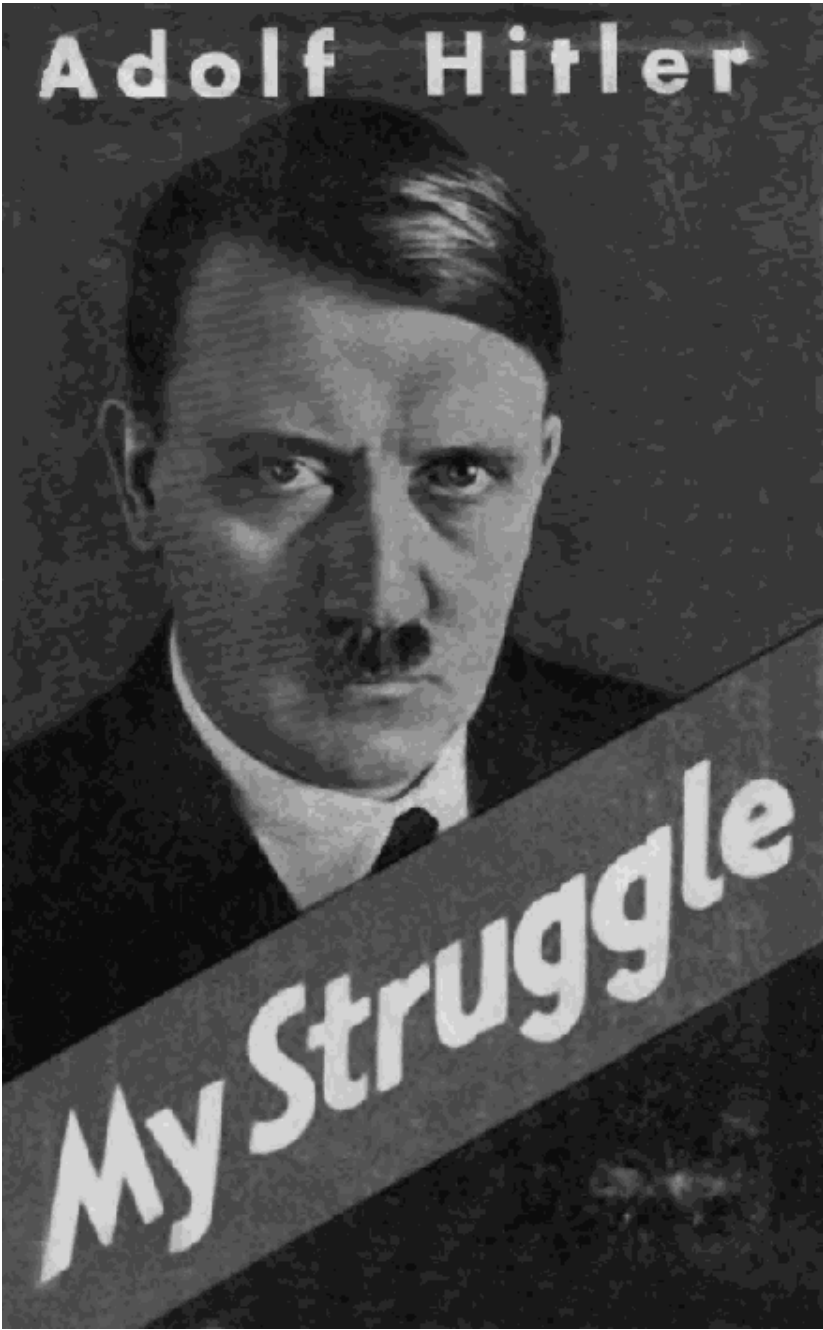


Adolf Hitler

A black and white portrait of Adolf Hitler, looking directly at the camera with a serious expression. He has a mustache and is wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and dark tie. The background is dark and textured.

My Struggle

VOLUME TWO

The National Socialist Movement

CHAPTER I

WELTANSCHAUUNG AND PARTY

ON FEBRUARY 24TH 1920, THE FIRST GREAT MASS meeting under the auspices of the new movement took place. In the *Hofbräuhaus-Festsaal* in Munich the twenty-five theses which constituted the programme of our new Party were expounded to an audience of nearly two thousand people and each thesis was enthusiastically received.

Thus we brought to the knowledge of the public the first principles and lines of action along which was to be conducted the new struggle for the abolition of a confused mass of obsolete ideas and opinions which had obscure and often pernicious tendencies. A new force was to make its appearance among the timid and cowardly bourgeoisie. This force was destined to impede the triumphant advance of the Marxists and bring the chariot of Fate to a standstill just as it seemed about to reach its goal.

It was evident that this new movement could gain the public significance and support which are necessary prerequisites in such a gigantic struggle only if it succeeded from the very outset in awakening a sacred conviction in the hearts of its followers, that here it was not a case of introducing a new electoral slogan into the political field, but that an entirely new *Weltanschauung*, which was of radical significance, had to be established.

One must try to recall from what a feeble jumble of opinions the so-called party programmes are usually 'cooked' and brushed up or remodelled from time to time. If we want to gain an insight into these programmatic monstrosities we must carefully investigate the motives which inspire the

average bourgeois 'programme committee. They are always influenced by one and the same preoccupation when they introduce something new into their programme or modify something already contained in it, namely, the results of the next election. The moment these artists in parliamentary government have the first glimmering of a suspicion that their beloved public may be ready to kick up its heels and escape from the harness of the old party waggon they begin to paint the shafts in new colours. On such occasions the party astrologists and horoscope readers, the so-called 'shrewd and experienced men,' come forward. For the most part they are old parliamentary hands whose political schooling has furnished them with ample experience. They can remember former occasions when the masses showed signs of losing patience and they now sense the imminence of a similar situation. Resorting to their old prescription, they form a committee. They go around among their beloved public and listen to what is being said. They carefully digest newspaper articles and gradually begin to sense what the broad masses really want, what they abhor and what they hope for. Every section of the working community and every class of employee is carefully studied and their secret wishes weighed and considered. Even the malicious slogans of a dangerous opposition are now suddenly looked upon as worthy of consideration, and to the astonishment of those who originally coined and circulated them, appear innocently and as a matter of course in the official vocabulary of the older parties.

So the committees meet to revise the old programme and draw up a new one, for these people change their convictions just as the soldier changes his shirt in war-time—when the old one is lousy. In the new programme, everyone gets everything he wants. The farmer is assured that the interests of agriculture will be safeguarded, the industrialist is assured of protection for his products, the consumer is assured that his interests will be protected as regards market prices. Teachers are given higher salaries and civil servants will have better pensions. Widows and orphans will receive generous

assistance from the State. Trade will be promoted. Tariffs will be lowered and even taxes, though they cannot be entirely abolished, will be almost done away with. It sometimes happens that one section of the public is forgotten or that one of the demands mooted by the public has not reached the ears of the party. In such a case what can still be pushed on to the programme, is hastily added, until finally it is felt that there are good grounds for hoping that the whole host of Philistines, including their wives, will have their anxieties laid to rest and will beam with satisfaction once again. And so, internally armed with faith in the goodness of God and the impenetrable stupidity of the electorate, the struggle for what is called 'the reconstruction of the Reich' can now begin.

When the election day is over and the parliamentarians have held their last public meeting for the next five years, when they can leave their job of getting the populace to toe the line and can now devote themselves to higher and more pleasing tasks—then the programme committee is dissolved and the struggle for the progressive reorganization of public affairs becomes once again a business of earning one's daily bread, which for the parliamentarian, merely means drawing his salary. Morning after morning the honourable member wends his way to the House, and though he may not enter the Chamber itself, he gets at least as far as the lobby, where there is the register of members attending the meeting. His onerous service on behalf of his constituents consists in entering his name and he receives in return a small indemnity as the well-earned reward of his unceasing and exhausting labours.

After the lapse of four years, or if any crisis arises in which parliament seems faced with the danger of dissolution, these gentlemen are suddenly fired with the desire for action. Just as the grub-worm cannot help growing into a cockchafer, these parliamentarian worms leave the great House of Puppets and on new wings flutter out among the beloved public. They address the electors once again, give an account of the enormous labours they have accomplished and emphasize the malicious obstinacy of their opponents. They

do not always meet with grateful applause, for occasionally the unintelligent masses throw rude and unfriendly remarks in their faces. When this spirit of public ingratitude reaches a certain pitch, there is only one way of saving the situation. The prestige of the party must be burnished up once again. The programme has to be amended, the committee is called into existence once more, and so the swindle begins anew. Once we understand the impenetrable stupidity of our public, we cannot be surprised that such tactics prove successful. Led by the press and blinded once again by the alluring appearance of the new programme, the bourgeois, as well as the proletarian herds of voters, faithfully return to the fold and re-elect their old deceivers. The 'people's man' and labour candidate now change back again into the parliamentary grub and become fat and rotund as they batten on the leaves that grow on the tree of public life—to be retransformed into the glittering butterfly after another four years have passed.

Scarcely anything can be so depressing as to watch this process in sober reality and to be forced to observe this repeatedly recurring fraud. On a spiritual training ground of that kind it is not possible for the bourgeois forces to develop the strength which is necessary to carry on the fight against the organized might of Marxism. Indeed, they have never seriously thought of doing so. Despite the admitted limitations or mental inferiority of the white race's parliamentary medicine-men they cannot seriously imagine that they can use Western Democracy as a weapon to fight against an ideology whose supporters regard democracy and all its ramifications merely as a means of paralysing their opponents and gaining for themselves a free hand to put their own methods into action. Certain groups of Marxists are, for the time being, using all their ingenuity to create the impression that they are inseparably attached to the principles of democracy. It may be well to recall the fact that, when a crisis arose, these same gentlemen snapped their fingers at the principle of decision by majority vote, as that principle is understood by Western Democracy. Such was the case in those days when

the bourgeois parliamentarians believed that the security of the Reich was guaranteed by the monumental short-sightedness of the overwhelming majority, whereas the Marxists, backed by a mob of loafers, deserters, political place-hunters and Jewish would-be literary men, simply seized the reins of government. This was a terrible blow to democracy. Only those credulous parliamentary wizards who represented bourgeois democracy could have believed that the brutal determination of those whose interest it is to spread the Marxist world-pest, of which they are the carriers, could for a moment, now, or in the future, be held in check by the magical formulas of western parliamentarianism. Marxism will march shoulder to shoulder with democracy until it succeeds indirectly in securing for its own criminal purposes even the support of the intelligentsia of the nation whom Marxism has set out to exterminate. But, if the Marxists should one day come to believe that there was a danger that from this witch's cauldron of our parliamentary democracy a majority might be concocted, which, if merely by reason of its numerical weight, would be in a position to legislate and thus to constitute a serious threat to Marxism, then the whole parliamentary hocus-pocus would be at an end. Instead of appealing to the democratic conscience, the leaders of the Red International would immediately send forth a furious rallying-cry to the proletarian masses and the ensuing fight would not take place in the sedate atmosphere of parliament, but in the factories and in the streets. Then democracy would be annihilated forthwith, and what the intellectual prowess of the apostles who represented the people in parliament had failed to accomplish, would now be successfully carried out by dint of the crow-bar and the sledge-hammer of the exasperated proletarian masses—just as in the autumn of 1918. At one fell swoop they would make the bourgeois world see the madness of thinking that the Jewish drive towards world-conquest can be effectually opposed by means of Western Democracy.

As I have said, only a very credulous soul could think of binding himself to observe the rules of the game when he has

to face a player for whom those rules are nothing but a pretext for bluff or for serving his own interests, so that he will discard them when they prove no longer useful for his purpose.

All the parties that profess so-called bourgeois principles look upon political life as being in reality a struggle for seats in parliament. The moment their principles and convictions are of no further use in that struggle they throw them overboard, as if they were sand ballast, and the programmes are constructed in such a way that they can be dealt with in like manner. But such a practice has a correspondingly weakening effect on the strength of the parties concerned. They lack the great magnetic force which alone attracts the broad masses, for the masses always respond to the compelling force which emanates from absolute faith in the ideas put forward, combined with an indomitable zest to fight for and defend them.

At a time when the one side, armed with all the weapons of its *Weltanschauung*, no matter how criminal, makes an attack against the established order, the other side will be able to resist only if its resistance takes the form of a new faith, which in our case is a political faith and exchanges the slogans of weak and cowardly defence for the battle-cry of a courageous and ruthless attack. Our present Movement is accused, especially by the so-called national bourgeois cabinet ministers (the Bavarian representatives of the Centre, for example) of heading towards a revolution. We have only one answer to give to those political pigmies, namely, 'We are trying to remedy that which you, in your criminal stupidity, have failed to accomplish. By your parliamentary jobbing you have helped to drag the nation into ruin, but we, by our aggressive policy, are setting up a new *Weltanschauung* which we shall defend with indomitable devotion. Thus we are building the steps on which our nation once again may ascend to the temple of freedom.'

Thus during the first stages of founding our Movement we had to take special care that our militant group, which fought for the establishment of a new and exalted political faith, should not degenerate into a society for the promotion of parliamentary interests. The first preventive measure

was to lay down a programme which of itself would tend towards developing a certain moral greatness that would scare away all the petty and weakling spirits who make up the bulk of our present party politicians. Those fatal defects which finally led to Germany's downfall afford the clearest proof of how right we were in considering it absolutely necessary to set up programmatic aims which were sharply and distinctly defined. Because we recognized the defects above mentioned, we realized that a new conception of the State had to be established, which in itself became a part of our new conception of life.

In the first volume of this book I have already dealt with the term *völkisch*, and I said then that this term has not a sufficiently precise meaning to furnish the kernel around which a closely consolidated militant community could be formed. All kinds of persons, with all kinds of divergent opinions, are, at the present time, playing their own game under the motto '*völkisch*.' Before I come to deal with the purposes and aims of the National Socialist German Labour Party I want to establish a clear understanding of what is meant by the concept *völkisch* and herewith explain its relation to our party movement. The word *völkisch* does not express any clearly specified idea. It may be interpreted in several ways and in practical application it is just as general as the word 'religious,' for instance. It is difficult to attach any precise meaning to this latter word, either as a theoretical concept or as a guiding principle in practical life. The word 'religious' acquires a precise meaning only when it is associated with a distinct, and definite form through which the concept is put into practice. To say that a person is 'deeply religious' may be very fine phraseology, but generally speaking, it tells us little or nothing. There may be some few people who are content with such a vague description and there may even be some to whom the word conveys a more or less definite picture of the inner quality of a person thus described. But, since the bulk of the people is not composed of philosophers or saints, such a vague religious idea will mean to the individual merely that he is justified in

thinking and acting according to his own bent. It will not lead to that practical faith into which inner religious yearning is transformed only when it leaves the sphere of general metaphysical ideas and is moulded to a well-defined belief. Such a belief is certainly not an end in itself, but the means to an end. Yet it is a means without which the end could never be reached at all. This end, however, is not merely something ideal, for at bottom it is eminently practical. We must always bear in mind the fact that, generally speaking, the highest ideals are always the outcome of some profound vital need, just as the nobility of beauty lies essentially in its practical value.

By helping to lift the human being above the level of mere animal existence, faith really contributes to consolidate and safeguard his very existence. Take from humanity as it exists to-day the religious beliefs which it generally holds and which have been consolidated through our education, so that they serve as moral standards in practical life, and abolish religious teaching without replacing it by anything of equal value and the foundations of human existence would be seriously shaken. We may safely say that man does not live merely to serve higher ideals, but that these ideals, in their turn, furnish the necessary conditions for his existence as a human being. Thus the circle is completed.

Of course, the word 'religious' implies certain ideals and beliefs that are fundamental. Among these we may reckon the belief in the immortality of the soul, its future existence in eternity, the belief in the existence of a Higher Being, and so on. But all these ideas, no matter how firmly the individual believes in them, may be critically analysed by any person and accepted or rejected accordingly, until the emotional concept or yearning has been transformed into an active force that is governed by a clearly defined doctrinal faith. Such a faith constitutes the militant feature which clears the way for the recognition of fundamental religious ideals. Without a clearly defined belief, religious feeling would not only be worthless for the purposes of human existence, but might even

contribute towards general disorganization, on account of its vague and multifarious tendencies.

What I have said about the word 'religious' can also be applied to the term *völkisch*. This word also implies certain fundamental ideas. Though these ideas are very important indeed, they assume such vague and indefinite forms that they cannot be estimated as having a greater value than mere opinions, until they become constituent elements in the structure of a political party. The ideals set forth in a *Weltanschauung* and the demands arising from them cannot be realized by mere sentiment and inner longing any more than freedom can be won by universal yearning for it. Only when the idealistic longing for independence is organized in such a way that it can fight for its ideal with military force, only then can the urgent wish of a people become a vital reality.

Any *Weltanschauung*, though a thousandfold right and supremely beneficial to humanity, will be of no practical assistance in moulding the life of a people as long as its principles have not yet become the rallying-point of a militant movement which, in its turn, will remain a mere party until its activities have led to the victory of its ideals and its party doctrines form the new fundamental principles of a new national community.

If an abstract conception of a general nature is to serve as the basis of a future development, then the first prerequisite is to form a clear understanding of the nature, character and scope of this conception, since only on such a basis can a movement be founded which can draw the necessary fighting strength from the internal homogeneity of its principles and convictions. A political programme must be constructed on a basis of general ideas and a general *Weltanschauung* must receive the stamp of a definite political faith. Since this faith must be directed towards ends that have to be attained in the world of practical reality, not only must it serve the general ideal as such, but it must also take into consideration the existing means that have to be employed for the triumph of the ideal. Here the practical wisdom of the statesman must come to the assistance of the ideal, correct in the abstract,

as evolved by the author of the political programme. In this way an eternal ideal, which has everlasting significance as a guiding star to mankind, must be adapted to the exigencies of human frailty so that its practical effect may not be frustrated at the very outset through those shortcomings which are general to mankind. The exponent of truth must here go hand in hand with him who has a practical knowledge of the mind of the people, so that from the realm of eternal verities and ideals what is suited to the capacities of human nature may be selected and given practical form. To take abstract and general conceptions, derived from a *Weltanschauung* which is based on a solid foundation of truth and from them to mould a militant community whose members have the same political faith (a community which is precisely defined, rigidly organized, of one mind and one will) is the most important task of all, for the possibility of successfully carrying out the idea is dependent on the successful fulfilment of this task. Out of the army of millions who feel, more or less clearly, the truth of these ideas, and may even understand them to some extent, one man must arise. This man must have the gift of being able to formulate from the vague ideas held by the masses, principles that will be as clear-cut and firm as granite and he must be able to fight for these principles as the only true ones, until a solid rock of common faith and common will emerges above the troubled waters of vagrant ideas. The general justification for such action lies in the necessity for it and the action of the individual will be justified by his success.

If we try to penetrate the inner meaning of the word *völkisch* we arrive at the following conclusion. The current political conception of the world is that the State, though it possesses a creative force which can build up civilizations, has nothing in common with the concept of race as the foundation of the State. The State is considered rather as something which has resulted from economic necessity or is, at best, the natural outcome of political urge for power. Such a conception together with all its logical consequences, not only ignores the primordial racial forces that underlie the State,

but it also leads to a minimization of the importance of the individual. If it be denied that races differ from one another in their cultural creative ability, then this same erroneous notion must necessarily influence our estimation of the value of the individual. The assumption that all races are alike leads to the assumption that nations and individuals are equal to one another. Therefore, international Marxism is merely the adoption by the Jew, Karl Marx, of a general conception of life, which had existed long before his day, as a definite profession of political faith. If it had not already existed as a widely diffused infection, the amazing political progress of the Marxist teaching would never have been possible. In reality what distinguished Karl Marx from the millions who were affected in the same way was that, in a world already in a state of gradual decomposition, he used the unerring instinct of the prophetic genius to detect the essential poisons, so as to extract them and concentrate them, with the art of an alchemist, in a solution which would bring about the rapid destruction of the independent nations of the earth. All this was done in the service of his race.

Thus the Marxian doctrine is the concentrated extract of the mentality which underlies the general *Weltanschauung* to-day. For this reason alone it is out of the question and even ridiculous to think that what is called our bourgeois world can put up any effective fight against Marxism, for this bourgeois world is permeated with all those same poisons, and its *Weltanschauung* in general differs from Marxism only in degree and in the character of the persons who hold it. The bourgeois world is Marxist, but believes in the possibility of a certain group of people—that is to say, the bourgeoisie—being able to dominate the world, while Marxism itself systematically aims at delivering the world into the hands of the Jews.

Over against all this, the *völkische Weltanschauung* recognizes that the primordial racial elements are of the greatest significance for mankind. In principle, the State is looked upon only as a means to an end and this end is the conservation of the racial characteristics of mankind. The

völkisch principle does not admit that one race is equal to another, but by recognizing that they are different, separates mankind into races of superior and inferior quality. On the basis of this recognition it feels bound, in conformity with the Eternal Will that dominates the universe, to postulate the victory of the better and stronger and the subordination of the inferior and weaker thus subscribing to Nature's fundamental aristocratic principle and it believes that this law holds good even down to the last individual organism. It selects individual values from the mass and thus operates as an organizing principle, whereas Marxism acts as a disintegrating solvent. The *völkisch* belief holds that humanity must have its ideals, because ideals are a necessary condition of human existence itself. But, on the other hand, it denies that an ethical ideal has the right to prevail if it endangers the existence of a race that is the champion of a higher ethical ideal, for in a world composed of mongrels and negroids all ideals of human beauty and nobility and all hopes of an idealized future for humanity would be lost for ever. On this planet of ours human culture and civilization are indissolubly bound up with the presence of the Aryan. If he were to be exterminated or become extinct, then the dark shroud of a new barbaric era would enfold the earth.

To undermine the existence of human culture by exterminating its custodians would be an execrable crime in the eyes of those who subscribe to the *völkische Weltanschauung*. Whoever dares to raise his hand against the highest image of God sins against the bountiful Creator of this marvel and contributes to the expulsion from Paradise. Hence the *völkische Weltanschauung* is in profound accord with Nature's most sacred will, because it restores the free play of the forces which, through reciprocal education, will produce a higher type, until finally the best portion of mankind will possess the earth and will be free to work in spheres which lie not only within, but without the limits of that earth. We all feel that in the distant future man may be faced with problems which can be solved only by a superior race of human beings, which is master over all the other peoples

and has at its disposal the means and resources of the whole world.

It is evident that such a general definition of what is implied by the term *völkische Weltanschauung* may easily be interpreted in a thousand different ways. As a matter of fact, there is scarcely one of our recently founded political parties which does not in some manner have recourse to this conception; but the very fact of its independent existence, despite the many others, goes to prove its infinite variety. Thus the Marxist conception, directed by a central organization endowed with supreme authority, is opposed by a medley of opinions which are not ideologically impressive in face of the solid phalanx presented by the enemy. Victory cannot be achieved with such weak weapons. Only when the international *Weltanschauung* politically directed by organized Marxism is confronted by a *völkische Weltanschauung* equally well organized and equally well directed will the one side do battle with the other on an equal footing and victory be on the side of eternal truth.

The organization and mobilization of a *Weltanschauung* can never be carried out except on a basis of its clear definition. The function which dogma fulfils in religious belief is comparable to the function which party principles fulfil in a political party which is in the process of being built up. It is, therefore, essential to forge an instrument which, like the Marxist party organization which clears the way for internationalism, can be used in fighting for this ideal. This is the aim which the National Socialist German Labour Party pursues.

That a definite formulation of the idea *völkisch* in connection with a party movement is a prerequisite for the triumph of the *völkische Weltanschauung* is strikingly proved by a fact which is admitted, however indirectly, even by those who oppose such an amalgamation of the *völkisch* idea with party principles. The very people who never tire of insisting again and again that the *völkische Weltanschauung* can never be the exclusive property of any individual, because it lies dormant or 'lives' in myriads of hearts,

only confirm by their own statement the simple fact that the general presence of such ideas in the hearts of millions of men has not proved sufficient to prevent the victory of the opposing ideas, which are, admittedly, championed on the recognized party political lines. If that were not so, the German people ought already to have gained a sweeping victory instead of finding themselves on the brink of the abyss. The international ideology achieved success because it was championed by a militantly organized party. The reason for the failure hitherto sustained by the opposite ideology is that it lacked a united front to fight for its cause. It is not by allowing the right of free interpretation of its general principles, but only in the limited and, consequently, concentrated form of a political organization that a *Weltanschauung* can sustain a struggle and triumph.

Therefore, I considered it my special duty to extract from the extensive but unformulated material of a general *Weltanschauung* the essential ideas and give them a more or less dogmatic form. Because of their precise and clear meaning, these ideas are suited to the purpose of uniting in a common front all those who are ready to accept them as principles. In other words, the National Socialist German Labour Party extracts the essential principles from the general conception of the *völkische Weltanschauung*. On these principles it establishes a political doctrine which takes into account the practical realities of the day, the character of the times, the available human material and all its deficiencies. Through this political doctrine it is possible to bring great masses of the people into a systematic organization which is the main preliminary that is necessary for the final triumph of this ideal.

CHAPTER II

THE STATE

AS EARLY AS 1920-1921 CERTAIN CIRCLES BELONG-
ing to the effete bourgeois class accused our Movement again and again of taking up a negative attitude towards the modern State. For that reason the motley gang of camp-followers attached to the various political parties, representing a heterogeneous conglomeration of political views, assumed the right of utilizing all available means to suppress the protagonists of this young Movement which was preaching a new political gospel. Our opponents deliberately ignored the fact that the bourgeois class itself stood for no uniform opinion as to what the State really meant and that the bourgeoisie did not and could not give any uniform definition of this institution. Those whose duty it is to explain what is meant when we speak of the State hold chairs in state universities, often in the department of constitutional law, and consider it their highest duty to find explanations and justifications for the more or less fortunate existence of that particular form of State which provides them with their daily bread. The more absurd such a form of State is, the more obscure, artificial and incomprehensible are the definitions which are advanced to explain the purpose of its existence. What, for instance, could a professor at a royal and imperial university write about the meaning and purpose of a State in a country whose constitution represented the greatest monstrosity of the twentieth century? That would be a difficult undertaking indeed, in view of the fact that the contemporary professor of constitutional law is obliged not so much to serve the cause of truth as to serve a definite purpose, and this purpose

is to defend at all costs the existence of that monstrous human mechanism which we now call the State. Nobody need be surprised if concrete facts are evaded as far as possible when the problem of the State is under discussion and if professors adopt the tactics of concealing themselves in a morass of abstract values, duties and purposes which are described as 'ethical' and 'moral.'

Generally speaking, these various theorists may be classed in three groups:

1. Those who hold that the State is a more or less voluntary association of men under governmental authority

This is numerically the largest group. In its ranks are to be found those who worship our present principle of legalized authority. In their eyes the will of the people plays no part whatever in the whole affair. For them, the fact that the State exists is sufficient reason to consider it sacred and inviolable. In order to champion this aberration of the human brain one would have to have a sort of canine adoration for what is called the authority of the State. In the minds of these people the means is quickly and easily substituted for the end. The State no longer exists for the purpose of serving men, but men exist for the purpose of revering the authority of the State, which is vested in its functionaries, even down to the most inferior official. In order to prevent this placid and ecstatic adoration from changing into something that might become in any way disturbing, the authority of the State is limited simply to the task of preserving law and order. Thus it is no longer either a means or an end. The State must see that law and order are preserved and, in their turn, law and order must make the existence of the State possible. All life must move between these two poles. In Bavaria, this view is upheld by the artful politicians of the Bavarian Centre, which is called the 'Bavarian People's Party.' In Austria, the black-and-yellow Legitimists adopt a similar attitude. In the Reich, unfortunately, the so-called conservative elements often hold the same view.

2. The second group is numerically somewhat smaller. It includes those who would make the existence of the State

dependent on certain conditions. They insist that not only should there be a uniform system of government, but also, if possible, uniformity of language, if only for technical reasons of administration. The authority of the State is no longer the sole and exclusive end for which the State exists, but it must also promote the good of its subjects. Ideas of 'freedom,' mostly based on a misunderstanding of the meaning of that word, enter into the concept of the State as it exists in the minds of this group. The form of government is no longer considered inviolable simply because it exists. It must submit to the test of practical efficiency. Its venerable age no longer protects it from criticism in the light of modern exigencies. Moreover, in their view, the first duty laid upon the State is to guarantee the economic well-being of the individual citizen. Hence it is judged from the practical standpoint and according to general principles based on the idea of economic returns. The chief representatives of this theory of the State are to be found among the average German bourgeoisie, especially our liberal democrats.

3. The third group is numerically the smallest. In the State they see a means for the realization of aims (generally vague in conception) dictated by a policy of power, on the part of a united people speaking the same language. They want a common language not only because they hope that thereby the State will be furnished with a solid basis for the extension of its power beyond its own frontiers, but also because they think—though falling into a fundamental error by so doing—that such a common language would facilitate the carrying out of a definite process of nationalization.

During the last century it was lamentable for those who had to witness it, to notice how in these circles I have just mentioned the word 'Germanization' was frivolously played with, though often with the very best of intentions. I well remember how, in the days of my youth, this very term used to give rise to notions which were false to an incredible degree. Even in Pan-German circles one heard the opinion expressed that the Austrian Germans might very well succeed in Germanizing the Austrian Slavs, if only the government

were ready to co-operate. Those people did not understand that a policy of Germanization can be carried out only as regards territory and not as regards human beings. What was generally understood by this term was the enforced adoption of the German language, but it is almost inconceivable that people should imagine that a negro or a Chinaman, for example, can become German simply by learning the German language, by being willing to speak it for the rest of their lives and even to vote in favour of some German political party. Our bourgeois nationalists could never clearly see that such a process of Germanization is in reality de-Germanization, for even if all the outstanding and visible differences between the various peoples could be bridged over and finally eliminated by the use of a common language, this would give rise to a process of bastardization which in this case would not signify Germanization, but the annihilation of the German element. In the course of history it has happened only too often that a conquering race succeeded by force in compelling the people whom they had subjected to speak their tongue, with the result that after a thousand years their language was spoken by another people and thus the conqueror finally turned out to be the conquered.

What makes a people or, to be more correct, a race, is not language but blood. It would therefore be justifiable to speak of Germanization only if that process could change the blood of the people who were subjected to it, which is obviously impossible. A change would be possible only by a mixture of blood, but in this case the quality of the superior race would be debased. The final result of such a mixture would be that precisely those qualities were destroyed which had enabled the conquering race to achieve victory over an inferior people. It is especially cultural creative ability which disappears when a superior race intermixes with an inferior one, even though all the resultant mongrel race speaks the language of the race that had once been superior. For a certain time there will be a conflict between the different mentalities and it may be that a nation which is in a state of progressive degeneration will at the last

moment rally its cultural creative powers and once again produce striking cultural masterpieces. These are, however, produced only by individuals belonging to the superior race or by hybrids of the first crossing, in whom the superior blood has remained dominant and seeks to assert itself, but never by the last descendants of such hybrids. These are always in a state of cultural retrogression.

We must consider it fortunate that a Germanization of Austria according to the plan of Joseph II did not succeed. Probably the result would have been that the Austrian State would have survived, but at the same time the use of a common language would have debased the racial quality of the German element. In the course of centuries a certain herd instinct might have been developed, but the herd itself would have deteriorated in quality. It is possible that a constitutional State would have been established, but a culturally creative people would have been lost to the world. For the German nation it was better that this process of intermixture did not take place, although it was not renounced for any high-minded reasons, but simply through the short-sighted pettiness of the Habsburgs. If it had taken place, the German people could now scarcely be looked upon as a cultural factor.

Not only in Austria, however, but also in Germany, these so-called national circles were, and still are, under the influence of similar erroneous ideas. The much favoured policy with regard to Poland which provided for the Germanization of the eastern provinces was, unfortunately, practically always based on the same false reasoning. Here again it was believed that the Polish people could be Germanized by being compelled to use the German language. The result would have been fatal, for people of an alien race by expressing their alien ideas in the German language would have debased the dignity and nobility of our nation by their own inferiority.

It is revolting to think how much damage is indirectly done to German prestige to-day owing to the fact that the German patois of Jews entering the United States enables them to be classed as Germans, because of the ignorance

of Americans with regard to things German. Here nobody would dream of accepting the fact that these lousy emigrants from the East generally speak German as proof of their German origin and nationality.

What has been beneficially Germanized in the course of history was the land which our ancestors conquered with the sword and colonized with German tillers of the soil. Inasmuch as they introduced foreign blood into our national body in carrying out this colonization, they helped to bring about the lamentable disintegration of our racial character, a process which has resulted in our German hyper-individualism, though this latter characteristic is, unfortunately, frequently praised even now.

In the third group also, there are people who, to a certain degree, consider the State as an end in itself. Hence they consider its preservation as one of the highest aims of human existence. Summing up, we arrive at the following conclusion: A common feature of all these views is, that they are not grounded on a recognition of the profound truth that the capacity for creating cultural values is essentially based on the racial element and that, in accordance with this fact, the paramount purpose of the State is to preserve and improve the race, for this is an indispensable condition of all progress in human civilization.

Thus the Jew, Karl Marx, was able to utilize and exploit these false concepts and ideas on the nature and purpose of the State. By eliminating from the concept of the State all thought of the obligation which the State has towards the race, without finding any other formula that might be universally accepted, the bourgeois teaching prepared the way for that doctrine which rejects the State as such. That is why the bourgeois struggle against Marxian internationalism is doomed to fail in this particular. The bourgeois classes have already sacrificed the basic principles which alone could furnish a solid footing for their ideas. Their crafty opponent has perceived the defects in their structure and advances to the assault with those weapons which they themselves have unwittingly placed in his hands.

Therefore any new movement which is based on the *völkische Weltanschauung* will first of all have to put forward a clear and logical definition of the nature and purpose of the State.

The fundamental principle is that the State is not an end in itself, but the means to an end. It is the preliminary condition for the development of a higher form of human civilization, but not the reason for such a development, for which a culturally creative race is alone responsible. There may be hundreds of excellent States on this earth and yet if the Aryan, who is the creator and custodian of civilization, should disappear, all culture corresponding to the spiritual needs of the superior nations to-day would also disappear. We may go still further and say that the fact that States have been created by human beings does not exclude the possibility that the human race may become extinct, if the superior intellectual faculties and powers of adaptation were to be lost because the race possessing these faculties and powers had disappeared.

If, for instance, the surface of the globe were to be shaken to-day by some seismic convulsion and if new Himalayas were to emerge from the waves of the sea, this one catastrophe alone might annihilate human civilization. No State could continue to exist. All order would be shattered, and all vestiges of cultural products which had been evolved in the course of thousands of years would disappear. Nothing would be left but one tremendous field of death and destruction submerged in floods of water and mud. If, however, only a few people were to survive this terrible havoc, and if these people belonged to a definite race that had the innate power to build up a civilization, when the commotion had passed, the earth would again bear witness to the creative power of the human spirit, even though a span of a thousand years might intervene. Only with the extermination of the last race that possesses the gift of cultural creativeness, and indeed only if all the individuals of that race also disappeared, would the earth definitely be turned into a desert. On the other hand, modern history furnishes

examples to show that States which are of racial origin cannot, if the representatives of that race lack creative genius, preserve them from disaster and destruction. Just as many varieties of prehistoric animals had to give way to others and leave no trace behind them, so man will also have to give way, if he loses that definite intellectual faculty which enables him to find the weapons that are necessary for him to preserve his own existence.

It is not the State as such that brings about a certain definite advance in cultural progress. The State can only protect the race that is the cause of such progress. The State as such may well exist without undergoing any change for hundreds of years, though the cultural faculties and the general life of the people, which is shaped by these faculties, may have suffered profound changes, by reason of the fact that the State did not prevent a mixing of races from taking place. The present State, for instance, may continue to exist in a mere mechanical form, but the poison of miscegenation permeating the national body is bringing about a cultural decadence which is already manifesting itself in various symptoms of a detrimental character.

Thus the indispensable prerequisite for the existence of a superior type of human beings is not the State, but the race, which is alone capable of producing that higher type.

This capacity is always there, though it will lie dormant unless external circumstances awaken it to action. Nations, or rather races, which are endowed with the faculty of cultural creativeness possess this faculty in a latent form during periods when external circumstances are unfavourable for the time being and therefore do not allow the faculty to express itself effectively. It is, therefore, outrageously unjust to speak of the pre-Christian Germans as uncivilized barbarians, for such they never were. But the severity of the climate that prevailed in the northern regions which they inhabited, imposed conditions of life which hampered a free development of their creative faculties. If they had come to the fairer climate of the South, with no previous culture whatsoever, and if they had acquired the necessary human

material—that is to say, men of an inferior race—to serve them as tools in performing necessary labours, the cultural faculty dormant in them would have blossomed forth in splendour as happened in the case of the Greeks, for example. But this primordial creative faculty in cultural things was not solely due to their northern climate. Neither the Laplanders nor the Eskimos would have become creators of a culture if they had been transplanted to the South. This wonderful creative faculty is a special gift bestowed on the Aryan, whether it lies dormant in him or becomes active, according to adverse conditions and surroundings prevent the active expression of that faculty or favourable circumstances permit it.

From these facts the following conclusions may be drawn: The State is only a means to an end. Its end and its purpose are to preserve and promote a community of human beings who are physically as well as spiritually kindred. Above all, it must preserve the existence of the race, thereby providing the indispensable condition for the free development of all the forces dormant in this race. A great part of these faculties will always have to be employed in the first place to preserve the physical existence of the race, and only the remaining portion will be free to work in the field of intellectual progress. But, as a matter of fact, the one is always the fundamental prerequisite for the other.

Those States which do not serve this purpose have no justification for their existence. They are monstrosities. The fact that they do exist is no more of a justification than the successful raids carried out by a band of pirates can be considered a justification of piracy.

We National Socialists, who are fighting for a new *Weltanschauung*, must never take our stand on the famous 'basis of facts', if these be mistaken facts. If we did so, we should cease to be the protagonists of a new and great idea and would become slaves in the service of the fallacy which is dominant to-day. We must make a clear-cut distinction between the vessel and its contents. The State is only the vessel and the race is what it contains. The vessel can have

significance only if it preserves and safeguards the contents. Otherwise it is worthless.

Hence, the supreme purpose of the *völkisch* State is to guard and preserve those racial elements which, through their work in the cultural field, create that beauty and dignity which are characteristic of a higher mankind. As Aryans, we can consider the State only as the living organism of a people, an organism which does not merely preserve the existence of a people, but functions in such a way as to lead that people to a position of supreme liberty by the progressive development of its intellectual and cultural faculties.

What they want to impose upon us as a State to-day is, in most cases, nothing but a monstrosity, the product of a profound human aberration which brings untold suffering in its train.

We National Socialists know that in holding these views we are taking up a revolutionary stand in the world of to-day and that we are branded as revolutionaries. Despite this, our views and our conduct will not be determined by the approbation or disapprobation of our contemporaries, but only by our duty in following a truth which we have acknowledged. In doing this we have reason to believe that posterity will have a clearer insight and will not only understand the work we are doing to-day, but will also ratify it as the right work and will extol it accordingly.

On these principles, we National Socialists base our standards of value in appraising a State. This value will be relative when viewed from the particular standpoint of the individual nation, but it will be absolute, when considered from the standpoint of humanity as a whole. In other words, this means that the excellence of a State can never be judged by the level of its culture or the degree of importance which the outside world attaches to its power, but that its excellence must be judged by the degree to which its constitution serves the race in question.

A State may be considered as a model example if it adequately serves not only the vital needs of the race it represents, but if by its very existence it actually ensures the

preservation of this same race, no matter what general cultural significance this constitution may have within the framework of the world, for it is not the task of the State to create human capabilities, but only to assure free scope for the exercise of capabilities that already exist. On the other hand, a State may be called bad if, in spite of the existence of a high cultural level, it dooms to destruction the representatives of that culture by breaking up their racial compositeness, for the practical effect of such a policy would be to destroy those conditions that are indispensable for the ulterior existence of that culture, which the State did not create, but which is the fruit of the creative power inherent in the race whose existence is assured by being united in the living organism of the State. Once again, let me emphasize the fact that the State itself is not the substance but the form. Therefore, the cultural level of a people is not the standard by which we can judge the value of the State in which that people lives. It is evident that a people endowed with high creative powers in the cultural sphere is of more worth than a tribe of negroes, and yet the constitutional organism of the former, if judged from the standpoint of efficiency, may be worse than that of the negroes. Not even the best of States and state institutions can cultivate in a people faculties which they lack and which they never possessed, but a bad State may gradually destroy the faculties which once existed. This it can do by allowing or favouring the suppression of those who are the champions of a racial culture.

The worth of a State can, therefore, be determined only by asking how far it actually succeeds in promoting the well-being of a definite race and not by the rôle which it plays in the world at large. Its relative worth can be estimated readily and accurately, but it is difficult to judge its absolute worth, because the latter is conditioned not only by the State, but also by the quality and cultural level of the people that belong to the individual State in question.

Therefore, when we speak of the high mission of the State we must not forget that the high mission belongs to the people and that the business of the State is to use its

organizing powers for the purpose of furnishing the necessary conditions which allow this people freely to develop its creative faculties. Again, if we ask what kind of constitution we Germans need we must first have a clear notion as to the people which it is destined to embrace and what purpose it must serve.

Unfortunately, German national life is not based on a uniform racial nucleus. The process of welding the original elements together has not gone so far as to warrant us in saying that a new race has emerged. On the contrary, the poison which has invaded the national body, especially since the 'Thirty Years' War, has destroyed the uniform constitution not only of our blood, but also of our national soul. The open frontiers of our native country, the association with non-German foreign elements in the territories that lie all along those frontiers, and especially the strong influx of foreign blood into the interior of the Reich itself, has prevented any complete assimilation of those various elements, because the influx has continued steadily. Out of this melting-pot no new race has arisen. The heterogeneous elements continue to exist side by side, and the result is that, especially in times of crisis, when the herd usually flocks together, the Germans disperse in all directions. The fundamental racial elements are not only different in different districts, but there are also various elements within these various districts. Beside the Nordic type we find the East-European type, beside the Eastern there is the Dinaric, the Western type intermingling with both, and hybrids among them all. That is a grave drawback to us. Through it the Germans lack that strong herd instinct which arises from unity of blood and saves nations from ruin in dangerous and critical times, because on such occasions small differences disappear, and a united herd faces the enemy. What we understand by the word hyper-individualism is explained by the fact that our primordial racial elements have existed side by side without ever consolidating. In times of peace such a situation may offer some advantages but, taken all in all, it has prevented us from becoming the masters of the world. If, in its historical

development, the German people had possessed that united herd instinct by which other peoples have so much benefited, then the German Reich would probably be mistress of the globe to-day. World history would have taken another course and no man can tell if what many benighted pacifists hope to attain by petitioning, whining and crying, might not have been achieved in this way, namely, a peace which would not be based upon the waving of olive branches and tearful misery-mongering of pacifist old women, but a peace guaranteed by the triumphant sword of a people endowed with the power to master the world and administer it in the service of a higher civilization.

The fact that our people were not a national entity based on unity of blood has been the source of untold misery for us. To many petty German potentates it gave residential capital cities; but the German people as a whole was deprived of its right to rulership. Even to-day our nation still suffers from this lack of inner unity, but what has been the cause of our past and present misfortunes may turn out a blessing for us in the future. Though on the one hand it may be a drawback that our racial elements were not welded together, so that no homogeneous national body could develop, on the other hand it was fortunate that, since at least a part of our best blood was thus kept pure, its racial quality was not debased.

A complete assimilation of all our racial elements would certainly have brought about a homogeneous national organism, but, as has been proved in the case of every racial mixture, it would have been less capable of creating a civilization than would its best original elements. One benefit resulting from the fact that there was no all round assimilation is the fact that even now we have large groups of German Nordic people within our national organism, and that their blood has not been mixed with the blood of other races. We must look upon this as our most valuable asset for the sake of the future. During that dark period of absolute ignorance in regard to all racial laws, when each individual was considered to be on a par with every other, there could be no clear appreciation of the difference between the various

fundamental racial characteristics. We know to-day that a complete assimilation of all the various elements which constitute the nation might have resulted in giving us a larger share of external power; but, on the other hand, the highest of human aims would not have been attained, because the only kind of people, which Fate has obviously chosen to bring about this perfection, would have been lost in the general mixture of races which would have resulted from such a racial amalgamation. Nevertheless, what has been prevented by a friendly Destiny, without any assistance on our part, must now be reconsidered and utilized in the light of our new knowledge.

