duty of the foreign policy of a racial state is to safeguard the existence of the race forming that state on this planet by creating a natural, strong and healthy relationship between number and growth of the people on the one hand, and the size and the quality of the soil and the land on the other.*

A healthy relationship is only such a state of affairs, which safeguard the sustenance of a nation on its own land and soil. Every other condition, though it may be centuries or even thousands of years old, is just the same unhealthy, and sooner or later it will lead to the injury if not to the destruction of such a nation.

Only a sufficiently large space on this earth ensures freedom of existence to a nation.

The necessary extent of the territory for colonization must not only be judged by present requirements, indeed not even by the amount of the products of the land in their proportion to the number of the people.

I have already stated in the first volume of this work under the heading: "German policy of alliances before the war," that the *area of a state is not only important as a direct source for the sustenance of a people, but that furthermore it is important from a military and political viewpoint*. If a people possess land and soil in proportion to their numbers, thus their sustenance having been safeguarded, still it is necessary to think of safeguarding the land itself too. This safety lies in the general political power of the state, which in turn is determined to a large extent by military-geographical viewpoints.

Therefore the German people will be able to defend their future only as a world power. For almost two thousand years, the defense of our national interests, if we may so call our more or less fortunate activities in foreign policy, was *World-history*. We ourselves have been witnesses thereof: for the gigantic struggle of the nations during the years 1914 'til 1918 was but the struggle of the German nation for its existence on earth, but the process itself we call the World War.

The German people entered this war *presumably* as a world power. I use the expression *presumably*, because in reality they were not. If in the year 1914, there had existed in the German nation a different ratio between area and number of population, then Germany would in reality have been a world power, and it would have been possible, aside from all other factors, to bring the war to a fair end.

It is neither my task nor my intention, to point out the "if's" and "but's." I do however feel that it is absolutely necessary to picture the prevailing conditions soberly and without coloring them, pointing out their fearful weaknesses, be it only to deepen the knowledge of what is necessary in the ranks of the National-Socialist movement.

Today Germany is not a world power. Even if we could over-

come our present military impotence, yet we could not claim this title any longer. Of what importance is today a structure on this planet which, in its proportion between population and area, is in such a pitiful condition as the present German Reich? In an age, in which the earth is gradually being divided among states, many of which themselves are almost continents, it is not possible to speak in terms of a world power of a structure whose political motherland is restricted to the ridiculous area of hardly five hundred thousand square kilometers.

Looked at from a purely territorial point of view, the area of the German Reich absolutely disappears against that of the so-called world powers. England should not be mentioned as proof to the contrary, because the British mother country is really nothing but the big capital of the British world Empire, which owns almost one-fourth of the entire globe. There are further gigantic states, such as American Union, Russia and China. Some of these countries are ten times larger than the present German Reich. Even France must be counted among these states. Not only does she constantly replenish to an increasing extent her army out of the colored population of her enormous Empire, but also from a racial viewpoint her permeation by negro blood is increasing so rapidly as to permit us to speak of the creation of an African state on European soil. The present colonial policy of France cannot be compared with that of the Germany of the past. If the present development of France should continue for another three hundred years, the last bit of Frankish blood will perish in the European-African mulatto state which is in the process of formation. A huge solid settlement, the Rhine to the Congo, populated by a lower race, formed gradually by a continuous bastardization.

This is the difference between the French and the former German colonial policy.

The former German colonial policy was a half-hearted one, as was everything we did. It neither strived to enlarge the territory for a settlement by the German race, nor did it make the attempt—though it would have been a criminal one,—to increase

the power of the Reich by a utilization of negro blood. The Askari in German East Africa represented a small, hesitant step in that direction. However they only served the purpose of defending the colony. Never had anyone entertained the idea to use negro soldiers on a European battlefield, even at a time when such a plan might have been realized, aside from the actual impossibility during the World War. While the French, in the contrary, have always frankly used this plan as an argument in favor of their colonial activities.

Thus we find today upon the earth a number of powers, who not only have a considerably larger population than Germany, but whose greatest support for their powerful position lies in the size of their territory. Compared with area and population, never has the ratio between the German Reich and other rising world powers been so unfavorable as at the beginning of our history, 2000 years ago, and again today. At that time we, as a young nation, stormingly entered a world of decaying, large political structures of which we ourselves helped to do away with one of the last of the giants: Rome. Today we find ourselves in a world where large power states are forming, a world in which our own Reich gradually sinks deeper and deeper into insignificance.

It is necessary for us to keep this bitter truth coolly and soberly in our mind. It is necessary for us to study and compare the history of the German Empire in area and population throughout the centuries in connection with the other states. I am convinced that everyone will arrive with consternation at the conclusion which I have pointed out at the outset: *Germany has ceased to be a world power, regardless of whether she is strong or weak in the military sense.*

We have got out of every ratio in regard to the other of the great states of the world, and that, thanks only to the disastrous leadership of our nation in matters of foreign policy, thanks to the absolute lack, I might almost say, of a testamentary defined course in regard to a definite aim in our foreign policy, and thanks to the loss of all sound instinct and urge for self-preservation.

If the National-Socialist movement wants really to appear in

the light of history as having been ordained to a great mission for our people, it must fully recognize and deeply deplore their actual situation on this earth, and it must with courage and a purpose take up the fight against the aimlessness and inability which have up to now led our people on the road of foreign policy. Without paying any attention to "tradition" and prejudices it must find the courage, to unite our people and their strength to march forward on that road which will lead this people out of their present narrow territorial sphere of life to new land and soil, thus liberating them forever of the danger of perishing from the face of this earth, or serving others as slaves.

The Nationalist-Socialist movement must attempt to remove the disparity between our population and the scope of our territory—the latter seen both as the source of sustenance and the fulcrum of political power—between our historic past and our present impotence. In doing so it must always keep in mind that we as ambassadors of the highest humanity upon this earth are bound by a most solemn duty and so much the more will it meet these requirements, the more it endeavors to make the German people race-conscious, so that they show mercy on their own blood, besides breeding dogs, horses and cats.

If I designate the former German foreign policy as impotent, the proof for my assertion lies in the actual failure of this policy. If our people had been mentally deficient or cowardly, even then the results of their struggle on earth could not have been worse than those we see before us today. Also the development of the last decades before the war must not deceive us in this respect; for the standard of measuring the strength of an empire is not the empire itself, but a comparison with other states. Such comparison, however, furnishes the proof that the increase in power of other states has not only been a more steady one, but also a greater one in the final analysis and also that in spite of all apparent ascension, the road which Germany traveled actually led more and more away from the other states, leaving her way behind thus increasing the difference in size in our disfavor. Even in

regard to the number of our population we were left more and more behind. Now, since our nation is certainly not surpassed by any other people on earth as far as heroic courage is concerned, and since, taking all things together, it has sacrificed its own blood to a much larger extent for the maintenance of its existence than any other people on earth, this failure can only be ascribed to the fact that we played the wrong horse.

If we examine in this connection the political experiences of our people during the last thousand or more years, review all the countless wars and battles, and scrutinize the final result that lies before us, we will have to confess that out of this sea of blood actually only three phenomena have appeared which we might designate as being lasting fruits of a definite foreign policy or of a general political process:

1. The colonization of the *Ostmark*, chiefly accomplished by the Bavarians of old.
2. The conquest and the penetration of the territory east of the Elbe, and
3. The organization of the Brandenburg-Prussian State as a pattern and nucleus of a new Reich.

A warning object lesson for the future!

The two first great successes of our foreign policy have become the most lasting ones. Without them our people would not play any role whatsoever today. They represent the first and, unfortunately, also the only successful attempt to harmonize the increasing population with the size of land and soil. And it must be looked upon as a calamity that our German historians have never appreciated these two facts which were by far of the greatest importance for the future generations, instead they glorified everything else under the sun—fantastic heroism, praising admiringly numerous battles and wars, rather, than recognize of what little importance most of these events have been for the great line of the development of the nation.

The third big success of our political activities is the formation of the Prussian State, and, through it, the cultivation of a special idea of state, as well as the modernized and organized form of the

spirit of self preservation and self-defense as revealed in the German army. The change from the idea of individual defense to a compulsory national defense originated with this State and its newly developed conception of state. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this event. Germany, disintegrated by her over individualistic provincial dismemberment, regained through the discipline of the German army organization at least part of her long lost capacity for organization. What other nations still possess through a primitive urge to stay together in a flock, we regained for our nation at least partly and artificially through the process of military training. Therefore the abolition of compulsory military service—which may be of no importance whatsoever to dozens of other nations—of grave significance for us. If ten generations had been delivered up to the evil effects of their disunited conditions of vice and world view without the corrective and educational influence of a military training, then our nation would indeed have lost the last remainder of an independent existence on this planet. The German spirit could have made its contributions to civilization solely within the pale of foreign nations, its origin having been lost in oblivion. Just cultural fertilizer, until even the remainder of Aryan-Nordic blood in us would have been spoiled or exterminated.

It is worthy of notice that the significance of these real political successes which our people gained in their battles over a period of more than a thousand years, have been recognized and appreciated far better by our opponents than by ourselves. Even today we still rave about a heroism that robbed our nation of millions of its noblest representatives, and which in the end did not bear any fruit.

It is highly important for our present and future attitude that we distinguish between the real political successes of our nation and the profitless objects, for which its national blood was spilt.

We National-Socialists must never join in the common burrah-patriotism of our present bourgeois world. It is especially deadly dangerous to regard ourselves as being in the least bound by the last developments before the war. The whole historical period of

the nineteenth century does not contain one element, particularly characteristic for this same period, that would in any way carry with it any obligation as far as we are concerned. In contrast to the behavior of representatives of that time, we must again accept the sole aim of all foreign policy, namely: *The soil must be brought into conformity with the numbers of the population.* Indeed the past teaches us but one lesson: we must put up a double aim for our political actions: *Land and soil must be the aim of our foreign policy, while the aim for our domestic policy must be a new, unified foundation and a stabilized world-concept.*

I would like to explain briefly here my position in regard to the question why the request for land and soil appears to be ethically and morally justified. This is necessary, since, deplorable as it is, even in the so-called race-conscious circles all kinds of unctuous chatterers, appear who endeavor to prescribe to the German people as the aim of their foreign policy the reparation of the injustice of 1918, while at the same time they feel obliged to assure the whole world of racial brotherhood and sympathy.