He who talks of the German people as having a mission to fulfil on this earth must know that this mission cannot be fulfilled except by the building up of a State whose highest purpose is to preserve and promote those nobler elements of our race, and of the whole of mankind, which have remained unimpaired.

Thus, for the first time a high inner purpose is accredited to the State. In contrast to the ridiculous thesis that the State should do no more than act as the guardian of public law and order, so that everybody can peacefully dupe everybody else, it is given a very high mission indeed in preserving and encouraging the highest type of humanity which a beneficent Creator has bestowed on this earth. Out of a dead mechanism which claims to be an end in itself a living organism shall arise which has to serve one purpose exclusively, and that a purpose which belongs to a higher order of ideas.

As a State, the German Reich shall include all Germans. Its task is not only to gather in and foster the most valuable sections of our people, but to lead them slowly and surely to a dominant position in the world.

Thus a period of stagnation is superseded by a period of effort. And here, as in every other sphere, the proverb holds good, that to rest is to rust, and furthermore the proverb, that victory will always be won by him who attacks. The higher the final goal which we strive to reach, and the less it be

understood at the time by the broad masses, the more magnificent will be our success. That is the lesson which history teaches, and the achievement will be all the more significant, if the end is conceived in the right way and the fight carried through with unswerving persistence. Many of the officials who direct the affairs of State nowadays may find it easier to work for the maintenance of the present order than to fight for a new one. They will find it more comfortable to look upon the State as a mechanism, whose purpose is its own preservation, and to say that 'their lives belong to the State,' as if anything that grew from the inner life of the nation can logically serve anything but the national life, and as if man could have any finer task than to serve his fellow beings. Naturally, it is easier, as I have said, to consider the authority of the State as nothing but the formal mechanism of an organization, rather than as the sovereign incarnation of a people's instinct for self-preservation on this earth. For these weak minds the State (and the authority of the State) is nothing but an aim in itself, while for us it is an effective weapon in the great and eternal struggle for existence, a weapon to which everyone must yield, not because it is a mere formal mechanism, but because it is the main expression of our common will to exist.

Therefore, in the fight for our new idea, which conforms completely to the primal meaning of life, we shall find only a small number of comrades in a social order which has become decrepit not only physically, but mentally. From these circles only a few exceptional people will join our ranks, only those few old people whose hearts have remained young and whose courage is still vigorous, but not those who consider it their duty to maintain the *status quo*.

Against us we have the innumerable army of all those who are lazy-minded and indifferent rather than evil, and those whose self-interest leads them to uphold the present state of affairs. In the apparent hopelessness of our great struggle lie the magnitude of our task and the possibilities of success. A battle-cry, which from the very start will scare off all the petty spirits, or at least discourage them, will become

a rallying signal for all those that are of the real fighting mettle. Moreover, it must be clearly recognized that if a highly energetic and active body of men emerges from a nation and unites in the fight for one goal, thereby ultimately rising above the inert masses of the people, this small percentage will become masters of the whole. World history is made by minorities if these numerical minorities possess in themselves the will, energy and initiative of the majority.

What seems an obstacle to many persons is really a preliminary condition of our victory. Just because our task is so great and because so many difficulties have to be overcome, the probability is, that only the best kind of protagonist will join our ranks. This selection is the guarantee of our success. Nature generally takes certain measures to correct the effect which racial inter-breeding produces. She is not much in favour of the mongrel. The earlier products of inter-breeding have to suffer bitterly, especially the third, fourth and fifth generations. Not only are they deprived of the higher qualities that belonged to the parents who participated in the first crossing, but they also lack definite will-power and vigorous vital energies, owing to the lack of harmony in the quality of their blood. At all critical moments in which a person of pure racial blood makes correct decisions, that is to say, decisions that are coherent and uniform, the person of mixed blood will become confused and take half-measures. Hence we see that a person of mixed blood is not only relatively inferior to a person of pure blood, but is also doomed to become extinct more rapidly. In innumerable cases where the pure race holds its ground, the mongrel breaks down. Therein we see the corrective measures adopted by Nature; she restricts the possibilities of procreation, thus impeding the fertility of cross-breeds and doomng them to extinction.

For instance, if an individual member of a race should mingle his blood with the member of a superior race, the first result would be a lowering of the racial level, and furthermore, the issue of this mixed marriage would be weaker than those of the people around them who had maintained their blood

unadulterated. Where no new blood from the superior race enters the racial stream of the mongrels, and where these mongrels continue to cross-breed among themselves, the latter will either die out because they have insufficient powers of resistance, which is Nature's wise provision, or in the course of many thousands of years they will form a new mongrel race in which the original elements will become so wholly mixed through this millennial crossing that traces of the original elements will be no longer recognizable. In this way, a new people would be evolved possessing a certain resistance capacity of the herd type; but its intellectual value and its cultural significance would be essentially inferior to those of the superior race participating in the original inter-breeding. But even in this last case, the mongrel product would succumb in the mutual struggle for existence with a higher racial group that had maintained its blood unmixed. The herd solidarity which this mongrel race had developed in the course of thousands of years would not be equal to the struggle, and this is because it would lack elasticity and constructive capacity to prevail over a race of homogeneous blood that was mentally and culturally superior.

Hence, we may lay down the following principle as well-founded. Every racial mixture leads of necessity sooner or later to the downfall of the mongrel product, as long as a section of the superior race participating in the cross-breeding remains intact and preserves some sort of racial homogeneity. The threat to the mongrels ceases only with the bastardization of the last members of the superior race who are of unmixed blood.

This principle is the source of a slow but constant regeneration whereby all the poison which has invaded the racial body is gradually eliminated as long as there remains a fundamental stock of pure racial elements and there is no further inter-breeding.

Such a process may set in automatically among those people where a strong racial instinct has remained. Among such people we may count those elements which, for some particular cause such as coercion, have been thrown out of

the normal way of reproduction along strict racial lines. As soon as this compulsion ceases, that part of the race which has remained intact will tend to marry with its own kind and thus impede further intermingling. Then the mongrels recede quite naturally into the background unless their numbers have increased so much as to be able to withstand all serious resistance from those elements which have preserved the purity of their race.

When men have lost their natural instincts and ignore the obligations imposed on them by Nature, then there is no hope that Nature will repair the damage that has been caused, until recognition of their own obligations has replaced their lost instincts. Then the task of making good what has been lost will have to be accomplished by Nature. But there is a serious danger that those who have once become blind in this respect will continue more and more to break down racial barriers and finally lose the last remnants of what is best in them. What then remains is nothing but a uniform pulpy mass, which seems to be the dream of our fine Utopians, but that pulpy mass would soon banish all ideals from the world. Certainly a great herd could thus be formed. One can breed a herd of animals but from a mixture of this kind men such as have created and founded civilizations would not be produced. The mission of humanity might then be considered at an end.

Those who do not wish that the earth should fall into such a condition must realize that it is the task of the Germanic States in particular to see to it that the process of bastardization is brought to a stop.

Our contemporary generation of weaklings will naturally decry such a policy and whine and complain about it as an encroachment on the most sacred of human rights. But there is only one right that is sacrosanct and that right is at the same time a most sacred duty, namely, to protect racial purity so that the best types of human beings may be preserved and thus render possible a more noble development of humanity itself.

A *völkisch* State ought, in the first place, to raise matrimony above the level of continual racial adulteration. The State should consecrate it as an institution for the procreation of creatures made in the likeness of God Himself and not of monsters that are a mixture of man and ape. The protest which is put forward in the name of humanity does not befit the mouth of a generation that makes it possible for the most depraved degenerates to propagate their kind, thereby imposing unspeakable suffering on their own products and on their contemporaries, while, on the other hand, contraceptives are permitted and sold in every drug store and even by street hawkers, so that babies should not be born to the healthiest of our people. In this present State of ours, whose function it is to be the guardian of law and order, our national bourgeoisie looks upon it as a crime to make procreation impossible for syphilitics and those who suffer from tuberculosis or hereditary diseases, and also for cripples and imbeciles. But the practical prevention of procreation among millions of our very best people is not considered an evil, nor does it offend against the moral code of this hypocritical class, but rather suits their short-sightedness and mental lethargy, for otherwise they would have to rack their brains to find an answer to the question of how to create conditions for the feeding and maintaining of those yet unborn beings who will be the healthy representatives of our nation and will, in their turn, have to perform the same task for the generation that is to follow them.

How devoid of ideals and how ignoble is the whole contemporary system! No effort is being made to perfect the breed for the future, but things are simply allowed to slide. The fact that the churches join in condoning this sin against the image of God, even though they continue to emphasize the dignity of that image, is quite in keeping with their present activities. They talk about the Spirit, but they allow man, as the embodiment of the Spirit, to degenerate to the proletarian level. Then they gape with amazement when they realize how small is the influence of the Christian Faith in their own country and how depraved and ungodly is this

iff-raff which is physically degenerate and therefore morally degenerate also. To balance this state of affairs they try to convert the Hottentots, the Zulus and the Kaffirs and to bestow on them the blessings of the Church. While our European people, God be praised and thanked, are left to become the victims of moral depravity, the pious missionary goes out to Central Africa and establishes mission-stations for negroes. Finally, sound and healthy though primitive and backward people will be transformed, in the name of our higher civilization,' into a motley of lazy and brutalized mongrels.

It would better accord with noble human aspirations if our two Christian denominations would cease to bother the negroes with their preaching, which the negroes do not want and do not understand. It would be better if they left this work alone and if, in its stead, they tried to teach people in Europe, kindly and seriously, that it is much more pleasing to God if a couple that is not of healthy stock were to show loving-kindness to some poor orphan and become a father and mother to him, rather than give life to a sickly child that will be a cause of suffering and unhappiness to all.

In this field the *völkisch* State will have to repair the damage that has been caused by the fact that the problem is at present neglected by all the various parties concerned. It will be the task of the *völkisch* State to make the race the nucleus of the life of the community. It must make sure that the purity of the racial strain will be preserved. It must proclaim the truth that the child is the most valuable possession a nation can have. It must see to it that only those who are healthy beget children; that there is only one infamy, namely, for parents that are ill or show hereditary defects to bring children into the world and that in such cases it is a matter of honour to refrain from doing so. But, on the other hand it must be considered as reprehensible to refrain from giving healthy children to the nation. In this matter, the State must assert itself as the trustee of a millennial future, in the face of which the egotistic desires of the individual count for

nothing and will have to give way before the ruling of the State. In order to fulfil this duty in a practical manner the State will have to avail itself of modern medical discoveries. It must proclaim as unfit for procreation all those who are afflicted with some identifiable hereditary disease or are the carriers of it, and practical measures must be adopted to have such people rendered sterile. On the other hand, provision must be made for the normally fertile woman so that she will not be restricted in child-bearing through the financial and economic conditions obtaining under a regime which makes the having of children a curse to parents. The State will have to abolish the cowardly and even criminal indifference with which the problem of social amenities for large families is treated, and it will have to be the supreme protector of this greatest blessing of which a people can boast. Its attention and care must be directed towards the child rather than the adult.

Those who are physically or mentally unhealthy and unfit must not perpetuate their own suffering in the bodies of their children. From the educational point of view there is here a huge task for the *völkisch* State to accomplish, but in a future era this work will appear greater and more significant than the victorious wars of our present bourgeois epoch. Through education the State must teach individuals that illness is not a disgrace, but an unfortunate accident which is to be pitied, yet that it is a crime and a disgrace to make this affliction worse by passing on disease and defects to innocent creatures, out of mere egotism.

The State must also teach the people that it is an expression of a really noble nature and that it is a humanitarian act worthy of admiration if a person who innocently suffers from hereditary disease refrains from having a child of his own, but gives his love and affection to some unknown child who, through its health, promises to become a healthy member of a healthy community. In accomplishing such an educational task the State integrates its practical function by this activity in the moral sphere. It must act on this principle without paying any attention to the question of

whether its conduct will be understood or misconstrued, blamed or praised.

If, throughout a period of not more than six hundred years, all physically degenerate or mentally defective persons were sterilized, humanity would not only be delivered from an immense misfortune, but also restored to a state of general health such as we at present can hardly imagine. If the fecundity of the healthy portion of the nation were encouraged in a conscientious and methodical way, we should have at least the beginnings of a race from which all those germs would be eliminated which are to-day the cause of our moral and physical decadence. If a people and a State take this course to develop that nucleus of the nation which is most valuable from the racial standpoint and thus increase its fecundity, the people as a whole will subsequently enjoy the blessings which go with pure breeding.

To achieve this the State should first of all not leave the colonization of newly acquired territory to a haphazard policy, but should have it carried out in accordance with definite principles. Specially competent committees ought to issue certificates to individuals entitling them to engage in colonization work, and these certificates should guarantee the racial purity of the individuals in question. In this way frontier colonies could gradually be founded whose inhabitants would be of the purest racial stock, and hence would possess the best qualities of the race. Such colonies would be a valuable asset to the whole nation. Their development would be a source of joy, confidence and pride to each citizen of the nation, because they would contain the nucleus which would ultimately bring about a great development of the nation and indeed of mankind itself.

The *Weltanschauung* which bases the State on the racial idea must finally succeed in bringing about a nobler era, in which men will no longer pay exclusive attention to breeding and rearing pedigree dogs, horses and cats, but will endeavour to improve the breed of the human race itself. That will be an era of self-restraint and renunciation for one

class of people, while the others will give their gifts and make their sacrifices joyfully.

That such a mentality may be possible cannot be denied in a world where hundreds and thousands accept the principle of celibacy of their own free will, without being obliged or pledged to do so by anything except an ecclesiastical precept. Why should it not be possible to induce people to make this sacrifice if, instead of such a precept, they were simply told that they ought to put an end to the original sin of racial corruption which is steadily being committed from one generation to another. Further, they ought to be made to realize that it is their bounden duty to give to the Almighty Creator beings such as He Himself made in His own image.

Naturally, our wretched army of contemporary Philistines will not understand these things. They will ridicule them or shrug their round shoulders and groan out their everlasting excuses. Of course, it is a fine thing, but the pity is that it cannot be carried out." And we reply, "With you indeed it cannot be done, for your world is incapable of such an idea. You know only one anxiety and that is for your own personal existence. You have but one God, and that is your money. We do not turn to you, however, for help, but to the great army of those who are too poor to consider their personal existence as the highest good on earth. They do not place their trust in money, but in other gods, into whose hands they confide their lives. Above all we turn to the vast army of our German youth. They are coming to maturity in a great epoch, and they will fight against the evils which were the outcome of the laziness and indifference of their fathers." Either the German youth will one day create a new State founded on the racial idea or they will be the last witnesses of the complete breakdown and death of the bourgeois world.

If a generation suffers from defects which it recognizes and even admits and is nevertheless quite pleased with itself, as the bourgeois world is to-day, resorting to the cheap excuse that nothing can be done to remedy the situation, then such a generation is doomed to disaster. A marked characteristic of our bourgeois world is that it can no longer deny the evil

conditions that exist. It has to admit that there is much which is foul and wrong; but it is unable to make up its mind to fight against that evil, which would mean putting forth the energy to mobilize the forces of sixty or seventy million people and thus oppose the menace. The bourgeois classes do just the opposite. When such an effort is made elsewhere they only indulge in silly comment and try from a safe distance to show that such an enterprise is theoretically impossible and doomed to failure. No arguments are too stupid to be employed in defence of their own pettifogging opinions and their moral attitude. If, for instance, a whole continent wages war against alcoholic poisoning, so as to free an entire people from this devastating vice, the only reaction of our European bourgeois is to gape, shake his head and ridicule the movement with a superior sneer—a state of mind which is particularly effective in a society that is so ridiculous. But if all this proves of no avail and in some corner of the world the time-honoured, inviolable routine is attacked, and attacked to some effect, then as has been said, at least the effect must be belittled, even if bourgeois moral principles have to be invoked against a movement, the object of which is to suppress a great moral evil.

We must not permit ourselves any illusions on this point. The contemporary bourgeois world has become unfit to perform any such noble task for the sake of humanity, simply because it is of inferior quality and at the same time evil, not so much because it is bent on evil but because of an all-pervading indolence and its consequences. That is why those political societies which call themselves 'bourgeois parties' are nothing but associations to promote the interests of certain professional groups and classes. Their highest aim is to defend their own egotistic interests as best they can. It is obvious that such a guild, consisting of bourgeois politicians, may be considered fit for anything rather than a struggle, especially when the adversaries are not cautious shopkeepers but the proletarian masses, goaded to extremity and out to win at any cost.

If we consider it the first duty of the State to serve and

promote the general welfare of the people, by preserving and encouraging the development of the best racial elements, the logical consequence is that this task cannot be limited to measures concerning the birth of the infant members of the race and nation, but that the State will also have to adopt educational means for making each citizen a worthy factor in the further propagation of the race.

Just as, in general, racial quality is the preliminary condition for the mental efficiency of any given human material the training of the individual will first of all have to be directed towards the development of sound bodily health, for the general rule is that a strong and healthy mind is found only in a strong and healthy body. The fact that men of genius are sometimes not robust in health and stature, and are even of a sickly constitution, is no proof of the falsity of the principle I have enunciated. These cases are only exceptions which, as everywhere else, prove the rule. But when the bulk of a nation is composed of physical degenerates it is rare for a great man to arise from such a miserable motley, and in any case his activities would never meet with great success. A degenerate mob will either be incapable of understanding him at all or their will-power will be so feeble that they cannot follow the soaring flight of such an eagle.

The State that is grounded on the racial principle and is alive to the significance of this truth will first of all have to base its educational work not on the mere imparting of knowledge, but rather on physical training and the development of healthy bodies. The cultivation of the intellectual faculties occupies only second place, and here again it is character which has to be developed first of all, namely, strength of will and the ability to make decisions. The educational system ought to foster a spirit of readiness to accept responsibilities gladly. Formal instruction in the sciences must be considered last in importance. Accordingly, the State which is grounded on the racial idea must start with the principle that a person whose formal education in the sciences is relatively small, but who is physically sound and robust, of a steadfast and honest character, ready and able to make

decisions and endowed with strength of will, is a more useful member of the national community than a weakling who is scholarly and refined. A nation composed of learned men who are physically degenerate, or weak-willed and timid pacifists, is not capable of ensuring even its own existence on this earth. In the bitter struggle which decides the destiny of man, it is very rare that an individual has succumbed because he lacked learning. Those who fail are they who try to ignore these consequences and are too faint-hearted to put them into effect. There must be a certain balance between mind and body. A degenerate body is not more beautiful because it houses a radiant spirit. We should not be acting justly if we were to bestow the highest intellectual training on those who are physically deformed and crippled, who lack decision and are weak-willed and cowardly. What has made the Greek ideal of beauty immortal is the wonderful union of splendid physical beauty with nobility of mind and spirit.

Moltke's saying, that, in the long run, fortune favours only the efficient, certainly holds good for the relationship between body and spirit. A mind which is sound generally dwells in a body that is sound.

Accordingly, in the *völkisch* State physical training is not a matter for the individual alone, nor is it a duty which first devolves on the parents and is only secondarily a matter of public interest. It is necessary for the preservation of the people, who are represented and protected by the State. As regards purely formal education the State even now interferes with the individual's right of self-determination and insists upon the right of the community by subjecting the child to an obligatory system of training, without regard to the views of the parents. In a similar way and to a higher degree the new *völkisch* State will one day make its authority prevail over the ignorance and incomprehension of individuals in problems appertaining to the safety of the nation. It must organize its educational work in such a way that the bodies of the young will be systematically trained from infancy onwards, so as to be tempered and hardened for the demands

to be made on them in later years. Above all, the State must see to it that a generation of book-worms is not developed.

The work of education and hygiene has to begin with the young mother. Painstaking efforts carried on for several decades have succeeded in abolishing septic infection in childbirth and in reducing puerperal fever to a relatively small number of cases, and so it ought to be possible to give nurses and mothers a thorough course of instruction and to institute a system of training the child from early infancy onwards which may serve as an excellent basis for its future development.

The *völkisch* State ought to allow much more time for physical training in schools. It is nonsense to burden young brains with a load of material of which, as experience shows, they retain only a small part, and mostly not the essentials, but only what is of secondary importance, because the young mind is incapable of sifting the right kind of learning from among all that is crammed into it. To-day, even in the curriculum of the high schools, only two short hours in the week are reserved for gymnastics; and, worse still, it is left to the pupils to decide whether or not they want to take part. This shows a grave disproportion between this branch of education and purely intellectual instruction. Not a single day should be allowed to pass on which the young pupil does not have one hour of physical training in the morning and one in the evening, and every sort of sport and gymnastics should be included. There is one kind of sport which should be especially encouraged, although many people who call themselves *völkisch* consider it brutal and vulgar, namely, boxing. It is incredible how many false notions prevail among the 'cultured' classes. The fact that the young man learns how to fence and then spends his time in duelling is considered quite natural and respectable. But boxing—that is brutal! Why? There is no other sport which equals this in developing the militant spirit, none that demands such a power of rapid decision or gives the body the flexibility of fine steel. It is no more vulgar for two young people to settle their differences with their fists rather than with sharp-pointed

pieces of steel. One who is attacked and defends himself with his fists surely does not act in less manly a fashion than one who runs off and yells for the assistance of a policeman. But, above all, a healthy youth has to learn to endure hard knocks. This principle may appear savage to our contemporary champions who fight only with the weapons of the intellect, but it is not the purpose of the *völkisch* State to raise a colony of aesthetic pacifists and physical degenerates. This State does not consider that the human ideal is to be found in the honourable Philistine or the maidenly spinster, but in a bold prototype of manly virtues and in women capable of bringing men into the world.

Generally speaking, the function of sport is not only to make the individual strong, alert and daring, but also to harden the body and train it to endure adverse conditions.

If our intellectual upper classes had not been trained exclusively in the art of gentlemanly behaviour and if, on the contrary, they had learned boxing, it would never have been possible for bullies, deserters and other such *canaille* to carry through a German revolution, for the success of this revolution was not due to the courageous, energetic and audacious activities of its authors, but to the lamentable cowardice and irresolution of those who ruled the German State at that time and were responsible for it. Our educated leaders had received only an 'intellectual' training and therefore found themselves defenceless when their adversaries used crowbars instead of intellectual weapons. All this could happen only because our superior scholastic system did not train men to be real men, but merely to be civil servants, engineers, technicians, chemists, *littérateurs*, jurists and, finally, professors, lest intellectualism die out.

Our leaders in the purely intellectual sphere have always been brilliant, but when it came to taking resolute action in practical affairs our leaders have been beneath criticism.

Of course, education cannot make a courageous man out of one who is temperamentally a coward, but a man who naturally possesses a certain degree of courage will not be able to develop that quality if his defective education has

made him inferior to others from the very start as regards physical strength and prowess. The Army offers the best example of the fact that the knowledge of his physical ability develops a man's courage and militant spirit. Outstanding heroes were not the rule in the Army, but men of average courage. The excellent schooling which the German soldier received before the War imbued the members of the whole gigantic organism with a degree of confidence in their own superiority such as even our opponents never thought possible. All the immortal examples of dauntless courage and daring which the German armies gave during the late summer and autumn of 1914, as they advanced from triumph to triumph, were the result of that training which had been pursued systematically. During the long years of peace before the last war men who were almost physical weaklings were made capable of incredible deeds, and thus a self-confidence was developed which did not fail them even in the most terrible battles.

It is our German people, which is now in a state of collapse and helpless to defend itself against the kicks dealt it by the rest of the world, that has need of the power that is the outcome of self-confidence. But this confidence in oneself must be instilled into our children from their very early years. The whole system of education and training must be directed towards fostering in the child the conviction that he is unquestionably a match for anybody and everybody. The individual has to regain his own physical strength and prowess in order to believe in the invincibility of the nation to which he belongs. What has formerly led the German armies to victory was the sum total of the confidence which each individual had in himself, and which all of them had in their leaders. What will restore the national strength of the German people is the conviction that they will be able to regain their liberty, but this conviction can only be the final product of this same feeling in millions of individuals. And here again we must have no illusions.

The collapse of our people was overwhelming, and the efforts to put an end to so much misery must be superhuman.

It would be a bitter and grave error to believe that our people could be made strong again simply by means of our present bourgeois training in good order and obedience. That will not suffice if we are to break up the present order of things, which now sanctions the acknowledgment of our defeat, and cast the broken chains of our slavery in the faces of our opponents. Only by a superabundance of national energy and a passionate thirst for liberty can we recover what has been lost.

Again, the manner of clothing the young should be such as harmonizes with this purpose. It is really lamentable to see how our young people have fallen victims to a fashion mania which perverts the meaning of the old adage that clothes make the man.

Especially in regard to young people, clothes should have their place in educational training. The boy who walks about in summer-time wearing long baggy trousers and clad up to the neck is hampered by his clothes from feeling any inclination towards strenuous physical exercise. Ambition and, to speak quite frankly, even vanity must be appealed to. I do not mean such vanity as leads people to want to wear fine clothes, which not everybody can afford, but rather the vanity which makes a person want to develop a fine physique which everybody can try to do.

This is also of value in later years. The young girl must get to know her mate. If the beauty of the body were not completely forced into the background to-day through our stupid manner of dressing, it would not be possible for thousands of our girls to be led astray by Jewish mongrels, with their repulsive crooked waddle. It is also in the interests of the nation that those of beautiful physique should mate in order that they may play their part in providing the nation with fresh beauty.

Since we have at present no form of military training and since, consequently, the only institution which, in peacetime at least, partly made up for the lack of physical training in our education is now lacking, what I have suggested is all the more necessary in our time. The success of our old

military training not only showed itself in the education of the individual, but also in the influence which it exercised over the mutual relationship between the sexes. The young girl preferred the soldier to one who was not a soldier. The *völkisch* State must not confine its control of physical training to the official school period, but must demand that, after leaving school, and while his adolescent body is still developing, the boy continues this training, for on such proper physical development, success in after-life largely depends. It is stupid to think that the right of the State to supervise the education of its young citizens suddenly comes to an end the moment they leave school and recommences only with military service. This right is a duty, and as such it must continue uninterruptedly. The present State, which does not interest itself in developing healthy men, has criminally neglected its duty. It leaves our contemporary youth to be corrupted on the streets and in the brothels, instead of keeping hold of the reins and continuing the physical training of these young people up to the time when they are grown into healthy young men and women.

For the present, it is a matter of indifference what form the State chooses for carrying on this training. The essential thing is that it should be developed and that the most suitable ways of doing so should be investigated. The *völkisch* State will have to consider the physical training of the youth after the school period just as much a public duty as his intellectual training, and this training will have to be carried out through public institutions. On general lines it can be a preparation for subsequent service in the Army, and then it will no longer be the task of the Army to teach the young recruit the most elementary drill regulations. In fact, the Army will no longer have to deal with recruits in the present sense of the word, but will rather have to transform into a soldier the youth whose bodily prowess has already been fully developed.

In the *völkisch* State the Army will no longer be obliged to teach boys how to walk and stand erect, but it will be the final and supreme school of patriotic education. In the

Army the young recruit will learn the art of bearing arms and at the same time he will be equipped for his other duties in later life. The supreme aim of military education must always be to achieve that which was attributed to the old Army as its highest merit, namely, that through his military schooling the boy must be transformed into a man, that he must not only learn to obey, but also acquire the fundamentals that will enable him one day to command. He must learn to remain silent, not only when he is justly rebuked, but also when he is unjustly rebuked. Furthermore, in the consciousness of his own strength and on the basis of that *esprit de corps* which inspires him and his comrades, he must become convinced that he belongs to a nation which is invincible.

After he has completed his military training two certificates shall be handed to the soldier. The one will be his diploma as a citizen of the State, a juridical document which will enable him to take part in public affairs. The second will be an attestation of his physical health, which guarantees his fitness for marriage.

The *völkisch* State will have to direct the education of girls just as that of boys and according to the same fundamental principles. Here again, special importance must be assigned to physical training, and only after that must the importance of spiritual and mental training be taken into account. In the education of the girl the final goal always to be kept in mind is that she is one day to be a mother.

In the second place, the *völkisch* State must busy itself with the all-round training of character.

Of course, the essential traits of the individual character are already there before any education takes place. A person who is fundamentally egotistic will always remain fundamentally egotistic, and the idealist will always remain fundamentally an idealist. Besides those, however, who already possess a definite stamp of character there are millions of people with characters that are indefinite and vague. The born delinquent will always remain a delinquent, but numerous people who show only a certain tendency to commit

criminal acts may become useful members of the community if rightly trained; whereas, on the other hand, weak and unstable characters may easily become evil elements if the system of education is bad.

During the War it was often lamented that our people could be so little reticent. This failing made it very difficult to keep even highly important secrets from the knowledge of the enemy. But let us put the question: What did the German educational system do in pre-war times to teach Germans to be discreet? Did it not very often happen in school-days that the little tell-tale was preferred to his companions who kept their mouths shut? Is it not true that then, as well as now, complaining about others was considered praiseworthy 'candour,' while silent discretion was taken as obstinacy? Has any attempt ever been made to teach the young that discretion is a precious and manly virtue? No, for such matters are trifles in the eyes of our education authorities. But these trifles cost our State innumerable millions in legal expenses, for ninety per cent of all the processes for defamation and similar charges arise only from a lack of discretion. Remarks that are made without any sense of responsibility are thoughtlessly repeated from mouth to mouth, and our economic welfare is continually damaged because important methods of production are carelessly disclosed. Secret preparations for our national defence are rendered illusory because our people have never learned the duty of silence. They repeat everything they happen to hear. In time of war such talkative habits may even cause the loss of battles and may therefore contribute essentially to the unsuccessful outcome of a campaign. Here, as in other matters, we may rest assured that adults cannot do what they have not learnt to do in youth. A teacher must not try to discover the wild tricks of the boys by encouraging the evil practice of tale-bearing. Young people form a sort of state among themselves and face adults with a certain solidarity. That is quite natural. The ties which unite the ten-year-old boys to one another are stronger and more natural than their relationship to adults. A boy who tells

on his comrades commits an act of treason and shows a bent of character which is, to speak bluntly, similar to that of a man who commits high treason. Such a boy must not be classed as 'good,' 'reliable,' and so on, but rather as one with undesirable traits of character. It may be rather convenient for the teacher to make use of such unworthy tendencies in order to help him in his own work, but by such an attitude the germ of a moral habit is sown in young hearts and may one day have fatal consequences. It has happened more often than once that a young informer developed into a scoundrel.

This is only one example among many. The deliberate training of fine and noble traits of character in our schools to-day is almost negative. In the future much more emphasis will have to be laid on this side of our educational work. Loyalty, self-sacrifice, and discretion are virtues which a great nation must possess, and the teaching and development of these in the schools is a more important matter than many other things now included in the curriculum. To make the children give up habits of complaining, whining and howling when they are hurt, etc., also belongs to this part of their training. If the educational system fails to teach the child at an early age to endure pain and injury without complaining we cannot be surprised, if at a later age, when the boy has grown to manhood and is, for example, in the trenches, the postal service is used for nothing but to send home letters full of grumbles and complaints. If our youths, during their years in the primary schools, had had their minds crammed with a little less knowledge and if, instead, they had been better taught how to be masters of themselves, it would have served us well during the years 1915-1918.

In its educational system the *völkisch* State will have to attach the highest importance to the development of character, hand-in-hand with physical training. Many more defects which our national organism betrays at present could be ameliorated, if not completely eliminated, by education of the right kind.

Extreme importance should be attached to the training of will-power and young people should be trained to make firm decisions and to accept responsibility.

In the training of our old Army the principle was in vogue that any order is always better than no order. Applied to our youth this principle ought to take the form that any answer is better than no answer. The fear of replying, because one fears to be wrong, ought to be considered more humiliating than giving the wrong reply. On this simple and primitive basis, our youth should be trained to have the courage to act.

It has been often lamented that in November and December 1918 all the authorities lost their heads and that, from the monarch down to the last divisional commander nobody had sufficient mettle to make a decision on his own responsibility. That terrible fact constitutes a grave charge against our educational system, because what was revealed on a colossal scale in that moment of catastrophe was only what happens on a smaller scale everywhere among us. It is the lack of will-power, and not the lack of arms, which renders us incapable of offering any serious resistance to-day. This defect is found everywhere among our people and prevents decisive action wherever risks have to be taken, as if any great action can be taken without involving risk. Quite unsuspectingly, a German general found a formula for this lamentable lack of the will-to-act when he said, "I act only when I can count on a fifty-one per cent chance of success." In that 'fifty-one per cent chance' we find the very key to the German collapse. The man who demands from Fate a guarantee of his success deliberately denies the significance of heroic action, for this significance consists in the very fact that, in the definite knowledge that the situation in question is fraught with mortal danger, an action is undertaken which may lead to success. A patient suffering from cancer, who knows that his death is certain if he does not undergo an operation, needs no assurance of a fifty-one per cent chance of a cure before facing the operation, and if the operation promise only a fraction of a one per cent

probability of success a man of courage would risk it and he who does not take the risk has no right to whine.

Taking all in all, cowardly lack of will-power and inability to form resolutions are mainly the outcome of the fundamentally wrong training which our young people receive. The disastrous effects become evident in later life and reach their peak in the lack of civilian courage which our leading statesmen display. The cowardice which leads nowadays to the shirking of every kind of responsibility springs from the same source. Here again it is the fault of the education given to our young people. This drawback permeates all sections of public life and finds its consummation in the institutions of government that function under the parliamentary regime.

Even in the schools, unfortunately, more value is attached to confession and full repentance and 'contrite abjuration,' on the part of little sinners than to a simple and frank avowal. But this latter seems to-day, in the eyes of many a teacher, to savour of a spirit of utter incorrigibility and depravity, and, though it may seem incredible, many a boy is told that the gallows is waiting for him, because he has shown certain traits which might be of inestimable value to the nation as a whole.

Just as the *völkisch* State must one day give its attention to training the will-power and capacity for decision among the youth, so too it must cultivate in the hearts of the younger generation from early childhood onwards a readiness to accept responsibility, and the courage to make open and frank avowal. If it recognizes the full significance of this necessity, finally—after a century of educative work—it will succeed in building up a nation which will no longer be subject to those defects that have contributed so disastrously to bring about our present overthrow.

The formal imparting of knowledge, which constitutes the chief work of our educational system to-day, will be taken over by the *völkisch* State with only few modifications. These modifications must be made in three branches.

First of all, the brains of young people must not

be generally burdened with subjects of which ninety-five per cent is useless to them and is therefore forgotten again. The curriculum of the primary and central schools presents an odd mixture at the present time. In many branches of study the subject matter to be learned has become so enormous that only a very small fraction of it can be remembered later on, and indeed only a very small fraction of this whole mass of knowledge can be used. On the other hand, what is learned is insufficient for anybody who wishes to specialize in any certain branch for the purpose of earning his daily bread. Take, for example, the average civil servant who has passed through the *Gymnasium* or High School, and ask him, at the age of thirty or forty, how much he has retained of the knowledge that was crammed into him with so much pains. How much is retained of all that was stuffed into his brain? He will certainly answer, "Well, the sole purpose of all I swotted up in those days was not to provide me with a great stock of knowledge from which I could draw in later years; but it served to develop the understanding, the memory, and above all it helped to strengthen the thinking power of the brain." That is partly true. And yet it is somewhat dangerous to submerge a young brain in a flood of impressions, which it can hardly master and the single elements of which it cannot discern or appreciate at their true value. It is mostly the essential part of this knowledge, and not the incidental, that is forgotten and sacrificed. Thus the principal purpose of this copious instruction is frustrated, for that purpose cannot be to make the brain capable of learning by simply offering it an enormous and varied amount of subjects for acquisition, but rather to furnish the individual with that stock of knowledge which he will need in later life and which he can use for the good of the community. This aim, however, is rendered illusory if, because of the superabundance of subjects that have been crammed into his head in childhood, a person is able to remember nothing, or at least not the essential portion, of all this in later life. There is no reason why millions of people should learn two or three languages during

their school years, when only a very small fraction will have the opportunity to use these languages in later life and when most of them will therefore forget these languages completely. To take one instance, out of one hundred thousand students who learn French there are probably not two thousand who will be in a position to make use of this accomplishment in later life, while ninety-eight thousand will never have a chance to utilize in practice what they have learned in youth.

They have spent thousands of hours on a subject which will afterwards be of no value or importance to them. The argument that these subjects form part of a general education is invalid. It would be sound if all these people were able to use this learning in after-life. But, as matters stand, ninety-eight thousand are tortured to no purpose and waste valuable time, for the sake of the two thousand to whom the language will be of any use.

In the case of that language which I have chosen as an example it cannot be said that the learning of it educates the student in logical thinking or sharpens his mental acumen, as the learning of Latin, for instance, might be said to do. It would, therefore, be much better to teach young students only the general outline or, better, the inner structure of such a language, that is to say, to allow them to discern the characteristic features of the language, or perhaps to make them acquainted with the rudiments of its grammar, its pronunciation, its syntax, style, etc. That would be sufficient for average students, because it would provide a clearer view of the whole and could be more easily remembered and would be more practical than the present-day attempt to cram into their heads detailed knowledge of the whole language, which they can never master and which they will readily forget. If this method were adopted, then we should avoid the danger that, out of the superabundance of matter taught, only some fragments will remain in the memory, for the children would then have to learn what is worth while, and the selection between the useful and the useless would thus have been made beforehand. As regards the majority of students, the knowledge

and understanding of the rudiments of a language would be quite sufficient for the rest of their lives, and those who really do need this language subsequently would thus have a foundation on which to build, should they choose to make a more thorough study of it. By adopting such a curriculum the necessary amount of time would be gained for physical exercises, as well as for a more intense training in the various educational fields that have already been mentioned.

A reform of particular importance is that which ought to take place in the present methods of teaching history. Scarcely any other people is made to study as much history as the Germans, and scarcely any other people makes such bad use of its historical knowledge. If politics are history in the making, then our way of teaching history stands condemned by the way we have conducted our politics. But, there would be no point in bewailing the lamentable results of our political conduct, unless we are now determined to give our people a better political education. In ninety-nine out of one hundred cases the results of our present teaching of history are deplorable. Usually only a few dates, years of birth and names, remain in the memory, while a knowledge of the main and clearly defined lines of historical development is completely lacking. The essential features which are of real significance are not taught. It is left to the more or less bright intelligence of the individual to discover the inner motivating urge amid the mass of dates and chronological succession of events.

You may object as strongly as you like to this unpleasant statement, but read with attention the speeches which our parliamentarians make during one single session on the problems connected with, let us say, foreign policy. Remember that these gentlemen are, or claim to be, the élite of the German nation and that at least a great number of them have sat on the benches of our secondary schools and that many of them have passed through our universities. Then you will realize how defective the historical education of these men has been. If these gentlemen had never studied history at all, but had possessed a sound instinct for public

affairs, things would have gone better, and the nation would have benefited greatly thereby.

The subject matter of our history teaching must be curtailed. The chief value of that teaching is to make the principal lines of historical development understood. The more our historical teaching is limited to this task, the more we may hope that it will turn out subsequently to be of advantage to the individual and, through the individual, to the community as a whole, for history must not be studied merely with a view to knowing what happened in the past, but as a guide for the future, and to teach us what policy would be the best to follow for the preservation of our own people. That is the real end, and the teaching of history is only a means to attain this end. But here again the means has superseded the end in our contemporary education. The goal is completely forgotten. Do not retort that a profound study of history demands a detailed knowledge of all these dates because otherwise we could not fix the great lines of development. That task falls to the professional historians, but the average man is not a professor of history. For him history has only one mission and that is to provide him with that amount of historical knowledge which is necessary in order to enable him to form an independent opinion on the political affairs of his own country. The man who wants to become a professor of history can devote himself to all the details later on. Naturally he will have to occupy himself even with the smallest details. Of course our present teaching of history is not adequate to all this. Its scope is too vast for the average student and too limited for the student who wishes to be a historical expert.

Finally, it is the business of the *völkisch* State to arrange for the writing of a world history in which the racial problem will occupy a dominant position.

To sum up: The *völkisch* State must reconstruct our system of general instruction in such a way that it will embrace only what is essential. Beyond this it will have to make provision for more advanced teaching in the various subjects for those who want to specialize in them. It will

suffice for the average individual to be acquainted with the fundamentals of the various subjects to serve as the basis of what may be called an all-round education. He ought to study exhaustively and in detail only that subject in which he intends to work during the rest of his life. General instruction in all subjects should be obligatory, and specialization should be left to the choice of the individual.

In this way the scholastic programme would be shortened, and thus several school hours would be gained which could be utilized for physical exercise and character training in will-power, the capacity for making practical judgments, decisions, etc.

The little account taken by our school training to-day, especially in the central schools, of the callings that have to be followed in after-life is demonstrated by the fact that men who are destined for the same calling in life are educated in three different kinds of schools. What is of decisive importance is general education and not specialized teaching. When special knowledge is needed it cannot be given in the curriculum of our central schools as they are to-day. The *völkisch* State will, therefore, one day have to abolish such half-measures.

The second modification in the curriculum which the *völkisch* State will have to make is the following: It is a characteristic of our materialistic epoch that our scientific education shows a growing emphasis on what is real and practical, on such subjects as, for instance, applied mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. Of course, they are necessary in an age that is dominated by industrial technology and chemistry, and of which they are, externally at least, a most significant factor of everyday life, but it is dangerous to base the general education of the nation on a knowledge of these subjects to the exclusion of all others. General education should, on the contrary, be on cultural lines. It ought to be founded more on classical studies and should aim at providing only the groundwork for specialized instruction later on in the various practical sciences. Otherwise we should sacrifice those forces that are more important

for the preservation of the nation than any technical knowledge. In the history department the study of ancient history should not be omitted. Roman history, along general lines, is, and will remain, the best teacher, not only for our own time, but also for the future, and the ideal of Hellenic culture should be preserved for us in all its marvellous beauty. The differences between the various peoples should not prevent us from recognizing the community of race which unites them on a higher plane. The conflict of our time is one that is being waged around great objectives. A civilization is fighting for its existence. It is a civilization that is the product of thousands of years of historical development, and the Greek as well as the German forms part of it.

A clear-cut division must be made between general education and specialized subjects. To-day the latter threaten more and more to become debased in the service of Mammon. To counterbalance this tendency, general culture should be preserved, at least in its ideal forms. The principle should be repeatedly emphasized, that industrial and technical progress, trade and commerce, can flourish only as long as a folk-community inspired by ideals provides the requisite basis. That condition is not created by a spirit of materialistic egotism, but by a spirit of self-denial and the joy of giving oneself in the service of others.

The system of education which obtains to-day sees its principal object in cramming into young people that knowledge which will help them to make their way in life. This principle is expressed in the following terms, "The young man must one day become a useful member of human society. That phrase refers to his ability to gain an honest livelihood. The superficial training in the duties of good citizenship, which he acquires merely incidentally, has very weak foundations, for in itself the State represents only a vessel, and therefore it is difficult to train people to look upon this vessel as the ideal which they will have to serve and towards which they must feel responsible. A vessel can be too easily broken. But, as we have seen, people to-day

have no clear-cut concept of what the term 'State' implies. Therefore, there is nothing but the usual stereotyped 'patriotic training. In the old Germany this mainly took the form of an adulation (which was often rather stupid and usually boring) of petty potentates who were so numerous that it became necessary to omit all mention of the really great men whom Germany has produced. The result was that the broad masses acquired a very inadequate knowledge of German history. Here, too, the great lines of development were missing.

It is evident that by such methods no real national enthusiasm could be aroused. Our educational system proved incapable of selecting from the general mass of our historical personages the names of a few personalities which the German people could be proud to look upon as their own. Thus the whole nation might have been united by the ties of a common knowledge of this common heritage. The really important figures in German history were not presented to the present generation. The attention of the whole nation was not concentrated on them for the purpose of awakening a common national spirit. From the various subjects that were taught, those who had charge of our training seemed incapable of selecting what redounded most to the national honour and of lifting that above the common objective level, in order to inflame the national pride in the light of such brilliant examples. At that time such a course would have been looked upon as rank chauvinism, which did not then have a very pleasant savour. Pettifogging dynastic patriotism was more acceptable and more easily tolerated than the glowing fire of a supreme national pride. The former could always be pressed into service, whereas the latter might one day become a dominating force. Monarchist patriotism terminated in associations of veterans, whereas passionate national patriotism might have opened a road whose goal would have been difficult to determine. This national passion is like a thoroughbred which will not tolerate any sort of rider in the saddle. No wonder that most people preferred to shirk such a danger. Nobody seemed to

think it possible' that one day a war might come which would put the mettle of this kind of patriotism to the test, in artillery bombardments and waves of attacks with poison-gas. But when it did come our lack of this patriotic passion was avenged in a terrible way. None were very enthusiastic about dying for their imperial and royal sovereigns, whilst on the other hand, the 'nation' was not recognized by the greater number of the soldiers.

Since the Revolution has taken place in Germany and monarchist patriotism has become a thing of the past, the purpose of teaching history has merely been to add to the stock of objective knowledge. The present State has no use for patriotic enthusiasm, but it will never obtain what it really desires, for if dynastic patriotism failed to produce a supreme power of resistance at a time when the principle of nationalism dominated, it will be still less possible to arouse republican enthusiasm. There can be no doubt that the German people would not have stood on the field of battle for four and a half years and fought to the battle slogan, 'For the Republic' — least of all those who created this grand institution.

In reality this Republic has been allowed to exist undisturbed only by virtue of its readiness in assuring all and sundry of its willingness to pay tribute and reparations to the foreigner and to put its signature to any kind of territorial renunciation. The rest of the world approves of it, just as a weakling is always more pleasing to those who want to bend him to their own will than is a man of mettle. But the fact that the enemy likes this form of government is the worst kind of condemnation. They love the German Republic and tolerate its existence because no better instrument could be found to help them to keep our people in slavery. It is to this fact alone that this magnanimous institution owes its survival. That is why it can dispense with any *real* system of national education and can feel satisfied when the heroes who belong to the Reich Banner organization shout their hurrahs, but in reality these same heroes would scamper

away like rabbits if called upon to defend that banner with their blood.

The *völkisch* State will have to fight for its existence. It will neither gain nor secure this existence by signing documents like the Dawes Plan, but for its existence and defence it will need precisely those things with which our present system believes it can dispense. The more worthy its form and its inner national character, the greater will be the envy and opposition of its adversaries. The best defence will not be in the arms it possesses, but in its citizens. It is not fortresses that will protect it, but the living wall of its men and women, filled with an ardent love for their country and a passionate spirit of national patriotism.

Therefore, the third point which will have to be considered in relation to our educational system is the following:- The *völkisch* State must realize that the sciences may also be made a means of promoting a spirit of pride in the nation. Not only the history of the world, but the history of civilization as a whole, must be taught in the light of this principle. An inventor must appear great not only as an inventor but also, and even more so, as a member of the nation. The admiration aroused by the contemplation of a great achievement must be transformed into a feeling of pride and satisfaction that a man of one's own race has been chosen to accomplish it. But out of the abundance of great names in German history the greatest will have to be selected and presented to our younger generation in such a way as to become solid pillars of strength to support the national spirit.

The subject matter ought to be systematically organized from the standpoint of this principle, and the teaching should be so orientated that the boy or girl, after leaving school, will not be a semi-pacifist, a democrat or something else of that kind, but a whole-hearted German. In order that this national feeling be sincere from the very beginning, and not a mere pretence, the following fundamental and inflexible principle should be impressed on the young brain while it is yet malleable:- The man who loves his nation can prove

the sincerity of this sentiment only by being ready to make sacrifices for the nation's welfare. There is no such thing as a national sentiment which is directed towards personal interests, and there is no such thing as a nationalism that embraces only certain classes. Hurrahs prove nothing and does not confer the right to call oneself national if behind that shout there is no sincere preoccupation for the conservation of the nation's well-being. One can be proud of one's people only if there is no class left of which one need be ashamed. When one half of a nation is sunk in misery and worn out by hardship and distress, or even depraved or degenerate, that nation presents such an unattractive picture that nobody can feel proud to belong to it. It is only when a nation is sound in all its members, physically and morally, that the joy of belonging to it can grow and swell to that supreme feeling which we call national pride. But this pride, in its highest form, can be felt only by those who know the greatness of their nation.

The spirit of nationalism and a feeling for social justice must be fused into one sentiment in the hearts of the youth. Then a day will come when a nation of citizens will arise which will be welded together through a common love and a common pride that shall be invincible and indestructible for ever.

The dread of chauvinism, which is a symptom of our time, is a sign of its impotence. Since our epoch not only lacks everything in the nature of exuberant energy, but even finds such a manifestation disagreeable, Fate will never select it for the accomplishment of any great deeds, for the greatest changes that have taken place on this earth would have been inconceivable if they had not been inspired by ardent and even hysterical passions, but only by the bourgeois virtues of peaceableness and order.

One thing is certain, namely, that our world is facing a great revolution. The only question is whether the outcome will be propitious for the Aryan portion of mankind or whether the everlasting Jew will profit by it.

By educating the younger generation along the right lines,

the *völkisch* State will have to see to it that a generation of men will arise fit to play its part in this supreme and final combat that will decide the destiny of the world.

That nation will conquer which is the first to take this road.

The whole organization of education and training which the *völkisch* State is to build up must regard as its crowning task the work of instilling into the hearts and minds of the youth entrusted to it the racial instinct and understanding of the racial idea. No boy or girl must leave school without having attained a clear insight into the meaning of racial purity and the importance of maintaining our racial blood unadulterated. Thus the first indispensable condition for the preservation of our race will have been established and the future cultural progress of our people assured, for all physical and mental training would be in vain unless it benefits an entity which is ready and determined to carry on its own existence and to maintain its own characteristic qualities.

If it were otherwise, something would result which we Germans have cause to regret already, without perhaps having hitherto recognized the extent of the tragic calamity. Even in future we should be doomed to remain mere manure for civilization, and that not in the banal sense of the contemporary bourgeois mind, which sees in a lost fellow-member of our people only a lost citizen, but in a sense which we should have to recognize in sorrow, namely, that our racial blood would be destined to disappear. By continually mixing with other races we might lift them from their former lower level of civilization to a higher plane, but we ourselves should descend for ever from the heights we had reached.

Finally, from the racial standpoint, this training must also find its culmination in military service. The term of military service is to be a final stage in the educational training which the average German receives.

While the *völkisch* State attaches the greatest importance to physical and mental training, it has also to

consider, as no less important, the task of selecting men for the service of the State itself. This important matter is passed over lightly at the present time. Generally, the children of parents who are for the time being in higher situations are, in their turn, considered worthy of a higher education. Here talent plays a subordinate part, but talent can be estimated only relatively. Though in general culture he may be inferior to the city child, a peasant boy may be more talented than the son of a family that has occupied high positions for many generations. But the superior culture of the city child has in itself nothing to do with a greater or lesser degree of talent, for this culture has its roots in the more copious mass of impressions which arise from the more varied education and the surroundings among which this child lives. If the intelligent son of peasant parents were educated from childhood in similar surroundings, his intellectual accomplishments would be quite otherwise. In our day there is only one sphere where the circumstances in which a person has been born mean less than his innate gifts. That is the sphere of art. Here, where a person cannot just 'learn,' but must have innate gifts that later on may undergo a more or less happy development (in the sense of a wise development of what is already there), money and parental property are of no account. This is definite proof that genius is not necessarily connected with the higher social strata or with wealth. Not rarely the greatest artists come from poor families, and many a boy from a country village has eventually become a celebrated artist.

It does not say much for the mental acumen of our time that this truth is not recognized and acted upon to the advantage of our whole intellectual life. The opinion is advanced that this principle, though undoubtedly valid in the field of art, has not the same validity in regard to what are called the applied sciences. It is true that a man can be trained to a certain amount of mechanical dexterity, just as a poodle can be taught incredible tricks by a clever master, but such training does not bring the animal to use his intelligence in order to carry out those tricks. The same

holds good in regard to man. It is possible to teach men, irrespective of talent, to go through certain scientific exercises, but in such cases the results are quite as automatic and mechanical as in the case of the animal. It would even be possible to force a person of mediocre intelligence, by means of an intensive course of intellectual drilling, to acquire more than the average amount of knowledge; but that knowledge would remain sterile. The result would be a man who might be a walking dictionary of knowledge, but who would fail miserably on every critical occasion in life and at every juncture where vital decisions had to be taken. Such people need to be drilled specially for every new and even most insignificant task and will never be capable of contributing in the least to the general progress of mankind. Knowledge that is merely drilled into people can at best qualify them to fill government positions under our present regime.

It goes without saying that, among the sum total of individuals who make up a nation, gifted people are always to be found in every sphere of life. It is also quite natural that the value of knowledge will be the greater the more vitally the dead mass of learning is animated by the innate talent of the individual who possesses it. Creative work in this field can be done only through the marriage of knowledge and talent.

One example will suffice to show how much our contemporary world is at fault in this matter. From time to time our illustrated papers publish, for the edification of the German Philistine, the news that in some quarter or other of the globe, and for the first time in that locality, a negro has become a lawyer, a teacher, a pastor, or even a grand opera singer or something else of that kind. While the bourgeois blockhead stares with amazed admiration at the paragraph that tells him how marvellous are the achievements of our modern educational technique, the more cunning Jew sees in this fact a new proof to be utilized for the spreading of the theory with which he wants to infect the public, namely, that all men are equal. It does not dawn on the murky

bourgeois mind that the fact which is published for him is a sin against reason itself, that it is an act of criminal insanity to train a being who is only an anthropoid by birth until the pretence can be made that he has been turned into a lawyer; while, on the other hand, millions who belong to the most civilized races have to remain in positions which are unworthy of their cultural level. The bourgeois mind does not realize that it is a sin against the will of the eternal Creator to allow hundreds of thousands of highly gifted people to remain floundering in the swamp of proletarian misery, while Hottentots and Zulus are drilled to fill positions in the intellectual professions, for here we have the product only of a drilling technique, just as in the case of the performing dog. If the same amount of care and effort were applied among intelligent races, each individual would become a thousand times more capable in such matters.

This state of affairs would become intolerable if a day should dawn when it is no longer a matter of exceptional cases, but the situation is already intolerable where talent and natural gifts are not taken as decisive factors in qualifying for the right to a higher education. It is indeed intolerable to think that year after year hundreds of thousands of young people without a vestige of talent are deemed worthy of a higher education, while other hundreds of thousands who possess high natural gifts have to go without any sort of higher schooling at all. The practical loss thus suffered by the nation is incalculable. If the number of important discoveries which have been made in North America, in particular, has grown considerably in recent years, one of the reasons is that the number of gifted persons belonging to the lowest social classes who were given a higher education in that country is proportionately much larger than in Europe.

A stock of knowledge packed into the brain will not suffice for the making of discoveries. What counts here is only that knowledge which is illuminated by natural talent,

but with us at the present time no value is placed on such gifts. Only good school reports count.

Here is another educative work that is waiting for the *völkisch* State to accomplish. It will not be its task to assure a dominant influence to a certain social class already existing, but it will be its duty to attract the most competent brains in the total mass of the nation and promote them to place and honour. It is not merely the duty of the State to give to the average child a certain amount of education in the primary school, but it is also its duty to make it possible for talent to develop, and above all, it must open the doors of the colleges and universities to talent of every sort, no matter in what social circles it may appear. This is an imperative necessity, for thus alone will it be possible to develop a talented body of public leaders from among the class which has acquired sterile learning.

There is still another reason why the State should provide for this situation. Our intellectual class, particularly in Germany, is so shut up in itself and fossilized that it lacks living contact with the classes beneath it. Two evil consequences result from this. Firstly, the intellectual class neither understands nor sympathizes with the broad masses. It has been so long cut off from all connection with them that it cannot understand their psychology. It has become estranged from the people. Secondly, the intellectual class lacks the necessary will-power, for this faculty is always weaker in cultivated circles, which live in seclusion, than among the primitive masses of the people. God knows we Germans have never been lacking in abundant scientific culture, but we have always had a considerable lack of will-power and of the capacity for making decisions. For example, the more intellectual our statesmen have been, the more lacking they have been, for the most part, in practical achievement. Our political preparation and our technical equipment for the World War were defective, certainly not because the brains governing the nation were too little educated, but because the men who directed our public affairs were over-educated, filled to overflowing with knowledge and intelligence. yet

without any sound instinct and simply without energy, or any spirit of daring. It was our nation's tragedy to have to fight for its existence under a Chancellor who was a dilly-dallying philosopher. If, instead of a Bethman Hollweg, we had had a more robust man of the people as our leader, the heroic blood of the common grenadier would not have been shed in vain. The exaggeratedly intellectual material out of which our leaders were made, proved to be the best ally of the scoundrels who carried out the November Revolution. These intellectuals safeguarded the national wealth in a miserly fashion; instead of conscripting it to its limits they created the conditions under which others won success.

Here, the Catholic Church presents an instructive example. Clerical celibacy forces the Church to recruit its priests not from their own ranks, but progressively from the masses of the people. Yet there are not many who recognize the significance of celibacy in this relation. Therein lies the cause of the inexhaustible vigour which characterizes that ancient institution, for by thus unceasingly recruiting the ecclesiastical dignitaries from the lower classes of the people, the Church is enabled not only to maintain the contact of instinctive understanding with the masses of the population, but also to assure itself of always being able to draw upon that fund of energy which is present only among the lower classes — hence the surprising youthfulness of that gigantic organism, its mental flexibility and its iron resolution.

It will be the task of the *völkisch* State so to organize and administer its educational system that the existing intellectual class will be constantly furnished with a supply of fresh blood from beneath. From the bulk of the nation the State must sift out with careful scrutiny those persons who are endowed with natural talents and see to it that they are employed in the service of the community, for neither the State itself nor the various departments of State exist to furnish revenues for members of a special class, but to fulfil the tasks allotted to them. This will be possible, however, only if the State trains individuals specially for

these offices. Such individuals must have the necessary fundamental capability and will-power. The principle does not hold good only in regard to the civil service, but also in regard to all those who are to take part in the intellectual and moral leadership of the people, no matter in what sphere they may be employed. The greatness of a people is partly dependent on the condition that it must succeed in training the best brains for those branches of the public service for which they show a special natural aptitude and in placing them in the offices where they can do their best work for the good of the community. If two nations of equal strength and quality engage in a mutual conflict, that nation will come out victorious which has entrusted its intellectual and moral leadership to its best talents and that nation will go under whose government represents only a common food trough for privileged groups or classes irrespective of the innate talents of its individual members.

Of course, such a reform seems impossible in the world as it is to-day. The objection will at once be raised, that it is too much to expect from the favourite son of a highly-placed civil servant, for instance, that he shall work with his hands simply because somebody else, whose parents belong to the working-class seems more capable of filling a job in the civil service. That argument may be valid as long as manual work is looked upon as it is looked upon to-day. Hence the *völkisch* State will have to take up an attitude towards the appreciation of manual labour which will be fundamentally different from that which now exists. If necessary, it will have to organize a persistent system of teaching which will aim at abolishing the stupid present-day habit of looking down on manual labour as an occupation to be ashamed of.

The individual will have to be valued, not by the class of work he does, but by the way in which he does it and by its usefulness to the community. This statement may sound monstrous in an epoch when the most brainless columnist on a newspaper staff is more esteemed than the most expert mechanic, merely because the former pushes a pen.

But, as I have said, this false valuation does not correspond to the true nature of things. It has been artificially introduced, and there was a time when it did not exist at all. The present unnatural state of affairs is one of those general morbid phenomena that have arisen from our materialistic epoch. Fundamentally, every kind of work has a double value: the one material the other ideal. The material value depends on the importance of the work in the life of the community. The greater the number of the population who benefit from the work, directly or indirectly, the higher will be its material value. This evaluation is expressed in the material recompense which the individual receives for his labour. In contradistinction to this purely material value there is the ideal value. Here the work performed is not judged by its material importance, but by the degree to which it answers a necessity. Certainly the material utility of an invention may be greater than that of the service rendered by an ordinary workman; but it is also certain that the community needs each of those small daily services just as much as the greater services. From the material point of view a distinction can be made in the evaluation of different kinds of work according to their utility to the community, and this distinction is expressed by differentiation in the scale of recompense; but on the ideal or abstract plane all workmen become equal the moment each strives to do his best in his own field, no matter what that field may be. It is on this that a man's value must be estimated, and not on the amount of recompense received.

In a sensibly governed State care must be taken that each individual is given the kind of work which corresponds to his capabilities. In other words, people will be trained for the positions indicated by their natural endowments; but these endowments or faculties are innate and cannot be acquired by any amount of training, being a gift of Nature and not the reward of effort. Therefore, the way in which men are generally esteemed by their fellow-citizens must not be according to the kind of work they do, because that has been more or less assigned to the individual. Seeing

that the kind of work on which the individual is employed is determined by his circumstances and the training which he has, in consequence, received from the community, he will have to be judged by the way in which he performs the work entrusted to him by the community, for the work which the individual performs is not the purpose of his existence, but only a means of livelihood. His real purpose in life is to better himself and raise himself to a higher level as a human being; but this he can only do in and through the community, whose cultural life he shares and this community must always exist on the foundations of a State. He must contribute to the conservation of those foundations. Nature determines the form of this contribution. It is the duty of the individual to return to the community, zealously and honestly, what the community has given him. He who does this deserves the highest respect and esteem. Material remuneration may be given to him whose work has a corresponding utility for the community; but the ideal recompense must lie in the esteem to which everyone has a claim who serves his nation with whatever powers Nature has bestowed upon him and which have been developed by the training he has received from the national community. Then it will no longer be dishonourable to be an honest craftsman, but it will be a source of disgrace to be an inefficient State official, wasting God's day and filching one's daily bread from an honest public. Then it will be looked upon as quite natural that positions should not be given to persons who, of their very nature, are incapable of filling them.

Furthermore, this personal efficiency will be the sole criterion of the right to take part on an equal juridical footing in general civic affairs.

The present epoch is working out its own ruin. It introduces universal suffrage and chatters about equal rights, but can find no foundation for this equality. It considers the material wage as the expression of a man's value and thus destroys the basis of the noblest kind of equality that can exist, for equality cannot and does not depend on the work a man does, but only on the manner in which each one does

the particular work allotted to him. Thus alone will the mere accident of birth be set aside in determining the worth of a man and thus only does the individual become the creator of his own social worth.

At the present time, when whole groups of people estimate each other's value only by the size of the salaries which they respectively receive, there can be no understanding of all this, but that is no reason why we should cease to champion these ideas. On the contrary, in an epoch which is inwardly diseased and decaying anyone who would heal it must have the courage first to probe to the real roots of the disease. The National Socialist Movement must take that duty on its shoulders, it must act over the heads of the small bourgeoisie and rally together and co-ordinate all those elements within the community which are fit to become the protagonists of a new *Weltanschauung*.

Of course the objection will be made that in general it is difficult to differentiate between the material and ideal values of work and that the lower prestige which is attached to manual labour is due to the fact that smaller wages are paid for that kind of work. It will be said that the lower wage is, in its turn, the reason why the manual worker has less chance to participate in the culture of the nation, so that the ideal side of human culture is less open to him although it may have nothing to do with his daily activities. It may be added that reluctance to do physical work is justified by the fact that, on account of his low wages the cultural level of the manual labourer must naturally be low, and that this in turn is a justification for the lower estimation in which manual labour is generally held.

There is a good deal of truth in all this, but that is the very reason why we ought to see that in future there should not be such a wide difference in the scale of remuneration. We will not entertain the argument that under such conditions poorer work would be done. It would be the saddest symptom of decadence if finer intellectual work could be obtained only through the stimulus of higher payment. If that point of view had ruled the world up to

now, humanity would never have come into its great scientific and cultural heritage for the greatest inventions the greatest discoveries, the most profoundly revolutionary scientific work, and the most magnificent monuments of human culture, were not given to the world from greed of gain. On the contrary only too often the fact that they were given to the world meant a renunciation of the worldly pleasures that wealth can purchase.

It may be that money has become the one power that governs life to-day, yet a time will come when men will again bow to higher gods. Much that we have to-day owes its existence to the desire for money and property, but there is very little among all this which would leave the world poorer by its absence.

It is also one of the aims of our Movement to hold out the prospect of a time when the individual will be given what he needs for the purposes of his life and it will be a time in which, on the other hand, the principle will be upheld that man does not live for material enjoyment alone. This principle will find expression in a wisely limited scale of wages and salaries which will enable everyone, including the humblest workman who fulfils his duties conscientiously, to live an honourable and decent life both as a man and as a citizen. Let it not be said that this is merely a visionary ideal, that this world would never tolerate it in practice and that of itself it is impossible to attain.

Even we are not so simple as to believe that there will ever be an age in which there will be no drawbacks, but that does not release us from the obligation to fight for the removal of the defects which we have recognized, to overcome the shortcomings and to strive towards the ideal. In any case, the hard reality of the facts to be faced will always place only too many limits on our aspirations. But that is precisely why man must strive again and again to serve the ultimate aim, and no failures must induce him to renounce his intentions, just as we cannot spurn the sway of justice because mistakes creep into the administration of

the law, and just as we cannot despise medical science because, in spite of it, there will always be disease.

Man should take care not to have too low an estimate of the power of an ideal. If there are some who feel disheartened over present conditions, and if they happen to have served as soldiers, I would remind them of the time when their heroism was the most convincing example of the power inherent in ideal motives. It was not preoccupation about their daily bread that led men to sacrifice their lives, but love of their country, the faith which they had in its greatness, and the common struggle to uphold the honour of the nation. Only after the German people had abandoned these ideals in favour of the material promises offered by the Revolution, only after they had exchanged their arms for the rucksack, only then—instead of entering an earthly paradise—did they sink into the purgatory of universal contempt and universal want.

That is why we must confront the calculators of the materialistic Republic with faith in an ideal Reich.

CHAPTER III

CITIZENS AND SUBJECTS OF THE STATE

THE INSTITUTION THAT IS NOW ERRONEOUSLY called the State generally classifies people in two groups—citizens and aliens. Citizens are all those who possess full civic rights, either by reason of their birth or by an act of naturalization. Aliens are those who enjoy the same rights in some other State. Between these two categories there are certain beings who resemble a sort of meteoric phenomena. They are people who have no citizenship in any State and consequently no civic rights anywhere.

In most cases a person acquires civic rights nowadays by being born within the frontiers of a State. The race or nationality to which he may belong plays no rôle whatsoever. The child of a negro who once lived in one of the German protectorates and now takes up his residence in Germany automatically becomes a 'German citizen' in the eyes of the world. In the same way the child of any Jew, Pole, African or Asian may automatically become a German citizen.

Besides nationality that is acquired through the fact of having been born within the confines of a State, there exists another kind of nationality which can be acquired later. This process is subject to various preliminary requirements. For example, one condition is that, if possible, the applicant must not be a burglar or a pimp. His political attitude must be such as to give no cause for uneasiness; in other words, he must be a harmless simpleton in politics. It is required that he shall not be a burden to the State of which he wishes to become a citizen. In this realistic epoch of ours this last

condition naturally only means that he must not be a financial burden. If the affairs of the candidate are such that it appears likely he will turn out to be a good taxpayer, that is a very important consideration and will help him to obtain civic rights all the more rapidly. The question of race plays no part at all.

The whole process of acquiring civic rights is not very different from that of being admitted to membership of an automobile club, for instance. A person files his application; it is examined; it is sanctioned, and one day the man receives a card which informs him that he has become a citizen. The information is given in an amusing way. An applicant who has hitherto been a Zulu or a Kaffir is informed, "By these presents you have now become a German citizen. The President of the State can perform this piece of magic. What God Himself could not do is achieved by some Theophrastus Paracelsus of a civil servant. A stroke of the pen, and a Mongolian slave is forthwith turned into a real 'German'.

Not only is no question asked regarding the race to which the new citizen belongs; even the matter of his physical health is not inquired into. His flesh may be corrupt with syphilis; but he will still be welcome in the State as it exists to-day, as long as he is not likely to become a financial burden or a political menace. In this way, year after year, those organisms which we call States absorb poisonous matter which they can hardly ever overcome.

Another point of distinction between a citizen and an alien is that the former is admitted to all public offices, that he may possibly have to do military service and that in return, he is permitted to take a passive or active part at public elections. Those are his chief privileges, for in regard to personal rights and personal liberty the alien enjoys the same amount of protection as the citizen, and frequently even more. Anyhow that is what happens in our present German Republic. I fully realize that nobody likes to hear these things, but it would be difficult to find anything more illogical or more insane than our contemporary laws in regard to State citizenship.

At present there exists one State which is making at least a feeble attempt to follow a sounder principle in this respect. It is not, however, in our model German Republic, but in the U.S.A. that efforts are being made to conform at least partly to the dictates of common sense. By refusing to allow immigrants to enter the country if they are in a bad state of health, and by excluding certain races from the right to become naturalized as citizens, they have begun to introduce principles similar to those on which we wish to ground the *völkisch* State.

The *völkisch* State will classify its population in three groups, namely, citizens, subjects of the State, and aliens.

The principle is that birth within the confines of the State gives only the status of a subject. It does not carry with it the right to fill any position under the State or to participate in political life, such as taking an active or passive part in elections. Another principle is that the race and nationality of every subject of the State will have to be proved. A subject is at any time free to cease being a subject and to become a citizen of that country to which he belongs in virtue of his nationality. The only difference between an alien and a subject of the State is that the former is a citizen of another country.

A boy of German nationality who is a subject of the German State is bound to complete the period of school education which is obligatory for every German. Thereby he submits to the system of training which will make him race-conscious and make him realize that he is a member of the folk-community. Then he has to fulfil all those requirements laid down by the State in regard to physical training after he has left school, and finally he enters the Army. The training in the Army is of a general kind. It must be given to each individual German and will render him competent to fulfil the physical and mental requirements of military service. The rights of citizenship will be conferred on every young man, whose health and character have been certified as good, after having completed his period of military service. This act of admission to the dignity of citizenship

will be a solemn ceremony, and the diploma conferring the rights of citizenship will be preserved by the young man as a most precious testimonial throughout his whole life. It entitles him to exercise all the rights of a citizen and to enjoy all the privileges attached thereto, for the State must draw a sharp line of distinction between those who as members of the nation, are the foundation and the support of its existence and greatness, and those who are domiciled in the State simply because they earn their livelihood there.

On the occasion of receiving a diploma of citizenship the new citizen must take a solemn oath of loyalty to the national community and the State. This diploma must be a bond which unites all the various classes and sections of the nation. It must be regarded as a greater honour to be a citizen of this Reich, even as a street-sweeper, than to be the king of a foreign State.

The citizen has privileges which are not accorded to the alien. He is the master in the Reich, but this high honour brings with it obligations. Those who are without personal honour or character, who are common criminals, or traitors to the Fatherland, can at any time be deprived of the rights of citizenship. Thereby they revert to the status of mere subjects of the State.

The German girl is a subject of the State, but becomes a citizen when she marries. At the same time those women who earn their livelihood independently have the right to acquire citizenship, if they are German subjects.

CHAPTER IV

PERSONALITY AND THE IDEAL OF THE *VÖLKISCH* STATE

IF THE PRINCIPAL DUTY OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST *völkisch* State be to educate and promote the existence of those who constitute the material out of which the State is formed, it will not be sufficient to promote those racial elements as such, educate them and finally train them for practical life, but the State must also adapt its own organization to meet the exigencies of this task.

It would be absurd to appraise a man's worth by the race to which he belongs, and at the same time to make war against the Marxist principle that all men are equal, without being determined to pursue our own principle to its logical conclusion. If we admit the significance of blood, that is to say, if we recognize the race as the fundamental element on which all life is based, we shall have to apply to the individual the logical consequences of this principle. In general I must estimate the worth of nations differently, on the basis of the different races from which they spring, and I must also differentiate in estimating the worth of the individual within his own race. The principle that one people is not the same as another, applies also to the individual members of a national community, just as no one man, for instance, is equal to another, because the constituent elements belonging to the same blood vary in a thousand subtle details, though they are fundamentally of the same quality.

The first consequence of recognition of this fact is, if I may use such an expression, somewhat crude, being an attempt to help and promote those elements within the folk-community which are of particular value from the racial

point of view and to encourage them to increase and multiply.

This task is comparatively simple because it can be recognized and carried out almost mechanically. It is much more difficult to select from among the whole bulk of the people those who actually possess the highest intellectual and spiritual characteristics and to assign them to that sphere of influence which not only corresponds to their outstanding talents, but in which their activities will be of benefit to the nation. Selection according to capacity and efficiency cannot be effected in a mechanical way. It is a work which can be accomplished only through the permanent struggle of everyday life itself.

A *Weltanschauung* which repudiates the democratic principle of the rule of the masses and aims at giving this world to the best people—that is, to the highest quality of mankind—must also apply that same aristocratic postulate to the individuals within the folk-community. It must take care that the positions of leadership and highest influence are given to the best men. Hence it is not based on the idea of the majority, but on that of personality.

Anyone who believes that the *völkisch* National Socialist State should distinguish itself from the other States only mechanically, as it were, through the better construction of its economic life—thanks to a better equilibrium between poverty and riches, or to the extension to broader masses of the power to determine the economic process, or to a fairer wage-system, or to the elimination of vast differences in the scale of salaries—anyone who thinks this, understands only the superficial features of our Movement and has not the least idea of what we mean when we speak of our *Weitanschauung*. All these features just mentioned could not guarantee us a lasting existence and certainly would be no warranty of greatness. A nation that could content itself with external reforms would not have the slightest chance of success in the general struggle for life among the nations of the world. A movement that conned its mission to such adjustments, however right and equitable, would effect

no far-reaching or profound reform of the existing order. The whole effect of such measures would be limited to externals. They would not furnish the nation with that moral armament which alone will enable it effectively to overcome the weaknesses from which we are suffering to-day.

In order to elucidate this point of view it may be worth while to glance once again at the real origins and causes of the cultural evolution of mankind.

The first step which visibly raised mankind above the animal world was that which led to the first invention. The invention itself owes its origin to the ruses and stratagems which man employed to assist him in the struggle for existence against other creatures and often to provide him with the only means he could adopt to achieve success in this struggle. Those first very crude inventions do not reveal the individual personality, for the subsequent observer, that is to say, the modern observer, recognizes them only as collective phenomena. Certain tricks and skilful tactics which can be observed among animals strike the eye of the observer as established facts which may be seen everywhere and man is no longer in a position to discover or explain their primary cause and so he contents himself with calling such phenomena instinctive.

In our case, this term has no meaning, because everyone who believes in the higher evolution of living organisms must admit that every manifestation of the vital urge and struggle to live must have had a definite beginning in time and that one subject alone must have manifested it for the first time. It was then repeated again and again, and the practice of it spread over a widening area, until finally it passed into the subconsciousness of every member of the species, where it manifested itself as "instinct."

This is more easily understood and more easy to believe in the case of man. His first skilled tactics in the struggle against the rest of the animals undoubtedly originated with individuals possessing special capabilities.

There can be no doubt that personality was then the sole factor in all decisions and achievements which were afterwards taken over by the whole of humanity as a matter of course. An exact exemplification of this may be found in those fundamental military principles which have now become the basis of all strategy in war. Originally, they sprang from the brain of a single individual and in the course of many years, maybe even thousands of years, they were accepted all round as a matter of course and thus gained universal validity.

Man supplemented his first discovery by making a second. Among other things he learned how to master other living beings and make them serve him in his struggle for existence, and thus began the real inventive activity of mankind, as it is now evident to us. Those material inventions, beginning with the use of stones as weapons, which led to the domestication of animals and the production of fire by artificial means, down to the many marvellous inventions of our own day, reveal more clearly the individual as the originator, the nearer we come to our own time and the more important and revolutionary the inventions become. All the material inventions which we see around us have been produced by the creative powers and capabilities of individuals, and all these inventions help man to raise himself higher and higher above the animal world and to separate himself from that world in an absolutely definite way. Hence, they serve fundamentally to promote the continued progress of the human species. What the most primitive artifice once did for man in his struggle for existence, as he went hunting in the primeval forest, is being done for him to-day in the form of marvellous scientific inventions which help him to wage the present-day struggle for life and forge weapons for future struggles. Ultimately, all human thought and all human inventions help man in his life-struggle on this planet, even though the so-called practical utility of an invention, a discovery or a profound scientific theory, may not be evident at first sight. Everything contributes to raise man higher and higher above the level of all the other creatures that

surround him, thereby strengthening and consolidating his position, so that he develops more and more in every direction as the ruling being on this earth.

Hence, all inventions are the result of the creative faculty of the individual and all such individuals, whether they have willed it or not, are, in a greater or lesser degree, benefactors of mankind. Through their work millions, and indeed billions, of human beings have been provided with means which facilitate their struggle for existence.

If then we see the inventive minds to which we owe the origin of the material civilization of our day, as individuals who supplement one another and continue the work their predecessors have begun, the same is true in regard to the practical application of those inventions and discoveries, for all the various methods of production are in their turn inventions also and consequently dependent on the creative faculty of the individual. Even the purely theoretical work, which cannot be measured by a definite rule and is preliminary to all subsequent technical discoveries, is exclusively the product of the individual brain. Humanity in bulk does not turn out inventions, nor does the majority organize and think, but only the individual man.

Accordingly, a human community is well organized only when it facilitates to the highest possible degree individual creative forces and utilizes their work for the benefit of the community. The most valuable factor of an invention, whether it be in the world of material realities or in the world of abstract ideas, is the personality of the inventor himself. The first and supreme duty of an organized folk-community is to place the inventor in a position where he can be of the greatest benefit to all. Indeed, the very purpose of the organization is to put this principle into practice. Only by so doing can it ward off the curse of mechanization and become a living thing. In itself it must personify the effort to place men of brains above the multitude and to make the latter obey the former.

Therefore, not only does the organization possess no right to prevent men of brains from rising above the

multitude but, on the contrary, it must use its organizing powers to enable and promote their progress as far as it possibly can. It must set out from the principle that the blessings of mankind never came from the masses, but from the creative brains of individuals, who are therefore the real benefactors of humanity. It is in the interest of all to ensure men of creative brains a decisive influence and facilitate their work. This common interest is surely not served by allowing the multitude to rule, for it is not capable of thinking nor is it efficient and in no circumstances whatsoever can it be said to be gifted. Only those should rule who have the natural temperament and gifts of leadership.

Such men of brains are selected mainly, as I have already said, through the hard struggle for existence itself. In this struggle there are many who break down and collapse and thereby show that they are not called upon by Destiny to fill the highest positions, and only very few are left who can be classed among the elect. In the realm of thought and of artistic creation, and even in the economic field, this same process of selection takes place even to-day, although—especially in the economic field—its operation is heavily handicapped. This same principle of selection holds good in the administration of the State and in that force which is represented by the organized military defence of the nation. The idea of personality, of the authority of the individual over his subordinates and of the responsibility of the individual towards the persons who are placed over him dominates in every sphere of life. It is only in political life that this very natural principle has been completely ignored. Though all human civilization has resulted exclusively from the creative activity of the individual, the principle that it is the majority which counts, obtains throughout the entire national community and more especially as regards its administration, whence the poison gradually filters into all branches of national life, thus causing a veritable decomposition. The destructive activities of Judaism in different parts of the national body can be ascribed fundamentally to the persistent Jewish efforts at undermining the importance

of personality among the nations that are their hosts and, in place of personality, substituting the domination of the masses. The constructive principle of Aryan humanity is thus displaced by the destructive principle of the Jews. They are the 'ferment of decomposition' among nations and races and in a broad sense the wreckers of human civilization.

Marxism represents the most striking phase of the Jewish endeavour to eliminate the dominant significance of personality in every sphere of human life and to replace it by the numerical power of the masses. In politics the parliamentary form of government is the expression of this effort. We can observe the fatal effects of it everywhere, from the smallest parish council upwards to the highest government circles in the Reich. In the field of economics we have the trade-union movement, which serves not the real interests of the employees, but the destructive aims of international Jewry. In the same degree in which the principle of personality is excluded from the economic life of the nation, and the influence and activities of the masses substituted in its stead, national economy, which should be for the service and benefit of the community as a whole, will gradually deteriorate in creative capacity. The works committees which, instead of caring for the interests of the employees, strive to influence the process of production, serve the same destructive purpose. They damage production as a whole and consequently injure the individual engaged in industry, for in the long run it is impossible to satisfy popular demands merely by high-sounding theoretical phrases. These can be satisfied only by supplying goods to meet the individual needs of daily life and by so doing, creating the conviction that, through the productive collaboration of its members, the folk-community serves the interests of the individual.

Even if, on the basis of its mass-theory, Marxism should prove itself capable of taking over and developing the present economic system, this would not be of vital significance. The question as to whether the Marxist doctrine be right or

wrong cannot be decided by any test which would show that it can administer for futurity what already exists to-day, but only by asking whether it has the creative power to build up, according to its own principles, a civilization which would be a counterpart of what already exists. Even if Marxism were a thousandfold capable of taking over the economic system as we now have it, and of maintaining it in operation under Marxist direction, such an achievement would prove nothing, because, on the basis of its own principles, Marxism would never be able to create anything which could supplant what exists to-day.

Marxism itself has furnished the proof that it cannot do this. Not only has it been unable to create a cultural or economic system of its own anywhere; but it was not even able to develop, according to its own principles, the civilization and economic system it found ready to hand. It has had to make compromises, by way of a return to the principle of personality, nor can it dispense with that principle in its own organization.

The *völkische Weltanschauung* differs fundamentally from the Marxist by reason of the fact that the former recognizes the significance of race and therefore also of personal worth and has made these the pillars of its structure. These are the most important factors of this *Weltanschauung*.

If the National Socialist Movement should fail to understand the fundamental importance of this essential principle, if it should content itself with patching up the present State from without and adopt the majority principle, it would really do nothing more than compete with Marxism on its own ground. For that reason it would not have the right to call itself a *Weltanschauung*. If the social programme of the movement consisted in eliminating personality and putting the multitude in its place, then National Socialism would be corrupted with the poison of Marxism, just as our bourgeois parties are.

The *völkisch* State must ensure the welfare of its citizens by recognizing the importance of the individual in all

circumstances and by preparing the way for the maximum of productive efficiency in all the various branches of economic life, thus securing to the individual the highest possible share in the general output. Hence, the *völkisch* State must mercilessly eliminate from all the leading circles in the government of the country the parliamentary principle, according to which decisive power through the majority vote is invested in the multitude. Personal responsibility must be substituted in its stead.

Thus we arrive at the following conclusion:- The best constitution and the best form of government is that which, as a matter of course, renders it possible for the best brains to reach a position of dominant importance and influence in the community.

Just as in the field of economics men of outstanding ability cannot be selected from above, but must come to the fore by virtue of their own efforts, and just as there is an unceasing educative process that leads from the smallest shop to the largest undertaking, and just as life itself provides the necessary tests, so in the political field it is not possible to 'discover' political talent at short notice. Genius of an extraordinary stamp precludes consideration of the claims of the average man.

In its organization the State must be established on the principle of personality, starting from the smallest cell and ascending to the supreme man in the government of the country. There are no decisions made by the majority vote, but only by responsible persons, and the word 'council' is once more restored to its original meaning. Every man in a position of responsibility will have counsellors at his side, but the decision is made by that individual alone.

The principle which made the former Prussian Army an admirable instrument of the German nation will have to become the basis of our state constitution, that is to say, full authority over his subordinates must be invested in each leader and he must be responsible to those above him. Even then we shall not be able to do without those corporations which at present we call parliaments, but they will be real

councils, in the sense that they will have to give advice. The responsibility can and must be borne by one individual, who alone will be vested with authority and the right to command.

Parliaments as such are necessary, because they alone furnish the opportunity for leaders, who will subsequently be entrusted with positions of special responsibility, to rise gradually to authority.

The following is an outline of the picture which the organization will present. From the municipal administration up to the government of the Reich, the *völkisch* State will not have any body of representatives which makes its decisions by a majority vote. It will have only advisory bodies to assist the chosen leader for the time being and he will distribute among them the various duties they are to perform. In certain fields they may, if necessary, have to assume full responsibility, such as the leader or president of each corporation possesses on a larger scale.

In principle the *völkisch* State must forbid the custom of taking advice on certain political problems (economics, for instance) from persons who are entirely incompetent, because they lack special training and practical experience in such matters. Consequently, the State must divide its representative bodies into a political chamber and a corporative chamber that represents the respective trades and professions. To assure effective co-operation between those two bodies, a selected body, or senate will be placed over them. No vote will be taken in the chambers or in the senate. They are to be organizations for work and not voting machines. The individual members will have consultative votes, but no right of decision will be attached thereto. The right of decision belongs exclusively to the president, who must be entirely responsible for the matter under discussion. This principle of combining absolute authority with absolute responsibility will gradually cause a selected group of leaders to emerge — a thing which is impossible in our present epoch of irresponsible parliamentarianism.

The political construction of the nation will thereby be brought into harmony with those laws to which the nation

already owes its greatness in the economic and cultural spheres.

Regarding the possibility of putting these principles into practice, I should like to call attention to the fact that the principle of parliamentary democracy, whereby decisions are enacted through the majority vote, has not always ruled the world. On the contrary, we find it prevalent only during short periods of history and these have always been periods of decline in nations and States.

One must not believe however that such a radical change could be effected by measures of a purely theoretical character, operating from above downwards, for the change I have been describing could not be limited to transforming the constitution of a State, but would have to include the various fields of legislation and civic existence as a whole. Such a revolution can be brought about only by means of a movement which is itself organized on the lines of these principles and thus bears the germ of the future State in its own organism.

Therefore, it is well for the National Socialist Movement to make itself completely familiar with these principles to-day and actually to put them into practice within its own organization, so that not only will it be in a position to serve as a guide for the future State, but will have so far completed its own constitution that it can be placed at the disposal of the State itself.

CHAPTER V

WELTANSCHAUUNG AND ORGANIZATION

THE VÖLKISCH STATE, WHICH I HAVE TRIED TO sketch in general outline, will not yet become a reality by virtue of the simple fact that we know the conditions indispensable for its existence. It does not suffice to know what aspect such a State would present. The problem of its foundation is far more important. The parties which exist at present and which draw their profits from the State, as it now is, cannot be expected to bring about a radical change in the regime or to change their attitude on their own initiative. This is rendered all the more impossible because those who now have the direction of affairs in their hands are all of them Jews. The trend of development which we are now experiencing would, if allowed to go on unchecked, lead to the realization of the Pan-Jewish prophecy that the Jews will one day devour the other nations and become lords of the earth.

In contrast to the millions of 'bourgeois' and 'proletarian' Germans, who are stumbling to their ruin, mostly through timidity, indolence and stupidity, the Jew pursues his way persistently and keeps his eye always fixed on his future goal. Any party that is led by him fights for no other interests than his, and his interests certainly have nothing in common with those of the Aryan nations.

If we would transform our ideal picture of the *völkisch* State into a reality we shall have to keep independent of the forces that now control public life and seek for new forces that will be ready and capable of taking up the fight for such an ideal. For a fight it will have to be, since the first

task will not be to build up the idea of the *völkisch* State, but rather to wipe out the Jewish State which now exists. As so often happens in the course of history, the main difficulty is not to establish a new order of things, but to clear the ground for its establishment. Prejudices and egotistic interests join together in forming a common front against the new idea and in trying by every means to prevent its triumph, because it is disagreeable to them or threatens their existence. That is why the protagonist of the new idea is, unfortunately, in spite of his desire for constructive work, compelled to wage a destructive battle first, in order to abolish the existing state of affairs.

A doctrine whose principles are radically new and of essential importance must adopt the sharp probe of criticism as its weapon, though this may prove disagreeable to the individual followers.