Let me first state the following: *The demand for restoration of the frontiers of 1914 is a political folly of such extent and consequences that make it appear a crime. This is not taking into account the fact that the borderlines of the Reich were anything but logically drawn. In reality they were neither complete in regard to the inclusion of all people of German nationality, nor were they reasonable in regard to their military-geographic fitness. They were not the result of a studied, political course of action, but they were drawn at the spur of the moment during a political struggle that was still by no means terminated, in fact they were partly accidental.* One would be just as much entitled, and in many cases even more justified, in selecting at random any other year in German history, in order to give, by the reconstruction of the conditions at that time practical proof of the aim of a foreign policy. But such a procedure would be quite in harmony with our bourgeois world, which even in this case does not pos-

sess a single constructive political idea for the future, but lives only in the past, and in the most recent one too; because even if they look backwards, their vision does not reach beyond their own time. The law of inertia ties them to a certain given condition and makes them offer resistance against any change in it, without ever intensifying these activities of resistance beyond a mere inertness. Therefore it is self-evident that the political horizon of these people does not reach beyond the borderline of 1914. By proclaiming the restoration of those borders as the aim of their activities, they unify anew the disintegrated alliance of our opponents. Only thus can it be explained that eight years after a world struggle, in which states with partly heterogeneous desires and aims took part, the coalition of the then victorious powers is still carrying on in one form or another.

All these states profited at the time by Germany's collapse. Fear of our strength at that time thrust the greed and the envy of the individual great powers into the background. They saw in a thorough division of the heritage of our Reich the best protection against any future uprising. A bad conscience and the fear of the strength of our people is the most durable cement for keeping together the various members of this coalition.

We did not disappoint them because our bourgeois world has set up as a political program for Germany the restoration of the boundaries of the year 1914, it frightens every partner of this alliance of our enemies who is ready to withdraw, since he is afraid of being attacked and lose the protection of the individual allies. Every single state feels itself threatened and menaced by this slogan.

At the same time it is doubly foolish:

1. Because the power is lacking to transfer it out of the haze of the night clubs into reality, and
2. Because if it could actually be realized, the result would again be so pitiful that, by God, it would not be worth shedding the blood of our people for it again.

For it will hardly be questioned that even the restoration of the borders of 1914 could only be attained by bloodshed. Only

childishly naive people will cherish the idea that a change of Versailles could be accomplished by choosing secret paths or by begging for alms. Such an attempt would presuppose that we have the character of a Talleyrand, which we do not have. One half of our politicians consist of shrewd, but characterless elements, hostile to our people while the other half consists of kind, harmless and obliging weaklings. Furthermore times have changed since the Congress of Vienna: *Princes and princely mistresses no longer chaffer and haggle about borderlines of states, but the pitiless world Jew fights for his dominion over the nations.* No people will be able to remove this fist from its throat otherwise than by the sword. Only the united and concentrated strength of a powerfully resisting national passion is able to defy the international enslavement by the nations. However such a process is and remains a bloody one.

If however one has the conviction that the future of Germany requires the highest stake whatever the outcome may be, then, aside from all reasoning of political insight, one must, for the sake of the stake alone, put up a worthy goal and then fight for it.

The frontiers of 1914 mean nothing in regard to Germany's future. They offered no protection in the past, nor would they mean strength in the future. They will neither give to the German people their solidarity, nor provide for their sustenance, nor from a military viewpoint do these frontiers seem to be practical or satisfactory, nor will they be able to improve our present relationship with the other world powers, or more precisely stated, with the real world powers. The distance from England is not shortened, the greatness of the American Union is not reached thereby; not even France would experience a substantial decrease in her world political importance.

But one thing would be certain: Even if successful, such an attempt to restore the borderlines of 1914 would lead to a further pouring out of the blood of our people to such an extent that none would be left for decisions and actions which would really guarantee the life and the future of the nation. On the contrary, intoxicated by such easy success one would be only too glad to

renounce any further objective, since the "national honor" would then have been repaired, and a few doors would have been opened for commercial developments, anyhow for the time being.

In contrast to all this we, as National-Socialists, must cling to our aims in foreign policy, namely *to secure for the German people the land and soil that is due to them on this earth*. And this action is the only one which could justify bloodshed in the eyes of God and of future German generations: In the eyes of God, since we are placed in this world, our destiny being the eternal fight for our daily bread, as beings who are not given anything for nothing, who owe their position as lords of the world only to the inspiration and to the courage with which they fight for it and preserve it; in the eyes of future German generations, since we did not shed the blood of one single citizen that did not generate thousands of others for the future. The land and soil, upon which in the time to come, German peasantry can beget strong sons, will sanction the risk of the present sons, and it will acquit the responsible statesmen, although they are at present persecuted, of all bloodshed and of the reproach of having sacrificed the people.

In this connection I must sharply oppose those populist quill drivers, who pretend to regard such acquisition of land as an "injury to the holy rights of men", and who, in accordance with their conception, oppose it by their penmanship. Of course one never knows who stands behind such fellows. One thing is sure, however, that the confusion they create, is welcomed and favored by the enemies of our people. By such attitude they render criminal help in weakening and removing from within our people the desire for the one and only representation of their life necessities. For no people possesses on the earth even one square meter of land and soil by any heavenly wish or higher right. Just as the frontiers of Germany are frontiers made by chance, and are but temporary during the respective political struggle of the time, just the same are the frontiers of the territory of other nations. And just as a thoughtless fool could believe that the formation of the surface of our earth is unchangeable like granite, while

actually each time it represents, instead only a seeming pause in a slow development produced in constant changes through the tremendous forces of nature, perhaps only to be destroyed or changed again by stronger forces, so in the life of nations the same thing happens to the frontiers of the territories in which they live.

Frontiers of states are made by men and changed by men.

That fact that a people has succeeded in acquiring an immense territory does not constitute a higher obligation to acknowledge such acquisition eternally. It but proves the power of the conquerers and the weakness of the sufferers. And this power alone then constitutes the right. When the German people are crowded today upon an impossible territory, thus facing a pitiful future, this is just as little a command of Fate, as a revolt against it constitutes an affront. Nor is it a fact that a higher power has accorded more land and soil to another people than to the German or is offended by the fact of such an unjust distribution just as our antecedents did not receive the land upon which we live as a present from Heaven, but had to fight for its possession at the risk of their lives, so also in the future we shall not obtain the land, and with it life for our nation, by any act of grace on the part of the nations, but only by the force of a victorious sword.

As much as we all recognize the necessity of a settlement with France, it would remain without effect broadly speaking, if such a settlement would remain the sole and only object of our foreign policy. There can and will be only sense in it if it offers the backing for an extension of the space in which our people must live in Europe. For we must not consider the acquisition of colonies to be the solution of this question, but only the gain of such territory for settlement which shall enlarge the area of the mother country itself, and thus not only keeping the new settlers in close communion with the land of their origin, but at the same time guaranteeing to the entire territory those advantages that lie in the size of its united whole.

The race-Nationalist movement must not be the advocate of other states, but the champion of its own people. Otherwise it is superfluous and above all, not entitled to sulk in regard to the past.

Because then it acts like it. Just as much as the former German policy was mistakenly determined by dynastic viewpoint, just as little must the future one be guided by racial international sentimentalism. Specifically we are not policemen for the well known "poor, small nations" but we are soldiers of our own people.

However we National-Socialists have to go still further: *The right to possess land and soil can become a duty, if it becomes apparent that without an extension of territory a great nation seems dedicated to ruin.* Especially so when it is not a case of any little negro tribe, but where the Germanic mother of all life is concerned, who has given to the modern world all of its cultural achievements. *Germany will either be a world power, or cease to exist.* But in order to become a world power she needs that largeness, which will give her in these days the necessary importance, and life to her citizens.

Thus we National-Socialists put an end to the pre-war tendencies of our foreign policy. We begin the work where it was left six hundred years ago. We stem the eternal Germanic migration to the South and West of Europe, and direct our eyes towards the land in the East. We finally terminate the pre-war colonial and trade policy and move over to the land policy of the future.

However if we speak today in Europe of new land and soil, we can primarily think only of Russia and the border-states that are subject to her.

Here Fate itself seems to be willing to give us a hint. By surrendering Russia to Bolshevism, it deprived the Russian people of that intelligence which up to then had created and guaranteed their existence as a state. For the organization of a Russian State was not the result of political abilities of the Slavic race in Russia, but rather a wonderful example of the state-forming efficacy of the Germanic element in an inferior race. Numerous powerful empires on the earth have thus been created. Inferior peoples with Germanic organizers and masters as their leaders have more than once grown into huge states, which remained in existence as long as the racial nucleus of the forming state-race stayed alive.

For centuries Russia has fed on this Germanic nucleus of her leading upper classes. Today it can be regarded as almost entirely exterminated and wiped out. The Jew has taken its place. Just as impossible it is for the Russian to shake off the Jewish yoke by his own strength, it is impossible for the Jew to maintain the huge Empire permanently. He himself does not constitute an element of organization but a ferment of decomposition. The gigantic Empire in the East is ripe for collapse. And the end of Jewish domination in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state. We have been selected by Fate to become the witnesses of a catastrophe that will be the strongest confirmation of the correctness of the national race theory.

Our task, however, the mission of the National-Socialist movement, is to bring our people to such a political insight that they do not see their future aim fulfilled by the intoxicating impression of a new Alexander's campaign but rather by the industrious work of the German plough, for which only the sword must provide the soil.

It goes without saying that Jewry proclaims its most violent opposition against such a policy. It feels more than anyone else the significance of such an action for its own future. This fact more than any other should impress all really nationally-minded men with the accuracy of such a new orientation. Unfortunately, just the opposite is the case. Not only in German national, but even in race-conscious circles, the most bitter war is declared upon the idea of such an Eastern policy, at which occasion, as is most always the case, one refers to one who is greater. Bismarck's spirit is cited, in order to justify a policy which is just as absurd as it is impossible, and most harmful for the German nation. They claim that Bismarck himself during his time had always laid great stress upon the maintenance of good relationships with Russia. That is correct with certain reservations. Yet they completely forget to mention that he laid just as great stress upon good relationship with Italy, for example, yes, that the same Herr von Bismarck even made an alliance with Italy in order to be the

better able to settle with Austria. Why do they not continue *that* policy, too? They will say "Because Italy of today is no longer the Italy of those days." All right, Then, honorable sirs, permit me to raise the objection, that the Russia of today, also, is no longer the Russia of those days. It never once occurred to Bismarck to want to prescribe a permanent political course as a tactical principle. Here he was far too much master of the moment to want to tie himself down to such an extent. *The question, therefore, should not be: What has Bismarck done in his days? but: "What would he do today?"* This question is indeed more easy to answer. *His political insight would never have permitted him to unite with any state that is doomed to destruction.*

Moreover, Bismarck in his time regarded with mixed feelings the German colonial and trade policy since his primary concern was the consolidation and inner establishment by the surest methods of the State he had created. That was the sole reason that he welcomed the Russian support, which gave him a free hand in the West. Yet what was useful to Germany then would be harmful to her today.