It is evidence of a very superficial insight into historical developments if the supporters of the so-called pseudo-*völkisch* movement emphasize again and again that they will, in no circumstances, adopt the use of negative criticism, but will engage only in constructive work. That is nothing but puerile chatter and is typical of all the rubbish talked by the adherents of this '*völkisch*' craze. It is another proof that the history of our own times has made no impression on their minds. Marxism, too, has had its aims to pursue and may even accomplish constructive work, though by this it understands only the establishment of despotic rule in the hands of international Jewish finance. Nevertheless, for seventy years its principal work has been confined to the field of criticism, and what disruptive and destructive criticism it has been! Criticism repeated again and again, until the corrosive acid ate into the old State so thoroughly that it finally crumbled to pieces! Only then did the so-called constructive work of Marxism begin, and this was natural, right and logical. An existing order of things is not abolished by merely proclaiming and insisting on a new one. It must not be hoped that those who are the partisans of the existing order and have their interests bound up with it will be

converted and won over to the new movement simply by being shown that something new is necessary. On the contrary, what may easily happen is that two different situations will exist side by side and that a *Weltanschauung* is transformed into a party, above which level it will not be able to raise itself afterwards, for a *Weltanschauung* is intolerant and cannot permit another to exist side by side with it. It imperiously demands its own recognition as unique and exclusive, and insists upon a complete reformation of public life in all its branches, in accordance with its views. It can never allow the previous state of affairs to continue in existence alongside it.

The same holds true of religions. Christianity was not content with erecting an altar of its own. It had first to destroy the pagan altars. It was only by virtue of this passionate intolerance that an apodictic faith could grow up, and intolerance is an indispensable condition for the growth of such a faith.

It may be objected here that in these phenomena which we find throughout the history of the world we have to recognize mostly a specifically Jewish mode of thought and that such fanaticism and intolerance are typical symptoms of the Jewish mentality. This may be true a thousand times over and we may regret that it is so and note with a feeling of uneasiness that this phenomenon has hitherto been unknown in the history of mankind—but the hard fact remains that such is the situation to-day. It is not the business of the men who wish to liberate our German nation from the conditions in which it now exists to burden their brains with thinking how excellent it would be if this or that had never occurred. They must strive to find ways and means of abolishing what actually exists. A philosophy of life which is inspired by a fanatical spirit of intolerance can only be set aside by a doctrine that is advanced in an equally ardent spirit and fought for with as determined a will and which is itself a new idea, pure and absolutely sincere.

Each one of us to-day may regret the fact that the advent of Christianity was the first occasion on which

spiritual terror was introduced into the much freer ancient world, but the fact cannot be denied that ever since then the world has been pervaded and dominated by this kind of coercion and that violence is broken only by violence and terrorism by terrorism. Only then can a new regime be created by means of constructive work. Political parties are prone to make compromises, but a *Weltanschauung* never does this. A political party even reckons with opponents, but a *Weltanschauung* proclaims its own infallibility.

In the beginning, political parties have nearly always the intention of securing exclusive and despotic domination for themselves. They always show a slight tendency to become *Weltanschauungen*, but the limited nature of their programme is in itself enough to rob them of that heroic spirit which a *Weltanschauung* demands. The spirit of conciliation, which animates their will, attracts those petty and chicken-hearted people who are not fit to take part in any crusade. That is the reason why they mostly become stuck in their miserable pettiness very early on the march. They give up fighting for their ideology and, by way of what they call 'positive collaboration,' they try as quickly as possible to wedge themselves into some tiny place at the trough of the existent regime and to stick there as long as possible. Their whole effort ends at that, and if they should get shouldered away from the common manger by competitors with more brutal manners, then their only idea is to force themselves in again, by force or chicanery, among the herd of all the others who have similar appetites, to get back into the front row, and finally—even at the expense of their most sacred convictions—to regale themselves anew at that beloved spot where they find their fodder. They are the jackals of politics.

A *Weltanschauung* will never of itself willingly give ground to another. Therefore it can never agree to collaborate in any order of things that it condemns. On the contrary, it feels obliged to employ every available means in the fight against the old order and the whole world of ideas

belonging to that order and to prepare the way for its destruction.

These purely destructive tactics, the danger of which is so readily perceived by the enemy that he forms a united front against them for his common defence, and also the constructive tactics, which must be aggressive in order to carry the new world of ideas to success—both these phases of the struggle call for a body of resolute fighters. Any new *Weltanschauung* will be successful in establishing its ideas only if the most courageous and active elements of its epoch and its people are enrolled under its standards and grouped firmly together in a powerful fighting organization. To achieve this purpose it is absolutely necessary to select from the general ideology a certain number of ideas which will appeal to such individuals, and which, once they are expressed in a precise and clear-cut form, will serve as articles of faith for a new association of men. While the programme of the ordinary political party is nothing but the recipe for achieving favourable results at the next general election, the programme of a *Weltanschauung* represents a declaration of war against an existing order of things, against present conditions, in short, against the established *Weltanschauung*.

It is not necessary, however, that every individual fighter for such a new doctrine need have a full grasp of the ultimate ideas and plans of those who are the leaders of the movement. It is only necessary that each should have a clear notion of the fundamental ideas and that he should thoroughly assimilate a few of the most fundamental principles, so that he will be convinced of the necessity of carrying the movement and its doctrines to success. The individual soldier is not initiated into the secrets of high strategical plans, but he is trained to submit to a rigid discipline, to be passionately convinced of the justice and inner might of his cause and to devote himself to it without reserve. So, too, the individual follower of a movement must be made acquainted with its far-reaching purpose, and realize

that it is inspired by a powerful will and that it has a great future before it.

Supposing that each soldier in an army were a general, if only as regards his training and capacity, that army would not be an efficient fighting instrument. Similarly, a political movement would not be very efficient in fighting for a *Weltanschauung* if it were made up exclusively of intellectuals. We need the private soldier too. Without him no discipline can be established.

By its very nature, an organization can exist only if leaders of high intellectual ability are served by a large mass of men who are emotionally devoted to the cause. To maintain discipline in a company of two hundred men who are equally intelligent and capable would turn out more difficult in the long run than to maintain discipline in a company of one hundred and ninety less gifted men and ten who have had a higher education.

The Social Democrats have profited by recognizing this truth. They took the broad masses of our people who had just completed military service and learned to submit to discipline, and they subjected this mass of men to the discipline of the Social Democratic organization, which was no less rigid than the discipline through which the young men had passed in the course of their military training. The Social Democratic organization consisted of an army divided into officers and men. The German worker who had completed his military service became the private soldier in that army, and the Jewish intelligentsia were its officers. The German trade-union functionaries may be compared to its non-commissioned officers. The fact, which was always looked upon with dismay by our middle classes, that only the so-called uneducated classes joined the Marxists was the very ground on which this party achieved its success, for while the bourgeois parties, because they consisted mostly of intellectuals, were only a feckless band of undisciplined individuals, the Marxist leaders have formed out of much less intelligent human material an army of party combatants who obey their Jewish masters just as blindly as they

formerly obeyed their German officers. The German middle classes, who never bothered their heads about psychological problems, because they felt themselves superior to such matters, did not think it necessary to reflect on the profound significance of this fact and the hidden danger involved in it. Indeed, they believed that a political movement which draws its followers exclusively from intellectual circles must, for that very reason, be of greater importance and have better chances of success, and even a better chance of taking over the government of the country than a party made up of the ignorant masses. They completely failed to realize the fact that the strength of a political party never consists in the intelligence and independent spirit of the rank and file of its members, but rather in the spirit of willing obedience with which they follow their intellectual leaders. What is of decisive importance is the leadership itself. When two bodies of troops are arrayed in mortal combat, victory will not fall to that side in which every soldier has an expert knowledge of the rules of strategy, but rather to that side which has the best leaders and, at the same time, the best disciplined, most blindly obedient and best drilled troops. That is a fundamental fact which we must always bear in mind when we examine the possibility of transforming a *Weltanschauung* into a practical reality.

If we agree that in order to carry a *Weltanschauung* into practical effect it must be incorporated in a fighting movement, then the logical consequence is that the programme of such a movement must take account of the human material at its disposal. Just as the ultimate aims and fundamental principles must be made absolutely definite and intelligible, so the propaganda programme must be well drawn up and must be inspired by a keen sense of its psychological appeal to the minds of those without whose help the noblest ideals will be doomed to remain forever in the realm of visions.

If the idea of the *völkisch* State, which is at present an obscure ideal, is one day to attain a clear and definite success, from its vague and vast mass of thought it will have

to put forward certain definite principles which of their very nature and content are calculated to attract a broad mass of adherents, in other words, such a group of people as can guarantee that these principles will be fought for. That group of people is the German working-class.

That is why the programme of the new Movement was condensed into a few fundamental postulates, twenty-five in all. They are meant first of all to give the ordinary man a rough idea of what the Movement is aiming at. They are, so to speak, a profession of faith which, on the one hand, is meant to win adherents for the Movement and, on the other, they are meant to unite such adherents together in a covenant to which all have subscribed.

In this connection we must never lose sight of the following fact: What we call the programme of the Movement is absolutely right as far as its ultimate aims are concerned, but as regards the manner in which that programme is formulated certain psychological considerations had to be taken into account. Hence, in the course of time, the opinion may well arise that certain principles should be expressed differently and might be better formulated, but any attempt at a different formulation has a fatal effect in most cases, for something that ought to be fixed and unshakable thereby becomes the subject of discussion. As soon as one single point is removed from the sphere of dogmatic certainty, the discussion will not simply result in a new and better formulation which will have greater consistency, but may easily lead to endless debates and general confusion. In such cases, the question must always be carefully considered as to whether a new and more adequate formulation is to be preferred, though it may cause a controversy within the Movement, or whether it may not be better to retain the old formula which, though probably not the best, represents an organism enclosed in itself, solid and internally homogeneous. Every test shows that the second of these alternatives is preferable, for, since in these changes one is dealing only with external forms, such corrections will always appear desirable and possible, but

the deciding factor is that people in general think superficially, and therefore the great danger is that in what is merely an external formulation of the programme people will see an essential aim of the Movement. In that way the will and the combative force at the service of the ideal are weakened and the energies that ought to be directed towards the outer world are dissipated in programmatic discussions within the ranks of the Movement.

For a doctrine that is actually right in its main features it is less dangerous to retain a formulation which may no longer be quite adequate, instead of trying to improve it and thereby allowing a fundamental principle of the Movement, which had hitherto been considered as solid as granite, to become the subject of a general discussion which may have unfortunate consequences. This is particularly to be avoided as long as a Movement is still fighting for victory, for would it be possible to inspire people with blind faith in the truth of a doctrine if doubt and uncertainty are encouraged by continual alterations in its external formulation?

The essentials of a doctrine must never be looked for in its external formulas, but always in its inner meaning, and this is unchangeable. One could only wish that for the sake of this inner meaning a movement could exclude everything that tends towards disintegration and uncertainty in order to preserve the unined force that is necessary for its triumph.

Here again the Catholic Church has a lesson to teach us. Though sometimes, and often quite unnecessarily, its dogmatic system is in conflict with the exact sciences and with scientific discoveries, it is not disposed to sacrifice one syllable of its teachings. It has rightly recognized that its powers of resistance would be weakened by introducing greater or lesser doctrinal adaptations to cope with temporary scientific discoveries, which are in reality always vacillating, but that they gain strength from the fact that it holds fast to its fixed and established dogmas which alone can give to the whole system the character of a faith. That is the reason why it stands firmer to-day than ever before. We may prophesy that, as a fixed star amid fleeting phenomena, it

will continue to attract increasing numbers of people who will be the more blindly attached to it the more rapid the rhythm of changing phenomena around it.

Therefore, whoever really and seriously desires that the *völkische Weltanschauung* should triumph must realize that this triumph can be assured only through a militant movement and that this movement must found its strength only on the granite firmness of an impregnable and well-defined programme. In regard to its formulas it must never make concessions to the spirit of the time, but must maintain the form that has once and for all been decided upon as the right one — in any case, until victory has crowned its efforts. Before this goal has been reached any attempt to open a discussion on the appropriateness of this or that point in the programme might tend to disintegrate the solidarity and fighting strength of the movement, according to the measure in which its followers might take part in such an internal dispute. Some 'improvement' introduced to-day might be subjected to a critical examination to-morrow, in order to substitute for it something better the day after. Once the barrier has been broken down, the way is opened and we know only the beginning, but we do not know to what shoreless sea it may lead.

This important principle had to be acknowledged in practice by the members of the National Socialist Movement from the outset. In its programme of twenty-five points the National Socialist German Labour Party has been furnished with a basis that must remain unshakable. The members of the Movement, both present and future, must never feel themselves called upon to undertake a critical revision of these postulates, but rather feel themselves obliged to put them into practice as they stand. Otherwise, the next generation would, in its turn, and with an equal right, expend its energy in such purely formal work within the Party, instead of winning new adherents for the Movement and thus adding to its power. For the majority of our followers the essence of the Movement will consist not so much in the letter of our theses as in the meaning that we attribute to them.

The new Movement owes its name to these considerations, and later on its programme was drawn up in conformity with them. They are the basis of our propaganda. In order to carry the *völkisch* ideal to victory, a popular party had to be founded, a party that did not consist of intellectual leaders only, but also of manual labourers. Any attempt to carry these theories into effect without the aid of a militant organization would be doomed to failure to-day, as it has failed in the past and must fail in the future. That is why it is not only the right, but also the duty, of the Movement to consider itself as the champion and representative of these ideas. Just as the fundamental principles of the National Socialist Movement are based on the *völkisch* idea, *völkisch* ideas are National Socialist. If National Socialism would triumph it will have to hold firm to this fact unreservedly, and here again it is not only its right, but also its duty, to emphasize most rigidly that any attempt to represent the *völkisch* idea outside of the National Socialist German Labour Party is futile and, in most cases, even fraudulent.

If the reproach should be raised against our Movement that it has 'monopolized' the *völkisch* idea, there is only one answer to give. Not only have we monopolized the *völkisch* idea but, to all practical intents and purposes, we have created it for what hitherto existed under this name was not in the least capable of influencing the destiny of our people, since all those ideas lacked a political and coherent formulation. In most cases, they were nothing but isolated and incoherent notions which were more or less right. Quite frequently these were in open contradiction to one another and in no case was there any internal cohesion among them, and even if this internal cohesion existed it would have been much too weak to form the basis of any movement. Only the National Socialist Movement proved capable of fulfilling this task.

All kinds of associations and groups, big as well as small now claim the title *völkisch*. This is one result of the work which National Socialism has done. Without

this work, not one of all these parties would have thought of adopting the word *völkisch* at all. That expression would have meant nothing to them and especially their leaders would have had nothing to do with such an idea. Not until the work of the National Socialist German Labour Party had given this idea a pregnant meaning did it appear in the mouths of all kinds of people. Above all, our Party has, by the success of its propaganda, shown the force of the *völkisch* idea—so much so that the others, in an effort to gain proselytes, find themselves forced to copy our example, at least in words.

Just as heretofore they exploited everything to serve their petty electoral purposes, to-day they use the word *völkisch* only as an external and hollow-sounding phrase for the purpose of counteracting the force of the impression which the National Socialist Party makes on the members of the other parties. Only the desire to maintain their existence and the fear that our Movement may prevail, because it is based on a *Weltanschauung* that is of universal importance, and because they feel that the exclusive character of our movement betokens danger for them—only for these reasons do they use words which they repudiated eight years ago, derided seven years ago, branded as stupid six years ago, combated five years ago, hated four years ago, derided three years ago and finally, two years ago, annexed and incorporated in their present political vocabulary, employing them as slogans in their struggle.

For this reason, it is necessary even now, not to cease to call attention to the fact that not one of those parties has the slightest idea of what the German nation needs. The most striking proof of this is provided by the superficial way in which they use the word *völkisch*.

Not less dangerous are those who run about as pseudo-adherents of the *völkisch* ideal formulating fantastic schemes which are mostly based on nothing else than a fixed idea which, in itself, might be right, but which, because it is an isolated notion, is of no use whatsoever for the formation of a great homogeneous fighting association and could by

no means serve as the basis of its organization. Those people who concoct a programme which consists partly of their own ideas and partly of ideas filched from others, about which they have read somewhere, are often more dangerous than the outspoken enemies of the *völkisch* idea. At best they are sterile theorists, but more frequently they are mischievous agitators. They believe that they can mask their intellectual vanity, the futility of their efforts and their lack of ability, by sporting flowing beards and indulging in ancient Germanic gestures

In the face of all these futile attempts, it is, therefore, worth while to recall the time when the new National Socialist Movement began its fight.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST PHASE OF OUR STRUGGLE— THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SPOKEN WORD

THE ECHOES OF OUR FIRST GREAT MEETING, IN the *Festsaal* of the *Hofbräuhaus* on February 24th, 1920, had not yet died away when we began preparations for our next meeting. Up to that time we had had to consider carefully the advisability of holding a small meeting every month, or at most every fortnight, in a city like Munich; but now it was decided that we should hold a mass meeting every week. I need not say that on each occasion we anxiously asked ourselves again and again: Will the people come and will they listen? Personally, I was firmly convinced that if once they came they would remain to listen.

During that period the hall of the *Hofbräuhaus* in Munich acquired for us National Socialists a sort of mystic significance. Every week there was a meeting, almost always in that hall, and each time the hall was better filled than on the former occasion, and our public more attentive.

Starting with the theme, 'Responsibility for the War,' about which nobody cared at that time, and passing on to the discussion of the peace treaties, we dealt with almost everything that served to stimulate the minds of our hearers and make them interested in our ideas. We drew attention to the peace treaties. What the new Movement prophesied again and again before those great masses of people has been fulfilled in almost every detail. To-day it is easy to talk and write about these things, but in those days, to criticize the Peace Treaty of Versailles at a public mass meeting

attended not by the small bourgeoisie, but by proletarians who had been worked up by agitators, amounted to an attack on the Republic and an evidence of reactionary, if not of monarchist, tendencies. The moment one uttered the first criticism of the Versailles Treaty one could expect an immediate reply, which became almost stereotyped, 'And what about Brest-Litovsk?' 'Brest-Litovsk!' And then the crowd would murmur and the murmur would gradually swell to a roar, until the speaker would have to give up his attempt to persuade them. We felt that we were knocking our heads against a brick wall, so thoroughly did we despair of such a public. They neither wanted to be told nor to admit that Versailles was a scandal and a disgrace and that the dictate signified an act of highway robbery against our people. The disruptive work done by the Marxists and the poisonous propaganda of the enemy had robbed these people of their reason. Nor had we the right to complain, for the guilt on the German side was enormous. What had the German bourgeoisie done to call a halt to this terrible campaign of disintegration, to oppose it and open a way to a recognition of the truth by giving a better and more thorough explanation of the situation than that given by the Marxists? Nothing at all. At that time I never saw those who are now the great apostles of the people. Perhaps they spoke to select groups, at tea-parties of their own little coteries, but where they ought to have been, where the wolves were at work, they never dared to appear, unless they found an opportunity of yelling in concert with the wolves.

As for myself, I then saw clearly that for the small group which first composed our Movement the question of war-guilt had to be cleared up, and cleared up in the light of historical truth. A preliminary condition for the future success of our Movement was that it should bring knowledge of the meaning of the peace treaties to the minds of the masses. In the opinion of the masses, the peace treaties then signified a democratic success. Therefore, it was necessary to take the opposite side and impress ourselves on the minds of the people as the enemies of the peace treaties, so that later

on, when the naked truth of this despicable swindle should be disclosed in all its hideousness, the people would recall the attitude which we then took up and would give us their confidence.

Even at that time I adopted the attitude that if public opinion went astray on important and fundamental questions, it was necessary to oppose it, regardless of popularity, hatred or the bitterness of the fight. The National Socialist German Labour Party ought not to be the servant, but rather the master, of public opinion. It must not serve the masses, but dominate them.

In the case of every movement, especially during its struggling stages, there is naturally a temptation to conform to the tactics of an opponent and use the same battle-cries, when his tactics have succeeded in leading the people to crazy conclusions, or to adopt a mistaken attitude towards the questions at issue. This temptation is particularly strong when motives can be found, though they are entirely illusory, that seem to point towards the same ends at which the young movement is aiming. Human poltroonery will then all the more readily adopt those arguments which give it a semblance of justification, 'from its own point of view, for participating in the criminal policy which the adversary is following.

On several occasions, I have experienced such crises, in which the greatest energy had to be employed to prevent the ship of our Movement from being drawn into a general current which had been started artificially, and indeed from sailing with it. The last occasion was when our accursed press, to which the existence of the German nation is unimportant, succeeded in bringing into prominence the question of South Tyrol which is bound to prove fatal to the interests of the German people. Without considering what interests they were serving several so-called 'national' men, parties and leagues, joined in the general cry, simply for fear of public opinion which had been excited by the Jews, and foolishly contributed to help in the struggle against a system which we Germans ought, particularly in these days, to

consider as the one ray of light in this distracted world. While the international Jew is slowly but surely strangling us, our so-called patriots vociferate against a man and his system which have had the courage to liberate themselves from the shackles of Jewish freemasonry, at least in one quarter of the globe, and to set the forces of national resistance against the international world-poison. But weak characters were tempted to set their sails according to the direction of the wind and to capitulate before the storm of public opinion—for it was truly a capitulation. Even if people are so much in the habit of lying and so morally base that they do not admit it even to themselves, the truth remains that only cowardice and fear of the public feeling aroused by the Jews induced certain people to join in the hue and cry. All the other reasons put forward were only the miserable excuses of paltry culprits who were conscious of their own crime.

Then it was necessary to grasp the rudder with an iron hand and turn the Movement about, so as to save it from a course that would have set it on the rocks. Certainly, to attempt such a change of course was not a popular manoeuvre at that time, when public opinion had been fanned by every conceivable means and its trend was in one direction only. Such a decision almost always brings disaster on those who dare to take it. In the course of history not a few men have been stoned for an act for which posterity has afterwards had reason to thank them on its knees. But a movement must count on posterity and not on the plaudits of the moment. It may well be that at such times certain individuals have to endure hours of anguish; but they should not forget that the moment of liberation will come and that a movement which purposes to reshape the world must serve the future and not the passing hour.

In this connection it may be asserted that the greatest and most enduring successes in history are mostly those which were least understood at the beginning, because they were in direct opposition to public opinion and the views and wishes of the time.

We had experience of this when we made our own first public appearance. It can be said in all truth that we did not court public favour, but made an onslaught on the follies of our people. In those days what happened almost always was that I presented myself before an assembly of men who believed the opposite of what I wished to say and who wanted the opposite of what I believed in. Then I had to spend a couple of hours in convincing two or three thousand people that the opinions they had hitherto held were false, in destroying the foundations of their views with one blow after another and finally in persuading them to take their stand on the grounds of our own convictions and our *Weltanschauung*.

I learned something that was important at that time, namely, to snatch from the hands of the enemy the weapons which he was using in his reply. I soon noticed that our adversaries, especially in the persons of those who led the discussion against us, were furnished with a definite repertoire of arguments out of which they took points against our claims which they were constantly repeating. The uniform character of this mode of procedure pointed to a systematic and uniform training and so we were able to recognize the incredible way in which the enemy's propagandists had been disciplined and I am proud to-day that I discovered a means not only of making this propaganda ineffective, but of beating the authors of it at their own game. Two years later I was master of this art.

In every speech which I made it was important to get a clear idea beforehand of the probable form and matter of the counter-arguments we had to expect in the discussion, so that in the course of my own speech these could be dealt with and refuted. To this end it was necessary to mention all the possible objections and show their inconsistency; it was all the easier to win over an honest listener by expunging from his memory the arguments which had been impressed upon it, so that I anticipated his replies. What he had learned was refuted without having been mentioned by him

and that made him all the more attentive to what I had to say.

That was the reason why, after my first lecture on 'The Peace Treaty of Versailles,' which I delivered to the troops while I was still a political instructor in my regiment, I made an alteration in the title and subject and henceforth spoke on, 'The Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles.' I did so because, during the discussion which followed my first lecture, I quickly ascertained that in reality people knew nothing about the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and that able party propaganda had succeeded in presenting that treaty as one of the most scandalous acts of violence in the history of the world.

As a result of the persistency with which this falsehood was repeated again and again to the masses of the people, millions of Germans saw in the Treaty of Versailles a just retribution for the crime we had committed at Brest-Litovsk. Thus they considered all opposition to Versailles as unjust and in many cases there was an honest moral dislike of such a proceeding. This was also the reason why the shameless and monstrous word 'reparations' came into common use in Germany. This hypocritical falsehood appeared to millions of our exasperated fellow-countrymen as the fulfilment of a higher justice. It is a terrible thought, but the fact was so. The best proof of this was the propaganda which I initiated against Versailles by explaining the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. I compared the two treaties, point by point, and showed how in truth the one treaty was immensely humane, in contradistinction to the inhuman barbarity of the other. The effect was very striking. When I used to speak on this theme before an assembly of two thousand persons, I often saw three thousand six hundred hostile eyes fixed on me, yet three hours later I had in front of me a crowd swayed by righteous indignation and fury. A great lie had been uprooted from the hearts and brains of thousands of individuals and a truth had been implanted in its place.

The two lectures that 'On the Causes of the World

War' and the other on 'The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles', I then considered as the most important of all. Therefore, I repeated them dozens of times, always giving them a new intonation, until, on those points at least, there reigned a definitely clear and unanimous opinion among those from whom our Movement recruited its first members.

Furthermore, these gatherings had for me the advantage that I slowly became a platform orator at mass meetings, and they gave me practice in the pathos and gesture required in large halls that held thousands of people.

Apart from the small circles already mentioned, I could not discover that the slightest effort was being made by any party to explain things to the people in this way. Not one of those parties was then active which talk to-day as if it were they who had brought about the change in public opinion. If a political leader, calling himself a nationalist, pronounced a discourse somewhere or other on this theme it was only to circles which were, for the most part, already of his own conviction and among whom the most that was done was to confirm them in their opinions. But that was not what was needed then. What was needed was to win over through propaganda and explanation those who, by education and conviction, belonged to the enemy camp.

The one-page circular was also adopted by us to help in this propaganda. While still a soldier I had written a circular in which I contrasted the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with that of Versailles. That circular was printed and distributed in large numbers. Later on I used it for the Party, and also with good success. Our first meetings were distinguished by the fact that there were tables covered with leaflets papers, and pamphlets of every kind, but we relied principally on the spoken word. And, indeed this is the only means capable of producing really great revolutions, which fact can be explained on general psychological grounds.

In the first volume I have already stated that all the formidable events which have changed the aspect of the world were carried through, not by the written, but by the spoken word. On that point there was a long discussion in

a certain section of the press, during the course of which our shrewd bourgeois people strongly opposed my thesis but the reason for this attitude confounded the sceptics. The bourgeois intelligentsia protested against my attitude simply because they themselves did not have either the force or the ability to influence the masses through the spoken word, for they always relied exclusively on the help of writers and did not enter the arena themselves as orators for the purpose of arousing the people. This habit necessarily led to that condition of affairs which is characteristic of the bourgeoisie to-day, namely, the loss of the psychological instinct to work up and influence the masses.

An orator receives continuous guidance from the people whom he is addressing. This helps him to correct the trend of his speech, for he can always gauge, by the faces of his hearers, how far they follow and understand him, and whether his words are producing the desired effect. The writer, on the other hand, does not know his reader at all. Therefore, from the outset, he does not address himself to a definite group of persons which he has before him, but must write in a general way. Hence, to a certain extent he must fail in psychological finesse and flexibility. Therefore, in general it may be said that a brilliant orator writes better than a brilliant writer can speak, unless the latter has continual practice in public speaking. One must also remember that of itself the multitude is mentally inert. It clings to its old habits and is not naturally prone to read something which does not conform to its own pre-established beliefs or does not contain what it hopes to find there. Therefore a piece of writing which has a particular tendency is for the most part read only by those who are in sympathy with it. Only a leaflet or a placard, on account of its brevity, can hope to arouse a momentary interest in those whose opinions differ from it. The picture, in all its forms, including the film has better prospects. Here less intelligence is required on the part of the audience, it need only gaze, or at most read short captions or titles, and so it comes about that many people are more ready to accept a pictorial presentation

than to read a long written description. A pictorial representation will convey to people much more quickly (one might almost say, immediately) an idea, to grasp which would require long and arduous effort if they were forced to read about it.

The most important consideration, however, is that one never knows into what hands a piece of written material may fall and yet the form in which its subject is presented must remain the same. In general, the effect is greater when the form of treatment corresponds to the mental level of the reader and suits his nature. Therefore, a book which is meant for the broad masses of the people must try from the very start to gain its effects through a style and level of ideas which would be quite different from those of a book intended to be read by the higher intellectual classes.

Only through this capacity for adaptability does the force of the written word approach that of direct speech. The orator may deal with the same subject as a book deals with, but if he has the genius of a great and popular orator he will scarcely ever repeat the same argument or the same material in the same form on two consecutive occasions. He will always follow the lead of the great masses in such a way that from the living emotion of his hearers the apt word which he needs will be suggested to him and in its turn this will go straight to the hearts of his hearers. Should he make even a slight mistake he has the living correction before him. As I have already said, he can read the play of expression on the faces of his hearers, firstly to see if they understand what he says, secondly, to see if they take in the whole of his argument and, thirdly, to see in how far he has succeeded in convincing them of the justice of what he has said. Should he observe, firstly, that his hearers do not understand him, he will make his explanation so elementary and clear that they will be able to grasp it, even to the last individual. Secondly, if he feels that they are not capable of following him he will make one idea follow another carefully and slowly until the most slow-witted hearer no longer lags behind. Thirdly, as soon as he has the feeling

that they do not seem convinced that he is right in the way he has put things to them he will repeat his argument over and over again, always giving fresh illustrations and he himself will state their unspoken objection. He will repeat these objections, dissecting them and refuting them, until the last group of the opposition shows him by its behaviour and play of expression that it has capitulated before his exposition of the case.

Not infrequently it is a case of overcoming ingrained prejudices which are mostly unconscious and founded on sentiment rather than on reason. It is a thousand times more difficult to overcome this barrier of instinctive aversion, emotional hatred and prejudice than to correct opinions which are founded on defective or erroneous knowledge. False ideas and ignorance may be set aside by means of instruction, but emotional resistance never can. Nothing but an appeal to these hidden forces will be effective here, and that appeal can be made by scarcely any writer. Only the orator can hope to make it.

A very striking proof of this is found in the fact that, though we had a bourgeois press which, in many cases, was well written and produced and had a circulation of millions of copies, it could not prevent the broad masses from becoming the implacable enemies of the bourgeois class. The deluge of papers and books published by intellectual circles year after year passed over the minds of millions of the lower social strata as water runs off a duck's back. This proves that one of two things must be true: either that the matter offered in the bourgeois press was worthless or that it is impossible to reach the hearts of the broad masses by means of the written word alone. Of course, the latter is essentially true when the written material betrays as little psychological insight as hitherto.

It is useless to object here, as certain big Berlin papers of German Nationalist tendencies have attempted to do, that this statement is refuted by the fact that the Marxists have exercised their greatest influence through their writings and especially through their principal book, published by Karl

Marx. Seldom has a more superficial attempt been made to support an argument based on a false assumption. What gave Marxism its amazing influence over the broad masses was not that formal printed work which sets forth the Jewish system of ideas, but the tremendous oral propaganda carried on for years among the masses. Out of one hundred thousand German workers scarcely one hundred know Marx's book. It has been studied much more in intellectual circles and especially by the Jews than by the genuine followers of the movement who come from the lower classes. That work was not written for the masses, but exclusively for the intellects behind the Jewish machine for conquering the world. The engine was heated with quite different fuel, namely, the press. What differentiates the bourgeois press from the Marxist press is that the latter is written by agitators, whereas the bourgeois press would like to carry on agitation by means of professional writers. The Social Democratic editor of some local 'rag', who almost always comes directly from the meeting to the editorial offices of his paper, knows his job to his finger-tips, but the bourgeois scribbler who wishes to appeal to the broad masses, feels faint if their stench but reach his delicate nostrils and so he is naturally powerless to touch them by his writings.

What won over millions of work-people to the Marxist cause was not the *ex cathedra* style of the Marxist writers, but the strenuous propaganda work done by tens of thousands of indefatigable agitators, from the ardent agitator down to the insignificant trade-union official, the trusty employee and the heckler. Furthermore, there were the hundreds of thousands of meetings where these orators, standing on tables in smoky public houses, hammered their ideas into the heads of the masses, thus acquiring an admirable psychological knowledge of the human material they had to deal with, and in this way they were enabled to select the best weapons for their assault on the citadel of public opinion. In addition to all this there were the gigantic mass-demonstrations with processions in which a hundred thousand persons took part. All this was calculated to

give the petty-hearted individual the proud conviction that, though a poor worm, he was at the same time an integral part of the great dragon before whose devastating breath the hated bourgeois world would one day be consumed in fire and flame, and the dictatorship of the proletariat would celebrate its final victory.

This kind of propaganda influenced men in such a way as to give them a taste for reading the Social Democratic press and prepare their minds for its teaching. That press, in its turn, was a vehicle of the spoken, rather than of the written, word. Whereas in the bourgeois camp professors and learned writers, theorists and authors of all kinds, made attempts at speaking, in the Marxist camp real speakers often made attempts at writing. This applies especially to the Jew who, on account of his dialectical skill and cunning in distorting the truth, assumes even as an author rather the guise of an eloquent agitator than of a creative writer. For this reason the bourgeois press (quite apart from the fact that it is dominated by the Jew and has, therefore, no interest in enlightening the broad masses) is not capable of exercising the slightest influence on the opinions held by the great masses of our people.

It is difficult to eradicate emotional prejudices, psychological bias, feelings, etc., and to put others in their place. Success depends here on conditions and influences which cannot be gauged. Only the orator who is gifted with the most sensitive insight can estimate all this. Even the time of day at which the speech is delivered has a decisive influence on its effectiveness. The same speech, made by the same orator and on the same theme, will have very different results according as it is delivered at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at three in the afternoon, or in the evening. When I first engaged in public speaking I arranged for meetings to take place in the forenoon and I remember particularly a demonstration that we held in the *Münchener-Kindl-Keller* as a protest against the oppression of German minorities. That was the biggest hall then in Munich and the risk

appeared very great. In order to make the hour of the meeting suitable for all the members of our Movement and the other people who might come, I fixed it for ten o'clock on a Sunday morning. The result was depressing, but it was very instructive. The hall was filled. The impression was profound, but the general atmosphere was chilly. Nobody got warmed up and I myself, as the speaker of the occasion, felt profoundly unhappy at the thought that I could not establish the slightest contact with my audience. I do not think I spoke worse than on other occasions, but the effect seemed absolutely negative. I left the hall in a very depressed frame of mind, but also feeling that I had gained a new experience. Later on I tried the same kind of experiment, but always with the same results.

That was not to be wondered at. If one goes to a theatre to see a matinée performance and then attends an evening performance of the same play, one is astounded at the difference in the impression created. A sensitive person and one who is capable of analysing his own reactions, will readily acknowledge that the impression created by the matinée performance is by no means as vivid as that gained at the evening performance. The same is true of cinema productions. This latter point is important; for one may say of the theatre that perhaps in the afternoon the actor does not make the same effort as in the evening, but surely it cannot be said that the cinema is different in the afternoon from what it is at nine o'clock in the evening. In this case, the time of day exercises a distinct influence, just as a room exercises a distinct influence on me. There are rooms which leave one cold, for reasons which are difficult to explain. There are rooms which steadfastly prevent the creation of an atmosphere of any sort. Moreover, certain memories and traditions which are present as pictures in the human mind may have a determining influence on the impression produced. Thus a performance of *Parsifal* at Bayreuth will have an effect quite different from that which the same opera produces in any other part of the world. The mysterious charm of the House on the 'Festival Heights' in

the old city of the Margrave can neither be equalled nor conjured up by external surroundings in any other place.

In all these cases one is dealing with the problem of influencing the freedom of the human will, and that is true especially of meetings where there are men whose wills are opposed to the speaker and who must be brought round to a new way of thinking. In the morning and during the day it seems that the power of the human will rebels most strongly against any attempt to impose upon it the will or opinion of another. On the other hand, in the evening it easily succumbs to the domination of a stronger will, because actually in such assemblies there is a contest between two opposing forces. The superior oratorical art of a man who has the compelling character of an apostle will succeed better in bringing round to a new way of thinking those who have, in the course of nature, been subjected to a weakening of their forces of resistance rather than in converting those who are in full possession of their volitional and intellectual faculties. The mysterious artificial dimness of the Catholic churches, the burning candles, the incense, the thurible, etc. also serve this purpose. In this struggle between the orator and the opponent whom he must convert to his cause, the former gradually acquires an awareness of the psychological fitness of his propaganda weapons, which the writer seldom possesses. Generally speaking, the effect of the writer's work helps rather to conserve, reinforce and deepen the foundations of opinions already formed. All really great historical revolutions were not produced by the written word; at most, they were accompanied by it.

It is out of the question to think that the French Revolution could have been carried into effect by philosophizing theories had it not been for an army of agitators headed by demagogues of a pronounced type who inflamed popular passion that had been already aroused, until that volcanic eruption finally broke out which convulsed the whole of Europe. The same is true of the greatest revolutionary movement of our own day, namely, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia which was not the outcome of

Lenin's writings, but of the oratorical activities of innumerable agitators, great and small, who stirred up hatred. The masses of illiterate Russians were not fired to communist revolutionary enthusiasm by reading the theories of Karl Marx, but by the promises of paradise made to the people by thousands of agitators in the service of a single idea. It has always been so, and it always will be so.

It is typical of our pig-headed intellectuals, who live apart from the practical world, to think that a writer must of necessity be superior in intelligence to an orator. This point of view was once effectively illustrated by a critique, published in a certain national paper which I have already mentioned, where it was stated that one is often disillusioned by reading the speech of an acknowledged great orator in print. That reminded me of another article which fell into my hands during the War. It dealt with the speeches of Lloyd George, who was then Minister of Munitions, and examined them in a painstaking way under the microscope of criticism. The writer made the brilliant statement that these speeches showed inferior intelligence and learning and that, moreover, they were banal and commonplace productions. I happened to get hold of some of these speeches, published in pamphlet form, and had to laugh at the fact that an ordinary German quill-driver did not in the least understand these psychological masterpieces in the art of influencing the masses. This man criticized these speeches solely according to the impression they made on his own arrogant mind, whereas the one aim of the great British demagogue was to produce the maximum effect upon his audiences and, in the widest sense, on the lower classes throughout the length and breadth of Britain. Looked at from this point of view, that British statesman's speeches were most wonderful achievements, precisely because they showed an astounding knowledge of the mentality of the broad masses of the people. For that reason their effect was really overwhelming. Compare with them the futile stammerings of a Bethmann-Hollweg. On the surface the latter's speeches were undoubtedly more intellectual, but they actually proved

the man's inability to speak to his own people, whom he did not understand. Nevertheless to the stupid average brain of the German writer, who had, of course, amassed a great deal of learning, it seemed only natural to judge the speeches of the British statesman—which were made for the purpose of influencing the masses—by the impression which they made on his own mind, fossilized as it was by learning and to compare them to the brilliant but futile talk of the German statesman, which of course had a greater appeal for him. That the genius of Lloyd George was not only equal, but a thousandfold superior to that of a Bethmann-Hollweg, is proved by the fact that he found for his speeches that form and expression which opened the hearts of his people to him and made that people carry out his will absolutely. The primitive quality of these speeches, the originality of his expressions, his choice of clear and simple illustration, prove the superior political capacity of the British spokesman. One must never judge the speech of a statesman to his people by the impression which it leaves on the mind of a university professor, but by the effect it produces on the public, and this is the sole criterion of the orator's genius.

The astonishing development of our Movement, which was created out of nothing a few years ago and is to-day singled out for persecution by all the internal and external enemies of our nation, must be attributed to the constant recognition and practical application of those principles.

However important the literature of the Movement may be, it is, nevertheless, at present more important as a means of providing leaders of the upper, as well as of the lower grades, with a uniform course of instruction, than for the purpose of converting antagonistic masses. It was only in very rare cases that a convinced and devoted Social Democrat or Communist was induced to gain an insight into our *Weltanschauung* or to study a criticism of his own by procuring and reading one of our pamphlets or even one of our books. Even a newspaper is rarely read if it does not bear the stamp of party opinions. Moreover, the reading of newspapers helps little, because the general picture given

by a single number of a newspaper is so confused and produces such a fragmentary impression that it really does not influence the occasional reader and where a man has to count his pennies it cannot be assumed that, exclusively for the purpose of being objectively informed, he will become a regular reader or subscriber to a paper which opposes his views. Scarcely one man in ten thousand will do this. Only after he has already joined a movement will he regularly read the party organ of that movement, more especially for the purpose of keeping himself informed of what is happening in the movement.

It is quite different with the 'spoken' leaflet. Especially if it be distributed gratis it will be taken up by one person or another, all the more willingly if its display title refers to a question about which everybody is talking at the moment. Perhaps someone after having read through such a leaflet more or less carefully, will have his eyes opened to the existence of new points of view, a new mental attitude, and even a new movement. But, at best, this will only serve as a slight impulse and will not establish a firm conviction, because the leaflet can do no more than arouse interest and attract attention, and can only be effective if the reader subsequently gains more definite and thorough information, the only road to which is via the mass meeting.

Mass meetings are also necessary for the reason that, in attending them, the individual who, about to join the new movement, feels himself alone and is easily scared of acting singularly acquires for the first time the feeling of a great community, which has a strengthening and encouraging effect on most people. The same man will, as a member of a company or battalion, surrounded by his companions, march with a lighter heart to the attack than if he had to march alone. In the crowd he feels himself in some way sheltered, though in reality there are a thousand arguments against such a feeling.

Mass demonstrations on a grand scale not only reinforce the will of the individual, but they draw him still closer to the movement and help to create an *esprit de corps*. The

man who appears as the first representative of a new doctrine in his place of business or in his factory is bound to have to face obstacles and has need of that strength which comes from the consciousness that he is a member of a great community, and only a mass demonstration can impress upon him the greatness of this community. If, on leaving the shop or mammoth factory, in which he feels very small indeed, he enters a vast assembly for the first time and sees around him thousands upon thousands of men who hold the same opinions; if, while still seeking his way, he is gripped by the force of mass-suggestion which comes from the excitement and enthusiasm of three or four thousand other men in whose midst he finds himself; if the manifest success and the consensus of thousands confirm the truth and justice of the new teaching and for the first time raise in his mind doubt as to the truth of the opinions held by himself up to now—then he submits himself to the fascination of what we call mass-suggestion. The will, the yearning and indeed the strength of thousands of people are in each individual. A man who enters such a meeting in doubt and hesitation leaves it inwardly fortified; he has become a member of a community.

The National Socialist Movement should never forget this, and it should never allow itself to be influenced by those bourgeois blockheads who think they know everything, but who have foolishly gambled away a great State, together with their own existence and the supremacy of their own class. They are extraordinarily clever, they can do everything, and they know everything, but there was one thing which they failed to do, namely, to save the German people from falling into the clutches of Marxism. In that they failed miserably and their present high opinion of their prowess is mere conceit, for their pride and their stupidity are fruits of the same tree.

If these people try to disparage the importance of the spoken word to-day, they do it only because they realize—God be praised—how futile all their own speechifying has been.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE REDS

IN 1919-20 AND ALSO IN 1921 I ATTENDED SOME OF the bourgeois meetings. Invariably I had the same feeling towards these as towards the compulsory dose of castor oil in my boyhood days. It had to be taken because it was good for one, but it certainly tasted unpleasant. If it were possible to tie ropes round the German people and forcibly drag them to these bourgeois 'meetings', to keep them there behind barred doors and to allow nobody to escape until the meeting closed, then this procedure might prove successful in the course of a few hundred years. For my own part I must frankly admit that, in such circumstances, I should not find life worth living and indeed I should no longer wish to be a German. But, thank God, all that is impossible, and so it is not surprising that the sane and unspoilt masses shun these 'bourgeois mass meetings' as the devil shuns holy water.

I came to know the prophets of the bourgeois *Weltanschauung*, and I was not surprised at what I learned, as I knew that they attached little importance to the spoken word. At that time, I attended meetings of the Democrats, the German Nationalists, the German People's Party and the Bavarian People's Party (the Centre Party of Bavaria). What struck me at once was the homogeneous uniformity of the audiences. Nearly always they were made up exclusively of party members. The whole affair was more like a yawning card-party than an assembly of people who had just passed through a great revolution. The speakers did all they could to maintain this tranquil atmosphere. They declaimed, or rather read out, their speeches in the style of an intellectual newspaper article or a learned treatise,

avoiding all forcible expressions. Here and there a feeble professorial joke would be introduced, whereupon the people sitting at the speaker's table felt themselves obliged to laugh—not loudly or infectiously, but with well-bred reserve.