As early as the years 1920-21 when the young National-Socialist movement was slowly brought into the foreground on the political horizon, and was here and there regarded as a German movement for independence, the Party was approached from various sides in the attempt to establish a certain connection between it and the *independence movements of other countries*. This was along the lines of the widely advocated "League of Oppressed Nations." In the main it was a question of representatives of certain Balkan states, also of those of Egypt and India, each of whom impressed me always as being a chattering busy-body without any actual backing. There were not few Germans, especially in the national camp, who allowed themselves to be dazzled by such puffed-up orientals and who immediately thought any no-account student a "representative" of India or Egypt. The people did not realize that most of these persons had no backing, nor had they been authorized by anyone to conclude any kind of a treaty with anyone, so that the practical result of all relations

to such elements was nil, unless one specially wants to put down the time wasted as a loss. I have always resisted such attempts. I not only had better things to do than to waste weeks with such fruitless "discussions," but deemed the whole thing to be useless, yes harmful, even if these representatives had been authorized by their respective nations.

It was already bad enough during times of peace that the German alliance policy, because of its lack of any aggressive intentions, had ended up in a defensive society of old, world-historically, pensioned off states. The alliance with Austria as well as that with Turkey was not very gratifying. While the greatest military and industrial states of the world united in an active aggressive League, they gathered a few old, impotent states and tried to confront an active world coalition with this rubbish doomed to destruction. Germany was bitterly repaid for this foreign political error. Yet this repayment seems not to have been bitter enough to prevent our eternal visionaries from falling post-haste into the same mistake, because it is not only absurd, but also disastrous to try to disarm the almighty victors by means of a "League of Oppressed Nations." It is disastrous because it diverts our nation again and again from the actual possibilities, so that, instead, it gives itself up to fantastic, though fruitless hopes and illusions. The German of today really resembles the drowning person who grasps at every straw. At the same time they may be otherwise very intelligent people. Just as soon as a ray of hope, be it ever so illusive, can be seen, these people immediately put themselves into a trot and pursue that phantom. No matter whether it be a League of Oppressed Nations, a League of Nations, or any other kind of a fantastic invention, it will, nevertheless, find many thousand believing souls.

I still remember the childish as well as incomprehensible hopes which suddenly arose in the years of 1920-21 in Nationalist circles that England was supposed to be on the verge of a collapse in India. Some Asiatic charlatans, perhaps, for all I care, real "fighters for the independence of India," who were loitering about in Europe at the time, had succeeded in filling even the

minds of otherwise quite sensible people with the erroneous idea that the British world-Empire was just about to collapse in that very India where she has her cardinal point. Of course, it never occurred to them that in this case too their own desire was the father of all thoughts. Nor did they see the absurdity of their own hopes. For when they expect that the collapse of English rule in India will lead to the end of the British world Empire and British power, then they admit themselves that even India is indeed of most eminent importance for England.

This most vital question very likely is not known only to a German populist prophet, but presumably also to the leaders of English history. It is really childish to assume that in England they do not know how to estimate the value of the Indian Empire for the British world Union. It is only a bad sign of the absolute refusal to learn a lesson from the World War, and of the complete misunderstanding of and blindness toward Anglo-Saxon resolution, when one imagines that England, without doing her utmost, would let India go. Furthermore it is proof of the German unsuspectingness of the methods of British penetration and administration used in that Empire. *England will lose India only in the event that she herself falls prey in her own administrative machine to racial decomposition*, (a case that is not at all probable in India at the time), *or in case it is subdued by the sword of a powerful enemy*. Indian agitators will never succeed in doing this. How hard it is to subdue England, we Germans have amply experienced. Apart from this, I as a member of the Germanic race, in spite of everything else, would prefer to see India under English rule than under any other.

The hopes for the mythical uprising in Egypt are just as miserable. The "Holy War" can give the uncanny, yet pleasant sensation to our German *Schafkopf* players [a game of cards], that now others are willing to shed their blood for us—for this cowardly speculation has, to be true, always been the silent father of such hopes, in reality it would come to a hellish end under the concentrated fire of English machinegun companies and under the hail of *Brisanz* bombs.

It is simply impossible to attack with a coalition of cripples a powerful state that is firmly determined to risk its last drop of blood for the sake of its existence. As a nationalist who knows how to evaluate humanity according to its racial foundations, I cannot link the fate of my own nation with that of the so-called "suppressed nations" which I recognize to be racially inferior.

X We must take the very same position today in regard to Russia. Russia, which at present has been stripped of its Germanic upper stratum, is no ally in the struggle for the independence of the German nation, aside from all real intentions of her new masters. *From a purely military standpoint the situation would be disastrous in the case of a war of Germany and Russia against Western Europe, and probably against the rest of the whole world. The fighting would not take place on Russian but on German territory, while Germany could receive no efficacious support from Russia.* The armed power of the present German Reich is so pitiable and so inadequate for a foreign war, that no border protection against the West of Europe, including England, could be carried out, and even the German industrial territory would be exposed to the concentrated aggressive weapons of our enemies, without our possessing any means of self-defense. Another fact is that between Germany and Russia lies the Polish State which is entirely in French hands. In the event of a war of Germany and Russia against Western Europe, Russia would first have to subject Poland in order to bring the first soldier to a German front. In reality, however, it is not so much a question of soldiers as of technical armaments. In this respect the conditions of the World War would be repeated, only to a much more terrible extent. Just as German industry was tapped at that time for our notorious allies, and Germany had to bear the burden of the technical warfare all by herself, likewise in this combat Russia would play no part as a technical factor. We would have hardly any means of opposing the general motorization of the world which will be an overwhelmingly decisive factor in the next war. For Germany not only has remained disgracefully far behind, even in this most important field, but from what little she has

herself, she would in addition have to support Russia, which even today does not own a single factory in which an actually running automobile can be manufactured. Such a combat would then have the character of nothing but a massacre. The youth of Germany would bleed to death even more than formerly, for the burden of the combat would lie only on us, as it always does, and the result would be unavoidable defeat.

Even in case a miracle would happen, and such a combat would not end with the utter destruction of Germany, the final result would just the same be—bled to death, Germany would afterwards, just as before, remain surrounded by large military states without, therefore, having changed her actual condition in the least.

It is useless to object that when talking of an alliance with Russia one need not immediately think of war, or that if so, one could thoroughly prepare oneself for it. No. *An alliance whose goal does not embrace the purpose of a war is foolish and valueless.* Alliances are made solely for the purpose of battle. Even though the controversy be ever so far removed from the time of the formation of an alliance, the expectation of a war complication is nevertheless its fundamental motivation. One need not think that perhaps some other power would understand such an alliance differently. Either a German-Russian alliance would merely take place on paper, in which case it would be neither of purpose nor value for us, or it would be transferred from the letter of the treaty into visible actuality—and the rest of the world would be warned. How naive, to think that England and France, in such a case, would wait a decade until the German-Russian alliance would have completed its technical preparations for war. No, the storm would break out over Germany with lightning rapidity.

Thus, indeed, in the formation of an alliance with Russia lies the direction for the next war. Its result would be the end of Germany.

In addition we must consider that:

1. *The present rulers of Russia have not the least intention of*

entering into an alliance in an honorable fashion, or even of keeping it.

We must not forget that the rulers of the present Russia are low, blood-stained criminals, that here we are concerned with the scum of humanity, which, when favored by circumstance in a tragic hour overran a large state, killed and rooted out millions of its leading intelligentsia in a wild thirst for blood, and which now for almost ten years has exercised the most cruel rule of tyranny of all times. We must not forget, either, that these rulers belong to a people that possesses the rare combination of bestial cruelty and an incomprehensible adroitness in lying, a people that today more than ever before feels itself called upon to impose its bloody suppression upon the whole world. We must not forget that the international Jew who completely dominates Russia to-day does not see an ally in Germany, but rather a state destined to a similar fate. *But one does not form an alliance with a partner whose only interest is the destruction of the other.* Above all one does not form it with creatures to whom no contract would seem holy, since they do not live on this world as representatives of honor and truth but as representatives of untruth, deceit, stealing, plundering and robbing. If man believes himself capable of entering an agreement by contract with parasites, then it is similar to the attempt of a tree to make an agreement in its own favor with a mistletoe.

✕ 2. *The danger to which Russia once succumbed is constantly hanging before Germany.* Only a bourgeois simpleton is capable of imagining that Bolshevism has been banned. In his superficial thinking he does not at all realize that this is an act of instinct, *i. e.* the striving after world dominion of the Jewish nation, a phenomenon that is just as natural as the urge of the Anglo-Saxon to put himself into the possession of dominion of this earth. And just as the Anglo-Saxon pursues this course in his own way and fights the battle with his own weapons, just so, also, does the Jew. He goes his own way, the way of sneaking into nations and of undermining their inner structure; he fights with his weapons, with falsehood and slander, poisoning and decomposition, inten-

sifying the battle to the bloody extermination of his hated opponent. *Russian Bolshevism represents the twentieth century attempt of the Jews to gain world-dominion*, just as at other times, they tried by different, though closely related means to attain the same goal.

His aspiration is too deeply rooted in his nature. Just as little as another nation would voluntarily desist from following the impulse to expand its own kind and power, but is rather forced to do so by outside exigencies, or through signs of old age becomes a prey to impotence, just as little will the Jew voluntarily renounce his way to world dictatorship by simply suppressing his eternal urge. He too will be thrown back in his course either by powers lying outside of himself or all his strivings for world dominion expire with his own death. The impotence of the nations, their own death of old age, is indeed caused by the surrender of their racial blood purity. And that the Jew deserves better than any other nation of the world. Accordingly he continues in his disastrous way until another power confronts him and in a huge struggle throws the assailant of heaven back again to Lucifer.