Oh, those people at the speaker's table! I once attended a meeting in the Wagner Hall in Munich. It was a demonstration to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. The speech was delivered, or rather read out, by a venerable old professor from one or other of the universities. The committee sat on the platform: one monocle on the right, another monocle on the left, and in the centre a gentleman with no monocle. All three of them were punctiliously attired in morning dress, and I had the impression of being present in a court of justice just as the death-sentence was about to be pronounced or at a christening or some more solemn religious ceremony. The so-called speech, which in printed form may have read quite well, had a disastrous effect. After three-quarters of an hour the audience fell into a sort of hypnotic trance, which was interrupted only when some man or woman left the hall, or by the clatter which the waitresses made, or by the increased yawning of members of the audience. I had posted myself behind three workmen who were present either out of curiosity or because they were sent there by their parties. From time to time they glanced at one another with an ill-concealed grin, nudged one another with their elbows and then silently left the hall. One could see that they had no intention whatsoever of interrupting the proceedings, nor indeed was it necessary to do so. At long last the proceedings showed signs of drawing to a close. After the professor, whose voice had meanwhile become more and more inaudible, had finally ended his speech the gentleman without the monocle delivered a rousing peroration to the assembled 'German sisters and brethren.' On behalf of the audience and himself he expressed his thanks for the magnificent lecture which they had just heard from Professor X and emphasized how deeply the Professor's words had moved them all. If a general discussion on the lecture were to take place it would

be tantamount to profanity, and he thought he was voicing the opinion of all present in suggesting that such a discussion should not be held. Therefore, he would ask the assembly to rise from their seats and join in singing the patriotic song, *Wir sind ein einzig Volk von Brüdern*. The proceedings finally closed with the singing of the anthem, *Deutschland über Alles*. It appeared to me that when the second verse was reached the voices were fewer and that only when the refrain was reached did they swell louder. When we reached the third verse my suspicion that a good many of those present were not very familiar with the text was confirmed. But what does that matter when such a song is sung whole-heartedly and fervidly by an assembly of German Nationalists? After this the meeting broke up and everyone hurried to get outside, one to his glass of beer, one to a café, and others simply into the fresh air.

Out into the fresh air! That was also my one desire. Was this the way to commemorate a heroic struggle in which hundreds of thousands of Prussians and Germans had fought? No, a thousand times no!

That sort of thing might find favour with the Government, it being merely a 'peaceful' meeting. The minister responsible for law and order had no need to fear that enthusiasm might suddenly get the better of public decorum and induce these people to pour out of the room and, instead of dispersing to public-houses and cafés, march four abreast through the town singing *Deutschland hoch in Ehren* and causing some unpleasantness to a police force in need of sleep.

He had reason to be well satisfied with this type of citizen.

On the other hand, the National Socialist meetings were by no means 'peaceable' affairs. Two distinct *Weltanschauungen* raged in bitter opposition to one another, and these meetings did not close with the mechanical rendering of a dull patriotic song, but rather with a passionate outbreak of popular national feeling.

It was imperative from the start to introduce rigid

discipline into our meetings and establish the authority of the chairman absolutely. Our purpose was not to pour out a mixture of soft-soap bourgeois talk; what we had to say was meant to arouse the opponents at our meetings! How often did they not turn up in large numbers with a few agitators among them ready, judging by the expression on all their faces to finish us off there and then.

How often did they turn up in strength, those supporters of the Red Flag, having been previously instructed to smash up everything once and for all and put an end to our meetings. More often than not everything hung in the balance, and only the chairman's ruthless determination and the rough handling by our hall-guards baffled our adversaries' intentions. They had every reason to be irritated.

The fact that we had chosen red as the colour for our posters sufficed to attract them to our meeting. The ordinary bourgeoisie were very shocked to see that we had also chosen the symbolic red of Bolshevism and they regarded this as something ambiguously significant. It was whispered in German Nationalist circles that we also were merely another variety of Marxists, perhaps even Marxists suitably disguised, or better still, Socialists. The actual difference between Socialism and Marxism still remains a mystery to these people to this day. The charge of Marxism was conclusively proved when it was discovered that at our meetings we deliberately substituted the word 'compatriots' for 'Ladies and Gentlemen' and addressed each other as 'Party Comrade.' We used to roar with laughter at these silly faint-hearted bourgeois and their efforts to puzzle out our origin, our intentions and our aims. We chose red for our posters after careful deliberation, our intention being to irritate the Left, so as to arouse their attention and tempt them to come to our meetings—if only in order to break them up—so that in this way we might have a chance of talking to the people.

In those years it was indeed a delightful experience to follow the constantly changing tactics of our perplexed and helpless adversaries. First of all, they appealed to their

followers to ignore us and keep away from our meetings. Generally speaking, this appeal was heeded. But, as time went on, more and more of their followers gradually found their way to us and accepted our teaching. Then the leaders became nervous and uneasy. They clung to their belief that such a development should not be ignored for ever, and that force must be applied in order to put an end to it. Appeals were then made to the 'class-conscious proletariat' to attend our meetings in masses and strike with the clenched hand of the proletariat at the representatives of a 'monarchist and reactionary agitation.

Our meetings suddenly became packed with work-people fully three-quarters of an hour before the proceedings were scheduled to begin. These gatherings resembled a powder-cask ready to explode at any moment, and the fuse was conveniently at hand. But things always turned out differently. People came as enemies and left, not perhaps prepared to join us, yet in a reflective mood and disposed to examine critically the correctness of their own doctrine. Gradually, as time went on, my three-hour lectures resulted in supporters and opponents becoming united in one single enthusiastic group of people. Every signal for the breaking-up of the meeting failed. The result was that the opposition leaders became more frightened and once again looked for help from those quarters that had formerly discountenanced these tactics and, with some show of right, had been of the opinion that on principle the workers should be forbidden to attend our meetings.

Thereafter, they did not come any more, or only in small numbers, but after a short time the whole game began again. The instructions to keep away from us were ignored, the comrades came in steadily increasing numbers, until finally the advocates of the radical tactics won the day. We were to be broken up. Yet when, after two, three and even many meetings, it was realized that to break up these gatherings was easier said than done and that every meeting resulted in a decisive weakening of the Red fighting forces, the other

cry was taken up again, 'Proletarians and comrades, avoid the meetings of the National Socialist agitators.'

The same eternally alternating tactics were also to be observed in the Red press. At one time they tried to silence us, but discovered the uselessness of such an attempt. After that they swung round to the opposite tactics. 'Daily reference' was made to us solely for the purpose of ridiculing us in the eyes of the working classes. After a time these gentlemen must have felt that no harm was being done to us, but that, on the contrary, we were reaping an advantage in that people were asking themselves why so much space was being devoted to a subject which was supposed to be so futile. People became curious. Suddenly, there was a change of tactics and for a time we were treated as veritable criminals against mankind. One article followed another, in which our criminal intentions were explained and fresh proofs brought forward in support of what was said. Scandalous tales, all of them fabricated from start to finish, were published in order to help to poison the public mind, but in a short time even these attacks also proved unavailing and in fact they were of material assistance to us because they attracted public attention to us.

In those days I took up the standpoint that it was immaterial whether they laughed at us or reviled us, whether they depicted us as fools or criminals; the important point was that they took notice of us and that in the eyes of the working classes we came to be regarded as the only force capable of putting up a fight. I said that we would one day show the rabble that was the Jewish press what we really were and what we were really aiming at.

One reason why they never got so far as breaking up our meetings was undoubtedly the incredible cowardice displayed by the leaders of the opposition. On every critical occasion they left the dirty work to the smaller fry whilst they waited outside the halls for the results of the break-up.

We were nearly always well-informed of our opponents' intentions, not only because we allowed several of our party colleagues to remain members of the Red organizations for

reasons of expediency, but also because the Red wire-pullers, were, most luckily for us, afflicted with a degree of talkativeness that is still unfortunately very prevalent among Germans. They could not keep their own counsel, and more often than not they started cackling before the proverbial egg was laid. Hence, time and again, we were able to take such far-reaching precautionary measures that the 'Reds' who had been told off to break up our meeting had no inkling that they were about to be ejected.

This state of affairs compelled us to take the work of safeguarding our meetings into our own hands. No reliance could be placed on the protection of the authorities, on the contrary, experience showed that it was the disturbing element which gained by such intervention. The only real outcome of police intervention was that the meeting would be dissolved, which was precisely what our opponents wanted.

Generally speaking, this led the police to adopt a method of procedure which, to say the least of it, - was a most infamous example of official malpractice. The moment they received information of a threat that some meeting was to be broken up, instead of arresting the would-be disturbers, they promptly forbade the non-guilty party to hold the meeting, this being a measure which appealed to the average police mentality as the climax of wisdom. This step the police proclaimed to be a precautionary measure in the interests of law and order.'

The political work and activities of decent people could, therefore, always be hindered by any desperate ruffians who had the means at their disposal. In the name of law and order State authority bowed down to these ruffians and demanded that others should not provoke them. When the National Socialists desired to hold meetings in certain places and the trade-unions declared that their members would resist, then it was not the blackmailers that were arrested and gaoled. On the contrary, *our* meetings were forbidden by the police. In fact, the 'strong arm of the law' had the

unspeakable impudence to advise us in writing to this effect on innumerable occasions. To avoid such eventualities it was necessary to see to it that every attempt to disturb a meeting was nipped in the bud. Another feature to be taken into account in this respect is that all meetings which rely on police protection must necessarily bring discredit to their promoters in the eyes of the general public. Meetings that can be held only with the protective assistance of a strong force of police convert nobody, because in order to win over the lower strata of the people there must be a visible show of strength on one's own side. In the same way that a man of courage will win a woman's affection more easily than a coward, so a fearless movement will be more successful in winning the hearts of a people than a weak movement which relies on police support for its very existence.

It is for this latter reason in particular that our young Party had to assume the full responsibility of safeguarding its own existence, defending itself and foiling the terrorist tactics of its opponents. The measures adopted for the protection of our meetings were as follows: Firstly, energetic and judicious conduct of the meeting. Secondly, the organization of a squad of men to maintain order.

In those days, we and no one else were masters of the situation at our meetings, and on no occasion did we fail to emphasize this. Our opponents fully realized that any provocation would be a signal to have them thrown out of the hall at once whatever the odds against us. At meetings, particularly outside Munich, we had in those days from five to eight hundred opponents to fifteen or sixteen National Socialists; yet we brooked no interference for our opponents knew full well that we were prepared to die rather than capitulate. More than once a handful of party members offered a heroic resistance to a raging and violent mob of Reds. Those fifteen or twenty men would certainly have been overwhelmed in the end had not the opponents known that three or four times as many of themselves would first get their skulls cracked, and that risk they were not willing to run. We had done our best to study the Marxist and

bourgeois methods of conducting meetings, and we had certainly learnt something.

The Marxists had always exercised a most rigid discipline so that the question of breaking up their meetings could never have originated in bourgeois quarters. The more, therefore, did the Reds concentrate on these tactics. In time they not only became past masters in this art, but in certain large districts of the Reich they went so far as to declare that non-Marxist meetings were nothing less than a cause of provocation to the proletariat. This was particularly the case when the wire-pullers suspected that a meeting might call attention to their own transgressions and thus expose their own treachery and chicanery. Therefore, the moment such a meeting was announced, a howl of rage went up from the Red press. They, who despised the law on principle, nearly always appealed in the first instance to the authorities and requested in imperative and threatening language that this 'provocation of the proletariat' be stopped forthwith in the interests of law and order. Their language was chosen according to the importance of the official blockhead with whom they were dealing and thus success was assured. If by chance the official happened to be a true German—and not a mere figurehead—and he did not comply with the impudent request, then the well-known appeal to stop provocation of the proletariat' was issued together with instructions to attend such and such a meeting on a certain date in full strength for the purpose of 'putting a stop to the disgraceful machinations of the bourgeoisie by means of the proletarian fist.'

The pitiful and frightened manner in which these bourgeois meetings were conducted had to be seen to be believed. Very frequently these threats were sufficient to make them call off such a meeting at once. The feeling of fear was so marked that the meeting, instead of commencing at eight o'clock, very seldom opened before a quarter to nine or nine o'clock. The chairman thereupon did his best, by showering compliments on the 'gentlemen of the opposition' to prove how he and all others present were pleased (a palpable lie)

to welcome the presence of men who were not as yet in sympathy with them, for the reason that only by mutual discussion (to which he hereby gave his consent) could they be brought closer together in mutual understanding. Apart from this the chairman also assured them that the meeting had no intention whatsoever of interfering with anybody's professed convictions. Far from it. Everyone had the right to form and hold his own political views, but he should allow others to do likewise. He, therefore, requested that the speaker be allowed to deliver his speech without interruption—the speech in any case not being a long affair—so that this meeting should not provide the world with the spectacle of yet another shameful instance of the bitter fraternal strife raging in Germany. And so on and so forth.

The brethren of the Left had little, if any, sympathy with that sort of talk; the speaker had hardly commenced when he was shouted down. One gained the impression at times that these speakers were grateful to the Fate which peremptorily cut short their martyr-like discourse. These bourgeois torcadors left the arena amidst a vast uproar, that is to say, if they escaped being thrown down the stairs with cracked skulls, as was very often the case.

Therefore, our methods of organization at National Socialist meetings were something quite strange to the Marxists. They came to our meetings in the belief that the little game which they had so often played successfully could, as a matter of course, be repeated on us. "To-day we shall finish them off." How often did they bawl this out to each other on entering the meeting-hall, only to be thrown out with lightning speed before they had time to repeat it!

In the first place, our method of conducting a meeting was entirely different. We did not crave permission to be allowed to speak, and we did not straightway give everybody the right to hold endless discussions. We curtly gave everyone to understand that we were masters of the meeting and that we could, therefore, do as we pleased and that everyone who dared to interrupt would be unceremoniously thrown

out. We stated clearly our refusal to accept responsibility for anyone treated in this manner. If time permitted, and if it suited us, a discussion would take place. Party member So-and-so would now speak . . . That kind of talk was sufficient in itself to astonish the Marxists.

Secondly we had at our disposal a well-trained and organized body of men for maintaining order at our meetings. On the other hand, the bourgeois parties protected their meetings with a body of men better classified as ushers who, by virtue of their age, thought they were entitled to authority and respect, but as the Marxist-taught mob had no respect either for age or authority, protective measures at the bourgeois meetings were practically non-existent.

When our political meetings first started I made it a special point to organize a suitable defensive squad composed, as a matter of principle, solely of young men. Some of them were ex-service men who had seen active service with me, others were young party members who, right from the start, had been trained to realize that terrorism can be combated only by terrorism, that only courageous and determined people had made a success of things in this world and that, finally, we were fighting for an ideal so lofty that it was worth the last drop of our blood. These young men had been trained to realize that where force replaced common sense in the solution of a problem, the best means of defence was attack and that the reputation of our hall-guard squads should stamp us as a political fighting force and not as a debating society. It was extraordinary how eagerly those boys of the war-generation responded to this order. They had indeed good reason to be bitterly disappointed and indignant at the miserable milksop methods employed by the bourgeoisie.

Thus it became clear to everyone that the Revolution had only been possible thanks to the dastardly methods of a bourgeois government. At that time there was certainly no lack of man-power to suppress the revolution, but unfortunately there was an entire lack of an organizing brain. How often did the eyes of my young men light up with

enthusiasm when I explained to them the vital functions connected with their task and assured them time and again that all earthly wisdom is useless unless it be supported and protected by force, that the gentle goddess of Peace can only walk in company with the god of War, and that every great measure performed in the name of Peace must be protected and furthered by means of force. In this way the idea of military service appeared to them in a far more realistic light—not in the fossilized sense of decrepit officials serving the dead authority of a dead State, but in the living realization of the duty of each man to sacrifice his life for his country at any given time and in any given place. All honour to those young men for the way in which they performed their duty! Like a swarm of hornets they tackled disturbers at our meetings, regardless of superiority of numbers, however great, indifferent to wounds and bloodshed, inspired with the great idea of blazing a trail for the sacred mission of our Movement.

As early as the summer of 1920 the organization of squads of men as hall-guards for the purpose of maintaining order at our meetings was gradually assuming definite shape. By the spring of 1921 this body of men was sectioned off into squads of one hundred which, in turn, were subdivided into smaller groups.

The urgency for this was apparent, as meanwhile the number of our meetings had steadily increased. We still frequently met in the Munich *Hofbräuhaus*, but more frequently in larger meeting-halls throughout the city. In the autumn and winter of 1920-21 our meetings in the *Bürgerbräu* and *Münchener-Kindl-Keller* had assumed vast proportions and the same thing always happened, namely, that the National Socialist German Labour Party meetings were always crowded out so that the police were compelled to close and bar the doors long before the proceedings commenced.

The organization of hall-guards to keep order at our meetings cleared up a very difficult question. Up till then the Movement had possessed no party badge and no party

flag. The lack of these tokens was not only a disadvantage at that time, but was bound to prove intolerable in the future. The disadvantages were chiefly that members of the Party possessed no outward token of membership which linked them together and it was absolutely unthinkable that for the future they should remain without some token which would be a symbol of the Movement and could be set against that of the International.

More than once in my youth the psychological importance of such a symbol had become clearly evident to me and from a sentimental point of view also it was advisable. In Berlin, after the War, I was present at a mass-demonstration of Marxists in the Lustgarten in front of the Royal Palace. A sea of red flags, red armlets and red flowers was in itself sufficient to give that huge assembly of about one hundred and twenty thousand persons an outward appearance of strength. I was now able to feel and understand how easily the man in the street succumbs to the hypnotic magic of such a grandiose piece of theatrical demonstration.

The bourgeoisie, which, politically speaking, neither possessed nor championed any *Weltanschauung*, had, therefore, no banner of its own. Its parties were composed of 'patriots' who appropriated the colours of the Reich. Had these colours been the symbol of a definite *Weltanschauung* then one could understand the rulers of the State regarding this flag as expressive of their own *Weltanschauung*, seeing that through their efforts the symbol of their *Weltanschauung* had become the emblem of the Reich. This was, however, not the case.

The Reich was welded together without the aid of the German bourgeoisie and the flag itself was born of the War and was, therefore, merely a State emblem possessing no significance in the sense of any particular ideological mission.

Only in one part of the German-speaking territory—in German-Austria—was there anything like a bourgeois party flag in existence. Here a section of the national bourgeoisie selected the 1848 colours (black, red and gold) as their

party flag and thereby created a symbol which, though of no significance from the point of view of a *Weltanschauung*, had, nevertheless, a revolutionary character from a national political point of view. The most bitter opponents of this flag at that time (and this should not be forgotten to-day) were the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists or the clergy. They it was, in particular who degraded and besmirched these colours just as in 1918 they dragged black, white and red in the gutter. Of course, the black, red and gold of the German parties in the old Austria were the colours of the year 1848; that is to say, of a period likely to be regarded as somewhat visionary, but it was a period that had honest Germans as its representatives, although the Jews were lurking unseen as wire-pullers in the background. It was the act of high treason and the shameful bartering of the German people and German territory that first of all made these colours so attractive to the Marxists and the Centre Party; so much so, that to-day they revere them as their most cherished possession and found their own associations for the protection of the flag they once foully besmirched.

It is a fact, therefore, that, up to 1920, there was no flag that could have stood for a *Weltanschauung* diametrically opposed to Marxism. For even if the better political elements among the German bourgeoisie were loath to accept the suddenly discovered black, red and gold colours as their symbol after the year 1918, they were nevertheless incapable of countering this with a programme of their own for the future. At most, they had a reconstruction of the old Reich in mind. It is to this way of thinking that the black, white and red colours of the old Reich are indebted for their resurrection as the flag of our so-called national bourgeois parties.

It is obvious that the emblem of a regime which had been overthrown by the Marxists in inglorious circumstances is not now worthy to serve as a banner under which the same Marxism is to be crushed in its turn. However much any honourable German may love and revere those

old colours, glorious in their youthful freshness, if he has fought under them and seen the sacrifice of so many lives they can never serve as an emblem for the struggle of the future.

In our Movement I have always adopted the attitude that it was a really lucky thing for the German nation that it had lost its old flag. This attitude of mine was in strong contrast to that of the bourgeois politicians. It may be immaterial to us what the Republic does under its flag, but let us be deeply grateful to Fate for having so graciously spared the most glorious war-flag of all time from becoming an ignominious rag. The Reich of to-day, which has sold itself and its people, must never be allowed to adopt the honourable and heroic black, white and red colours.

As long as the November outrage endures, that outrage may continue to bear its own external sign and not steal that of an honourable past. Our bourgeois politicians should awaken their consciences to the fact that whoever desires this State to adopt the black, white and red colours is pilfering the past. The old flag was suitable only for the old Reich and, thank Heaven, the Republic chose the colours best suited to itself.

This was also the reason why we National Socialists recognized that to hoist the old colours would not be symbolic of our special aims, for we had no wish to resurrect from the dead the old Reich which had been ruined through its own blunders, but to build up a new State. The Movement which is fighting Marxism to-day along these lines must display on its banner the symbol of the new State.

The question of the new flag, that is to say, the form and appearance it must take, gave us much food for thought in those days. Suggestions poured in from all sides, which although well-meant were not suitable. The new flag had not only to be a symbol expressing our own struggle but, on the other hand, it was necessary that it should prove effective as a large poster. All those who have to consider the tastes of the public will recognize and appreciate the great importance of these apparently petty details. In

hundreds of thousands of cases a really striking emblem may be the first thing to awaken interest in a movement.

For this reason we declined all suggestions from various quarters for the identification of our Movement, by means of a white flag, with the old State or rather with those decrepit parties whose sole political objective was the restoration of past conditions. Apart from this, white is not a colour capable of attracting and focussing public attention. It is a colour suitable only for temperance associations and not for a movement that stands for reform in a revolutionary period.

Black was also suggested—certainly well-suited to the times, but embodying no significance expressive of the will behind our Movement. Moreover, black is incapable of attracting attention.

White and blue were discarded, despite their admirable aesthetic appeal—as being the colours of an individual German federal state—a state that, unfortunately, through its political attitude of particularist narrow-mindedness did not enjoy a good reputation. In addition, with these colours it would have been difficult to attract attention to our Movement. The same applies to black and white. Black, red and gold did not come into consideration; neither, for the reasons already mentioned, did black, white and red—at least not in the form hitherto in use. But the effectiveness of these three colours is far superior to all others and they are certainly the most strikingly harmonious combination.

I myself was always for keeping the old colours, not only because I, as a soldier, regarded them as my most sacred possession, but because in their aesthetic effect they are, more than any others, symbolic of my personal sentiments. Accordingly, I had to discard all the innumerable suggestions and designs which had been proposed for the new Movement, among which were many that had incorporated the swastika in a design with the old colours. I, as leader, was unwilling to make public my own design, as it was possible that someone else would come forward with a design just as good, if not better, than my own. As

a matter of fact, a dental surgeon from Starnberg submitted a good design very similar to mine, with only one mistake, namely, that upon a white ground he set a swastika with curved limbs.

After innumerable trials I decided upon a final form—a flag of red material with a white disc bearing in its centre a black swastika. After many attempts I obtained the correct proportions between the dimensions of the flag and that of the white central disc, as well as of the swastika. This design was finally adopted.

At the same time, we immediately ordered corresponding armlets for our squad of men who kept order at meetings, armlets of red material bearing a white disc with the black swastika upon it. A party badge was designed on the same lines, namely, a white disc on a red ground bearing the swastika in the centre. Herr Füss, a Munich goldsmith, supplied the first practical and permanent design for this.

The new flag made its first appearance in public in the summer of 1920. It suited our Movement admirably, both being new and young. Not a soul had seen this flag before and its effect at that time was something akin to that of a flaming torch. We ourselves experienced almost a boyish thrill when one of the women-members of the Party who had been entrusted with the making of the flag finally handed it over to us. A few months later we in Munich possessed six of these flags. The steadily increasing strength of our hall-guards was a main factor in popularizing the symbol, for it became a symbol in the truest sense of the word.

By incorporating those colours, dear to every one of us, which had once gained so much honour for the German nation it bore testimony to our reverence for the past and was at the same time symbolic of the Movement's aims. Our nationalist and socialist programme was made manifest in our flag. The red expressed the social thought underlying the Movement, white the national thought, and the swastika signified the mission allotted to us—the struggle for the victory of Aryan mankind and at the same time

the triumph of the ideal of creative work which in itself is and always will be, anti-Semitic.

Two years later, when our squad of hall-guards had long since grown into storm detachments, it seemed necessary to give this defensive organization of a young *Weltanschauung* a particular symbol of victory, namely, a standard. I also designed this and entrusted the execution of it to an old party comrade, Herr Gahr, who was a goldsmith. Ever since that time this standard has been the distinctive emblem of the National Socialist struggle.

The increasing interest taken in our meetings, particularly during 1920, compelled us at times to hold two meetings a week. Crowds gathered round our posters, the large meeting-halls in the town were always filled and tens of thousands of people, who had been led astray by the teachings of Marxism, found their way back to the national community to assist in the work of fighting for the liberation of the Reich. The public in Munich had got to know us. We were being talked about. The term 'National Socialist' had become common property to many and signified for them a definite party programme. Our circle of supporters and even of members was constantly increasing, so that in the winter of 1920-21 we were able to appear as a strong party in Munich.

At that time there was no party in Munich, with the exception of the Marxist parties, and certainly no nationalist party which was able to hold such mass demonstrations as ours. The *Münchener-Kindl-Keller* which held five thousand people, was more than once over-crowded and up till then there was only one other hall, the Circus Krone, which we had not yet ventured to hire.

At the end of January 1921 there was again great cause for anxiety in Germany. The Paris Agreement, by which Germany pledged herself to pay the crazy sum of a hundred milliard gold marks, was to be confirmed by the London Treaty.

Thereupon an old-established Munich co-operative association, representative of so-called *völkisch* groups.

deemed it advisable to call a public meeting of protest. I became nervous and restless when I saw that a lot of time was being wasted and nothing achieved. At first a meeting was suggested in the Königsplatz; on second thoughts this proposal was turned down, as someone feared the proceedings might be wrecked by Red elements. Another suggestion was a demonstration in front of the Feldherrnhalle but this also came to nothing. Finally a combined meeting in the *Münchener-Kindl-Keller* was suggested. Meanwhile day after day went by; the parties entirely ignored the terrible event and the co-operative association could not decide on a definite date for holding the demonstration.

On Tuesday, February 1st, I put forward an urgent demand for a final decision. I was told I should be given it on Wednesday. On that day I demanded to be told clearly, if and when, the meeting was to take place. The reply was again uncertain and evasive, it being stated that it was 'intended to arrange a demonstration for that day week. At that I lost all patience and decided to conduct a meeting of protest on my own. At noon on Wednesday I dictated in ten minutes the text of the poster and at the same time hired the Circus Krone for the next day, February 3rd. In those days this was a tremendous venture, not only because of the uncertainty of filling that vast hall, but also because of the risk of the meeting being broken up.

Numerically, our squad of hall-guards was not strong enough for this vast hall. I was also uncertain about what to do in case the meeting were broken up, as I imagined it would be more difficult to deal with that contingency in the huge circus building than in an ordinary meeting hall. But events showed that my fears were misplaced, the opposite being the case. In that vast building a band of men bent on breaking up the meeting could be tackled and subdued more easily than in crowded halls.

One thing was certain—a failure would throw us back for a long time to come. If one meeting were broken up our prestige would be seriously injured and our opponents would

be encouraged to repeat their success. That would lead to sabotage of our work in connection with further meetings, and months of difficult struggle would be necessary to overcome this.

We had only one day in which to post our bills, Thursday. Unfortunately it rained during the morning of that day and there was reason to fear that many people would prefer to remain at home rather than hurry to a meeting through rain and snow, especially when there was likely to be violence and bloodshed. Indeed on that Thursday morning I was suddenly struck by the fear that the hall might never be filled to capacity, which would have made me ridiculous in the eyes of the co-operative association. I therefore immediately dictated various leaflets and had them printed and distributed in the afternoon. Of course, they contained an invitation to attend the meeting.

Two lorries which I hired were draped as much as possible in red, each had our new flag hoisted on it and was then 'manned' by fifteen or twenty members of our Party. Orders were given to the members to canvas the streets thoroughly, distribute leaflets and conduct propaganda for the mass meeting to be held that evening. It was the first time that lorries had driven through the streets bearing flags and not manned by Marxists. The public stared open-mouthed at these red-draped cars, and in the outlying districts clenched fists were angrily raised at this new evidence of 'provocation of the proletariat.' Were not the Marxists the only ones entitled to hold meetings and drive about in motor-lorries?

By seven o'clock in the evening the circus hall was by no means full. I was being kept informed by telephone every ten minutes and was becoming uneasy. Usually at seven or a quarter past our meeting-halls were already half-filled and sometimes even packed, but I soon discovered the cause of this. I had entirely forgotten to take into account the huge dimensions of this new meeting-place. A thousand people in the *Hofbräuhaus* was quite an impressive sight, but the same number in the Circus building was swallowed up

in its vastness and was hardly noticeable. Shortly afterwards I received more hopeful reports and at a quarter to eight I was informed that the hall was three-quarters full, with huge crowds still lined up at the pay-boxes. I then left for the meeting.

I arrived at the Circus building at two minutes past eight. There was still a crowd outside, composed partly of inquisitive people and among them many opponents who preferred to wait outside for developments.

When I entered the great hall I felt the same joy I had felt a year previously at the first meeting in the *Festsaal* of the *Münchener Hofbräuhaus*; but it was not until I had forced my way through the solid wall of people and reached the platform that I perceived the full measure of our success. The hall was before me, like a huge shell packed with thousands upon thousands of people. Even the arena was densely crowded. More than five thousand six hundred tickets had been sold and, allowing for the unemployed, poor students and our own detachments of men for keeping order, a crowd of about six thousand five hundred must have been present.

My theme was, 'Future or Downfall' and I was filled with joy at the conviction that the future was represented by the crowd that I was addressing.

I began, and spoke for about two and a half hours. I had the feeling after the first half-hour that the meeting was going to be a big success. Contact had at once been established with all those thousands of individuals. After the first hour the speech was already being received by spontaneous outbursts of applause, but after the second hour this died down to a solemn stillness which I was to experience so often later on in this same hall and which will be for ever remembered by all those present. Nothing broke this impressive silence and only when the last word had been spoken did the meeting give vent to its feelings by singing the national anthem.

I watched the scene during the next twenty minutes, as the vast hall slowly emptied itself, and only then did

I leave the platform, a happy man, and make my way home.

Photographs were taken of this first meeting in the Circus Krone in Munich. They are more eloquent than words in demonstrating the success of this meeting. The bourgeois papers reproduced photographs and reported the meeting as having been merely 'nationalist' in character—in their usual modest fashion they omitted all mention of its promoters.

Thus we had, for the first time, far exceeded the limit of an ordinary party. We could now no longer be ignored, and to dispel all doubt that the meeting was merely an isolated success, I immediately arranged for another at the Circus Krone in the following week, with the same results. Once more the vast hall was filled to overflowing; so much so that I decided to hold a third meeting in the same hall during the following week, and yet a third time the immense building was filled with people.

After these initial successes early in 1921 I increased our activity in Munich still further. I not only held meetings once a week, but often twice a week and very often during the summer and autumn as many as three meetings were held every week. We met regularly at the Circus Hall and it gave us great satisfaction to see that every meeting brought us the same measure of success. The result was shown in an ever-growing number of supporters and an increase in the number of party members.

Naturally the news of our success did not allow our opponents to sleep soundly. At first their tactics fluctuated between the use of terrorist tactics and silence, but as they were forced to realize that neither terrorism nor silence could hinder the progress of our Movement they had recourse to a supreme act of terrorism which was intended to put a definite end to our activities as regards the holding of meetings.

As a pretext for action along this line they took advantage of a mysterious attack on one of the Landtag deputies, named Erhard Auer. It was declared that someone had fired several shots at this man one evening.

that is to say, he was not actually hit, but an attempt had been made to shoot him. Fabulous presence of mind and heroic courage on the part of the Social Democratic leader not only foiled this dastardly attempt on his life, but also put the crazy would-be assassins to flight. They were so quick and fled so far that subsequently the police could not find even the slightest traces of them. This mysterious episode was used by the organ of the Social Democratic Party to arouse public feeling against the Movement and at the same time it delivered its old rigmarole about what was to happen in the near future. They would see to it that the proletariat would intervene in time and prevent us from flourishing like the green bay-tree.

A few days later the real attack came. It was decided finally to interrupt one of our meetings which was billed to take place in the *Münchener Hofbrauhaus* and at which I myself was to speak.

On November 4th, 1921, between six and seven o'clock in the evening I received the first definite news that the meeting would positively be broken up and that to carry out this action our adversaries had decided to send to the meeting large numbers of workmen employed in certain Red' factories.

It was due to an unfortunate accident that we did not receive this news sooner. On that day, we had given up our old business office in the Sternecker Gasse in Munich and moved into other premises; or rather we had given up the old offices and our new quarters were not yet in functioning order. The telephone had already been cut off in the old office and had not yet been installed in the new one. Hence it happened that several attempts to inform us by telephone of the break-up which had been planned for that evening failed.

Consequently our hall-guards were not present in strength at that meeting. There was only one squad present, which did not consist of the usual one hundred men, but only of about forty-six, and our machinery for giving the alarm was not yet sufficiently perfect for us to be able to

collect within the space of an hour a sufficient number of guards to deal with the situation. It must also be added that on several previous occasions we had been forewarned, but nothing unusual had happened. The old saying that revolutions which are predicted seldom take place had hitherto proved true in our case. Possibly this was an additional reason why sufficient precautions had not been taken on that day to cope with the brutal determination of our opponents to break up our meeting.

Finally, we did not believe that the *Hofbräuhaus* in Munich was suitable for the interruptive tactics of our adversaries. We had feared such a thing far more in the bigger halls, especially in the Circus Krone, but on this point we were to learn a very serviceable lesson on that evening. Later, we studied this whole question scientifically and arrived at conclusions, both interesting and incredible, which were afterwards of fundamental importance in determining the organization and tactics of our Storm Troops.

When I arrived at the entrance hall of the *Hofbräuhaus*, at 7.45 p. m. that evening, I realized that there could be no doubt as to what the Reds intended. The hall was filled, and for that reason the police had barred the entrances. Our adversaries, who had arrived very early, were in the hall, and our followers were, for the most part, outside. The small bodyguard of S. A. men awaited me at the entrance. I had the doors leading to the principal hall closed and then asked the bodyguard of forty-five or forty-six men to come forward. I made it clear to them that perhaps on that evening they would for the first time have to show their unbending and unbreakable loyalty to the Movement and that not one of us must leave the hall unless he were carried out dead. I added that I would remain in the hall and that I did not believe that one of them would abandon me, and that if I saw any one of them act the coward I myself would personally tear off his armlet and his badge. I demanded of them that they should come forward if the slightest attempt were made to sabotage the meeting and that they must remember that the best defence is always

attack. I was answered with a triple 'Heil' which sounded more hoarse and enthusiastic than usual.

Then I advanced through the hall and could take in the situation with my own eyes. Our opponents sat close together and tried to pierce me with their looks. Innumerable pairs of eyes glowing with hatred and rage were fixed on me, while others with sneering faces greeted me with shouts and threats to the effect that they would 'settle our hash', that we should 'look out for ourselves' and that they would 'stop our mouths once and for all', along with other expressions of an equally elegant character. They knew that they were superior in numbers and they acted accordingly. Yet we were able to open the meeting, and I began to speak. In the hall of the *Hofbräuhaus* I always stood against one of the side walls and my platform was a beer table. Therefore I was always right in the midst of the audience. Perhaps this circumstance was responsible for creating a certain atmosphere which I never sensed elsewhere.

Before me, and especially towards my left, there were only opponents, seated or standing. They were mostly robust youths and men from the Maffei Factory, from Kustermann's, from the Isaria meter works, etc. Along the left-hand wall of the hall they had pushed their way close to my table and now began to collect beer-mugs, that is to say, they ordered one beer after another and placed the empty mugs under the tables. In this way they succeeded in collecting whole batteries of ammunition, and no one would have been more surprised than I, had the meeting passed off quietly.

In spite of all the interruptions, I was able to speak for about an hour and a half and I began to feel that I was master of the situation. Even the ringleaders among the disturbers appeared to be convinced of this, for they steadily became more uneasy, often left the hall, returned and spoke to their men in an obviously nervous way. A small psychological error which I committed in replying to an interruption, a mistake of which I myself was conscious the

moment the words had left my mouth, gave the sign for the outbreak.

There were a few furiously angry shouts and all in a moment a man jumped on a seat and shouted "Liberty!" At that signal the champions of liberty began their work. In a few moments the hall was filled with a yelling shrieking mob. Numerous beer-mugs flew like shells above their heads. Amid this din one heard the crash of chair legs, the crashing of mugs, shouts, yells and screams. It was a mad uproar and I should just like to have seen such a scene enacted at a bourgeois meeting. I stood were I was and could observe my men doing their duty, every one of them.

The fun had hardly begun when my Storm Troops, as they were called from that day onwards, launched their attack. Like wolves they threw themselves on the enemy again and again, in parties of eight or ten and began steadily to drive them out of the hall. After five minutes I could see hardly one of them that was not streaming with blood. Then I realized what kind of men many of them were, above all my brave Maurice and Hess, who is my private secretary today, and many others who, even though seriously wounded, returned to the attack again and again, as long as they could stand on their feet. Pandemonium reigned for some twenty minutes and by that time our opponents, who had numbered seven or eight hundred, had been driven from the hall or hurled out headlong by my men, who had not numbered fifty. Only in the left corner a big crowd was still standing cut against our men and putting up a stiff fight. Then two pistol-shots rang out from the entrance to the hall and immediately wild shooting broke out on all sides. One's heart almost rejoiced at this spectacle which recalled memories of the War.

At that moment it was not possible to identify the persons who had fired the shots, but at any rate I could see that my men had returned to the attack with increased fury, until finally the last disturbers were overcome and flung out of the hall. About twenty-five minutes had passed since it all began. The hall looked as if a bomb had exploded there.

Many of my comrades were being bandaged and others were being taken away, but we remained masters of the situation. Hermann Esser, who was chairman of the meeting, announced, "The meeting will continue. The speaker will proceed." So I went on with my speech.

When we ourselves had declared the meeting at an end, an excited police officer rushed in, waved his arms and declared, "The meeting is dissolved."

I could not help laughing at this example of the law's delay. It was typical of the officiousness of the police. The more insignificant they are, the more important they try to appear. That evening taught us many a lesson and our adversaries never forgot the lesson they had received.

Up to the autumn of 1923 the *Münchener Post* did not again threaten us with the clenched fist of the proletariat.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRONG ARE STRONGER WITHOUT ALLIES

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER I MENTIONED THE existence of a co-operative association between the German patriotic societies. Here I shall deal briefly with this question.

In speaking of a co-operative association we generally mean a group of societies which, for the purpose of facilitating their work, establish mutual relations for collaborating along certain lines, appointing a common board of management vested with a varying degree of authority with a view to undertaking concerted action. This very fact shows that these were societies, associations and parties, whose aims and course of action were not too widely divergent, and it was asserted that this was invariably true. The average citizen is pleased and reassured when he hears that these societies, by establishing a co-operative association, have at long last discovered a common platform on which they can stand united and have eliminated all causes of dissension. Therewith a general conviction arises, to the effect that such a union is an immense gain in strength and that small groups which were weak as long as they stood alone have now suddenly become strong. Yet this conviction is generally a mistaken one.

It will be interesting and, in my opinion, important for the better understanding of this question to try to get a clear notion of how it came about that so many of these associations, unions, etc., were formed when all of them declared that they had the same ends in view. In itself it would be logical to expect that one aim should be fought for

by a single association and it would be more sensible if there were not a number of associations fighting for the same aim. In the beginning there was undoubtedly only one association which had this one fixed aim in view. Some men somewhere stated a definite fact called for the solution of a definite problem, enunciated their aim and founded a movement for the purpose of achieving that aim. That is how an association or a party is founded, whose programme may be either the abolition of existing evils or the positive establishment of a certain order of things in the future.

Once such a movement has come into existence it may lay practical claim to certain priority rights. The natural course of things would now be that all those who wish to fight for the same objective as this movement is striving for, should identify themselves with it and thus increase its strength, so that the common purpose in view may be the better served. Especially men of superior intelligence must feel, one and all, that by joining the movement they are establishing precisely those conditions which are necessary for practical success in the common struggle. Accordingly it is reasonable and, in a certain sense, honest—which honesty, as I shall show later, is an element of very great importance—that only one movement should be founded for the purpose of attaining one aim.

The fact that this does not happen must be attributed to two causes. The first may almost be described as tragic, the second as despicable, because it has its source in the weaknesses of human nature. But, when all is said and done, I see in both causes only facts which go to strengthen our determination and our energy and which, by this intensification of human activity render possible the solution of the problem in question.

The tragic reason why it so often happens that the pursuit of one definite task is not left to one association alone is as follows:- Generally speaking, every action carried out on a grand scale is the expression of a desire that has already existed for a long time in millions of human hearts, a longing which may have been nourished in silence. It may even

happen that throughout the centuries many men have been yearning for the solution of a definite problem, because they have been suffering under an unendurable state of affairs without hope of fulfilment of the universal longing. Nations which are no longer capable of finding a heroic deliverance from such a sorrowful fate may be looked upon as effete. But, on the other hand, nothing affords better proof of the vital forces of a people and the consequent guarantee of its right to exist than that one day, through a happy decree of Destiny, a man arises who is capable of liberating his people from some great oppression, or of wiping out some bitter distress, or of calming the national soul which had been tormented through its sense of insecurity, and thus fulfilling what had long been the universal yearning of the people.

An essential characteristic of what are called the great questions of the age is that thousands undertake the task of solving them and that many feel themselves called upon to fulfil this task; it may even be that Destiny herself puts forward many for selection, in order that, through the free play of events the strongest and most capable man shall ultimately be the victor and be entrusted with the task of solving the problem.

Thus it may happen that for centuries many are discontent with the form in which their religious life expresses itself and yearn for a reformation; and so it may come about that through this impulse of the soul some dozens of men may arise who believe that, by virtue of their understanding and their knowledge, they are called upon to solve the religious difficulties of the day and accordingly present themselves as the prophets of a new doctrine or at least as declared adversaries of the accepted dogmas.

Here also it is certain that the laws of Nature will take their course, inasmuch as the strongest will be destined to fulfil the great mission, but usually the others are slow to acknowledge that only one man is called upon to fulfil the task. On the contrary, they all believe that they have an equal right to engage in the solution of the difficulties in question and that they are equally fitted for that task. Their

contemporary world is generally quite unable to decide which of them possesses the highest gifts and accordingly merits universal support.

Thus in the course of centuries and indeed often within the same epoch, different men establish different movements to achieve the same end. At least the end is declared by the founders of the movements to be the same, or may be looked upon as such by the bulk of the people. The people nourish vague desires and have only general opinions, without having any precise notion of their own ideals and desires or of the question whether and how it is possible for these ideals and desires to be fulfilled.

The tragedy lies in the fact that many men struggle to reach the same objective by different roads, each one genuinely believing in his own mission and holding himself in duty bound to follow his own road without regard for the others.

These movements, parties, religious groups, etc., originate entirely independently of one another out of the general urge of the age, and all with a view to working towards the same goal. It may seem a tragic thing, at least at first sight, that this should be so, because people are too often inclined to think that forces which are dispersed in different directions would attain their ends far more quickly and more surely if they were united in one common effort. This is, however, not so, for Nature herself decides according to the rules of her inexorable logic. She leaves these diverse groups to compete with one another and dispute the palm of victory in order, finally, to lead that movement to the final goal which has chosen the clearest, shortest and surest path.