Today Germany is the next great objective of Bolshevism. All the strength of a young missionary idea is needed in order to rescue our nation once more from the entanglement of the international snake and to stem the putrefaction of our blood at home, in order to be able to make use of the powers thus set free for the safeguarding of our nation, powers which are able to prevent repetition of the last catastrophes up into the most remote times. If we pursue this goal, it is folly to unite ourselves with a power that is ruled by the deadly enemy of our own future. How can we free our own nation from the enchainment of this venomous embrace if we walk into it ourselves? How can it be made clear to the German worker that Bolshevism is a damnable crime against humanity, when we ally ourselves with the organizations of this fiendish scheme, thus acknowledging it on a large scale? With what right can we then condemn the member of the broad masses because of his sympathy for a world philosophy, when the leaders

of the State themselves choose the representatives of this world-concept as an ally?

The struggle against the Bolshevizing of the world by the Jew necessitates a clear attitude towards Russia. Satan cannot be driven out by Belzebub.

If even nationalist circles today are enthusiastic at the thought of an alliance with Russia, they only have to look around in Germany and realize whose support they have. Or do nationalists of late regard an action, recommended and fostered by the international press of the Marxist, as beneficial to the German nation? Since when do nationalist champions fight with a suit of armor which the Jew as armor-bearer holds out to us?

One main reproach could be made against the old German Reich in respect to its policy of alliances, i.e. that it ruined its relations toward all because it constantly swayed back and forth in the unsound weakness of wanting to preserve world peace at all cost. One thing, however, it could not be reproached with, that it no longer kept up its good relationship with Russia.

I admit frankly that even before the time of the World War I would have deemed it wiser if Germany had renounced her foolish colonial policy, had renounced her commercial and naval fleet, and had allied herself with England against Russia, and had thus gone over from a weak international policy to a definite European policy of continental territorial conquest.

I do not forget the continual insolent threats which the former Pan-Slavic Russia dared to make against Germany; I do not forget the continual practice mobilizations which were intended solely to provoke Germany; I cannot forget the attitude of public opinion in Russia which even before the war excelled in hateful attacks against our nation and Reich, nor can I forget the great Russian press which was always more enthusiastic about France than about us.

Nevertheless there would still have been a second way before the war: we might have leaned upon Russia in order to direct our attack against England.

Today conditions are different. Even if, choking down all

kinds of feelings, we might have been able to side with Russia before the war, we no longer can do that today. Since that time the hand of the world clock has moved on and with powerful strokes it announces to us that hour in which the fate of our nation must be decided in one way or another. The consolidation in which the large states of the world are participating at the present time is a last warning signal for us to put a stop to it all and to bring our people back out of the dream world into stern reality, and to point out the way into the future which alone will lead the old Reich to a new era of prosperity.

If, with regard to this grand and most important task, the National-Socialist movement will free itself of all illusions and accept reason as its sole guide, the catastrophe of the year 1918 may hereafter become an infinite blessing for the future of our people. Out of this wreckage our nation can arrive at a complete reorientation of its foreign policy, and further, definitely stabilize its foreign policy after having been strengthened by its new world-concept at home. At such a time it can finally obtain that which England possesses and which even Russia once possessed and that which enabled France again and again to make the same, and for her interests, always correct decisions, namely: *A political Testament.*

The political Testament of the German nation regarding its foreign policy shall and must always contain the following idea:

Never allow the formation of two continental powers in Europe. Regard as an attack against Germany every attempt to organize a second military power on the German borders, even if it be only in form of the formation of a state with potential military powers, and consider it not only a right, but also a duty to prevent it with all means, even to the extent of using arms, the formation of such a state or to destroy it, should it already have come into existence. Take care that the strength of our people maintains its basis not in colonies, but in the soil of the homeland, in Europe. Never regard the Reich as being secure as long as it is not able to guarantee every individual descendant of our people his own piece of land and soil for centuries to come. Never forget

that the holiest right on this earth is the right to the soil which one wants to till oneself, and that the holiest sacrifice is the blood which one sheds for this soil.

I will not end these deliberations, without having again pointed out the only possibility for an alliance that exists for us in Europe today. In the previous chapter on the problem on German alliances I have already named England and Italy as the only two states in Europe with which a closer relationship would be worthwhile for us to strive after and which also promises success. I will here only briefly touch upon the *military* importance of such an alliance.

The military results of the settlement of this alliance, if perfected, would be altogether opposite to those of an alliance with Russia. Of greatest importance is, first, *the fact that a closer relation with England and Italy does in itself in no way bring on the danger of a war.* The only power that might take an attitude against the alliance, France, would not be in a position to do so. *Thus the alliance would give Germany the possibility of making, in perfect quiet, all those preparations that would have to be made within the frame of such a coalition one way or the other, in order to settle the account with France.* For the significance of such a coalition lies in the very fact that, with its settlement, Germany would not suddenly be exposed to a hostile invasion, but that with the enemy alliance itself broken (to which we owe so very much of our misfortune) the Entente itself is dissolved, *thus isolating France, the deadly enemy of our people.* Even though this success would at first only have a moral result, it would suffice to give to Germany today a hardly imaginable amount of freedom of action. *For the rule of action would lie in the hands of the new European Anglo-German-Italian alliance and not any longer with France.*

As a further result, Germany would all of a sudden be freed from her unfortunate strategic position. A powerful flank protection on the one hand, and the complete protection of our supply of provisions and raw materials on the other hand would

be the beneficial effect of the new political order.

But even more important would be the fact that the new coalition would be comprised of states which, in many respects, would almost supplement each other in regard to their technical efficiency. For the first time Germany would have allies who would not like leeches suck on our own economic system, but who, instead, could and would contribute in a rich measure to the completion of our technical armament.

Another and last fact must not be overlooked, namely that in both cases we would deal with allies who cannot be compared with Turkey or present Russia. *The greatest world power on earth and a young national state would offer a different basis for a battle in Europe from that offered by the decaying state corpses with whom Germany was allied in the last war.*

I have already pointed out in the previous chapter the great difficulties standing in the way of such an alliance. However, was the making of the Entente any less difficult? *What the ingenuity of King Edward VIII succeeded in doing, partly almost in opposition to natural interests, we too must and shall succeed in, if the knowledge of the necessity of some such development inspires us to such an extent as to determine accordingly our own action with wise self-control.* This will be possible the very moment that we, conscious of the impending need, choose one single, methodical road and stay on it, instead of the aimlessness of our foreign policy in the last decades. *Neither East nor West orientation must be the future aim of our foreign policy, but rather an Eastern policy in the sense of acquiring the necessary farmland for our German people. Since for this we need power, and since the deadly enemy of our people, France, is mercilessly choking us and robbing us of our power, we have to bring every sacrifice that in its result is capable of contributing to the destruction of French aspirations for a hegemony in Europe. Today every power is our natural ally which, like us, feels that France's lust for dominion on the continent is unbearable. No road to such a power must seem too difficult to us, no renunciation must appear to us to be unutterable, if only the final result offers the possibility of the over*

throw of our most fierce enemy. Then we can quietly leave to the mitigating effects of time the healing of our smaller wounds after we have been able to cauterize and heal the biggest one.

Of course today we are up against the hateful baying of our enemies of our nation at home. But never let us National-Socialists be disconcerted because of this in proclaiming that which is absolutely necessary, according to our inherent conviction. It is true that today we must brave the current of public opinion, misled through the exploitation of German thoughtlessness by Jewish cunning; it is true that sometimes the waves around us roar fiercely and angrily; but anyone who swims with the current is more easily overlooked than the one who stems the flowing waters. Today we are but a rock, in only a few years Fate may elevate us to the position of a dam, whereby the general current is broken up in order to give the river a new bed.

Therefore it is necessary that the National-Socialist movement particularly is recognized and established in the eyes of the rest of the world as the representative of a definite, political idea. *Whatever Heaven's purpose with us may be, people must know us even by our visor.*

As soon as we ourselves recognize the great need by which our actions in foreign policy must be determined, from this knowledge will flow the power of persistence which we often greatly need, when one or the other of us, under the continuous fire of the hostile pack of dogs of the press, becomes somewhat scared, and when he then feels a slight inclination to make concessions here and there, and to howl with the wolves so as not to have everything against him.

15. SELF-DEFENSE AS A RIGHT

IN NOVEMBER 1918, at the time when we laid down our arms, a policy was entered upon which according to all human foresight would lead gradually to complete submission. Historical examples of similar nature show that peoples who first lay down their arms without having the most urgent reasons prefer, in the time to come, to accept the greatest humiliations and extortions rather than to seek a change of their fate by means of a renewed appeal to force.

Humanly speaking this is easily understood. A clever victor will always, if possible, impose his demands in parts upon the vanquished. He may count on it that a nation which has lost its firmness of character—and that is true of every nation which subjects itself voluntarily—will no more see sufficient ground in each one of these separate acts of oppression to take up arms once more. The more such extortions are voluntarily accepted, the more unjustifiable it appears to the people to resist finally because of a new, seemingly single but ever repeated oppression, especially when, counting all in all, they have silently borne so much more and greater misery.

The downfall of Carthage is the terrible demonstration of such a slow execution of a people brought about by its own fault.

In his *Three Confessions* Clausewitz, therefore, emphasizes in an incomparable manner this thought and immortalizes it when he says:

“The blot of a cowardly submission can never be wiped out. This drop of poison in the blood of a people is transmitted to posterity and will paralyze and undermine the strength of future generations;” that on the other hand, “even the destruction of

this freedom after a bloody and honorable struggle assures the rebirth of a nation; it is the essence of life from which a new tree is sure to take root sometime in the future."

Of course, a nation that has lost its honor and character will not be concerned with such doctrine. Whoever takes it to heart can never sink so low; only he who forgets or no longer wants to know it can thus break down. Therefore one cannot expect that those responsible for a characterless submission will suddenly repent and act differently than heretofore on the basis of logic and human experience. On the contrary, it is these people who will repel all such doctrine until either the people have become accustomed to their enslavement or until better forces appear to take away the power from the hands of the infamous corrupter. In the first place these people do not seem to feel very miserable since not infrequently they are assigned the duty of slave overseers by the clever victors; these characterless natures usually exercise this office much more unmercifully over their own people than any foreign brute put into office by the enemy.

The development since 1918 shows that in Germany the hope to be able to gain the favor of the victors through voluntary subjection unfortunately determines in a fateful manner the political understanding and the actions of the wide masses. Therefore I would like to lay special emphasis upon the word *wide masses*, since I am not of the conviction that all actions by the leaders of our people are to be ascribed to the same ruinous delusion. Since after the termination of the war the direction of our fate, as is now very obvious, lies in the hands of Jews, one cannot possibly assume that only a faulty knowledge is the cause of our misfortune; on the contrary, one must be convinced that a powerful intention is destroying our people. As soon as one examines the seeming madness of the foreign policy of the leaders of our people from this point of view, it reveals itself as the most cunning, ice-cold logic, in the service of the Jewish thought and struggle for world conquest.

Thus it becomes comprehensible even that the same span of time, which from 1806 until 1813 had been sufficient to fill the

totally collapsed Prussia with new energy and a readiness to fight, has today elapsed, not only without having made use of, but in fact has led to an ever increasing weakening of our state.

Seven years after November 1918 the Treaty of Locarno was signed!

The succession of events has already been noted above: As soon as the disgraceful Armistice had been signed, no one had either the energy or the courage to suddenly oppose the oppressive measures taken again and again later on by the enemies. They, however, were too clever to ask for too much at any one time. They always limited their extortions to the degree which, according to their own opinion—and that of our German leadership—would for a moment be just bearable enough so that one did not need to be afraid of an explosion of public opinion because of it. The more of these single dictates that had been signed and choked down, the less it seemed justifiable that against one single additional extortion or demanded degradation one would suddenly do that which had not been done against the many previous ones: offer resistance. This is the very “drop of poison” of which Clausewitz says: the first committed deed of characterlessness which is bound to grow and which gradually, as its worst heritage, encumbers every future decision. This lack of character may become an awful handicap which a people can hardly shake off and which ultimately pulls them down to the existence of a race of slaves.

In Germany too, disarmament and enslavement edicts, political disarming and economic robbery alternated and finally produced that moral spirit which is able to see a blessing in the Dawes Plan and a success in the Treaty of Locarno. When viewing it from a higher standpoint one can speak of a single good fortune in this lamentable situation, the good fortune that they may have been able to dupe men, but were unable to bribe heaven. For the blessing of heaven failed to come: Misery and care have since become the steady companions of our people and misery is our only true ally. Fate has not made an exception in this instance, but gave us what we deserved. Since we no longer

know how to value honor, this teaches us at least to value freedom in connection with bread. People have already learned to cry for bread but some day they will learn to pray for freedom.

Just as bitter and as evident as the collapse of our people was in the years after 1918, just as determinedly was everyone violently persecute just at that time who dared to prophecy what in each case did take place later. As miserable as the leadership of our people was, it was conceited to the same degree, especially at such times when it was the question of the removal of disagreeable and therefore undesirable monitors. At that time it was likely to happen (and it is even happening today!) that the greatest parliamentary blockheads, genuine members of the saddler and glover's guild, not only in regard to their profession — which would not mean anything — would suddenly be elevated to the pedestal of a statesman, to rebuke the ordinary mortals from their lofty heights. It made and makes no difference that after six months of his craftsmanship such a "statesman" is generally unmasked as the most miserable good-for-nothing and showered with scorn and ridicule by the rest of the world. By this time he is at the end of his wits, not knowing what to do next, and has given definite proof of his complete incompetency! No, that makes no difference, on the contrary: the more these parliamentary statesmen of this Republic lack real accomplishments, the more furiously they persecute those who expect accomplishments from them, and those who have the audacity to reveal the failure of their activities and to predict their future failure. But if one has definitely cornered such a parliamentary gentleman and if such a political reformer is then no longer able to deny the collapse of all his activities and their results, then they find thousands and thousands of reasons to excuse their failures; only one reason they will not admit, that they themselves are the principal cause of all evil.

During the winter 1922-23 at the latest it should have been generally realized that even after the conclusion of peace France was still striving with an iron determination to reach her original

war aims. No one will believe that France during the most decisive struggle of her history had risked for four and a half years the rather meagre blood of her people simply in order to have restored to them through reparations what had previously been damaged. Even Alsace-Lorraine alone would not account for the energy of the French war tactics if it had not been a part of the really large political future program of the French foreign policy. But this goal is: dissolution of Germany into a hodge-podge of small states. That was what chauvinistic France fought for: but in so doing she really sold her people to be bondsmen of the international world Jewry.

This French war goal could have been reached by the war alone, if, as they had hoped in Paris at the outset, the war had been fought on German soil. Let us suppose that the bloody battles of the World War had not been fought on the Somme, in Flanders, in the Artois, near Warsaw, Nishnij Novgorod, Kowno, Riga and wherever else, but had instead been fought in Germany, on the Ruhr and on the Main, on the Elbe, near Hanover, Leipzig, Nuernberg, etc.; then one can readily realize that the possibility of a complete destruction of Germany would have been at hand. It is very doubtful whether or not our young federated State would have endured the same burdensome ordeal for four and a half years as did France, which had been rigidly centralized for centuries and looked only to the indisputable center, Paris. The fact that this huge struggle of the nations took place outside the boundaries of our Fatherland was not only to the merit of the unsurpassed old army but also the greatest piece of good fortune for the future of Germany. It is my unshakable conviction, which sometimes causes me great anguish, that in the opposite case the German Reich would long since have ceased to exist, and today nothing but "German states" would have remained. This is the only reason why the blood of our friends and brothers who have died on the battlefield has not altogether been shed in vain.

It turned out altogether differently! Germany did indeed collapse with lightning rapidity in November, 1918. Yet, when the

catastrophe occurred at home, the armies of the soldiers at the front were still deep in enemy country. France's foremost care at that time was not the disintegration of Germany, but rather how to rid France and Belgium as quickly as possible of the German armies. Hence, the first task of the Parisian political leaders to terminate the World War was to disarm the German armies and to force them as quickly as possible back into Germany, and not until after that had been achieved could they devote themselves to the accomplishments of their original and actual war aim. In this, however, France had already been venders impotent. For England the war had been terminated successfully after Germany had been destroyed as a colonial and commercial power and after she had been reduced to the rank of a secondary power. She not only had no interest in destroying the German State completely, but she had every reason to wish for a future rival of France in Europe. Thus the French policy had to resolutely continue in times of peace what the war had commenced and now Clemenceau's declaration that, as far as he was concerned, peace was merely a continuation of the war became of greater significance.

Continually, at each provocation, the structure of the Reich had to be shaken. In Paris one hoped to gradually break up the Reich's structure by the imposition of ever new disarmament demands on the one hand, and on the other hand, by the economic extortions rendered possible thereby. The more national honor died out in Germany, the sooner economic pressure and everlasting need could lead to politically destructive results. Such a policy of political suppression and economic robbery, pursued for a period of ten or twenty years, would have ruined even the best state and eventually dissolve it. Thus the ultimate war goal of the French would have been reached.

This must have been recognized long before the winter of 1922-23 as being France's intentions. With that, however, there remained only two possibilities: One could hope either to wear out the will of the French by means of the tenacity of German people, or to finally do that which in any case must eventually

take place, namely, turn the helm of the Reich's ship during some especially drastic situation and turn the rammer against the enemy. This would, of course, mean a struggle for life and death and yet a chance for life would exist only in case one succeeded beforehand in isolating France to such an extent that this second conflict would no longer be a struggle of Germany against the world, but a defense of Germany against France which was continually disturbing the world and her peace.

I emphasize it and I am firmly convinced that this second case shall have to and will happen in some way or other. I shall never believe that the intentions of France regarding us will ever change; because they are after all rooted deeply in the thought for self-preservation of the French nation. Were I myself a Frenchman and were the greatness of France as dear to me as the greatness of Germany is sacred to me, then I too could and would not act differently than a Clemenceau did in the end. The French race which is gradually dying out, not only in respect to the size of her population, but more so in regard to her best racial elements, can retain her world importance for any length of time only through the destruction of Germany. French policy may pursue thousand roundabout ways, somewhere at the end this goal will always exist as the fulfilment of the greatest desires and deepest longing. It is incorrect to believe that a purely *passive* will, one that wants to preserve only itself, can for any great length of time withstand a not less powerful and *actively* progressing will. *The everlasting conflict between Germany and France will never be decided as long as it consists merely of a German defense against French aggression, but century after century Germany will lose one position after another.* If one studies the change of the German language frontier from the twelfth century up to the present time, one will hardly trust any longer in an attitude and a development which up to this time has inflicted so much harm upon us.

Not until this is fully realized in Germany, to the extent that we will cease to let the German nation's will-to-live degenerate into a mere passive defense, but rather concentrate this will upon

a final active dispute with France and use it in a last decisive battle to reach the greatest ultimate goals for Germany; not until such a time will we be able to terminate the eternal and in itself fruitless struggle between us and France; under the condition, to be sure, that in the destruction of France Germany really sees only a means finally to give to our people the possibility to expand elsewhere. Today there are eighty million Germans in Europe! Not until then will such a foreign policy be appreciated, when, after scarcely one hundred years, there will live two hundred and fifty million Germans on this continent, not crowded together like factory coolies of the other world, but: as farmers and workers who by their labors give each other mutual assistance to gain a livelihood.

In December 1922 the friction between Germany and France had again reached a dangerous peak. France was intending new immense extortions and needed pledges. Political pressure had to precede the economic robbery and only a bold cut into the nerve center of our whole German life seemed to the French to be sufficient in order to put this obstinate people under a heavier yoke. It was hoped in France that the *occupation of the Ruhr territory* would not only definitely break Germany's back-bone, but that it would also force us into such an economic position that we would be forced to accept any obligations even the heaviest, whether we wanted it or not.

It was a matter of bending or breaking. And Germany bent at the very beginning, only to break completely at the end.

With the occupation of the Ruhr, Fate once more lent Germany a hand, offering her an opportunity to rise again. For what at first consideration was bound to look like a terrible misfortune, proved upon closer examination to be the greatly promising possibility for the termination of all German sufferings.

The occupation of the Ruhr had for the first time really deeply estranged England from France in foreign policy, and not only British diplomatic circles which had looked at and entered upon this alliance and maintained it only with sober eyes and cold-blooded calculation, but also the most extended circles of the

English people. The English business world especially, felt with ill concealed resentment this great additional continental strengthening of France's power. For aside from the fact that looking at France from a military-political standpoint, she now occupied a position in Europe which not even Germany had enjoyed previously, she also gained economic support which almost made its political competitive ability economically a monopoly. The greatest iron and coal mines in Europe were now placed into the hands of a nation which, very much unlike Germany, had looked after her own interests in a decisive and active manner, a nation which reminded the world again of its military competency during the great war. France's occupation of the Ruhr deprived England of all her success gained in the war, and now the industrious and active British diplomacy was no longer the victor, but rather Marshal Foch and the France he represented.