How can the world decide which path is right or wrong, if the available forces are not given free play, if the final decision is not taken out of the hands of men who are convinced of their own infallibility and left to the infallible test of established success which is always the final confirmation of the justice of a course of action. Therefore, if various groups are striving by various routes to reach the

same goal, they will, inasmuch as they are aware that similar efforts are being made elsewhere, examine more critically their own method of procedure, simplify it if possible and, by exerting themselves to the utmost, try to reach that goal more quickly.

Through this rivalry the faculties of each individual protagonist are developed to a still higher pitch of perfection and the human race has frequently owed its progress to the lessons learned from former attempts which have come to grief. Thus it happens that in the initial dispersion of effort for which the individual is not consciously to blame and which appeared at first sight to be fraught with tragic consequences, we may recognize the means by which the best method is finally selected.

History shows that, as most people believe, the two parties by which a solution of the German problem might have been reached and whose chief advocates were Austria and Prussia, the Habsburg and the Hohenzollern, should have been united from the outset. In the opinion of these same people both parties should have decided to follow either one path or the other, but at that time, the path chosen would inevitably have been that of the rival who was then more important and Austria's aims would never have included the foundation of the German Reich.

A strong and united German Reich finally arose out of that which many millions of Germans deplored in their hearts as the last and most terrible manifestation of our fratricidal strife. The truth is that the German Imperial Crown was secured on the battlefield of Königgrätz and not, as was commonly asserted afterwards, in the battles that were waged outside Paris.

Thus the foundation of the German Reich was not the consequence of any common will working along common lines but it was rather the outcome of a deliberate, if sometimes unconscious, struggle for hegemony, in which Prussia finally was victorious. Anybody who is not so blinded by party politics as to be unable to recognize the truth must perforce admit that the so-called wisdom of men would

never have come to the same wise decision which the wisdom of Life itself, that is to say, the free play of forces, finally brought to realization. For in the German territories of two hundred years ago who would seriously have believed that Hohenzollern Prussia, and not Habsburg, would become the nucleus, the founder and the tutor of the new Reich? And, on the other hand, who would deny to-day that Destiny thus acted with more insight than human wisdom. Who could now imagine a German Reich based on the foundations of an effete and degenerate dynasty?

The natural course of events, even though it took centuries of struggle, finally awarded the superior force the position which it was fitted to occupy. This will always be so and will remain, as it always has been, an immutable law. It is, therefore, not a matter for regret if different men set out to attain the same objective by various means. In this way the strongest and swiftest is recognized and will be the victor.

There is yet a second cause for the fact that often in the lives of nations several movements which show the same characteristics strive by different routes to reach what appears to be the same goal. This second cause is not at all tragic, but merely deserves scorn. It arises from a sad mixture of envy, jealousy, ambition and predatory instincts. Unfortunately these failings are often found united in single specimens of the human species.

The moment a man arises who profoundly understands the distress of his people and, having diagnosed the evil with perfect accuracy, takes measures to cure it; the moment he fixes his aim and chooses the means to reach it—then paltry and pettifogging people become all attention and eagerly follow the doings of this man who has thus come before the public eye. Just like sparrows who are apparently indifferent, but in reality keenly observant of the movements of their more fortunate companion with the morsel of bread, in order that they may snatch it from him if he should momentarily relax his hold, so it is also with the human species. All that is needed is that one man should strike out on a new road

and then a crowd of poltroons will prick up their ears and begin to hope that some trifling gain may lie at the end of that road. The moment they think they have discovered where the reward is to be reaped they hasten to find another route by which to reach the goal more quickly.

As soon as a new movement is founded and has formulated a definite programme, people of that kind come forward and proclaim that they are fighting for the same cause. This does not imply that they are honestly ready to join the ranks of such a movement and thus recognize its right of priority. It implies rather that they intend to steal the programme and found a new party. In doing this they are shameless enough to assure the unthinking public that they had long intended to take the same line of action as the other had now taken and frequently succeed in thus placing themselves in a favourable light, instead of arousing the general disapprobation which they justly deserve. For it is a piece of gross impudence to steal another's slogan and proclaim it as one's own, to steal the programme of another, and then to form a separate group as if all this had been created by the new founder of this group. The impudence of such conduct is particularly obvious when the individuals who first caused dispersion and disruption by their new foundation are the same who (as experience has shown) are most emphatic in proclaiming the necessity for union and unity the moment they find they cannot catch up with their adversary's advance. It is to that kind of conduct that so-called '*völkisch* disintegration' is to be attributed.

Certainly in the years 1918-1919 the founding of a multitude of new groups, parties, etc., calling themselves *völkisch* was a natural phenomenon of the time, for which the founders were not responsible. By 1920 the National Socialist German Labour Party had slowly crystallized from all these parties and had become supreme. There could be no better proof of the sterling honesty of certain individual founders than the fact that many of them decided, in a way that calls for admiration, to sacrifice their

manifestly less successful movements to the stronger movement, by joining it unconditionally and dissolving their own.

This is specially true in regard to Julius Streicher, who was at that time the protagonist of the German Socialist Party in Nürnberg. The National Socialist German Labour Party had been founded with similar aims in view, but quite independently of the other. As I have already said, Streicher, then a teacher in Nürnberg, was the chief protagonist of the German Socialist Party. He had a sacred conviction of the mission and future of his own movement. As soon, however, as he recognized the superior strength and steadier growth of the National Socialist Party, he gave up his work in the German Socialist Party and called upon his followers to fall into line with the National Socialist German Labour Party, which had emerged victorious from the mutual contest, and carry on the fight for the common cause within its ranks. The decision was personally a difficult one for him, but it showed a profound sense of honour.

When that first period of the Movement was over, there remained no further dispersion of forces, for their honest intentions had led the men of that day to the same honourable, straightforward and just conclusion. What we now call the 'völkisch disintegration' owes its existence exclusively to the second of the two causes which I have mentioned. Ambitious men who, at first, had no ideas of their own, and still less any conception of aims to be pursued, felt themselves 'called upon' exactly at that moment in which the success of the National Socialist German Labour Party became unquestionable.

Programmes suddenly appeared which were mere transcripts of ours. Ideas were proclaimed which had been filched from us. Aims were enunciated on behalf of which we had been fighting for several years, and a course of action chosen which the National Socialists had for a long time followed. All kinds of means were resorted to for the purpose of trying to convince the public that, although the National Socialist German Labour Party had now been in existence for a long time it was found necessary to establish

these new parties, but the more noble the motives put forward, the more insincere the phraseology.

In reality there was only one dominant motive, namely, the personal ambition of the founders, who wished to play a part in which their own pigmy talents could contribute nothing except the gross effrontery of appropriating the ideas of others, a mode of conduct which in ordinary life is looked upon as thieving.

At that time there was not an idea or concept launched by other people which these political kleptomaniacs did not seize upon at once for the purpose of applying it for their own ends. Those who did all this were the same people who subsequently, with tears in their eyes, profoundly deplored '*völkisch* disintegration' and spoke unceasingly about the 'necessity for unity.' In doing this they nurtured the secret hope that they might be able to cry down the others, who would tire of hearing these loud-mouthed accusations and would end up by abandoning in favour of the thieves, not only the ideas already stolen by the latter, but the movements which had been founded for the execution of these ideas. When that did not occur and the new enterprises, thanks to the poor mentality of their promoters, did not show the favourable results which had been promised beforehand, then they became more modest in their pretensions and were happy if they could find refuge in one of the so-called 'co-operative associations.'

At that period everything which could not stand on its own feet joined one of those co-operative associations, probably in the belief that eight cripples arm-in-arm equalled one gladiator. If among all these cripples there was one who was sound of limb he had to use all his strength to sustain the others and thus he himself was, in the long run, crippled.

We ought to look upon the question of joining these co-operative associations as a tactical problem, but, in coming to a decision, we must never forget the fundamental principle that through the formation of a co-operative association, societies which are weak in themselves can never be made

strong, whereas it can and does not infrequently happen that a strong society or party loses in strength by joining a coalition of weaker ones. It is a mistake to believe that a factor of strength will result from the coalition of weak groups, because experience shows that in any form and under any conditions the majority is representative of the stupid and cowardly elements. Hence, a multiplicity of societies or parties is, as soon as it comes under the control of a board of management consisting of several persons elected by the parties, the victim of weakness and cowardice. Through such a coalition the free play of forces is paralysed, the struggle for the selection of the best is abolished and therewith the necessary and final victory of the healthier and stronger elements is impeded. Coalitions of that kind are inimical to the process of natural development, because for the most part they hinder rather than advance the solution of the problem which is the object of the struggle.

It may happen that, from considerations of a purely tactical kind, the leaders of a movement which looks ahead will enter into a coalition with other movements for the treatment of special questions and may also act in common with them, but this can be only for a short and limited period. Such a coalition must not be permanent, if the movement does not wish to renounce its liberating mission, because if it should become indissolubly tied up in such a combination it would lose the capacity and the right to allow its own forces to work freely in following out a natural development, in order to overcome rivals and attain its own objective.

It must never be forgotten that nothing really great in this world has ever been achieved through coalitions, but that such achievements have always been due to the triumph of the individual. Successes achieved through coalitions, owing to the very nature of their source carry in them from the very start the germs of future disintegration and the possibility of losing what has already been achieved. The great revolutions which have taken place in human thought and have transformed the aspect of the world would have

been inconceivable and impossible except as the titanic struggles waged by individual elements. They could never have been the work of coalitions.

Above all things, the *völkisch* State will never be created by the compromising attitude of co-operative associations but only by the iron determination of a single movement which has struggled and triumphed over all the others

CHAPTER IX

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS REGARDING THE NATURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STORM TROOPS

THE STRENGTH OF THE OLD STATE RESTED ON three pillars: the monarchical form of government, the civil service, and the Army. The Revolution of 1918 abolished the form of government, disbanded the Army and abandoned the civil service to the corruption of party politics. Thus the essential supports of the so-called authority of the State were shattered. This authority nearly always depends on three elements, which are the essential foundations of all authority.

Popular support is the first element which is necessary for the creation of authority, but an authority resting on that foundation alone is still quite frail, uncertain and vacillating. Hence, everyone who finds himself vested with an authority that is based only on popular support must take measures to improve and consolidate the foundations of that authority by the acquisition of power. Accordingly, we must look upon power, that is to say the capacity to use force, as the second foundation on which all authority is based. This foundation is more stable and secure, but not always stronger, than the first. If popular support and power are united and can endure for a certain time, then an authority may evolve which is based on a still stronger foundation, namely, the authority of tradition. Finally, if popular support, power, and tradition are united together, then the authority based on them may be looked upon as invincible.

In Germany the Revolution abolished this last foundation. There was no longer even a traditional authority. With the

collapse of the old Reich, the abolition of the monarchical form of government, the destruction of all the old insignia of greatness and the imperial symbols, tradition was shattered at a blow. The result was that the authority of the State was shaken to its foundations.

The second pillar of state authority, namely *power*, also ceased to exist. In order to carry through the Revolution it was necessary to disband that body which had hitherto incorporated the organized force and power of the State, namely, the Army. Indeed some decimated fragments of the Army itself had to be employed as fighting elements in the Revolution. The armies at the front were not subjected in the same measure to this process of disruption, but as they gradually left farther behind them the fields of glory on which they had fought heroically for four and a half years they were attacked by the corrosive acid that was destroying the discipline of the home front, and when they arrived at the demobilizing centres, they fell into that state of confusion which was styled 'voluntary obedience,' at the time of the Soldiers' Councils.

Of course it was out of the question to think of founding any kind of authority on this crowd of mutineering soldiers, who looked upon military service as a job of eight hours per day. Therefore, the second element, that which guarantees the stability of authority, was also abolished and the Revolution had only the original element, popular support, on which to build up its authority, but this basis was extraordinarily insecure. With one mighty blow, the Revolution had shattered the old state edifice, but only because the normal equilibrium within the social structure of the nation had already been destroyed by the war.

Every national body is made up of three main classes. At one extreme we have the best of the people, taking the word 'best' as indicating those who are highly endowed with the civic virtues and are noted for their courage and their readiness to sacrifice their private interests. At the other extreme are the worst dregs of humanity, in whom vice and egotistic interests prevail. Between these

two extremes stands the third class, which is made up of the broad middle stratum, which does not incorporate either radiant heroism or vulgar vice.

Those eras which mark the rise of a State are characterized and indeed made possible only by the fact that they occur under the exclusive leadership of that section belonging to the best extreme of the population. Times of normal and steady development, or of stable conditions, owe their existence and outwardly visible characteristics to the preponderating influence of the middle stratum. In this stage the two extreme classes counterbalance each other, or in other words, they cancel each other. Times of national collapse are determined by the preponderating influence of the worst elements.

It must be noted here, however, that the broad masses, which constitute what I have called the middle section, come forward and make their influence felt only when the two extreme sections are engaged in mutual strife. In case one of the extreme sections comes out victorious, the middle section will readily submit to its domination. If the best dominate, the broad masses will follow it. Should the worst extreme prove triumphant, then the middle section will at least offer no opposition to it, for the masses that constitute the middle stratum never fight their own battles.

The bloodshed which continued for four and a half years during the War destroyed the inner equilibrium between these three sections in so far as it can be said (with all due respect for the sacrifices made by the middle section) that it nearly led to the best extreme being bled white, because the total amount of irreplaceable and heroic German lives lost during these four and a half years was really tremendous. Just think of the hundreds of thousands of instances when there was a call for *volunteers* for the front *volunteers* for patrol duty, *volunteer* dispatch carriers, *volunteers* to go out and rig up a telephone, *volunteers* for bridge building, *volunteers* for the submarines, *volunteers* for the air service, *volunteers* for the storm battalions and so on. During four and a half years, and on thousands of

occasions, there was always the cry for volunteers and again for volunteers, and the result was always the same. Beardless young fellows or fully developed men, all filled with an ardent love for their country, urged on by their own courageous spirit or by a lofty sense of their duty—it was always such men who answered the call for volunteers. There were tens of thousands, indeed hundreds of thousands, of such cases, so that that kind of human material steadily grew scarcer and scarcer. Those who were not killed were either maimed on the field of battle or disappeared gradually owing to the steady decrease in the number of survivors. Let us remember, above all, that in 1914 whole armies were composed of volunteers who, owing to a criminal lack of conscience on the part of our feckless parliamentarians, had not received a regulation peace-time training and were consequently defenceless cannon-fodder at the mercy of the enemy. The four hundred thousand who fell or were permanently maimed on the battlefields of Flanders were irreplaceable. Their loss was something far more than a numerical loss. With their death the scales, being too lightly weighted at the best end, tipped rapidly upwards and the vulgar, infamous and cowardly elements, in short, those who constituted the worst extreme of our population, weighed heavier in the balance than previously.

In addition to this, for four and a half years, our best human material was being thinned to an exceptional degree on the battlefields, while the worst extreme surpassed itself in the art of self-preservation. For each heroic volunteer who made the supreme sacrifice and ascended the steps of Valhalla, there was a shirker who cunningly dodged death on the plea of being engaged in business that was of more or less national importance at home.

Thus, the state of affairs at the end of the war was as follows: - The great middle stratum of the nation had fulfilled its duty and paid its toll of blood. One extreme of the population, which was constituted of the best elements, had, with exemplary heroism, sacrificed itself almost to a man.

The other extreme, which was constituted of the worst elements of the population, had preserved itself almost intact, through taking advantage of absurd laws and also because the authorities failed to enforce certain articles of the military code.

This carefully preserved scum of our nation then engineered the Revolution, and the reason why it could do so was that the extreme section composed of the best elements was no longer there to oppose it. It no longer existed.

Hence the German Revolution, from the very beginning, depended on only one section of the population. This act of Cain was not committed by the German people as such, but by an obscure rabble of deserters, hooligans, etc.

The man at the front gladly welcomed the end of the strife in which so much blood had been shed. He was happy to be able to return home and be with his wife and children once again, but he had no moral connection with the Revolution. He did not like it, nor did he like those who had provoked and organized it. During the four and a half years of that bitter struggle at the front he had come to forget the party hyenas at home and all their wrangling had become alien to him.

The Revolution was really popular only with a small section of the German people, namely, that class and their accomplices who had selected the rucksack as the hall-mark of all honorary citizens in this new State. They did not like the Revolution for its own sake, as many people still erroneously believe, but for the consequences which followed in its train.

It was, however, very difficult to establish any abiding authority on the popular support given to these Marxist freebooters, and yet the young Republic stood in need of authority at any cost, unless it was prepared to be suddenly overthrown after a short period of chaos by an avenging force assembled from those last elements that still remained of the best extreme of the population.

The danger which those who were responsible for the Revolution feared most at that time was that, in the tur-

moil of the confusion which they themselves had created, the ground would suddenly give under their feet, that they might be abruptly seized and transported to another milieu by an iron hand, such as has often made itself felt at such junctures in the history of nations. The Republic had to be consolidated at all costs. Hence, it was forced almost immediately after its foundation to erect another pillar beside that unstable pillar of its wavering popularity. Its promoters found that power must be organized once again in order to procure a firmer foundation for their authority.

When those who had been the matadors of the Revolution in December 1918, and January and February 1919, felt the ground trembling beneath their feet they looked around them for men who would be prepared to support, by means of military force, the insecure position which their popularity with the public afforded them. The 'anti-militarist Republic had need of soldiers. Since, however, the first and only pillar on which the authority of the State rested, namely, its popularity, was grounded only on a conglomeration of rowdies, thieves, burglars, deserters, shirkers, etc., namely, on that section of the nation which we have called the evil extreme, it was useless to look to it to provide men who would be willing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of a new ideal. The section which had nourished the revolutionary idea and carried out the Revolution was neither able nor willing to provide the men to protect it, for that section had no wish whatsoever to organize a republican State, but to disorganize what already existed in order the better to satisfy its own instincts. Their watchword was not the organization and construction of the German Republic, but rather the pillaging of it.

Hence, the cry for help, sent out by the public representatives, who were beset by a thousand anxieties, did not find any response among this class of people, but rather provoked a feeling of bitterness and repudiation. They looked upon this step as a breach of faith and trust, and in the building up of an authority which was no longer based on popular support, but also on force, they saw the beginning

of a struggle against what was, for these elements, an essential factor of the Revolution, namely, the right to plunder and absolute domination by a horde of thieves and robbers—in short, the worst rabble—who had broken out of the convict prisons, leaving their chains behind.

The representatives of the people might cry out as much as they liked, but they could get no help from that rabble and only the answering cry, "Traitors!" revealed the attitude of the very people on whose support the popularity of the regime was founded.

Then for the first time large numbers of young Germans were ready to don their military uniform once again in the service, as they believed, of 'law and order, shouldering their rifles and donning their steel helmets, to defend the wreckers of the Fatherland. Volunteer corps were assembled and, although hating the Revolution, they set to work to defend and to establish it firmly. In doing this they acted in perfect good faith.

The real organizer of the Revolution and the actual wire-puller behind it, the international Jew, had sized up the situation correctly. The German people was not yet ripe to be drawn into the bloody swamp of Bolshevism, as the Russian people had been drawn. That was because there was a closer racial unity between the intellectual classes in Germany and the manual workers, and also because, as was also the case in the other States in Western Europe, broadly speaking, most classes of the community had their quota of cultured persons, whereas this was not the case in Russia. In that country the intellectual classes were, for the most part, not of Russian nationality, or at least they did not have the racial characteristics of the Slav. The thin upper layer of intellectuals which then existed in Russia could be abolished at any time, because there was no intermediate stratum connecting it organically with the great mass of the people. There the mental and moral level of the great mass of the people was extremely low.

In Russia, the moment the agitators were successful in inciting the broad masses of the people, who could neither read

nor write, against the upper layer of intellectuals who were not in contact with the masses or permanently linked with them in any way, the fate of Russia was decided, the success of the Revolution assured. Thereupon the analphabetic Russian became the slave of his Jewish dictators who, on their side, were shrewd enough to name their dictatorship 'the dictatorship of the people.'

In the case of Germany an additional factor must be taken into account. Here the Revolution could be carried into effect only if the Army could first be gradually dismembered. The real author of the Revolution and of the process of disintegration in the Army was not the soldier who had fought at the front, but *canaille* who more or less shunned the light and were either quartered in the home garrisons or were officiating as 'indispensables' somewhere in the business-world at home. This *canaille* was reinforced by ten thousand deserters who, without running any particular risk, could turn their backs on the fighting front. At all times the real coward fears nothing so much as death, but at the front he had death before his eyes every day in a thousand different shapes. There has always been one possible way, and one only, of making weak or wavering men, or even downright cowards, face their duty steadfastly and that is that the deserter be given to understand that his desertion will bring upon him just the very thing from which he is fleeing. At the front a man *may* die, but the deserter *must* die. Only this draconian threat against every attempt to desert the flag can have an intimidating effect, not merely on the individual, but also on the mass. Therein lay the meaning and purpose of the military penal code.

It was a magnificent delusion, to believe that the great struggle for the life of a nation could be carried through if it were based solely on voluntary fidelity, arising from and sustained by the knowledge that such a struggle was necessary. The voluntary fulfilment of one's duty is a motive that determines the actions of only the best men, but not of the average type of man. Hence, special laws are necessary, just as, for instance, the law against stealing, which

was not made for men who are honest on principle, but for the weak and unstable elements. Such laws are meant to hinder the evil-doer by their deterrent effect and thus prevent a state of affairs from arising in which the honest man is considered stupid, and which would end in the belief that it is better to have a share in the robbery, than to stand by with empty hands or allow oneself to be robbed.

It was a mistake to believe that in a struggle which, according to all human reckoning, might last for several years it would be possible to dispense with those expedients which the experience of hundreds and even of thousands of years had proved to be effective in making weak and unstable men face and fulfil their duty in difficult times and at moments of great nervous stress.

For the voluntary war-hero it is, of course, not necessary to have the death-penalty in the military code, but it is necessary for the cowardly egotists who value their own lives above the existence of the community in the hour of national need. Such weak and characterless people can be deterred from surrendering to their cowardice only by the application of the heaviest penalties. When men have to struggle with death every day and remain for weeks in trenches of mire, often very badly supplied with food, the man who is unsure of himself and begins to waver cannot be made to stick to his post by threats of imprisonment or even penal servitude. Only by a ruthless enforcement of the death-penalty can this be effected, for experience shows that at such a time the weakling considers prison a thousand times preferable to the battlefield. In prison his precious life is not in danger. The abolition of the death-penalty during the War, that is to say, the fact that the military penal code was, to all practical purposes, in abeyance, was a mistake for which we had to pay dearly. An army of deserters poured into the stations at the rear or returned home, especially in 1918, and there began to form that huge criminal organization with which we were suddenly faced, after November 7th, 1918, and which engineered the Revolution.

The front had nothing to do with all this. Naturally, the soldiers at the front were yearning for peace, but it was precisely that fact which represented a special danger for the Revolution, for when the German soldiers began to draw near home after the Armistice, the revolutionaries, in trepidation, asked again and again, "What will the troops from the front do? Will the men in field-grey stand for it?"

During those weeks the Revolution was forced to give itself at least an external appearance of moderation, if it were not to run the risk of being speedily wrecked by a few German divisions. For at that time, had the commander of one single division made up his mind to rally the men of his command, who had always remained faithful to him, to participate in an onslaught, to tear down the red flag and put the 'councils' against the wall, or, if there was any resistance, to break it with trench-mortars and hand-grenades, that division would have grown into an army of sixty divisions in less than four weeks. The Jewish wire-pullers were terrified by this prospect more than by anything else, and to forestall this particular danger they found it necessary to give the Revolution a certain aspect of moderation. They dared not allow it to degenerate into Bolshevism, but, conditions being what they were, had to produce a semblance of 'law and order'—hence many important concessions, the appeal to the old civil service and to the leaders of the old Army. They would be needed, at least for a certain time, and only when they had served their turn could they be dismissed with impunity and the Republic taken entirely out of the hands of the old servants of the State and delivered into the clutches of the revolutionaries. They thought that this was the only means of duping the old generals and civil servants and of disarming beforehand any possible opposition through the apparently harmless and mild character of the new regime. Experience has shown to what extent the plan succeeded.

The Revolution, however, was not made by the peaceful and orderly elements of the nation but rather by rioters, thieves and robbers, and the way in which the Revolution

was developing did not accord with the intentions of these latter elements. Still, on tactical grounds, it was not possible to explain to them the reasons for the course things were taking and make that course acceptable.

As Social Democracy gradually gained power, it lost more and more the character of a crude revolutionary party. Of course in their inner hearts the Social Democrats wanted a revolution and their leaders had no other end in view. The final result, however, was only a revolutionary programme and a body of men no longer capable of putting it into execution. A revolution cannot be carried through by a party of ten million members. In such a movement there is no longer a climax of activity, but merely the broad masses of the middle stratum, that is to say, inertia.

Recognizing all this, even during the War, the Jews brought about the famous split in the Social Democratic Party. While the Social Democratic Party, conforming to the inertia of its mass following, hung like a leaden weight on the neck of the national defence, the actively radical elements were extracted from it and formed into a particularly efficient force for purposes of attack. The Independent Party and the Spartacist League were the storm-battalions of revolutionary Marxism. The objective assigned to them was to create a *fait accompli*, on the basis of which the masses of the Social Democratic Party could take their stand, having been prepared for this event long beforehand. The spineless bourgeoisie had been estimated at its just value by the Marxists and treated *en canaille*. Nobody bothered about it, knowing well that in their canine servility the representatives of an old and worn-out generation would not be able to offer any serious resistance.

When the Revolution had succeeded and its engineers believed that the main pillars of the old State had been broken down, the Army returning from the front began to appear in the light of a sinister sphinx and thus made it necessary to slow down the natural course of the Revolution. The main body of the Social Democratic horde occupied the conquered positions, and the Independent and Spartacist

storm-battalions were side-tracked. This was not, however possible without a struggle.

Not only were the active assault formations that had started the Revolution dissatisfied and, feeling that they had been betrayed, eager to continue the fight on their own account, but their unchecked racketeering was even approved by the wire-pullers of the Revolution, for the Revolution itself had scarcely been accomplished when it appeared to be divided into two camps. In the one camp were the elements of law and order; in the other, those of blood and terrorism. Was it not perfectly natural that our bourgeoisie should take up its stand with flying colours in the camp of law and order? For once these pitiable political organizations found it possible to act, inasmuch as, although not admitting it, they had gained a first foothold and thus to a certain extent they found themselves in coalition with that power which they hated but feared. The German political bourgeoisie achieved the high honour of being able to associate itself with the accursed Marxist leaders for the purpose of combating Bolshevism.

Thus as early as December 1918 and January 1919 the situation was as follows:- A minority consisting of the worst elements had engineered the Revolution, and behind this minority all the Marxist parties immediately fell into step. The Revolution itself had an outward appearance of moderation, which aroused the enmity of the fanatical extremists. These began to resort to the use of hand-grenades and machine-guns, occupying public buildings, and thus threatening to destroy the moderate trend of the Revolution. To prevent this terrorism from developing further a truce was concluded between the representatives of the new regime and the adherents of the old order, for the purpose of waging a common fight against the extremists. The result was that the enemies of the Republic ceased to oppose the Republic as such and helped to subjugate those who were also enemies of the Republic, though for quite different reasons, but a further consequence was that all danger of the adherents of the old State putting up a fight against the new was now

definitely averted. This fact must always be borne in mind. Only by remembering it, can we understand how it was possible that a nation in which nine-tenths of the people had not joined in a revolution, while seven-tenths repudiated it and six-tenths detested it, allowed the Revolution to be imposed upon it by the remaining one-tenth of the population.

Gradually the barricade heroes in the Spartacist camp petered out, and so did the nationalist patriots and idealists on the other side. As these two groups steadily dwindled, the masses of the middle stratum triumphed, as they always will. The bourgeoisie and the Marxists met together on the basis of a *fait accompli* and the Republic began to be consolidated. At first, however, that did not prevent the bourgeois parties from continuing to propound their monarchist ideas for some time, especially at the elections, whereby they endeavoured to conjure up the spirit of the dead past to encourage and win over once more their own feeble-hearted followers. It was not an honest proceeding. In their hearts they had broken with the monarchy long ago; but the foulness of the new regime had begun to extend its corruptive action and make itself felt in the camp of the bourgeois parties. The common bourgeois politician now felt better in the slime of republican corruption than in the severe austerity of the defunct State, which still lived in his memory.

As I have already pointed out, after the destruction of the old Army the revolutionary leaders were forced to strengthen the authority of the State by creating a new factor of power. In the conditions that existed they could do this only by winning over to their side the adherents of a *Weltanschauung* which was diametrically opposed to their own. From those elements alone was it possible slowly to create a new Army, limited numerically by the peace treaties, whose spirit had to undergo a transformation, before it could become an instrument of the new regime.

If, setting aside the very real defects of the old State, which undoubtedly constituted a contributory factor, we ask ourselves how it was possible for the revolutionary action to succeed, we arrive at the following conclusions: -

Firstly, it was due to the petrification of our sense of duty and obedience.

Secondly, it was due also to the passive timidity of the parties who were supposed to uphold the State.

Moreover, it should be emphasized that the process of petrification of our sense of duty and obedience was fundamentally due to our wholly non-national and purely State education which resulted in a confusion of the conceptions 'means' and 'ends. Consciousness of duty, fulfilment of duty and obedience, are not ends in themselves any more than the State is an end in itself, but they all ought to be employed as means to facilitate and assure the existence of a community of people who are physically and mentally akin. At a moment when a nation is manifestly collapsing and when all outward signs show that it is on the point of becoming the victim of ruthless oppression, thanks to the conduct of a few miscreants, to obey these people and fulfil one's appointed task is merely doctrinaire formalism, and indeed pure folly; whereas, on the other hand, refusal to obey and to 'fulfil one's appointed task' in such a case might save the nation from collapse. According to our current bourgeois idea of the State, a divisional general who received from his superior the order not to shoot fulfilled his duty and therefore acted rightly in not shooting, because, to the bourgeois mind, blind obedience is more valuable than the life of a nation, but according to the National Socialist concept it is not a sense of obedience to weak superiors that should prevail at such moments. In such an hour the duty of assuming personal responsibility towards the whole nation arises. The Revolution succeeded because that concept had ceased to be a vital force with our people, or rather with our governments, and had given place to something that was merely formal and doctrinaire.

As regards the second point, it may be said that the real reason for the cowardly attitude of the parties which supported the former State was that the most active and upright section of our people had been killed during the War. Apart from that, the bourgeois parties, which may be considered as the

only political formations that stood by the old State, were convinced that they ought to defend their principles only by intellectual ways and means, since the use of physical force was permitted only to the State. That outlook was a sign of the weakness and decadence which had been gradually developing, and it was also senseless at a period when there was a political adversary in the field who had long ago abandoned that standpoint and had instead openly declared that he meant to attain his political ends by force whenever possible. When Marxism appeared in the world of bourgeois democracy, as a consequence of that democracy itself, the appeal sent out by the bourgeois democracy to fight Marxism with intellectual weapons was a piece of folly for which terrible expiation had to be made later on, for Marxism always professed the doctrine that the choice of weapons was a matter which had to be decided from the standpoint of expediency and that success justified the choice of the weapon.

This idea was proved correct during the days from November 7th to 11th, 1918. At that time the Marxists did not bother themselves in the least about parliament or democracy, but gave the death-blow to both by turning loose their horde of criminals to shoot and raise hell. It was, therefore, only natural that the long-winded bourgeois organizations were forthwith rendered defenceless.

When the Revolution was over, the bourgeois parties changed the name of their firm and suddenly reappeared, the heroic leaders emerging from the dark cellars or more airy storehouses where they had sought refuge. But, just as happens in the case of all representatives of antiquated institutions, they had not forgotten their errors or learned anything new. Their political programme was grounded in the past, even though they themselves had become reconciled to the new regime. Their aim was to secure, if possible, a share in the new institution, and so they continued to use words as their sole weapon. Therefore, after the Revolution the bourgeois parties also capitulated to the mob in a miserable fashion.

When the Law for the Protection of the Republic was introduced the majority was not at first in favour of it, but, confronted with two hundred thousand Marxists demonstrating in the streets, the bourgeois 'statesmen' were so terror-stricken that they voted for the law against their better judgment, for the edifying reason that they feared they might otherwise be beaten up by the enraged masses on leaving the Reichstag which, the law being passed, unfortunately did not occur. Thus, the new State developed along its own lines, as if there had been no national opposition at all.

The only organizations which might at that time have had the strength and courage to face Marxism and its incited masses were, first of all, the *Freikorps* and subsequently the organizations for self-defence, the civic guards, and finally, the ex-servicemen's association.

For the following reasons the existence of these bodies did not appreciably change the course of German history.

Just as the so-called national parties were unable to take any steps since they lacked an efficient force to deal with the mob, the defence leagues were likewise unable to exert any influence because they had no political ideal and especially because they had no definite political aim in view.

The success which Marxism had scored was due to perfect co-operation between political determination and ruthless force. What prevented nationalist Germany from taking a hand in shaping developments was the lack of determined co-operation between brute force and inspired political aims. Whatever may have been the aspirations of the 'national' parties, they had no force whatsoever to fight for these aspirations, least of all in the streets. The power lay in the hands of the defence leagues. They were masters of the street and of the State, but they lacked political ideals and aims on behalf of which their forces could have been mobilized in the interests of the German nation. In both cases, the cunning Jew was able by his astute powers of persuasion, to make this unfortunate state of affairs permanent or at least to aggravate it.

The Jew succeeded brilliantly in using his press for the

purpose of spreading abroad the idea that the defence leagues were of a 'non-political character,' just as in politics he was always astute enough to praise the purely intellectual character of the struggle and demand that it must always be kept on that plane. Millions of German imbeciles then repeated this folly, without having the slightest suspicion that by so doing, they were, to all practical purposes, disarming themselves and delivering themselves defenceless into the hands of the Jew.

There is a natural explanation of this also. The lack of a great ideal capable of re-moulding conditions has always meant a limitation of fighting power. The conviction of the right to employ even the most brutal weapons is always associated with an ardent faith in the necessity for the triumph of a new and revolutionary order of things on this earth. A movement which does not fight for such high aims and ideals will never have recourse to extreme means. The appearance of a new and great ideal was the secret of the success of the French Revolution. The Russian Revolution owes its triumph to an ideal, and it was only the ideal that enabled Fascism to bestow on a whole nation the blessing of a complete reformation.

Bourgeois parties are not capable of such an achievement, and it was not the bourgeois parties alone whose political aim was a restoration of the past. This was also the aim of the defence leagues, in so far as they concerned themselves with political aims at all. The spirit of the old war legions and Kyffhäuser traditions lived on in them and thereby helped to blunt, from the political point of view, these, the sharpest weapons which nationalist Germany then possessed and to allow them to degenerate to the level of slaves of the Republic. The fact that these leagues were inspired by the best of intentions in so doing, and certainly acted in good faith, does not alter in the slightest degree the foolishness of the course they adopted.

In the consolidated *Reichswehr*, Marxism gradually acquired the support of force, which it needed for the exercise of its authority. As a logical consequence it

proceeded to abolish the defence leagues, which it considered dangerous, declaring that they were now no longer necessary. Some particularly bold leaders who were regarded with suspicion were tried and sent to prison, but even so, Fate dealt with them as they deserved.

With the founding of the National Socialist German Labour Party there came into being for the first time a movement whose aim, unlike that of the bourgeois parties, was not mechanically to restore the past, but to set up in place of the absurd State machinery of the present day an organic *völkisch* State.

From the outset the new Movement took its stand on the principle that its ideas had to be propagated by intellectual means but that, when necessary, force would be employed in support of its propaganda. In accordance with their conviction of the paramount importance of the new doctrine, the leaders of the new Movement naturally believe that no sacrifice can be considered too great when it is a question of carrying out the purpose of the Movement.

I have emphasized that in certain circumstances a movement which is meant to win the hearts of the people must be ready to defend itself with its own forces against terrorist attempts on the part of its adversaries. It has invariably happened in the history of the world that formal State authority has failed to break a reign of terror which was inspired by a *Weltanschauung*. It can only be overcome by a new and different *Weltanschauung* whose representatives are quite as bold and determined. Recognition of this fact has always been very unpleasant for the bureaucrats who are the protectors of the State, but the fact remains nevertheless. The rulers of the State can guarantee law and order only if the constitution coincides absolutely with the prevailing *Weltanschauung* so that disturbing elements merely assume the character of isolated criminals, instead of being considered as the champions of an ideal which is diametrically opposed to the State ideology. In the latter case the State may employ the most violent measures for centuries against the terrorism that threatens it; but in the end

all these measures will prove futile, and the State will have to succumb.

The German State was systematically attacked by Marxism. In a struggle that went on for seventy years the State was not able to prevent the triumph of the Marxist idea. Even though the sentences to penal servitude and imprisonment amounted in all to thousands of years, and even though the most sanguinary measures were, in innumerable instances, adopted against the champions of the Marxist *Weltanschauung*, which threatened its safety, in the end the State was forced to capitulate almost completely. The ordinary bourgeois political leaders will deny all this, but in vain.

The State which capitulated unconditionally to Marxism on November 9th, 1918, will not suddenly arise again tomorrow as the conqueror of Marxism — far from it! Bourgeois simpletons sitting on office stools in the various ministries babble about the necessity of not governing against the wishes of the workers and by the word 'workers' they mean the Marxists. By identifying the German worker with Marxism not only are they guilty of a vile distortion of the truth, but they are attempting to conceal the fact of their own collapse before the Marxist idea and the Marxist organization.

In view of the complete subordination of the present State to Marxism, the National Socialist Movement feels all the more bound, not only to prepare the way for the triumph of its ideal by appealing to the reason and understanding of the public, but also to take upon itself the responsibility of organizing its own defence against the terrorism of the International, which is intoxicated with its own victory.

I have already described how the practical experience gained by our young Movement led us slowly to organize a system of defence at our meetings. This gradually assumed the character of a military body specially trained for the maintenance of order and tended to develop into a service having its properly organized cadres. This new formation

might resemble the defence leagues externally, but in reality there were no grounds of comparison between the one and the other.

As I have already said, the German defence leagues had no definite political ideas of their own. They were really only associations formed for purposes of self-defence, their training and organization being more or less efficient so that they were an illegal complement or auxiliary to the legal forces of the State. Their *Freikorps* character arose only from the manner of their organization and the situation in which the State found itself at that time, but they certainly could not claim to be *Freikorps* on the grounds that they were associations formed voluntarily and privately for the purpose of fighting for their own independent political convictions. Such they were not, despite the fact that some of their leaders and some associations as such were definitely opposed to the Republic, for before we can speak of political convictions in the higher sense, we must be something more than merely convinced that the existing regime is defective. Political convictions in the higher sense mean that a man has a clear conception and profound understanding of the form of a new regime and feels that the establishment of this regime is an absolute necessity and one which he regards as the aim of his life's work.

The body of men organized for the preservation of order, which was then formed under the National Socialist Movement, was fundamentally different from all the other defence associations by reason of the fact that our formations were not meant in any way to defend the state of things created by the Revolution, but rather that they were meant exclusively to support our struggle for the creation of a new Germany.

In the beginning this body was merely a guard to maintain order at our meetings. Its first task was limited to making it possible for us to hold our meetings, which our opponents would otherwise have made completely unfeasible. These men were at that time trained to attack in blind obedience to orders but not, as was then pretended

in stupid German patriotic circles, to revere the baton as the highest ideal, because they were aware that the highest ideals can be brought to naught if their champion is hit over the head with a club, since it has happened not infrequently in the course of history that great men have perished under the blows of the most insignificant helots. Our body-guards did not look upon violence as an end in itself, but they protected the protagonists of ideal aims and purposes against hostile coercion by means of violence. They also understood that there was no obligation to undertake the defence of a State which did not guarantee the defence of the nation, but that, on the contrary, they had to defend the nation against those who were threatening to destroy nation and State.

After the fight which took place at the meeting in the *Münchener Hofbräuhaus*, where the small number of our guards who were present won everlasting fame for themselves by the heroic manner in which they stormed their adversaries, these guards were called the *Storm Detachment*. As the name itself indicates, they represent only a *detachment* of the Movement. They form one constituent element of it, as do the press, the propaganda, scientific institutes or other sections of the Party.

We learned how necessary was the formation of such a body, not only from our experience on the occasion of that memorable meeting, but also when we sought gradually to carry the Movement beyond Munich and extend it to the other parts of Germany. Once we had begun to appear as a danger to Marxism, the Marxists lost no opportunity of trying to quash beforehand all preparations for the holding of National Socialist meetings. When they did not succeed in this they tried to break up the meeting itself. It goes without saying that all the Marxist organizations, no matter of what grade, blindly supported every move and action of this nature taken by their representatives, but what can be said for the bourgeois parties which, when they had been reduced to silence by these same Marxists and in many places did not dare to let their speakers appear before

the public, were, nevertheless, childishly and incomprehensibly delighted, every time we received any kind of set-back in our fight against Marxism? The bourgeois parties were happy to think that those whom they themselves could not oppose and to whom they had been forced to capitulate, could not be broken by us. What can be said for those State officials, chiefs of police, and even cabinet ministers, who showed a scandalous lack of principle in presenting themselves to the public as 'nationalists' and yet unashamedly played the part of henchmen to the Marxists in the disputes which we, the National Socialists, had with the latter? What can be said for persons who, for the sake of a little abject praise in the Jewish Press, debased themselves so far as to persecute those men to whose heroic courage and intervention, regardless of risk, they were partly indebted for not having been torn to pieces by the 'Red' mob a few years previously and strung up to the lamp-posts?

One day these lamentable phenomena forced the late but unforgotten Prefect Pöhner (a man whose unflinching honesty forced him to hate all twisters and to hate them as only an honourable man can hate) to say, "All my life I wished to be first a German and then an official, and I never wanted to be taken for one of those creatures who, like prostitutes, sold themselves body and soul to anybody who could play lord and master for the time being."

It was extremely sad that gradually tens of thousands of honest and loyal servants of the State did not only come under the power of such people, but were also slowly contaminated by their unprincipled morals. Moreover, men of this kind pursued honest officials with a furious hatred, hounding them out of their jobs, while passing themselves off as 'nationalist' with the aid of their lying hypocrisy.

From officials of that kind we could expect no support, and only in very rare instances was it given. Only by building up its own defence could our Movement become secure and attract that amount of public attention and general respect which is given to those who can defend themselves when attacked.

We decided that, as an underlying principle in the internal development of the Storm Detachment, it should not only be perfectly trained as regards physical fitness, but that the men should be so instructed as to make them indomitably convinced champions of the National Socialist ideals and, finally, that they should be schooled to observe the strictest discipline. This body was to have nothing to do either with the defence organizations of the bourgeois type or with any secret organization.

Even at that time my reasons for guarding strictly against allowing the Storm Detachment of the National Socialist German Labour Party to be organized on the lines of a defence league were as follows: On purely practical grounds it is impossible to build up a national defence organization by means of private associations, unless the State makes an enormous contribution to it. Whoever thinks otherwise over-estimates his own powers. Now, it is entirely out of the question to form organizations of any military value for a definite purpose on the principle of so-called 'voluntary discipline.' Here the chief support for the enforcement of orders, namely, the power to inflict punishment, is lacking. In the autumn, or rather in the spring, of 1919 it was still possible to raise so-called *Freikorps*, not only because most of the men who came forward at that time had been through the school of the old Army, but also because the kind of duty imposed there constrained the individual to absolute obedience, at least for a definite period of time.

That spirit is entirely lacking in the volunteer defence organizations of to-day. The larger the defence league grows, the weaker its discipline becomes and so much less can be demanded of the individual members. Thus the whole organization will assume more and more the character of the old non-political associations of ex-servicemen and veterans.

To attempt to instruct in military duties a large number of men who have volunteered to undergo such training, is impossible without the backing of absolute power to issue

commands. There will always be very few men who will voluntarily and spontaneously submit to that kind of discipline which is considered natural and necessary in the Army.