The sentiment in Italy toward France which since the end of the war had not been exactly friendly, turned now into real hatred. It was the great historical moment when former allies might be future enemies. The fact that this did not happen and that the allies did not suddenly quarrel among each other, as it happened during the second Balkan War, is to be ascribed only to the further fact that Germany had no Enver Pasha, but merely a Chancellor Cuno.

In respect not only to Germany's future foreign but to her domestic policies, the invasion of the Ruhr territory by the French offered the greatest possibilities. A large part of our people which, due to the uninterrupted influence of its lying press, still regarded France to be the champion of progress and liberty, was suddenly cured of this delusion. Just as the year 1914 had banished all dreams of an international solidarity of nations from the minds of our German workers and had suddenly led them back into the world of eternal struggle, since everywhere one being nourishes upon another, and the death of the weaker means life for the stronger, so was the spring of 1923.

When the French carried out their threats and finally began to march into the German coal territory still with great caution and

hesitation at first, a decisive hour for Germany had struck. If our nation at this moment would combine a changing of its opinion with a change of her former attitude, then the German Ruhr territory might become for France a Napoleonic Moscow. *There were only two possibilities: Either one submitted to this also, and did nothing, or, with the eyes on the territory of the flaming smelting-furnaces and the smoking funnels, one created for the German nation a flaming desire to liberate itself of this eternal shame and be willing to take upon oneself the horrors of the moment rather than to endure the endless horror any longer.*

It was to the immortal merit of Chancellor Cuno, then in office, to have discovered a third way; and it was to the even more praiseworthy merit of the German bourgeois to have admired and followed him.

First I would like to examine the second way as briefly as possible:

With the occupation of the Ruhr, France, had become guilty of a notorious breach of the Treaty of Versailles. At the same time she placed herself in opposition to a number of guarantee powers, especially to England and Italy. France could no longer hope for any support for her own selfish raids from these powers. This adventure, for that is what it was at the beginning, had therefore to be satisfactorily liquidated by herself alone. For a German national government there was only one way, *i.e.* the one which honor prescribed. One thing was certain, one could not as yet actively oppose France by force of arms. It was necessary to realize that all negotiations without the backing of power would be ridiculous and fruitless. It was absurd to take the position: "We are not participating in any negotiation" without being able to offer active resistance. Yet it was much more absurd to negotiate anyway in the end without having created a power in the meantime.

This does not mean that it would have been possible to avert the occupation of the Ruhr territory *by military means*. Only a madman could advocate such a decision. Under the influence of this action of France and during the time of its execution, how-

ever, one could and should have been intent on securing (without taking the Treaty of Versailles into consideration, which France herself has torn to shreds) those military means which would later strengthen the hands of the negotiators. From the very beginning it was clear that some day, at some conference table, a decision would have to be made regarding this territory occupied by France. On the other hand one had to realize that even the best negotiators could attain but little success, as long as the ground upon which they stand, and the chair on which they sit, is not protected by their nation. A weak little cowardly tailor cannot dispute with athletes, and a powerless negotiator has always had to submit with good graces to seeing the sword of Brennus on the balance-scale of the enemy, if he did not have his own sword to throw in the balance. Or was it not really a pity to have to watch the negotiation-comedies, which since the year 1918 always preceded the respective dictates? This degrading spectacle which was presented to the whole world, while we were scornfully asked to come to the conference table in order, for the purpose of insulting us, to then present us with previously drawn-up decisions and programs which were nominally open to discussion, but which, from the very outset, had to be regarded as irrevocable. It is true that our negotiators were in hardly one single instance above the most conservative average, and justified usually only too well the insolent remark of Lloyd George, who had said scornfully in regard to the former German Secretary of State, Simon, "that the Germans did not understand how to elect men of intelligence as leaders and representatives." Yet even a genius would have attained but little in view of the decided will of the enemies and the pitiful defenselessness of his own nation.

Whoever in the spring of 1923 intended to use the occupation of the Ruhr by France as a pretext for the reconstruction of military power would first of all have to supply the nation with spiritual weapons, strengthen its willpower and destroy those who intended to disintegrate this most valuable national power.

The fact that they neglected in 1914 and 1915 to crush the

Marxist serpent once and for all had to be paid for with blood in 1918, so in the same way the most dire results were bound to come if advantage was not taken of the opportunity which presented itself in the spring of 1923 to block the activities of the Marxist traitors and murderers of our nation.

Every thought of actual resistance against France was pure folly as long as one did not proclaim war against those powers that five years previously had broken German resistance on the battlefield from within. Only bourgeois elements could conceive the incredible idea that Marxism now might be different from what it used to be, and that these verminous would-be-leaders of the year 1918, who at that time stepped in cold blood upon two million dead in order to be better able to ascend the various government seats, would now in the year 1923 suddenly be ready to pay their tribute to the national conscience. What an incredible and really absurd thought, this hope that former national traitors should suddenly become defenders of German liberty! They never even thought of it! *Just as a hyena will not turn from a carcass, a Marxist will not turn from high treason.* One should refrain from making the most stupid objection, namely, that also many workers had once died for Germany. German workers, yes, but then they were no longer international Marxists. If in the year 1914 the German workers (*Arbeiterschaft*) had still consisted of convinced Marxists, then the war would have ended after three weeks. Germany would have collapsed, before even the first soldier had stepped across the border. No, the fact that Germany was still fighting at that time was proof that the Marxist delusion had not yet been able to penetrate the entire mind. To the same degree to which the German worker and German soldier returned to the hands of the Marxist leaders, to the same degree was he lost to the Fatherland. If at the beginning and during the war one had once kept twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people under poisonous gas, as hundreds of thousands of our very best German workers of all stations and occupations on the battlefield had to endure it, then the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain.

On the contrary: twelve thousand scoundrels, removed in time, might have saved a million real Germans of great value for the future. It was, however, a part of the bourgeois "art of statesmanship" to deliver millions to a bloody end on the battlefield without batting an eye, but to regard at the same time ten or twelve thousand traitors, parasites, usurers and swindlers as a valuable national sacred object and to declare them to be unimpeachable at the same time. One really does not know what is considered greater in this bourgeois world, woodenheadedness, weakness and cowardice, or a thoroughly corrupted sentiment. It is really a class destined by fate to perish, only it unfortunately drags a whole nation along with it into the abyss.

The very same situation that had existed in 1918, existed in the year 1923. Regardless of what kind of resistance one decided upon, the first condition was always the excretion of the Marxist poison from the body of our nation. And according to my conviction, at that time it was the first duty of a real National government to look for and find those forces that were determined to declare a war of destruction on Marxism, and to give these forces free reign; it was its duty not to worship the folly of "law and order" at a time when the foreign enemy dealt the most destructive blow to the Fatherland and treason lurked around every corner at home. No, a real nationalistic government at that time should have wished for unrest and disorder, if only under its confusion at last a final settlement with the Marxist arch-enemies of our nation would be possible and take place. If one did not do that, then every thought of resistance, no matter of what kind, was pure folly.

Such a settlement of real, world-historical importance does not take place, however, according to the scheme of some privy councillor or of an old withered state-minister's soul, but according to the eternal laws of life on this world which mean struggle for this life and which remain a struggle. One must realize that often out of the most bloody civil wars a sound national body, hard as steel, has sprung up, while from artificially fostered conditions of peace more often than once the foul odor of decay

reached up into heaven. The fates of nations are not changed with kid gloves. Therefore one had to proceed with the utmost brutal steps in 1923, in order to seize the rattlesnakes which were feeding on our national body. Not until succeeding with this would the preparation for active resistance have any sense whatever.

At that time I talked my throat hoarse again and again and tried to make clear, at least to the so-called national circles, what was at stake this time, and that mistakes like those of the year 1914 and the following years were bound to result in an end like that of 1918. I have asked them again and again to let fate take its free course, and to give our movement the possibility to come to a reckoning with Marxism; but I preached to deaf ears. They all seemed to know much better, including the Chief of the Defense Force, until finally they were confronted with the most miserable capitulation of all times.

At that time I became fully conscious of the fact that the German bourgeoisie had reached the end of its mission and had no further call to fulfil any task. At that time I saw that all these parties quarreled with Marxism only for competition's sake, without really wanting to wipe it out. They had long since become reconciled to the idea of the destruction of the Fatherland; the only thing that moved them was solely their great anxiety to be able to partake of the funeral repast. It is only for this that they are still "fighting."

During this period—I admit it frankly—I conceived the deepest admiration for the great man south of the Alps, whose fervent love for his people did not permit him to make pacts with Italy's domestic enemies, but who strove for their destruction through every possible method and means. The reason why Mussolini will be ranked among the great men of this world is his determination, not to share Italy with Marxism, but to save his Fatherland from it, by giving Internationalism over to destruction.

How pitifully small, in comparison seem our German would-be statesmen and how one must retch with nausea when these nonentities with the most direspectful conceit dare to criticize

the man who is a thousand times greater and how painful it is to think that this is happening in a country that scarcely a half a century ago could call a Bismarck its leader.—

With this attitude of the bourgeoisie and their sparing Marxism in 1923, one could easily predict the outcome of every armed resistance in the Ruhr territory. To fight against France, while having the deadly enemy in one's own ranks, was pure folly. Whatever else was done could at the most be only a make-believe fight a fight game staged in order to somewhat pacify the nationalistic element in Germany and to lull the "boiling soul of the nation," or rather to dupe it. Had they seriously believed in what they did, then they would have been bound to recognize the fact that the strength of a nation lies primarily not in its arms, but in its will, and that before one can conquer foreign enemies, the enemy within must first be annihilated; otherwise, woe, if victory does not crown the battle at the very first day. As soon as merely the shadow of a defeat passes over a nation which is not free from internal enemies, its resisting power is broken, and the opponent is bound to become the final victor.

This could easily be predicted as early as spring of 1923. It is useless to discuss whether or not there was any chance of a military success against France! Even if the French invasion of the Ruhr territory had resulted only in the destruction of Marxism in Germany due to German actions, that alone would have brought success on our side. A Germany, delivered from the deadly enemies of her existence and future, would possess powers which no world could ever strangle again. *The day in which Marxism is totally crushed in Germany marks, indeed, the complete shattering of her fetters.* For never in our history have we been conquered by the forces of our opponents, but it has always been a result of our own vices and by the enemy in our own camp.

Since the German state executives at that time were not able to pull themselves together for such a heroic action, they could as a matter of course have followed only the first road, *i.e.* to do nothing and let things take their own course.

At this momentous hour, however, Heaven gave the German nation a great man; Herr Cuno. He was not really a statesman or politician by profession, less so, of course, by birth, but he represented only a sort of political dummy whom one used only for the completion of certain tasks; otherwise he was more truly skilled in business. This politicizing merchant was a curse for Germany because he regarded politics also as an economic undertaking, and began to act accordingly.

"France occupied the Ruhr territory; what is to be found there? Coal. Was France therefore occupying the Ruhr territory for the sake of its coal? What thought would therefore seem more natural for Herr Cuno than the idea to strike, in order that the French could no longer get any coal, whereupon, according to the conception of Herr Cuno, they would certainly evacuate the Ruhr territory some day because the enterprise did not prove to be a paying one. This was the train of thought of this "outstanding" "national" "statesman" whom one permitted to speak to "his people" in Stuttgart and other places and whom this entire nation blissfully admired.

For a strike, of course, the Marxists were needed, since it were primarily the workers who had to strike. It was necessary to bring the worker into a unified front with all the other Germans (for the worker is always a Marxist in the brain of such a bourgeois statesman). One must really have seen the glowing of these bourgeois party-political mould cultures in response to such an inspired slogan! National and inspired at the same time, now they finally had found what they had been searching for all the time! The bridge to Marxism had been found; now it was possible for the national swindler to extend a respectable hand to the international traitor with a "genuinely German" mien and national phrases. And he grasped it immediately. For just as much as Cuno needed the Marxist leaders for his "unified front," the Marxist leaders needed Cuno's money. Thus both sides benefited. Cuno received his united front, built up of national babblers and anti-national scoundrels; the international swindlers were able to serve their most lofty fighting mission while in government pay;

i.e. they were able to destroy national economy, this time even at the expense of the government. An immortal thought, this idea of saving a nation by means of a paid general strike, but in any case it was a slogan which even the most indifferent ne'er-do-well could accept with the greatest enthusiasm.

Generally it is known that one does not liberate a nation through prayers. Whether or not it could be liberated by means of lazyness still had to be historically tested. If Herr Cuno at that time had only demanded two more hours of work from every German instead of calling a paid strike, thus making it the basis of the "united front," then the swindle of this "united front" would have been settled on the third day. Nations are not liberated by doing nothing, but by sacrifice.

This so-called passive resistance alone could not, however be maintained very long. Only a man completely ignorant of war tactics could imagine that an army of occupation could be driven out by such absurd means. That alone could have been the purpose of an action, the cost of which amounted to billions and which essentially aided in the total destruction of the national money exchange.

The French, of course, were able, to make themselves at home in the Ruhr territory with a certain calmness at the moment they saw resistance making use of such means. We ourselves had placed into their hands the best prescription for bringing a stubborn civilian population back to its senses, in case its activities seemed to seriously endanger the occupation authorities. Did we not nine years ago chase the Belgian guerrilla bands with lightning rapidity and make clear to the civilian population the seriousness of the situation, when the German armies were endangered by their activities? The moment the passive resistance in the Ruhr territory would really have become dangerous to France, the army of occupation could with greatest ease have put a gruesome end to this whole childish nonsense in less than a week's time. For this question always remains: What is to be done when the passive resistance finally does wear out the patience of an enemy and he begins to combat it with brutal brachial force?

Is one then ready to continue the resistance? If so, one has to willy-nilly take upon oneself the most severe and bloody persecutions. This is the same result as that of an active resistance, namely, the battle. For this reason every so-called passive resistance is only of any value, when it is backed up by a determination to continue this resistance by open war or by an under-cover guerrilla warfare. Generally speaking, every struggle of this kind will be dependent on the conviction of a possible success. Whenever a besieged fortress, fiercely attacked by the enemy, is forced to give up its last hope for help, it is in reality giving up itself, especially, when in such a case the defender is lured by the certainty of living instead of the probability of dying. Should one deprive the garrison of a besieged stronghold of the faith in a possible deliverance, all powers of resistance would break down at the very same instant.

Therefore a passive resistance at the Ruhr with the prospects of the final consequences to which it might and was bound to lead to, should it really be successful, would be of significance only if backed up by an active front. In that case the possibilities of doing something with our people would have been infinite. If each of these Westphalians had known that their Fatherland was putting up an army of eighty or one hundred divisions, the French would have been treading on thorns. There are always more courageous men ready to sacrifice themselves for success than for an evident futility.

It was a classic situation which forced us National-Socialists to take up the opposition with the sharpest weapons against a so-called national slogan. And we did this too. During these months I was not infrequently attacked by people whose total national convictions consisted only of a mixture of stupidity and fake, people who were all shouting with the others because they succumbed to the pleasant sensation of being suddenly able to act in national fashion without endangering themselves. I regarded this most miserable of all unified fronts as one of the most ridiculous of manifestations, and history has affirmed my views.

As soon as the trade unions had practically filled their treas-

uries with Cuno's contributions, and passive resistance came before the hour of the decision to change from a lazy defensive to an active offensive, the red hyenas instantly broke away from the national flock of sheep and became again what they had been all the time. Without much ado Herr Cuno sneaked off to his ships. Germany, however, had been enriched by an additional experience and deprived of a great hope.

Up to late mid-summer, many officers, and certainly not the worst among them, had never thought such a shameful development possible. They all had hoped, though perhaps not openly, but at least secretly, that preparations would be made to make this most brazen invasion of France a turning point in German history. Also in our ranks there were many who placed their trust at least in the army of the Reich. This conviction was so strong that it influenced the actions and especially the training of countless young people in a most decisive way.

When the appalling and disgraceful capitulation took place at the moment of the shameful collapse, after millions in wealth and many thousand young Germans had been sacrificed, Germans who had been stupid enough to take the promises of the Reich leaders seriously—a blazing revolt broke out against such a betrayal of our unhappy country. At that time in millions of people suddenly the conviction was bright and clear that only a radical removal of the whole ruling system could save Germany.

Never was the time as ripe, never did it cry for such a solution more emphatically than it did at this moment, when on the one hand undisguised treason clearly manifested itself, while on the other hand a nation had been left to gradual economic starvation. Since the State itself had trampled upon all laws of good faith, had scorned all the privileges of its citizens, had rendered valueless the sacrifices of millions of its most faithful sons, robbed millions of their last penny, it no longer had the right to expect anything but hatred from its subjects. This hatred against the corrupters of the nation and of the Fatherland was simply bound to explode. Here I can merely refer to the final sentence of my last speech at the great Trial in the spring of 1924:

"The judges of this State may, if they care to, condemn our actions, yet History, the goddess of a nobler truth and of a more perfect law, will some day smilingly tear up this judgment and free us from all blame and guilt."

She will, however, call also those before her tribunal who to-day, because they have the power, trample upon justice and law, who have led our people into suffering and misery, and who in the time of the Fatherland's humiliation loved themselves more than the life of the community.

I shall not describe here the events which led to and finally decided the development of the 8th of November, 1923. I do not care to do it because I expect nothing profitable for the future from it but primarily because it is useless to tear open wounds that scarcely seem to be healed; besides it is useless to talk about the guilt of people who deep down in their hearts perhaps after all clung with equal love to their nation, but who had only gone astray or did not recognize the common road.

In view of the great common calamity of our Fatherland neither I would not like to hurt more and deny, and thereby perhaps separate from us those, who some day in the future will have to form the big united front of all true Germans against the common front of the enemies of our nation. For I know the day will come when even those who once opposed us, will think respectfully of those who went the bitter way of death for the sake of the German nation.

These eighteen heroes to whom I dedicated the first volume of my work I want to present to the adherents and defenders of our doctrine as the heroes who knowingly sacrificed themselves for our sake. They must, as it were, call back again and again the fickle and weak to the fulfilment of his duty, a duty which they themselves fulfilled in good faith and to the last consequences. Among them I shall also count that man who as one of the best has dedicated his life to the awakening of his and our nation by his words and thoughts and finally by his acts:

Dietrich Eckart.

AFTERWORD

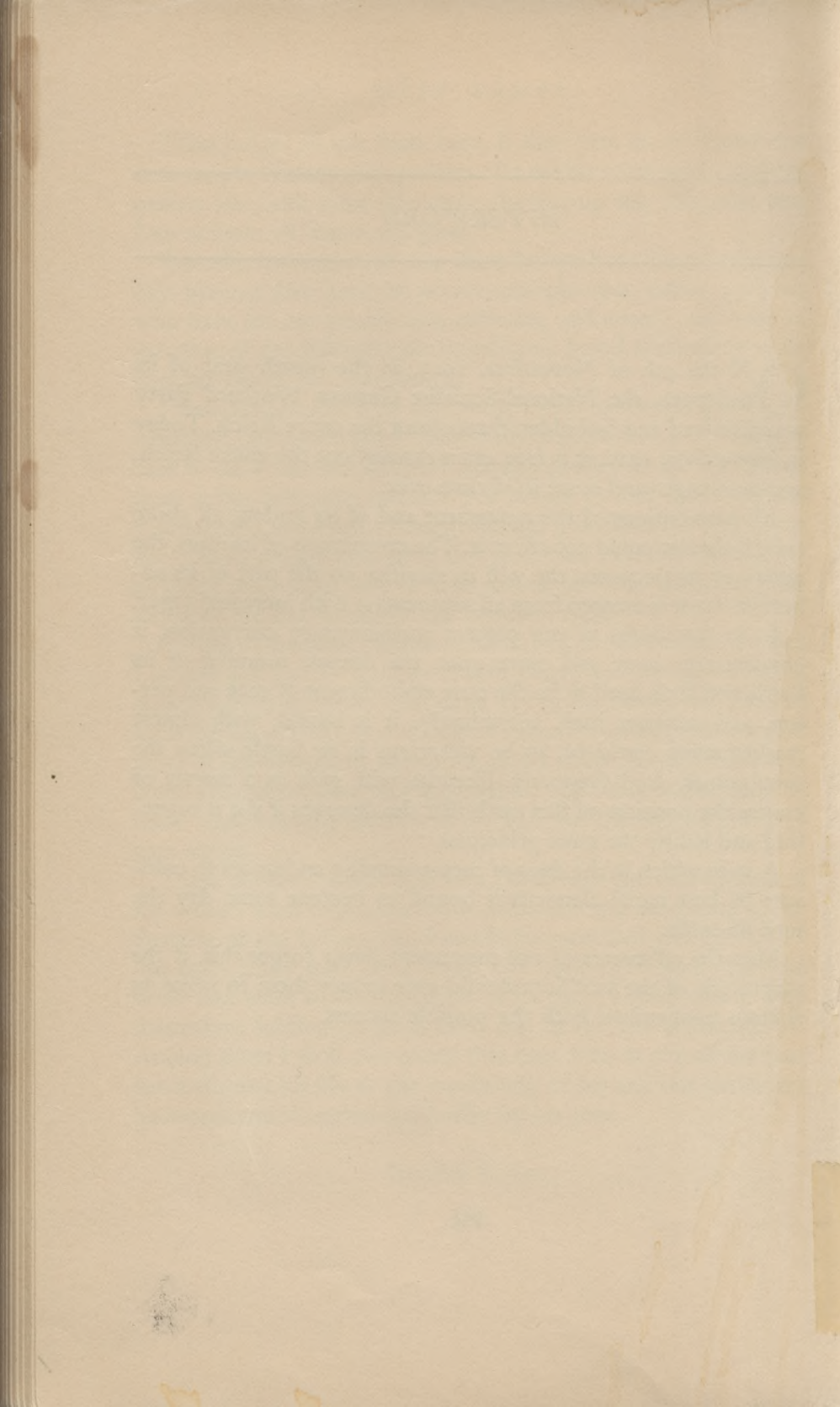
ON the 9th of November, 1923, in the fourth year of its existence, the National-Socialist German Workers' Party was dissolved and forbidden throughout the entire Reich. Today in November, 1926, it is free again throughout the entire Reich, and is stronger and more solid than ever.