Moreover, a proper system of military training cannot be developed where the funds available are as ridiculously scanty as those at the disposal of the defence leagues. The principal task of such an institution must be to impart the best and most reliable kind of instruction. Eight years have passed since the end of the War, and during that time none of our German youth, at an age when formerly they would have had to do military service, have received any systematic training at all. The aim of a defence league cannot be to enlist all those who have already received a military training, since in that case it could be reckoned with mathematical accuracy when the last member would leave the league. Even the youngest soldier of 1918 will not be fit for front-line service twenty years later, and we are approaching that state of affairs with a rapidity that gives cause for anxiety. Thus the defence leagues must assume more and more the aspect of the old ex-service men's association, but that cannot be the meaning and purpose of an institution which calls itself, not an association of ex-service men but a *defence league*, indicating by this title that it considers its task to be, not only to preserve the tradition of the old soldiers and hold them together, but also to propagate the idea of national defence and be able to put this idea into practice, which means the creation of a body of men who are fit and trained for military defence.

In order to fulfil this condition, it is, however, necessary that those elements receive a military training which up to now have received none. This is something that, in practice, is impossible for the defence leagues to accomplish. Real soldiers cannot be made by training men for one or two hours per week. In view of the enormously increasing demands which modern warfare imposes on each individual soldier to-day a military service of two years is barely sufficient to transform a raw recruit into a trained soldier.

At the front during the War we all saw the fearful consequences which our young recruits had to suffer from their lack of a thorough military training. Volunteer formations which had been drilled for fifteen to twenty weeks under iron discipline and shown unlimited self-sacrificing enthusiasm proved nevertheless to be no better than cannon-fodder at the front. Only when distributed among the ranks of the old and experienced soldiers did the young recruits, who had been trained for four to six months, become useful members of a regiment. Guided by the old stagers, they adapted themselves gradually to their task.

In the light of all this, how hopeless must be any attempt to create a body of fighting troops by a so-called training of one to two hours in the week, without any definite power to enforce commands and without sufficient means. It might be possible to give old soldiers a 'refresher course' of this kind, but raw recruits cannot be turned into useful soldiers in this way.

How such a proceeding produces utterly worthless results may also be strikingly demonstrated by the fact that, at the same time as these so-called volunteer defence leagues, by dint of tremendous effort and after overcoming many difficulties, train, or attempt to train, a few thousand willing men (the others being beyond their reach) for national defence, the State itself, through its pacifist-cum-democratic education, perverts the natural instincts of millions of young men, poisons their logical sense of patriotism and gradually turns them into a herd of sheep who will patiently follow any arbitrary command. In the face of all this how ridiculous are all the attempts made by defence leagues to inculcate their ideas upon the minds of the German youth!

Almost more important is the following consideration, which has always made me take up a stand against all attempts at a so-called military training on the basis of the volunteer associations.

Assuming that, in spite of all the difficulties just mentioned, a defence league were successful in training

a certain number of Germans every year to be efficient soldiers, not only as regards their mental outlook, but also as regards physical fitness and the expert handling of arms, the result must necessarily be null and void in a State whose whole tendency makes it not only look upon such a defensive organization as undesirable, but even intolerable, because such an organization would be in complete contradiction to the secret aims of the political leaders, who are the corruptors of this State.

Such a result would, in any case, be worthless under governments which have demonstrated by their own acts that they do not attach the slightest importance to the military power of the nation and are not disposed to have recourse to that power unless for the preservation of their own existence on earth.

That is the state of affairs to-day. Is it not ridiculous to think of training some ten thousand men in the use of arms, and to carry on that training surreptitiously, when a few years previously the State, having shamefully sacrificed eight and a half million highly trained soldiers, not merely did not require their services any longer but, as a mark of gratitude for their faithful service, held them up to public contumely? Shall we train soldiers for a regime which besmirched and spat upon our most glorious soldiers, tore the medals and badges from their breasts, trampled on their flags and derided their achievements? Has the present regime taken one step towards restoring the honour of the old Army and making those who destroyed and outraged it answer for their deeds? Not in the least. On the contrary, the people I have just referred to may be seen enthroned in the highest governmental positions to-day, and yet it was said at Leipzig, "Right is might." Since, however, in our Republic to-day might is in the hands of the very men who started the Revolution, and since that Revolution represents a most despicable act of high treason against the nation—yea, the vilest act in German history—there can surely be no grounds for saying that the might of these men should be

enhanced by the formation of a new young army. It is against all sound reason.

The importance which this State attached, after the Revolution of 1918, to the reinforcement of its position from the military point of view is clearly and unmistakably demonstrated by its attitude towards the large self-defence organizations which existed at that period. They were not unwelcome as long as they were of use for the protection of the miserable creatures who had come into power with the Revolution. As soon as the danger threatening these creatures seemed to be on the decrease, thanks to the gradual debasement of our people, and the existence of the defence leagues represented a national-political strengthening factor, they became superfluous and every effort was made to disarm them and suppress them wherever that was possible.

History records but few examples of gratitude on the part of princes and only a patriot belonging to the new bourgeoisie would dream of counting on the gratitude of revolutionary incendiaries and assassins, who have enriched themselves by robbing the public and by betraying the nation. On examining the problem as to the wisdom of forming these defence leagues, I could not refrain from asking: 'For whom shall I train these young men? For what purpose will they be employed and when are they to be called out?' The answer to these questions provides the best rule for us to follow.

If the present State should one day call upon trained troops of this kind it would never be for the purpose of defending the interests of the nation against the foreigner, but rather to protect the oppressors of the nation within the country against the danger of a general outbreak of wrath on the part of a nation which has been deceived and betrayed and whose interests have been bartered away. For this reason it was decided that the Storm Detachment of the National Socialist German Labour Party ought not to be in the nature of a military organization. It had to be an instrument of protection and education for the National Socialist Movement and its duties lay in quite a different

sphere to those of the military defence association. Moreover, the Storm Detachment was not to be in the nature of a secret organization. Secret organizations are established only for purposes that are illegal, and the purpose of such an organization is limited by its very nature. Considering the loquacious propensities of the German people, it is not possible to build up any vast organization, at the same time keeping it secret or disguising its purpose. Every attempt of that kind is destined to turn out absolutely futile. It is not merely that our police officials to-day have at their disposal a staff of informers and other such rabble who are ready to play traitor, like Judas, for thirty pieces of silver and will betray whatever secrets they can discover and will invent what they do not know, for the sake of having something to reveal, but one's own followers cannot be relied upon to maintain the silence necessary in such circumstances. Only small groups can become really secret societies, and that only after long years of selective elimination, but the very smallness of such groups would deprive them of all value for the National Socialist Movement. What we needed then, and need now, is not one or two hundred dare-devil conspirators, but hundreds of thousands of devoted champions of our *Weltanschauung*. The work must not be done through secret conventicles, but through impressive mass demonstrations in public. Dagger and pistol and poison-vial cannot clear the way for the progress of the Movement; that can be done only by winning over the man in the street. We must teach the Marxists that, in future, National Socialism will be master of the street, just as it will one day become master of the State.

There is another danger connected with secret societies. It lies in the fact that their members often completely misunderstand the greatness of the task in hand and are apt to believe that the destiny of the nation can be assured overnight by the assassination of a single man. Such a belief may find historical justification in cases where a nation had been suffering under the tyranny of some oppressor who at the same time was a man of genius and whose extraordinary

personality was the sole guarantee for the continuance and frightfulness of his terrible oppression. In such cases a man may suddenly arise from the ranks of the people who is ready to sacrifice himself and plunge his deadly steel into the heart of the hated individual. In order to look upon such a deed with horror one must have the republican mentality of petty rogues conscious of their own crime, but Schiller, the greatest poet-champion of liberty that the German people have ever had, has glorified such a deed in his 'Wilhelm Tell.'

During 1919 and 1920 there was a danger that the members of secret organizations, under the influence of great historical examples and overcome by the immensity of the nation's misfortunes, might attempt to wreak vengeance on the destroyers of their country, in the belief that this would end the miseries of the people. All such attempts were sheer folly, by reason of the fact that the Marxist triumph was not due to the superior genius of one remarkable person, but rather to immeasurable incompetence and cowardly shirking on the part of the bourgeoisie. The hardest criticism that can be uttered against our bourgeoisie is simply to state the fact that it submitted to the Revolution, even though the Revolution did not produce one single man of outstanding worth. One can, after all, understand how it was possible to capitulate to a Robespierre, a Danton, or a Marat; but it was utterly scandalous to go down on all fours before the withered Scheidemann, the obese Herr Erzberger, Friedrich Ebert, and the innumerable other political pigmies of the Revolution. There was not a single man of parts in whom one could see the revolutionary man of genius. Therein lay the country's misfortune, for they were only revolutionary Spartacist vermin wholesale and retail. To put one of them out of the way was of little avail, as the only result was that another pair of blood-suckers, equally fat and thirsty, was ready to take his place. During those years we had to take up a determined stand against an attitude which had its origin and justification in genuinely great historical phenomena, but which did not, in the least, suit our present pigmy age.

The same holds good in cases where it is a question of 'bumping' a so-called traitor to his country. It would be ridiculous and illogical to shoot a poor wretch who had betrayed the position of a gun to the enemy while the highest positions in the government are occupied by a rabble who bartered away a whole empire, who have on their consciences the deaths of two million men who were sacrificed in vain, fellows who were responsible for the millions maimed in the war, but who, nevertheless, continue unperturbed to 'make a good thing' out of the republican regime without allowing their conscience to be disturbed in any way. It would be absurd to do away with small traitors in a State whose government absolves traitors on a large scale from all punishment, for it might easily happen that one day an honest idealist, who, out of love for his country, had removed some miserable informer who had betrayed the whereabouts of secret stores of arms was called upon to answer for his act before the chief traitors of the country. There is yet another important question, namely, Is some petty traitorous wretch to meet death at the hands of another petty traitor, or of an idealist? In the former case the result would be doubtful and the deed would almost surely be revealed later on. In the second case an unworthy rascal is put out of the way, but the life of an idealist who may be irreplaceable is placed in jeopardy.

For my own part, I believe that small thieves should not be hanged while big thieves are allowed go free. One day a national tribunal will have to judge and sentence some tens of thousands of organizers who were responsible for the criminal November betrayal and all the consequences that followed on it. Such an example will teach the necessary lesson, once and for ever, to such as those paltry traitors who revealed to the enemy the places where arms were hidden.

On the grounds of these considerations I steadfastly forbade all participation in secret societies, and I took care that the Storm Detachment should not assume such a character. During those years I prevented the National

Socialist Movement from making experiments such as were being undertaken by young Germans who were, for the most part, inspired by a sublime idealism, but who became the victims of their own actions, without being able to ameliorate the lot of their Fatherland in the slightest degree.

If then the Storm Detachment must not be either a military defence organization or a secret society, we arrive at the following conclusion:-

Firstly, its training must not be organized from the military standpoint, but from the point of view of what is most practical for party purposes. In so far as the members have to undergo a thorough physical training, attention must not be focussed mainly on military drill, but rather on the practice of sports. I have always considered boxing and ju-jitsu more important than training in rifle-shooting, which, if inadequate, is definitely bad. If the German nation were presented with a body of six million young men who had been perfectly trained in athletic sports, who were imbued with an ardent love of their country and were ready to take the initiative in a fight, then the nationalist State could make an army out of that body within less than two years, if necessary, provided the cadres already existed. The situation being what it is to-day, the cadres would be furnished only by the *Reichswehr*, and not by a defence league that was neither one thing nor the other. Physical fitness must develop in the individual a conviction of his superiority and give him that confidence which is always based only on the consciousness of one's own prowess. It must also develop that athletic agility which can be employed as a defensive weapon in the service of the Movement.

Secondly, in order to safeguard the Storm Detachment against acquiring a secret character, the uniform must not only be such that it can immediately be recognized by everybody, but the large number of its members must serve as an indication of a course of action which is of advantage to the Movement and is known to the general public. The members of the Storm Detachment must not hold secret gatherings, but must march in the open and thus be employed

in a manner which will put an end to all legends about a secret organization. In order to prevent them from finding an outlet for their mental energies in small conspiracies, we had from the very beginning to inculcate upon their minds the great idea behind the Movement and to educate them so thoroughly in the task of defending this idea that their horizon became enlarged and the individual no longer considered it his mission to 'remove' some rascal or other, whether big or small, but to devote himself entirely to the task of bringing about the establishment of a new National Socialist *völkisch* State. In this way the struggle against the present State was placed on a higher plane than that of petty revenge and small conspiracies. It was elevated to the level of a spiritual struggle on behalf of a *Weltanschauung*, for the destruction of Marxism in all its shapes and forms.

Thirdly, the form of organization adopted for the Storm Detachment, as well as its uniform and equipment, had to be on a different model from those of the old Army. They had to be specially adapted to the task that was assigned to the Storm Detachment.

These were the ideas I followed out in 1920 and 1921. I endeavoured to instil them gradually into the members of the young organization, with the result that by the midsummer of 1922 we had a goodly number of formations each consisting of a hundred men. By the late autumn of that year these formations received their distinctive uniforms. There were three events which turned out to be of supreme importance for the subsequent development of the Storm Detachment.

The first was the great mass demonstration against the Law for the Protection of the Republic held in the late summer of 1922 in the Königsplatz in Munich. The patriotic associations of Munich had announced the holding of a gigantic mass demonstration as a protest against the introduction of the Law for the Protection of the Republic. The National Socialist Movement also participated. Our Party marched into the Square, in serried ranks, led by six Munich Storm Detachment units followed by the political

sections of the Party. Two bands marched with us and about fifteen banners were carried. When the National Socialists arrived at the great square it was already half full, but no banners were displayed. Our arrival aroused unbounded enthusiasm. I myself had the honour of being one of the speakers who addressed that crowd of about sixty thousand people.

The demonstration was an overwhelming success; especially because it was proved for the first time that nationalist Munich could march through the streets, in spite of all threats from the Reds. Members of the organization for the defence of the Red Republic endeavoured to hinder the marching columns by their terrorist activities, but they were scattered by the companies of the Storm Detachment within a few minutes and sent packing. The National Socialist Movement then showed for the first time that in future it was determined to exercise its right to march through the streets and thus deprive the international traitors and enemies of the country of their monopoly of this privilege.

The events of that day provided incontestable proof that our views on the creation of the Storm Detachment were right, both from the psychological standpoint and from the point of view of organization.

The principle having thus been proved correct we pushed on with the establishment of Storm Detachment units so that within a few weeks the number of Munich units was doubled.

The second event was the expedition to Coburg in October 1922.

Certain so-called *völkisch* societies had decided to hold a German Rally at Coburg. I was invited to take part, with the intimation that they wished me to bring a following along. This invitation, which I received at eleven o'clock in the morning, arrived just in time. Within an hour the arrangements for our participation in the German Rally were completed. I picked eight hundred men of the Storm Detachment to accompany me. These were divided into about fourteen companies and were to be conveyed by

special train from Munich to Coburg, which had become a part of Bavaria. Corresponding orders were given to other groups of the National Socialist Storm Detachment which had meanwhile been formed in various other localities.

This was the first time that a special train for us was run in Germany. At all the places where the new units of the Storm Detachment joined us, our train caused a sensation. Many of the people had never seen our banner and it created a very great impression.

When we arrived at the station in Coburg we were received by a deputation of the organizing committee of the German Rally. They announced that by order of the local trade-unions—that is to say, the Independent and Communist Parties—it had been 'arranged' that we should not enter the town with our banners unfurled and our band playing (we had a band consisting of forty-two musicians with us) and that we should not march in formation.

I immediately rejected these undignified conditions and did not fail to declare to the gentlemen who had arranged this 'rally' how astonished I was at the idea of their negotiating with such people and coming to an arrangement with them. Then I announced that the Storm Troops would immediately march into the town in company formation, with flags flying and band playing—which we proceeded to do forthwith.

As we emerged into the station square we were met by a hissing, yelling mob of several thousands, which greeted us with shouts of: 'Assassins!' 'Bandits!' 'Robbers!' 'Criminals!' These were the choice names which these exemplary founders of the German Republic showered on us. The young Storm Detachment gave a fine exhibition of discipline. The companies fell into formation in the square in front of the station and at first took no notice of the insults hurled at them by the mob. The police were anxious. They did not pilot us to the quarters assigned to us on the outskirts of Coburg, a city quite unknown to us, but to the *Hofbräuhaus-Keller* in the centre of the town. To right and left of us as we marched the tumult raised by the accompanying

mob steadily increased. Scarcely had the last company entered the courtyard of the *Hofbräuhaus* when the huge mob made a rush to get in after them, shouting madly. In order to prevent this, the police locked the gates. Seeing that the position was untenable I called the Storm Detachment to attention spoke a few words to them and then asked the police to open the gates immediately. After a good deal of hesitation, they consented.

We now marched back along the same route by which we had come, in the direction of our quarters and there we had to make a stand against the crowd. As their cries and yells all along the route had failed to disturb the equanimity of our companies, the champions of true Socialism, Equality, and Fraternity, now took to throwing stones. That brought our patience to an end. For ten minutes blows fell right and left, like a devastating shower of hail. Fifteen minutes later there were no Reds to be seen in the street.

After nightfall serious clashes occurred. Patrols of the Storm Detachment had discovered National Socialists who had been attacked singly and were in a dangerous condition. Thereupon we made short work of the opponents. By the following morning the Red Terror, under which Coburg had been suffering for years, was definitely broken.

With typical Marxist and Jewish mendacity an attempt was made by the distribution of leaflets to passers-by in the street to incite the "comrades of the International Proletariat" to demonstrate once more in the public streets. Completely distorting the facts, they declared that our "bands of assassins" had commenced "a war of extermination against the peaceful workers of Coburg." At half-past one that day there was to be a "great popular demonstration," at which it was hoped that thousands of workers from the whole district would turn up. I was determined finally to crush this Red Terror and so I summoned the Storm Detachment to meet at midday. Their number had now increased to fifteen hundred. I decided to march with these men to the Coburg citadel and to cross the big square where the Red demonstration was to take place. I wanted to see if they

would attempt to assault us again. When we entered the square we found that, instead of the thousands that had been advertised, there were only a few hundred people present. As we approached, they remained silent for the most part, and some ran away. Only at certain points along the route some bodies of Reds, who had arrived from outside the city and had not yet come to know us, attempted to start a row, but they were soon put to flight. We could now observe how the townspeople, who had for such a long time been so thoroughly intimidated, slowly woke up and recovered their courage. They welcomed us openly, and in the evening, on our return march, spontaneous cheering broke out at several points along the route.

At the station the railway officials informed us all of a sudden that our train would not depart. Thereupon I had some of the ringleaders told that if this were the case I would arrest all the Red Party heroes on whom we could lay our hands, that we would drive the train ourselves, but that we would take away with us, in the locomotive, on the tender and in every carriage, a few dozen disciples of international solidarity. I did not omit to let these gentry know that if we had to drive the train, the journey would undoubtedly be a very risky adventure and that we might all break our necks. It would be a consolation, however, to know that we should not go to Eternity alone, but in equality and fraternity with the Red gentry.

Thereupon the train departed punctually and we arrived next morning safe and sound in Munich.

Thus at Coburg, for the first time since 1914, the equality of all citizens was re-established in the eye of the law, for even if some coxcomb of a higher official should presume to assert to-day that the State protects the lives of its citizens, in those days at least it was not so. At that time the citizens had to defend themselves against the representatives of the present State.

At first it was not possible fully to estimate the importance of the consequences of that day. The victorious Storm Troops had their confidence in themselves con-

siderably reinforced and also their faith in the sagacity of their leaders. Our contemporaries began to pay us special attention and for the first time many recognized in the National Socialist Movement an institution which was in all probability destined to bring the Marxist folly to an end.

Only the democrats lamented the fact that we had not had the complaisance to allow our skulls to be cracked and that, in a democratic Republic, we had dared to reply to a brutal assault with fisticuffs and cudgels rather than with pacifist chants. The bourgeois press as a whole adopted, as usual, an attitude that was partly lacrimose and partly mean. Only a few decent newspapers expressed their satisfaction that in one locality at least, the Marxist street-bullies had been effectively dealt with. In Coburg itself, at least a section of the Marxist workers who must be looked upon as misled, learned from the blows of National Socialist fists that they, too, were workers fighting for ideals, because experience teaches that the human being fights only for something in which he believes and which he loves.

The Storm Detachment itself benefited most from the Coburg expedition. It grew so quickly in numbers that at the Party Congress in January 1923, six thousand men participated in the ceremony of consecrating the flags and the first companies appeared for the first time in the glory of their new uniform.

Our experience at Coburg proved how essential it was to introduce one distinctive uniform for the Storm Detachment, not only for the purpose of strengthening its *esprit de corps*, but also to avoid confusion and the danger of not recognizing the opponent in a fight. Up to that time they had merely been distinguished by the armlet, but now the tunic and the well-known cap were added.

The experience gained at Coburg had also another important result. We now determined to break the Red Terror in all those localities in which it had for many years prevented men of other views from holding meetings. We were determined to restore the right of free assembly. From that time onward we brought our battalions together in such

places and little by little the Red citadels of Bavaria fell one after another before the National Socialist propaganda. The Storm Troops became more and more adept at their task. Gradually, they placed an increasingly wide gulf between themselves and the aimless defence movements and established themselves as an active militant organization, fighting for the establishment of a new German State.

This logical development continued until March 1923. Then an event occurred which made me divert the Movement from the course hitherto followed and introduce certain fundamental reformations.

The third event was that in the first months of 1923 the French occupied the Ruhr district. The consequence of this was of great importance in the development of the Storm Detachment. It is not yet possible, nor would it be in the interests of the nation, to write or speak openly and freely on the subject. I shall speak of it only in so far as the matter has been dealt with in public discussions and thus brought to the knowledge of everybody.

The occupation of the Ruhr district, which did not come as a surprise to us, gave grounds for hoping that Germany would at last abandon her cowardly policy of submission and thereby give the defence leagues a definite task to fulfil. The Storm Detachment, which now numbered several thousand vigorous young men, would also have participated in this national service. During the spring and summer of 1923 it was transformed into a fighting military organization. It is to this reorganization that we must in great part attribute the later developments that took place during 1923, in so far as these affected our Movement.

Elsewhere I shall deal in broad outline with the events of 1923. Here I wish only to state that the transformation of the Storm Detachment at that time was detrimental to the interests of the Movement, since the condition (namely, the adoption of a policy of active resistance against France) which had led to the change, was never realized.

The events which took place at the close of 1923, terrible as they may appear at first sight, were almost a

necessity if looked at from a higher standpoint; because in view of the attitude taken by the Government of the German Reich, the conversion of the Storm Troops into a military force became meaningless and thus a transformation which would have proved harmful to the Movement was stopped forthwith. Thereby it was made possible for us to set about the task of reconstruction at the point at which we had been diverted from our proper course.

In the year 1925 the National Socialist German Labour Party was re-founded and had to organize and train its Storm Detachment once again according to the principles I had laid down. It must revert to its original sound views and must once more consider as its most essential function the establishment of its Storm Detachments as an instrument of defence and strength in the Movement's struggle to establish its *Weltanschauung* and once more it must consider it as its most essential task to function as the instrument of defence and reinforcement in the spiritual struggle to establish the ideals of the Movement.

The Storm Detachment must not be allowed to sink to the level of something in the nature of a defence league or a secret society. Steps must rather be taken to make it a force one hundred thousand strong to act as champion of the National Socialist, and thus of the genuinely *völkisch*, ideal.

CHAPTER X

THE MASK OF FEDERALISM

IN THE WINTER OF 1919, AND STILL MORE IN the spring and summer of 1920, the young Party felt bound to take up a definite stand on a question which had already become serious during the War. In the first volume of this book I have briefly recorded certain facts which I had personally witnessed and which foreboded the break-up of Germany. In describing these facts I made reference to the special nature of the propaganda which was directed by the English as well as by the French towards reopening the breach that had existed between North and South in Germany. In the spring of 1915 there appeared the first of a series of leaflets, the aim of which was to arouse feeling against Prussia as being solely responsible for the War. By 1916 this kind of propaganda had been developed and perfected in a manner that was as cunning as it was poisonous. Appealing to the basest of human instincts, this propaganda endeavoured to arouse the wrath of the South Germans against the North Germans and after a short time it bore fruit. Persons who were then in high positions in the Government and in the Army, especially those attached to the headquarters of the Bavarian divisions, merited the just reproof of having blindly neglected their duty and failed to take the necessary definite steps to counter such propaganda, but nothing was done. On the contrary, it did not appear to be wholly unwelcome in some quarters and probably they were short-sighted enough to think that such propaganda would not only put an end to the movement towards unification in Germany, but that it might even automatically serve to strengthen the federative states. Scarcely ever in the

course of history has such wicked neglect called down a more severe retribution. The weakening of Prussia, which, it was hoped, would result from this propaganda, affected the whole of Germany. It served to hasten the collapse which not only wrecked Germany as a whole, but primarily the federal states.

The Revolution first broke out in the city in which the artificially created hatred against Prussia raged most violently and, as elsewhere, it took the form of revolt against the reigning House.

It would be a mistake to think that the enemy propaganda was exclusively responsible for creating an anti-Prussian feeling and that there was no excuse for the people for having listened to this propaganda. The incredible fashion in which our national economy was administered during the War through an absolutely crazy system of centralization by means of which the whole Reich territory was brought under its control and exploited, furnished the principal grounds for the growth of anti-Prussian feeling. The average citizen looked upon the companies formed for the collection and distribution of war-time supplies, all of which had their headquarters in Berlin, as identical with Berlin, and Berlin itself as identical with Prussia. The average citizen did not realize that the organization of these robber companies, which were called war-companies, was not in the hands of either Berlin or Prussia or even in German hands at all. People recognized only the gross irregularities and the continual encroachments perpetrated by that hated institution in the metropolis of the Reich and directed their anger against Berlin and Prussia all the more because in certain quarters nothing was done to correct this attitude, but it was even welcomed with silent satisfaction.

The Jew was far too shrewd not to understand that the infamous campaign which he had organized, under the disguise of war-companies, for plundering the German nation must eventually arouse opposition. As long as that opposition was not directed against himself he had no reason to be afraid. Hence he decided that the best way of

forestalling an outbreak of hatred against himself on the part of the enraged and desperate masses was to direct their wrath against someone else and thus to allow it to burn itself out.

Let Bavaria quarrel as much as it liked with Prussia and Prussia with Bavaria! The more bitter the strife between the two states, the greater the security of the Jew. Thus public attention was completely diverted from the international maggot in the body of the nation; indeed it seemed to have been forgotten. Then when there appeared to be a danger that level-headed people, of whom there were many even in Bavaria, called for reflection and the exercise of restraint, thus calming the rage against Prussia, so that the bitter struggle threatened to peter out, all the Jew in Berlin had to do was to stage a fresh provocation and await results. Immediately all those profiting by the conflict between North and South hailed such an incident with delight and again fanned the flame of indignation until it became a blaze. It was a shrewd and expert manoeuvre on the part of the Jew, to set the different branches of the German people quarrelling among themselves, so that their attention was turned away from himself and he could exploit them all the more completely.

Then came the Revolution.

Until the year 1918, or rather until the November of that year, the average German citizen, particularly the less educated lower middle classes and the workers did not rightly understand what was happening and did not realize what must be the inevitable consequences, especially for Bavaria, of this internecine strife between the various branches of the German people; but at least those sections which called themselves 'national' ought to have clearly perceived these consequences on the day on which the Revolution broke out, for the moment the *coup d'état* had succeeded, the leader and organizer of the Revolution came forward in Bavaria as the defender of 'Bavarian' interests. The international Jew, Kurt Eisner, began to play off Bavaria against Prussia. This Oriental was the last person

in the world fitted to defend the interests of Bavaria, since in following his profession as a newspaper reporter, he had wandered from place to place all over Germany, and of all the world, Bavaria was the place which interested him least.

In deliberately giving the revolutionary rising in Bavaria the character of an offensive against the rest of the Reich, Kurt Eisner was not by any means acting from the standpoint of Bavarian interests, but merely as the authorized representative of Jewry. He exploited existing instincts and antipathies in Bavaria as a means of facilitating the dismemberment of Germany. Once dismembered, the Reich would fall an easy prey to Bolshevism. The tactics employed by him were continued for a time after his death. The Marxists, who had always derided the individual German states and their princes, now suddenly appealed, as an 'Independent Party', to those sentiments and instincts which had their strongest roots in the houses of the reigning princes and in the individual states.

The fight waged by the Bavarian Soviet Republic against the military contingents that were sent to free Bavaria from its grasp was represented by the Marxist propagandists as being primarily 'the Bavarian workers' struggle' against 'Prussian militarism.' This explains why it was that the Soviet Republic in Munich did not have the same effect there as in the other German districts. Instead of recalling the masses to a sense of reason, it led to increased bitterness and anger against Prussia.

The art of the Bolshevik agitators, in representing the suppression of the Bavarian Soviet Republic as a victory of 'Prussian militarism' over the 'anti-militarist' and 'anti-Prussian' people of Bavaria, bore rich fruit. Whereas at the elections for the Bavarian Legislative Diet in Munich, Kurt Eisner did not have ten thousand followers and the Communist Party less than three thousand, after the fall of the Bavarian Republic the two parties together could reckon on nearly one hundred thousand voting in their favour.

It was at this time that I began my own struggle against the folly of inciting one branch of the German people against

the other. I believe that never in my life did I undertake a more unpopular task than I did when I took my stand against the anti-Prussian agitation. During the Soviet regime in Munich great public meetings were held at which hatred against the rest of Germany, but particularly against Prussia, was roused to such a pitch that a North German would have risked his life in attending one of those meetings. These meetings often ended in wild shouts of "Away from Prussia," "Down with Prussia," "War against Prussia," and so on. This feeling was openly expressed in the Reichstag by a particularly brilliant defender of Bavarian sovereign rights, when he said: "Rather let us die Bavarians than rot as Prussians."

Only those who attended some of the meetings held at that time can realize what it implied for me personally, when, for the first time and surrounded by only a handful of friends, I raised my voice against this folly at a meeting held in the *Münchener Löwenbräu-Keller*. My war-comrades stood by me then. It is easy to imagine how we felt when we were howled at and threatened by a raging crowd, which was beyond all control and composed of men who, while we had been defending our country, had for the most part been deserters and shirkers skulking in billets behind the lines or at home. It is true that such episodes turned out to be of advantage to me. My small band of comrades felt for the first time absolutely united with me and readily swore to stand by me to the death.

These clashes, which were constantly repeated throughout the year 1919, seemed to become more violent soon after the beginning of 1920. There were meetings—I remember especially one in the Wagnersaal in the Sonnenstrasse in Munich—during the course of which my group, now grown much larger, had to defend itself against assaults of the most violent character. It happened more than once that dozens of my followers were manhandled, thrown to the floor and stamped upon by the attackers and were finally thrown out of the hall more dead than alive.

The struggle upon which I had embarked, first on my

own and supported only by my war-comrades, was now continued by the young Movement. I might say almost as a sacred mission. I am proud of being able to say to-day that we—depending almost exclusively on our followers in Bavaria—were responsible for putting an end, slowly but surely, to the coalition of folly and treason. I say 'folly and treason' because, although convinced that the masses who joined in it meant well but were stupid, I cannot consider such simplicity as an extenuating circumstance in the case of the organizers and their abettors. I looked upon them then, and still look upon them to-day, as traitors in the pay of France. In one case, that of Dorten, history has already pronounced judgment.

The situation became specially dangerous at that time by reason of the fact that they were very astute in their ability to cloak their real tendencies, by insisting primarily on their federative intentions and claiming that these were the sole motives for their actions. Of course, it is quite obvious that the agitation against Prussia had nothing to do with federalism. Surely 'federal activities' is not the phrase with which to describe an effort to dissolve and dismember another federal state, for an honest federalist (in whom it is not hypocrisy to quote the formula used by Bismarck to define his idea of the Reich) could not in the same breath express the desire to cut off portions of the Prussian State, which was created or at least completed by Bismarck, nor could he publicly support such a separatist attempt. What an outcry would have been raised in Munich if some Prussian conservative party had declared itself in favour of detaching Franconia from Bavaria, or had publicly demanded or taken steps to promote such a separatist policy. Nevertheless, one cannot but feel sympathy for the genuine federalists who did not see through this infamous swindle, for they were its principal victims. By distorting the federalist idea in such a way, its own champions prepared its grave. One cannot make propaganda for a federal form of government within the Reich by debasing, abusing and besmirching the essential element of such a political structure, namely Prussia, and

thus making such a state impossible as a member of the federation. It is all the more incredible by reason of the fact that the fight carried on by those so-called federalists was directed against that section of the Prussian people which was the last that could be regarded as being connected with the November democracy, for the abuse and attacks of these so-called federalists were not levelled against the authors of the Weimar Constitution—the majority of whom were South Germans or Jews—but against those who represented the old conservative Prussia, which was the antithesis of the Weimar Constitution. The fact that those who directed this campaign were careful not to touch the Jews is not to be wondered at and perhaps gives the key to the whole riddle.

Before the Revolution, the Jew was successful in distracting attention from himself and his war-companies by inciting the masses, and especially the Bavarians, against Prussia; similarly, he felt obliged, after the Revolution, to find some way of camouflaging his new marauding campaign, the scope of which had increased tenfold. Again he succeeded, in this case by provoking the so-called 'national' elements in Germany against one another — the conservative Bavarians against the Prussians, who were just as conservative. He acted again with extreme cunning, inasmuch as he, who held the destiny of Germany in his hands, was behind acts of provocation so crude and tactless that the victims became incensed again and again—never against the Jew, but always against their own fellow-Germans. The Bavarian did not see the Berlin of four million industrious and efficient working people, but only the lazy and decadent Berlin which haunts the worst quarters of the West End and yet antipathy was not directed against the West End of Berlin but against the 'Prussian' city.

I was often driven to despair.

The ability which the Jew displays in turning public attention away from himself and directing it elsewhere can be observed at the present time. In 1918 there was nothing like an organized anti-Semitic feeling. I still remember the difficulties we encountered the moment we mentioned the

word 'Jew. We were either confronted with dumb-struck faces or else met with lively antagonism. The efforts we made at the time to point out to the public its real enemy seemed to be doomed to failure, but then things began to change for the better, though only very slowly. The *Schutz- und Trutzbund* (Watch and Ward League) was defectively organized, but at least it had the great merit of opening up the Jewish question once again. In the winter of 1918-1919 a kind of anti-Semitism slowly began to take root. Later on, the National Socialist Movement presented the Jewish problem in a new light. Taking the question beyond the restricted circles of the upper classes and small bourgeoisie we succeeded in transforming it into the vital motive of a great popular movement, but the moment we were successful in placing this problem before the German people in the light of an idea that would unite them in one struggle, the Jew reacted. He resorted to his old tactics. With amazing alacrity he sowed the seeds of discord within the *völkisch* movement itself and started a rift there. The raising of the ultramontane question and the resulting quarrels between Catholic and Protestant presented, under the conditions then prevailing, the only possibility of diverting public attention to other matters and staving off a concentrated attack upon the Jews. The men who dragged our people into this controversy can never make amends for the crime they then committed against the nation. Anyhow, the Jew has attained his ends. Catholics and Protestants are fighting one another to their heart's content, while the enemy of Aryan humanity and of all Christendom is laughing up his sleeve.

Just as it was once possible to occupy the attention of the public for several years with the struggle between federalism and unification, wearing out its energy in this mutual friction, while the Jew trafficked in the freedom of the nation and sold our country to the masters of international high finance, so in our day he has succeeded again, this time by raising strife between the two German religious denominations, while the foundations on which both rest are being eaten

away and destroyed through the poison injected by international and cosmopolitan Jewry.

Look at the injuries which our people are suffering daily as a result of being contaminated with Jewish blood. Bear in mind the fact that this poisonous contamination can be eliminated from the national body only after the lapse of centuries, if ever. Think further of how the process of racial degeneration is debasing and in some cases even destroying the fundamental Aryan qualities of our German people, so that our cultural creative ability as a nation is gradually decreasing and we are running the danger, at least in our great cities, of sinking to the level on which Southern Italy is to-day. This pestilential adulteration of the blood, of which hundreds of thousands of our people take no account, is being systematically practised by the Jew to-day. Systematically these swarthy parasites within our national body corrupt our innocent fair-haired girls and thus destroy something which can never be replaced in this world.

The two Christian denominations look on with indifference at the profanation and destruction of a noble and unique creature who was given to the world as a gift of God's grace. As regards the future of the world, it does not matter which of the two triumphs, the Catholic or the Protestant faith, but it does matter whether Aryan humanity survives or perishes. Yet the two Christian denominations are not contending against the destroyer of Aryan humanity, but are trying to destroy one another. It is the sacred duty, particularly of those who adopt a patriotic attitude, to see to it that within the framework of their own particular denomination, they do not render mere lip-service to God, but actually fulfil the Will of God and do not allow His handiwork to be debased, for it was by the Will of God that man was created in a certain image and endowed with certain characteristics and certain faculties. Whoever destroys His work, wages war against God's creation and God's will. Therefore, everyone should endeavour, each in his own denomination, of course and should consider it as his first and most solemn duty, to hinder any and every one

whose conduct tends, either by word or deed, to overstep the limits of his own religious community and to raise a quarrel with those of another denomination. For, in view of the religious schism that exists in Germany, to attack the essential characteristics of one denomination must necessarily lead to a war of extermination between the two Christian denominations. There can be no comparison between our position and that of France, Spain or Italy. In those three countries one may, for instance, make propaganda for the side that is fighting against clericalism or ultramontanism, without thereby incurring the danger of a national rift among the French, Spanish or Italian people. In Germany, however, that cannot be done, for here the Protestants would also take part in such a movement and thus the defence, which elsewhere only Catholics organize against clerical interference by their own prelates in political matters, would assume with us the character of a Protestant attack against Catholicism. What may be tolerated by the faithful belonging to one denomination even when it seems unjust to them, will at once be indignantly rejected and opposed on *a priori* grounds if it should come from the militant leaders of another denomination. This is so true that even men who might be ready and willing to fight for the removal of manifest grievances within their own religious denomination will drop their own fight and turn their activities against the outsider, the moment the abolition of such grievances is counselled or demanded by one who is not of the same faith. They consider it unjustifiable, inadmissible and incorrect for outsiders to meddle in matters which do not concern them. Such attempts are not excusable even when they are inspired by a feeling for the supreme interests of the national community, because even in our day religious sentiment still has deeper roots than all feeling for political and national expediency. This cannot be changed by setting one denomination against another in bitter conflict. It can be changed only if, through a spirit of mutual tolerance, the nation can be assured of a future, the greatness of which will gradually operate as a conciliating factor in the sphere of

religion also. I have no hesitation in saying with regard to those men who to-day seek to embroil the *völkisch* movement in religious quarrels, that they are worse enemies of my country than any internationally-minded Communist, for the National Socialist Movement has set itself the task of converting those Communists, but anyone who goes outside the ranks of his own movement and tends to divert it from the fulfilment of its mission, is acting in a manner that deserves the severest condemnation. He is acting as a champion of Jewish interests, whether consciously or unconsciously does not matter, for it is to the interest of the Jews to-day that the energies of the *völkisch* movement should be frittered away in a religious conflict, because it is beginning to be dangerous for the Jews. I have purposely used the phrase about 'frittering away the energies of the movement, because no one but he who is entirely ignorant of history could imagine that this movement can to-day solve a question which the greatest statesmen have tried for centuries to solve, and tried in vain.

Anyhow, the facts speak for themselves. The men who suddenly discovered, in 1924, that the highest mission of the *völkisch* movement was to fight ultramontaniam, have not succeeded in smashing it, but they did succeed in splitting the *völkisch* movement. I have to guard against some immature brain in the *völkisch* movement thinking that it can accomplish what even a Bismarck failed to do. It will always be one of the first duties of those who are directing the National Socialist Movement to oppose unconditionally any attempt to place the National Socialist Movement at the service of such a conflict. Anybody who conducts propaganda with that end in view must be expelled forthwith from its ranks.

As a matter of fact, we succeeded until the autumn of 1923 in keeping our Movement aloof from such controversies. The most devout Protestant could stand side by side with the most devout Catholic in our ranks, secure in the knowledge that his religious convictions would be respected. The bitter struggle which both waged in common against

the wrecker of Aryan civilization taught them mutual respect and esteem; and it was, moreover, just at that time that our Movement had to engage in a bitter strife with the Centre Party not on religious grounds, but on national, racial, political and economic issues. The success we then achieved showed that we were right, and it speaks against those who to-day think they know better.

In recent years things have gone so far that *völkisch* circles, in the god-forsaken blindness of their religious strife, could not recognize the folly of their conduct even in the light of the fact that atheist Marxist newspapers advocated the cause of one religious denomination or the other, according as it suited them, so as to inculcate now the one party and now the other by the repetition of remarks which were often incredibly foolish, thus fanning the fire to keep the blaze at its highest.

To a people like the Germans, whose history has so often shown them capable of fighting for phantoms to the point of complete exhaustion, every slogan of this kind is a mortal danger. By these slogans the attention of our people has too often been diverted from the real problems affecting their very existence. While we were exhausting our energies in religious wars, other countries were acquiring their share of the world, and while the *völkisch* movement is debating with itself whether the ultramontane danger be greater than the Jewish, or *vice versa*, the Jew is destroying the racial basis of our existence and thereby annihilating our people. As regards that kind of *völkisch* champion, I pray with all my heart on behalf of the National Socialist Movement and therefore of the German people, "Lord, preserve us from such friends, that we can more easily deal with our enemies."

The controversy over federation and unification, so cunningly propagated by the Jews in 1919-1920 and thereafter, forced National Socialism, which repudiated the quarrel, to take up a definite attitude in relation to the essential problems bound up with it. Ought Germany to be a federated or a united State? What is the practical significance of these terms? To me it seems that the second

question is more important than the first, because it is fundamental to the understanding of the whole problem and also because the answer to it may help to clear up confusion and therefore have a conciliating effect.

What is a federation of states? By a federation of states we mean a union of sovereign states which, of their own free will, and by virtue of their sovereignty come together and create a collective unit, ceding to that unit as much of their own sovereign rights as will render the existence of the union possible and will guarantee it.

The theoretical formula is not put wholly into practice by any federation of states that exists to-day, least of all by the American Union, where it is impossible to speak of original sovereignty in regard to the majority of the states. Many of them were not included in the federal complex until long after it had been established. The states that make up the American Union are mostly in the nature of greater or smaller territories, limited for technical administrative purposes, their boundaries having in many cases been fixed in the mapping office. Originally, these states did not and could not possess sovereign rights of their own, since they did not combine to form the Union, but it was, on the contrary, the Union which created a number of these so-called states. Therefore the sovereign rights, often very comprehensive, which were left, or rather granted, to the various territories, correspond not only to the whole character of the Confederation, but also to its vast area, which is almost equivalent to the size of a continent. Consequently, in speaking of the United States of America one must not consider them as sovereign states, but as states enjoying certain rights, or perhaps one ought to say powers, which have been granted to them and guaranteed under the constitution.

Nor does our definition adequately express the condition of affairs in Germany, although it is true that in Germany the individual states existed as states before the Reich and that the Reich was formed from them. The Reich, however, was not formed by the voluntary and equal co-operation of

the individual states but rather because the state of Prussia gradually acquired a position of hegemony over the others. The difference in territorial area alone precludes any comparison between the German states and the American Union. The great difference in territorial area between the very small German states which then existed and the larger, and, in a still more pronounced degree, the largest, demonstrates the inequality of their achievements and shows that they could not have played an equal part in founding the Reich and in shaping the federal Empire. In the case of most of these individual states it cannot be maintained that they ever enjoyed real sovereignty, unless we choose to regard the phrase 'sovereign state' as being merely an official designation. As a matter of fact, not only developments in the past, but also in our own time wiped out several of these so-called 'sovereign states' and thus proved in the most definite way how frail these structures were.

I cannot deal here with the historical question of how these individual states came to be established, but I must call attention to the fact that hardly in any case did their frontiers coincide with the ancestral tribal frontiers of their inhabitants. They were purely political phenomena which for the most part emerged during the darkest period in the history of the German Empire and they represented both cause and effect in that process of exhaustion and partition of our Fatherland.

The constitution of the old Reich took all this into account, at least to a certain degree, in so far as the individual states were not accorded equal representation in the Federal Council, but a representation proportionate to their respective areas, their actual importance and the rôle which they played in the formation of the Reich.