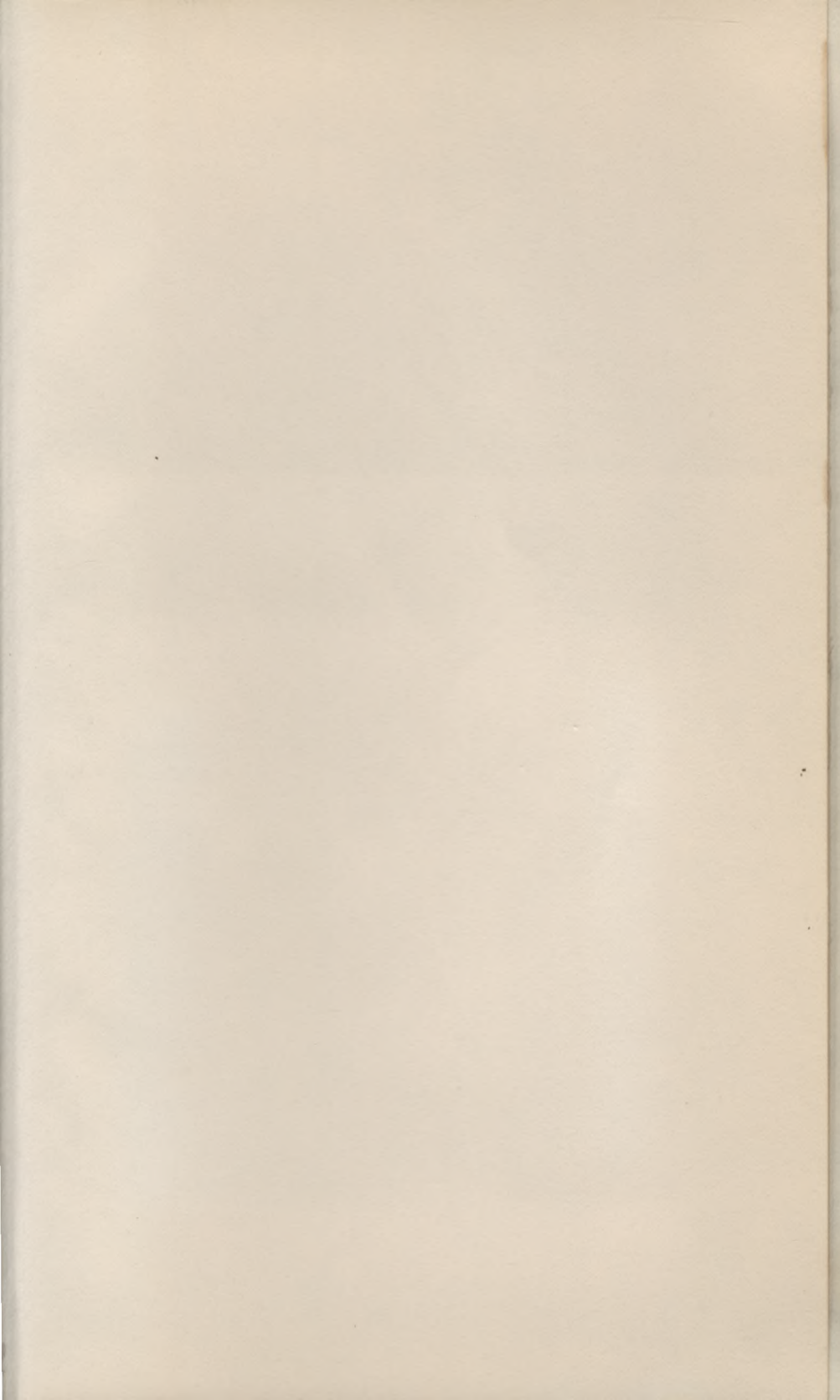
All persecutions of the movement and of its leaders, all abuse and all slander could not affect it. The correctness of its ideas, the purity of its purposes, the will to sacrifice on the part of its adherents made it emerge from all suppression with increased vigor.

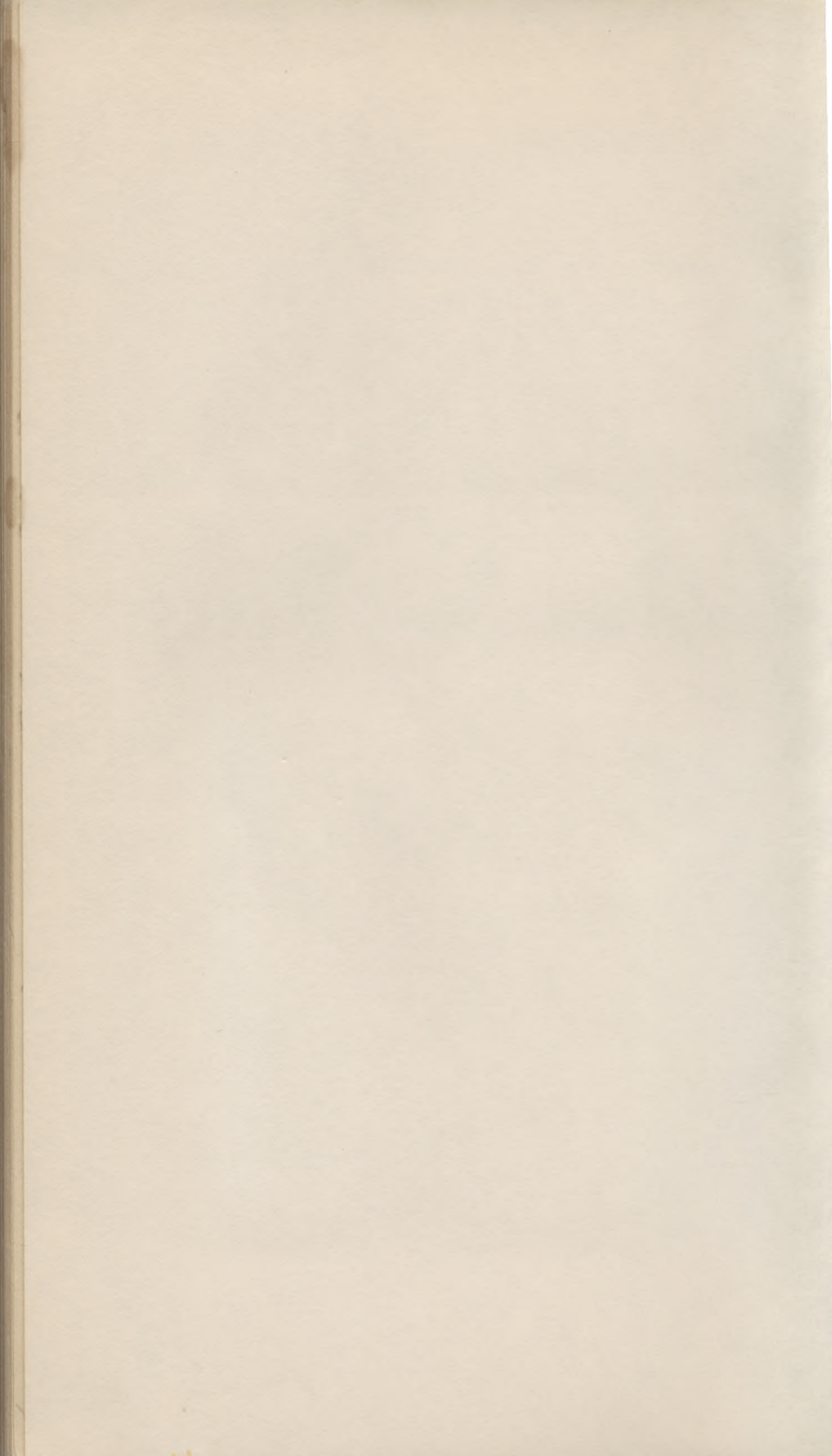
If, in the world of our present parliamentary corruption, it concentrates more and more upon the deepest meaning of its battle and feels itself to be the pure embodiment of race and person, and arranges itself accordingly, it is bound, with almost mathematical certainty, to be victorious in its battle when the time comes. And Germany, likewise will, gain as a matter of course the position on this earth that she deserves if she is organized and led by the same principles.

A state which in the days of race-poisoning endeavors to cultivate its best racial elements is bound to become some day the lord of earth.

May the adherents of our movement never forget this, if the magnitude of the sacrifices should ever induce them to make an anxious comparison with the possible success.







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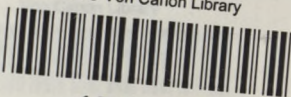
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