Only in very few cases can it be asserted that the sovereign rights which the individual states renounced in order to render possible the foundation of the Reich were ceded voluntarily, since, for the most part, they did not exist in reality. In other instances they were simply done away with under the pressure exerted by the more powerful Prussia. The principle followed by Bismarck was not, to give

to the Reich what he could take from the individual states, but to demand from the individual states only what was absolutely necessary for the Reich. A moderate and wise policy! On the one hand, Bismarck showed the greatest regard for customs and traditions; on the other hand his policy secured for the new Reich, from its foundation onwards, a great measure of love and willing co-operation. It would, however, be a fundamental error to attribute Bismarck's decision to any conviction on his part that the Reich had thus acquired such rights of sovereignty as would suffice for all time. That was far from being Bismarck's idea. On the contrary, he wished to leave it to the future to settle what would be difficult to carry through at the moment and might not have been readily agreed to by the individual states. He trusted to the levelling effect of time and to the pressure exercised by the process of evolution, the steady action of which appeared to him more effective than an attempt to break the resistance which the individual states offered at the moment. By adopting this policy, he showed his mastery of the art of statesmanship. As a matter of fact, the sovereignty of the Reich has continually increased at the cost of the sovereignty of the individual states. The passing of time has achieved what Bismarck hoped it would.

The German collapse and the abolition of the monarchical form of government necessarily hastened this development. The German federal states, which had not been grounded on ethnological foundations, but arose rather out of political conditions, were bound to lose their importance the moment the monarchical form of government and the dynasties connected with it were abolished, for it was to the spirit inherent in these that the individual states owed their political origin and development. Thus deprived of their internal *raison d'être*, many of these petty states renounced all right to survival and were induced for purely practical reasons to fuse with their neighbours, or else they joined the more powerful states of their own free will. This proved in a striking manner how extraordinarily frail was the actual

sovereignty these small states enjoyed, and it proved too, how lightly they were esteemed by their own citizens.

Though the abolition of the monarchical regime and its representatives had dealt the federal character of the Reich a hard blow, still more destructive, from the federal point of view, was the acceptance of the obligations that resulted from the peace treaty.

It was only natural and logical that the federal states should lose all sovereign control over their finances, the moment the Reich, in consequence of a lost war, was subjected to financial obligations which could never have been met by means of individual agreements concluded with the individual states. The subsequent steps which led the Reich to take over the postal services and railways were the inevitable result of the enslavement of our people which had begun with the peace treaties. The Reich was forced to obtain sole possession of more and more resources, in order to be in a position to meet the obligations resulting from increased extortion.

The form in which the powers of the Reich were thus extended to embrace the federal states was often ridiculously stupid, but in itself the procedure was logical and natural. The blame for this must be laid at the door of those men and those parties that failed in the hour of need to concentrate all their energies in an effort to bring the War to a victorious issue. The guilt lies with those parties which, especially in Bavaria, catered for their own egotistic interests during the War, and refused to the Reich what the Reich had to requisition in a tenfold greater measure when the War was lost. The retribution of history! Rarely has the vengeance of Heaven followed so closely on the crime, as it did in this case. Those same parties which, a few years previously, placed the interests of their own states—especially in Bavaria—before those of the Reich, had now to look on passively while the pressure of events forced the Reich, in its own interests, to abolish the existence of the individual states. They were the victims of their own defaults.

It is an unparalleled act of hypocrisy to complain to the

electorate (for it is only to the electorate that our contemporary parties address their propaganda) of the loss suffered by the individual states in being deprived of certain of their sovereign powers, while, at the same time, these selfsame parties vied with each other in pursuing a policy of favouring the fulfilment of the Versailles obligations, a policy, the final outcome of which will be a profound alteration in the internal structure of the Reich. Bismarck's Reich was free and unhampered by any obligations towards the outside world. Bismarck's Reich never had to shoulder such heavy and entirely unproductive obligations as those imposed on Germany under the Dawes Plan. Even at home the authority of Bismarck's Reich was confined to dealing with only a few absolutely essential matters. It was, therefore, possible for the Reich to dispense with the necessity for financial control over the federal states and to live on their contributions. It goes without saying that, on the one hand, the preservation of certain of their sovereign rights and, on the other, the relatively small financial tribute which the federal states had to pay to the Reich induced them to welcome its existence, but it is untrue and unfair to state now, as certain propagandists do, that the federal states were antagonistic to the Reich merely because of their financial subjection to it. That is not the true state of affairs. The lack of sympathy for the political idea embodied in the Reich is not due to the loss of sovereign rights on the part of the individual states. It is much more the result of the deplorable fashion in which the present regime acts as the representative of the German people. Despite all the celebrations in honour of the national flag and the constitution, the present Reich has failed to arouse the enthusiasm of any section of the people and the Law for the Protection of the Republic may prevent outrages against republican institutions, but it will not gain the devotion of one single German. The excessive care displayed by the Republic in attempting to protect itself against its own citizens by means of laws and sentences of imprisonment, constitutes the most damning and most humiliating criticism of all republican institutions as such.

For yet another reason it is untrue to say, as certain parties do to-day, that the waning popularity of the Reich is due to its encroachment upon certain sovereign rights which the individual states had heretofore enjoyed. Supposing the Reich had not extended its authority over the individual states, there is no reason to believe that it would find more favour among those states, if the general obligations remained as heavy as they now are. On the contrary, if the individual states to-day had to pay contributions to the amount required by the Reich in order to fulfil the provisions of the dictates designed to reduce Germany to slavery, the hostility towards the Reich would be infinitely greater. For then not only would it prove difficult to collect the respective contributions due to the Reich from the federal states, but coercive methods would have to be employed in making the collections. The Republic, having accepted the peace treaties and having neither the courage nor the intention to break them, must reckon with the obligations which the peace treaties have imposed on it. The responsibility for this situation lies solely with those parties who preach unceasingly to the patient electoral masses the necessity of maintaining the autonomy of the federal states, while at the same time they advocate and demand that the Reich should pursue a policy which must necessarily lead to the suppression of even the very last of those so-called 'sovereign' rights.

I say 'necessarily' because the present Reich has no other possible means of bearing the burden of charges which an insane domestic and foreign policy have laid on it. The wedge is being driven ever deeper and every new debt which the Reich contracts, through the criminal way in which the interests of Germany are represented *vis-à-vis* foreign countries, necessitates the exertion of fresh and stronger pressure at home and this again entails the progressive abolition of all the sovereign rights of the individual states in order to prevent the germs of opposition from becoming active or even from coming into being.

The chief characteristic difference between the policy of the present Reich and that of former times lies in this: The

old Reich gave freedom to its people at home and showed itself strong towards the outside world, whereas the Republic shows itself weak towards the foreigner and oppresses its own citizens at home. In both cases one attitude determines the other. A vigorous national state does not need to make many laws for the interior, because of the affection and loyalty of its citizens. The international servile state can live only by coercing its citizens to render it the services it demands, and it is a piece of impudence for the present regime to speak of 'free citizens.' They existed only in the Germany that is gone. The present Republic is a colony of slaves at the beck and call of the foreigner. At best it has subjects, but not citizens. Hence it does not possess a national emblem, but only a trade mark, introduced and protected by official decrees and legislative measures. This symbol, which is the Gessler's cap of German Democracy, will always remain alien to our people. The Republic having no sense of tradition or respect for past greatness, dragged the emblem of the past in the mire, but it will be surprised to discover one day how superficial is the devotion of its subjects to their own emblems. The Republic has given itself the character of an intermezzo in German history. This State is bound to restrict the sovereign rights of the individual states more and more, not only for general reasons of a financial character, but also on principle, for by enforcing a policy of financial blackmail, to squeeze the last ounce of substance out of its people, it is forced also to deprive them of their last remaining rights, lest the general discontent may one day flare up into open rebellion.

We National Socialists would reverse this formula and would adopt the following fundamental principle: A strong national Reich which in its foreign policy represents and protects the interests of its citizens in the highest possible degree can allow freedom to reign at home without trembling for the safety of the State. On the other hand, a strong national government can encroach to a considerable degree on the liberties of the individual subject as well as on the liberties of the constituent states without thereby weakening

the ideal of the Reich; and it is justified in so doing, if in these particular acts and measures the individual citizen recognizes a means of promoting the prestige of the nation as a whole.

It is a fact that the tendency in every state throughout the world is towards uniformity, and Germany will prove no exception in this respect. Even to-day it is absurd to talk of the sovereignty of individual states because this has already become impossible on account of the ridiculously small size of so many of these states. In the sphere of commerce, as well as in that of administration, the importance of the individual states has been steadily decreasing. Modern means of communication and mechanical progress have gradually reduced distance and space. What was once a state is to-day only a province and the territory covered by a modern state had once the importance of a continent. The purely technical difficulties connected with the administration of a State like Germany are not greater than those connected with the government of a province like Brandenburg a hundred and twenty years ago. To-day it is easier to cover the distance from Munich to Berlin than it was to cover the distance from Munich to Starnberg a hundred years ago. Thanks to modern means of transport, the whole territory of the Reich to-day is smaller than that of certain German federal states at the time of the Napoleonic wars. To close one's eyes to the consequences of these facts is to live in the past. There always were, there are, and always will be, men who do this. They may retard, but they cannot stop the wheels of history.

We National Socialists must not close our eyes to the logical consequences of these facts. Here again we must not permit ourselves to be misled by the hollow phrases of our so-called national bourgeois parties. I say 'hollow phrases,' because these same parties do not seriously believe that it is possible for them to carry out their proposals, and because they themselves are chiefly responsible for the present state of affairs. Especially in Bavaria, the demand for decentralization is no more than a party move behind which there

is no serious resolve. Whenever these parties had to pass from the realm of phrase-making into that of practical deeds they failed miserably. On every occasion on which the Reich 'robbed' the Bavarian State 'of sovereign rights,' it met with no real resistance apart from a senseless and revolting outcry. Indeed, when anyone seriously opposed the madness that was shown in carrying out this system of centralization he was condemned by those same parties as disloyal to the present State. They slandered, condemned and persecuted him until he was either shut up in prison or illegally deprived of the right of public speech. These facts should serve to convince our followers of the profound hypocrisy which characterizes these so-called federalist circles. To a certain extent they use the federalist doctrine just as they use religion—merely as a means of promoting their own base party interests.

A certain uniformity, especially in the field of transport, appears logical. But we National Socialists feel it our duty to oppose with all our might such a development in the modern State, especially when the measures proposed are solely for the purpose of screening and rendering possible a disastrous foreign policy. Just because the present Reich has undertaken the nationalization of the railways, the postal and telegraph services, the finances, etc., not from the elevated standpoint of national politics, but in order to have in its hands the means and security for the execution of a policy of unrestricted fulfilment of its pledges, we National Socialists must take every step that seems suitable to obstruct and, if possible, to prevent such a policy. We must fight against the present system of centralizing institutions that are vitally important for the existence of our people, because this system is being adopted solely to facilitate the payment of milliards and the transference of pledges to the foreigner in accordance with our post-war foreign policy. For this reason the National Socialist Movement has to take up a stand against any such attempt.

A second reason why we must oppose such centralization is because in domestic affairs it helps to reinforce a system of

government which in all its manifestations has brought the greatest misfortunes on the German nation. The present Jewish-Democratic Reich, which has become a veritable curse to the German people, is seeking to negate the force of the criticism offered by all the federal states which have not yet become imbued with the spirit of the age, and is trying to carry out this policy by reducing them to complete insignificance. We National Socialists, on the other hand, have every reason for attempting not only to establish the opposition of those individual states on the basis of a constitutional force which promises to be successful, but to make their struggle against centralization as a whole the expression of higher national German interests in a wide sense. Therefore, while the Bavarian People's Party, acting from its own narrow and particularist standpoint, fights to maintain the special rights of the Bavarian state, we must utilize this particular attitude in the service of higher national interests which are at variance with those of the November Democracy.

A third reason for opposing a centralizing process of that kind arises from the certain conviction that to a great extent this so-called 'Reichization' does not make for unification at all and still less for simplification. In many cases it is adopted simply as a means of removing from the sovereign control of the individual states certain institutions and of placing these in the hands of the revolutionary parties. Never in the course of German history has flagrant favouritism played so great a part as in the democratic republic. A great deal of this mania for centralization is the work of those parties which once promised that they would open the way for the promotion of talent, intending thereby to fill posts and offices entirely with their own partisans. Since the foundation of the Republic the Jews especially have been obtaining positions in the economic institutions taken over by the Reich and also positions in the national administration, so that the one and the other have become the preserves of Jewry.

For tactical reasons, this last consideration obliges us to watch with the greatest attention any further move in the

direction of centralization and fight it at every step. But in doing this our standpoint must always be that of a lofty national policy and never of pettifogging particularism.

This last observation is necessary, lest the opinion might gain ground among our own followers that we do not accredit to the Reich the right of incorporating in itself a sovereignty which is superior to that of the constituent states. As regards this right we cannot, and must not, entertain the slightest doubt. Since for us the State is nothing but a vessel and its contents (that is to say, the nation, the people) the essential factor, it is clear that every other interest must be subordinated to the supreme interests of the nation. In particular, we cannot accredit to any other state a sovereign power and sovereign rights within the confines of the nation and the Reich, which represents the nation. The absurdity which some federal states commit by maintaining 'representatives' abroad and among themselves must, and will, cease. Until this happens we cannot be surprised if certain foreign countries are dubious about the political unity of the Reich and act accordingly. The absurdity of these 'representatives' is all the greater because they do harm and do not yield the slightest advantage. If the interests of a German abroad cannot be protected by the minister of the Reich, how much less can they be protected by the minister of some small federal state which appears ridiculous in the framework of the present world-order. The real truth is that these small federal states are envisaged as points of attack in connection with any attempt to bring about disintegration, engineered either from within or from without the German Reich, which attempts are always pleasing to a certain foreign State. We National Socialists must not allow some noble but degenerate family to obtain for one of its semi-moribund scions a ministerial post abroad with the idea that he might thrive in pastures new. Even in the days of the old Reich our diplomatic representatives abroad were such a sorry lot that further experiments of that kind are highly undesirable.

It is certain that in the future the importance of the individual states will be transferred to the sphere of our

cultural policy. The monarch who did most to make Bavaria an important centre was not an obstinate particularist with anti-German tendencies, but Ludwig I who was as much devoted to the ideal of a greater Germany as he was to art. His first consideration was to use the powers of the state to develop the cultural position of Bavaria and not its political power and in doing this he produced better and more durable results than if he had followed any other line of conduct. Up to his time Munich was a provincial capital of no great importance, but he transformed it into the metropolis of German art and by doing so he made it an intellectual centre which even to-day binds Franconia to Bavaria, though the Franconians are of quite a different temperament. If Munich had remained as it was formerly, what has happened in Saxony would have been repeated in Bavaria, with the difference that Nürnberg, the Bavarian counterpart of Leipzig, would have become, not a Bavarian, but a Franconian, city. It was not the cry of "Down with Prussia" that made Munich great. What made this a city of importance was that the King wished to present it to the German nation as an artistic masterpiece that had to be seen to be appreciated, and it was both seen and appreciated. Therein lies a lesson for the future. The importance of the individual states in the future will no longer lie in their political or constitutional power. I look on them rather as important Germanic ethnological and cultural political centres, but even here, time will perform its levelling work. Modern travelling facilities shuffle people together in such a way that tribal boundaries will fade out and even the cultural picture is gradually beginning to assume a more uniform pattern.

The Army must definitely be kept clear of the influence of the individual states. The coming National Socialist State must not fall back into the error of the past by imposing on the Army a task which is not within its sphere and should never be assigned to it. The German Army is not meant to be a school for the preservation of provincial idiosyncrasies, but a school in which all Germans will learn to understand and adapt themselves to each other's ways.

Whatever tends to have a separating influence in the life of the nation ought to be made a unifying influence in the Army. The Army must raise the German boy above the narrow horizon of his own little native province and make him conscious that he is part of the nation. The youth must learn to know, not the confines of his own district, but those of his Fatherland, because it is the latter that he will have to defend one day. It is, therefore, absurd to have the German youth do his military training in his own native district. During that period he ought to learn to know Germany. This is all the more important to-day, since young Germans no longer travel during their years of apprenticeship as they once used to do, thus enlarging their horizon. In view of this, is it not absurd to leave the young Bavarian recruit in Munich, the Franconian in Nürnberg, the recruit from Baden in Karlsruhe, the Wurtemberger at Stuttgart and so on? Would it not be more sensible to show the Bavarian the Rhine and the North Sea, the native of Hamburg the Alps and the lad from East Prussia the mountains of Central Germany? The character proper to each region ought to be maintained in the troops, but not in the barracks. We may disapprove of every attempt to achieve uniformity, but not as regards the Army; on the contrary, even if we were opposed to any such tendency, we would be bound to welcome it in this specific case, apart from the fact that, in view of the size of the present Army of the Reich, it would be absurd to maintain federal divisions. Moreover, we regard the uniformity which has been achieved in the Reich Army as something which we must retain even in future when we re-establish the national Army.

Finally, a new and triumphant ideal should burst every chain which tends to paralyse its activity in promoting its ideas. National Socialism must claim the right to impose its principles on the whole German nation, without regard to what were hitherto the confines of federal states. We must educate the German nation in our ideology and principles. As the Churches do not feel themselves bound or limited by political frontiers, so the National Socialist ideology

cannot be confined to any of the federal states which constitute our Fatherland.

The National Socialist doctrine is not meant to serve the political interests of the individual federal states, but to dominate the whole German nation. It must determine the life of the whole people and shape that life anew. For this reason we must imperatively demand the right to overstep boundaries that have been traced by a political development which we repudiate.

The more complete the triumph of the National Socialist ideology, the greater will be the liberty which it can concede to the individual within the State:

CHAPTER XI

PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION

THE YEAR 1921 WAS, FROM MANY POINTS OF VIEW, particularly important for me and for the National Socialist Movement.

When I entered the German Labour Party I at once took charge of the propaganda, believing this branch to be far the most important for the time being. The first necessity was not so much to rack one's brains over problems connected with organization as to spread our ideas among as many people as possible. Propaganda should go well ahead of organization and gather together the human material for the latter to work up. I have never been in favour of hasty and pedantic methods of organization, because, in most cases, the result is merely a piece of dead mechanism and rarely a living organization. Organization is a thing which derives its existence from organic life, organic evolution. When the same set of ideas have taken root in the minds of a certain number of people they tend of themselves to achieve a certain degree of order among those people and this inner development is of inestimable value. Of course, here, as everywhere else, one must take account of those human weaknesses which make men hesitate, especially at the beginning, to submit to the control of a superior mind. As soon as an organization functions mechanically from above, there is always the danger that some individual who has been appointed to a certain office, but who has not yet proved his mettle and may be far from efficient, will, from motives of sheer jealousy, try to hinder abler persons from taking a leading place in the movement.

The damage that results from that kind of thing may have fatal consequences, especially in a new movement.

For this reason it is advisable first to propagate and publicly expound the ideas on which the movement is founded. This work of propaganda should continue for a certain time and should be directed from one centre. When the ideas have gradually won over a number of people this human material should be carefully sifted for the purpose of selecting those who have ability in leadership and of putting that ability to the test. It will often be found that apparently insignificant persons nevertheless turn out to be born leaders. At the same time it is quite wrong to imagine that possession of vast theoretical knowledge is a proof of capacity for leadership. The contrary is very frequently the case.

Great theorists are only very rarely great organizers, because the greatness of the theorist and founder of a system consists in being able to discover and lay down those laws that are right in the abstract, whereas the organizer must be first and foremost a psychologist. He must take men as they are, and for that reason he must know them, and have neither too high nor too low an estimate of human nature. He must take account of their weaknesses, their baseness and all their various characteristics, so as to form something which will be a living organism, endowed with great and unwavering force, fit to champion an ideal and pave the way for its successful realization.

It is still more rare to find a great theorist who is at the same time a great leader. An agitator is much more likely to prove a great leader—a truth that is not palatable to many of those who deal with problems only from the scientific standpoint! Yet this is only natural, for an agitator who shows himself capable of expounding ideas to the great masses must always be a psychologist, even though he be only a demagogue. Therefore he will always be a much more capable leader than the contemplative theorist who, far from the madding crowd, meditates on his ideas. To be a leader means to be able to move the masses. The gift of formulating ideas has nothing whatsoever to do with the

capacity for leadership. It would be entirely futile to discuss the question as to which is the more important—the faculty for conceiving ideals and human aims or that of being able to realize them. Here, as so often in this world the one would be entirely meaningless without the other. The noblest theoretical conceptions remain without purpose or value, if the leader cannot move the masses to accept them, and, conversely, what would it avail to have all the genius and verve of a leader if the intellectual theorist does not fix the aims for which mankind must struggle? But when the abilities of theorist, organizer and leader are united in the one person, then we have the rarest phenomenon on this earth, for it is that union which makes the great man.

As I have already said, during my early days in the Party I devoted myself to the work of propaganda. I had to succeed in gradually gathering together a small nucleus of men who became imbued with the new doctrine, thus providing the human material which was subsequently to form the first elements of an organization. Thus the goal of the propagandist was nearly always fixed far beyond that of the organizer.

If a movement proposes to overthrow a certain order of things and set up a new one in its place, then the following principles must be clearly understood and respected by its leaders. Every movement which has gained its human material must first divide this material into two groups, namely, adherents and members.

It is the task of the propagandist to gain adherents and it is the task of the organizing body to enlist members. The adherent of a movement is he who sympathizes with and accepts its aims, the member is he who fights for them. The adherent is one whom propaganda has converted to the doctrine of the movement. The member is he who will be charged by the organizing body with collaborating in winning over new adherents who will in turn become new members. Since to be an adherent demands only passive acceptance of an ideal, whereas membership implies championing and defending it, there will never be more than two members to

every ten adherents. Adhesion is based only on comprehension, whereas membership is founded on the courage to stand up for what has been comprehended and accepted and to propound it to others. The majority, being lazy and timid, is content with passive acceptance of a doctrine and only a minority will assume the responsibility of membership which implies readiness to defend one's opinions.

Such being the case, the propagandist must seek untiringly to acquire new followers for the movement, whereas the organizing body must see to it that only the best elements among these followers are admitted to membership. The propagandist need not trouble about the personal worth of the individual converts he has won over to the movement. He need not inquire into their abilities, their intelligence or their character. From among these converts, however, the organizing body will have to select those individuals who are most capable of actively helping to achieve victory for the movement. The propagandist aims at inducing the whole people to accept his teaching. The organizing body includes within the framework of membership only those who, on psychological grounds, will not impede the further diffusion of the doctrines of the movement. The propagandist inculcates his doctrine upon the minds of the nation as a whole, preparing it for the time when this doctrine will triumph, whereas the organizing body brings that triumph nearer by the continual, organic and combatant cohesion of those followers who have given proof of the necessary ability and will-power to carry on the struggle until victory is won.

The more effectively propaganda has swayed the people as a whole and the more exclusive, rigorous and rigid the organization, the greater the possibility of the triumph of its ideology. It follows, therefore, that the number of adherents can never be too large, whereas the number of members is apt to become too large rather than too small. When a whole nation has become imbued with an idea as a result of propaganda, the organizing body can realize its aims with a handful of supporters. There is, therefore, a certain fixed relationship between propaganda and organization, and

between the number of adherents and members. If the propaganda is good the organizing body may be small, while the larger the number of adherents, the smaller the number of members. Conversely, if the propaganda be bad, the organizing body must be large and if there be only a small number of adherents, the membership must be all the larger—if the movement still genuinely hopes to be successful.

The first task of the propagandist is to win over people who will subsequently belong to the organizing body and the first duty of the organizing body is to select and train men who will be capable of carrying on the propaganda. The second task of the propagandist is to disrupt the existing order of things and to saturate this order with the new teaching, while the second task of the organizing body must be to fight for power, so that the doctrine may finally triumph.

An ideological revolution will always be most successful, if the new ideology has been taught to the entire population, or if necessary, forced upon it subsequently, whilst, on the other hand, the movement itself, the organization, should comprise only the minimum number of persons required to man the nerve-centres of the state in question.

Put in another way, this means that in every great revolutionary movement of world-importance the ideals of that movement must always first be propagated through the operation of propaganda. The propagandist must never tire in his efforts to make the new ideas clearly understood, to persuade others to adopt them and to endeavour to shake their confidence in the convictions they have hitherto held. In order that such propaganda should have a firm character, it must be based on an organization. The organization gains its members from among those followers whom propaganda has won over and will grow the more rapidly if the work of propaganda be pushed forward intensively, and it will be all the more effective if the organization at the back of it is vigorous and strong in itself.

Hence, the supreme task of the organizing body is to see to it that any discord or differences which may arise

among the members of the movement will not lead to a split and thereby cramp the work within the movement. Moreover, it is the duty of the organizing body to see that the fighting spirit of the movement does not flag or die out, but that it is constantly reinvigorated and reinforced. It is not necessary that the number of members should increase indefinitely; on the contrary, in view of the fact that only a fraction of humanity has energy and courage, a movement which increases its own organization indefinitely must of necessity one day become weakened thereby. Organizations, that is to say, memberships, which increase beyond certain limits gradually lose their fighting force and are no longer capable of backing up and turning to account propaganda on behalf of an ideal with the requisite verve and determination.

Now, the greater and more revolutionary a doctrine is, the more active will be the spirit inspiring its body of members, because the very fact of the revolutionary nature of the doctrine implies danger for its champions and this suffices to frighten away the chicken-hearted and small-minded Philistines. In their hearts they may believe in the doctrine, but they are afraid to acknowledge their belief openly by becoming members of the movement. By reason of this very fact, however, an organization inspired by a genuinely revolutionary ideal will attract as members only the most active of those who have been won over by its propaganda. It is in this activity on the part of the members, guaranteed by the process of natural selection, that we have the prerequisite conditions for the continuation of an active and spirited propaganda and also for the victorious struggle for the realization of the ideal on which the movement is based.

The greatest danger that can threaten a movement is an abnormal increase in the number of its members, owing to its too rapid success. So long as a movement has to carry on a hard and bitter fight, people of weak and fundamentally egotistic temperament will steer clear of it; but these will try to be accepted as members the moment the party appears

likely to achieve, or has already achieved, a great measure of success.

It is for this reason that so many movements which are at first successful, slow down before reaching the fulfilment of their purpose and, from an inner weakness which cannot otherwise be explained, give up the struggle and finally disappear from the field. As a result of the early successes achieved, so many undesirable, unworthy and especially timid individuals become members of the movement that they, are finally in the majority and overrule those who are filled with the fighting spirit, use the movement to gain their own ends, dragging it down to their own petty level and do nothing to bring about the triumph of the original idea. The fire of the first fervour dies out, the fighting spirit flags and, as the bourgeois world is accustomed to remark (and in this case with some justice) the wine has become mixed with water and then it is, of course, impossible to achieve great things.

For this reason it is necessary that a movement should, from the sheer instinct of self-preservation, close its list of membership the moment it becomes successful, while any further increase in its organization should be undertaken only after the most careful precautions have been taken and after a painstaking sifting of those who apply for membership. Only thus will it be possible to keep the kernel of the movement intact, fresh and sound. Care must be taken that the conduct of the movement remains exclusively in the hands of the original nucleus, which means that this nucleus must direct the propaganda which aims at securing general recognition for the movement and is the central authority which decides what measures are to be adopted for the practical realization of its ideals.

The organization should not only appoint the men who formed the original nucleus of the movement to all the important positions in those parts of the country that have been won over, but should see to it that the entire governing body is composed of such elements. This should continue until the maxims and doctrines of the party have become the

foundation and substance of the new State. Only then will it be permissible gradually to transfer the reins to the hands of the constitution of that State which the spirit of the movement has created. But this usually happens as the result of mutual rivalry, for here it is less a question of human intelligence than of the play of the forces whose development may indeed be foreseen from the start, but not perpetually controlled.

All great movements, whether of a political or religious nature, owe their success to the recognition and adoption of these principles, and no durable success is conceivable if these laws are not observed.

As director of propaganda for the Party, I took care not merely to prepare the ground for the size of the Movement in its subsequent stages, but I also adopted the most radical type of propaganda in order to make sure that none but the best would enter the organization, for the more radical and stirring my propaganda was, the more did it frighten away weak and wavering characters, thus preventing them from entering the first nucleus of our organization. Perhaps they remained followers, but they did not advertise the fact, on the contrary, they maintained a discreet silence on the subject. Many thousands of persons then assured me that although they were in full agreement with us, they could not on any account become members of our Party. They said that the Movement was so radical that to take part in it as members would expose them to grave censure and even danger, so that nobody could take it amiss if an honest, peace-loving citizen chose to remain in the background, for the time being at least, though devoted whole-heartedly to our cause.

This was all to the good. If all those men, who in their hearts did not approve of the Revolution, had joined our Movement as members at that time, we could regard ourselves to-day as a pious confraternity and not as a young Movement inspired with the spirit of combat. The lively and combative form which I gave to all our propaganda at that time fortified and guaranteed the radical tendency of our Move-

ment, and the result was that, with few exceptions, only men of radical views were disposed to become members. It was due to the effect of our propaganda that, within a short period of time, hundreds of thousands of citizens not only became convinced in their hearts that we were right, but wished us victory, although personally they were too timid to make sacrifices for that victory or even to fight for it.

Up to the middle of 1921 the mere gaining of followers sufficed and was of value to the Movement, but in the summer of that year certain events happened which made it seem opportune for us to bring our organization into line with the manifest successes which the propaganda had achieved.

An attempt made by a group of patriotic visionaries, supported by the chairman of the Party at that time, to take over the management of the party led to the failure of this little intrigue, and, as the result of a motion carried unanimously at a general meeting of the members, the entire management of the Party was entrusted to me. At the same time a new statute was passed investing the chairman of the movement with absolute responsibility, abolishing the system of resolutions in committee and introducing in its stead a system of division of labour which, since that time, has worked excellently.

From August 1st, 1921, onwards I undertook the internal reorganization of the Party and was supported by a number of excellent men. I shall mention them and their work individually in a postscript to the present work.

In my endeavour to utilize the results gained by propaganda to the advantage of the organization and thus to stabilize them, I had to abolish completely a number of established practices and introduce regulations which none of the other parties either possessed or recognized. In the years 1919-20 the Movement was controlled by a committee elected at meetings of the members, held in accordance with the constitution. The committee was composed of a treasurer and an assistant-treasurer, a secretary and an assistant-secretary and, at the head of it, a chairman and

a vice-chairman. In addition to these there were a members' representative, the director of propaganda, and various assessorial members. Comically enough, the committee embodied the very principle against which the Movement itself wanted to fight with all its energy namely the principle of parliamentarianism. It was evident that from the smallest local groups to the district and regional groups, the state groups and finally the supreme directorate for the Reich, the principle adopted incorporated the selfsame system under which we were all suffering and continue to suffer.

It was imperative to change this state of affairs forthwith, if this bad foundation in the internal organization was not to jeopardize the Movement and render the fulfilment of its high mission impossible. The sessions of the committee at which minutes were read out, and at which resolutions were passed according to the vote of the majority, presented the picture of a miniature parliament. Here there was no such thing as personal responsibility, the same absurdities and paradoxes prevailed as in the great representative bodies of the State. Names were presented to this committee for appointment as secretaries, treasurers, members of the organization, propaganda agents and God knows what else. Every single question was discussed by the committee as a whole and put to the vote. Accordingly, the director of propaganda voted on a question that concerned the man who had to do with the finances, and the latter, in his turn, voted on a question that concerned only the organizing side as such, the organizer voting on a subject that had to do with the secretarial department, and so on. Why select a special man for propaganda, if treasurers, secretaries, members' representatives etc., had to deliver judgment on questions concerning it? To a person of common sense that sort of thing seems as incomprehensible as it would be if, in a large manufacturing concern, the board of directors or technical experts belonging to other departments and other branches were called upon to decide questions which had nothing to do with their own particular job.

I refused to countenance this kind of folly and after

a short time I ceased to appear at the meetings of the committee. I did nothing except attend to my own department of propaganda and I did not permit any of the others to poke their noses into my activities. Conversely, I did not interfere in the affairs of others.

When the new statute was approved and I was appointed chairman, I had the necessary authority and also the corresponding right to make short shrift of all that nonsense. In the place of decisions by majority vote of the committee, the principle of absolute responsibility was introduced.

The chairman is responsible for the whole control of the Movement. He apportions the work to be done among the members of the committee subordinate to him and for special work he selects other individuals. Each of these gentlemen must bear sole responsibility for the task assigned to him. He is subordinate only to the chairman, whose duty is to supervise the general collaboration, selecting the personnel and giving general directions as to how co-operation is to be achieved.

This principle of absolute responsibility has gradually become a matter of course within the Movement, at least in so far as the management of the Party is concerned. In the small local groups and perhaps also in the regional and district groups it will take yet a long time before the principle can be thoroughly imposed, because the timid and inefficient are naturally opposed to it: For them the idea of bearing absolute responsibility for an action opens up an unpleasant prospect and they feel more at ease and safer if, faced with a difficult decision, they have the support of the majority on a so-called committee. But it seems to me a matter of absolute necessity to take a decisive stand against that view, to make no concessions whatsoever to this fear of responsibility, even though it will take some time before we can attain this concept of duty and ability in leadership, which will place in positions of authority only those who possess the necessary gifts and are selected for the work.

In any case, a movement which has to fight against the absurdity of parliamentary institutions must itself be immune

from them. Only thus will it have the requisite strength to carry on the struggle. It is absolutely certain that a movement which, in an era in which the majority principle holds good in every sphere of life, adopts as its fundamental principle that of leadership and consequently, assumption of responsibility by the leaders, will one day succeed in abolishing and triumphing over existing conditions.

This idea made it necessary to reorganize our Movement internally. The logical development of this reorganization brought about a clear-cut distinction between the economic section of the Movement and the general political management. The principle of personal responsibility was extended to all the administrative branches of the party and inevitably had a regenerating effect, by liberating them from political influences and allowing them to operate solely on economic principles.

In the autumn of 1919, when I joined the Party, there were only six members. The Party had neither an office, officials, forms, a stamp, nor printed material of any sort. The committee first held its sittings in a restaurant in the Herrengasse and then in a café in the Gasteig. This state of affairs was intolerable, so I at once took action in the matter. I went around to several restaurants and hotels in Munich with the idea of renting a room in one of them for the use of the Party. In the old *Sterneckerbräu* im Tal, there was a small vault-like room which in earlier times had served the Bavarian Counsellors of the Holy Roman Empire as a tap-room when they foregathered. It was dark and dismal and accordingly well suited to its ancient uses, though less suited to the new purpose it was now destined to serve. The little street on which its one window looked out was so narrow that even on the brightest summer day the room remained dim and sombre. This became our first office. As the rent came to only fifty marks per month, (then an enormous sum for us) we could not expect very much and we dared not complain even when the wooden wainscoting was removed a few days before we took possession. This panelling had been specially put up for the Imperial

Counsellors. The place began to look more like a tomb than an office.

Still it marked an important step forward. By degrees, we had electric light installed and later on a telephone. A table and some borrowed chairs were put in, open bookshelves, and afterwards, a cupboard. Two sideboards, which belonged to the landlord, served to store our leaflets, placards, etc.

As time went on, it proved impossible to direct the course of the Movement merely by holding a committee-meeting once a week. The current business administration of the Movement could not be regularly attended to unless we had a salaried official, but at that time it was very difficult for us to arrange anything of the kind. The Movement had still so few members that it was hard to find among them a suitable person for the job, who would be content with very little for himself and would at the same time be ready to meet the manifold demands which the Movement would make on his time and energy.

After a long search we discovered a soldier who consented to become our first business-manager. His name was Schüssler, an old war-time comrade of mine. At first he came to our new office every day between six and eight o'clock in the evening, later on he came from five to eight and subsequently for the whole afternoon; finally, it became a full-time job and he worked in the office from morning until late at night. He was an industrious, upright and thoroughly honest man, who was exceedingly painstaking and a loyal supporter of the Movement. He brought with him a small Adler typewriter of his own. It was the first typewriter to be used in the service of the Party. Subsequently, the Party bought it, paying for it in instalments. We needed a small safe in order to keep our papers and register of members out of harm's way, not to hold our funds, which were then non-existent. On the contrary, our financial position was so hopeless that I often had to dip into my own personal savings.

After eighteen months had passed our business quarters

had become too small, so we moved to a new place in the Cornelius Strasse. Again our office was in a restaurant, but instead of one room we now had three smaller rooms and one large room with counters. At that time this appeared a wonderful thing to us. We remained in these premises until November 1923.

In December 1920, we acquired the *Völkischer Beobachter*. This newspaper which, as its name implies, championed the *völkisch* cause, was now to become the organ of the National Socialist German Labour Party. At first it appeared twice weekly; but at the beginning of 1923 it became a daily paper, and at the end of August in the same year it began to appear in the form now so well known.

As a complete novice in journalism I then learned many a lesson for which I had to pay dearly. In contrast to the enormous number of papers in Jewish hands, there was at that time scarcely any important newspaper that defended the *völkisch* cause. This state of affairs ought to have provided us with food for thought. As I have often seen from experience, the reason for that state of things was, to a great extent, attributable to the incompetent way in which the business side of the so-called *völkisch* newspapers was managed. These were conducted too much according to the view that political opinion should be taken into consideration before efficiency—quite a mistaken attitude, inasmuch as political opinion should not be paraded, but should find expression in efficient work. The man who does valuable work for the nation expresses thereby the soundness of his political opinions, whereas another who merely talks about his opinions and does nothing that is of real value to the nation is detrimental to any real political opinion, and his attitude is also prejudicial to his particular political party.

The *Völkischer Beobachter* was a so-called *völkisch* paper as its name indicates. It had all the good qualities, but still more the errors and weaknesses, inherent in all *völkisch* institutions. Though the reading-matter was excellent, the business side was conducted on very inefficient lines. Here also the underlying idea was that a *völkisch*

newspaper ought to be subsidized by contributions from people holding *völkisch* views; and the fact was ignored that it had to make its way in competition with the others and that it was dishonest to expect the subscriptions of good patriots to make up for the mistakes and inefficiency of the management of the undertaking.

I took care to alter these conditions promptly, for I recognized the danger inherent in them. Luck was on my side, inasmuch as it brought me a man who, since that time, has rendered incalculable service to the Movement, not only as business-manager of the newspaper, but also as business-manager of the Party. In 1914, during the War, I made the acquaintance of Max Amann, who was then my superior officer and is to-day general business-manager of the Party. During four years of war I had occasion to observe the unusual ability, diligence and rigorous conscientiousness of my future collaborator.

In the summer of 1921 I applied to my old regimental comrade, whom I met one day by chance, and asked him to become business-manager of the Movement. At that time the Movement was passing through a grave crisis and I had reason to be dissatisfied with several of our officials, with one of whom I had had a very bitter experience. Amann then held a good position with good prospects. After long hesitation he agreed to my request, but only on condition that he would not be at the mercy of incompetent committees and would be responsible to one master, and one only.

It is to the inestimable credit of this first business-manager of the Party, whose commercial knowledge is extensive and profound, that he brought order and probity into the various business concerns of the Party. Since that time these have remained exemplary and cannot be equalled, or excelled, by any other branches of the Movement. But as often happens in life, great ability provokes envy and disfavour; that was to be expected in this case and had to be put up with.

From 1922 onwards we followed definite guiding principles as regards the commercial development of the

Movement as well as in connection with its organization. There already existed a central filing system, where the names and personal data of all the members were noted. The finances of the Party had been rendered sound. The current expenditure had to be covered by the current receipts and special receipts were used only for special expenditure. Thus, notwithstanding the difficulties of the time, the Movement remained practically free of debt, except for a few small current accounts. Indeed there was a steady increase in the funds. Things were managed as in a private business. The personnel employed held their jobs by virtue of their efficiency and could not in any way take cover behind their professed loyalty to the Party. A good National Socialist proves his loyalty by the readiness, diligence and efficiency with which he discharges whatever duties are assigned to him, in performing whatever work is allotted to him within the national community. The man who does not fulfil his duty in the job he holds cannot boast of a loyalty against which he actually transgresses.

Adamant against all kinds of influence, the new business-manager of the party firmly maintained the standpoint that there were no sinecure posts in the party administration for followers and members of the Movement who did not want to work. A movement which fights energetically against the corruption introduced into our civil service by the various political parties must be immune from that vice in its own administrative department. It happened that some men were taken on to the staff of the paper who had formerly been adherents of the Bavarian People's Party, but whose work showed that they were excellently qualified for the job. The result of this experiment was, generally speaking, eminently satisfactory. It was owing to this honest and frank recognition of individual efficiency that the Movement won the hearts of its employees more readily and more profoundly than had ever been the case before. Subsequently these men became good National Socialists and remained so, not only professedly, but proved to be so by the steady, honest and conscientious work which they performed in the

service of the new Movement. Although a well-qualified party member was preferred to another who had equal qualifications, but did not belong to the Party, nobody obtained a post merely by reason of the fact that he was a member of the Party. The rigid determination with which our new business-manager applied these principles and gradually put them into force, despite all opposition, turned out to be of great advantage to the Movement. To this we owe the fact that it was possible for us, during the difficult period of the inflation, when thousands of businesses failed and thousands of newspapers had to cease publication, not only to keep the commercial department of the Movement going and finance its activities, but also to make steady progress with the *Völkischer Beobachter*. At that time it came to be ranked among the big newspapers.

The year 1921 was of further importance by reason of the fact that, as chairman of the party, I slowly but steadily succeeded in putting a stop to criticism and interference by numerous members of committee with regard to various business concerns of the Party. This was important, because we could not get a capable man to take on a job if nincompoops were constantly allowed to butt in, pretending that they knew better, whereas in reality they left only chaos behind them. Then these wiseacres retired, for the most part quite modestly, to seek another field for their supervisory and animating activities. Some men seemed to have a mania for finding fault with everything and were, so to speak, always in a permanent state of pregnancy with magnificent plans, ideas, projects and methods. Naturally, their great aim and ideal was always the formation of a committee which, in its supervisory capacity, would be in a position to poke its nose into the efficient work being done by others. Many of these committee fiends failed to realize that it is offensive and contrary to the spirit of National Socialism if unauthorized people constantly interfere in the work of really competent persons. During those years I felt it to be my duty to safeguard against such annoyance all those who were performing good work or were entrusted with responsible

task, to give them support so that they were guaranteed a free hand in their day's work.

The best means of rendering innocuous those committees, which either did nothing or hatched impracticable decisions, was to give them some real work to do. It was then amusing to see how the members would silently fade away and were soon nowhere to be found. It made me think of that great institution of the same kind, the Reichstag. How quickly its members would evanesce, if they were put to some real work instead of talking, especially if each member were made personally responsible for the work assigned to him.

I always demanded that, as in private life so in the Movement, we should not abandon the search until the best, most honest and manifestly most competent person had been found for the position of official manager or leader, as the case might be, in every business concern of the Movement. Once installed in his position he should be given absolute authority and full freedom of action in regard to his subordinates and at the same time be called upon to assume full responsibility towards his superiors. Nobody was placed in a position of authority over subordinates unless he himself was more competent than they to perform the work entrusted to them. In the course of two years I put my views more and more into practice, so that to-day, at least as far as the higher positions of authority in the Movement are concerned, they are accepted as a matter of course.

The manifest success of this attitude was shown on November 9th, 1923. Four years previously, when I entered the Movement, it did not possess even a rubber stamp. On November 9th, 1923, the Party was dissolved and its property confiscated. This, including all objects of value and the newspaper, amounted to more than one hundred and seventy thousand gold marks.

CHAPTER XII

THE PROBLEM OF THE TRADE-UNIONS

OWING TO THE RAPID GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT, we felt compelled in 1922 to take a definite stand on a question which has not been fully solved even yet.

In our efforts to discover the quickest and easiest way for the Movement to reach the heart of the broad masses, we were always confronted with the objection that the worker could never completely belong to us while his interests in the purely vocational and economic sphere were cared for by a political organization conducted by men whose principles were quite different from ours.

That was quite a serious objection. The general belief was that a workman engaged in some trade or calling could not exist if he did not belong to a trade-union. Not only were his professional interests thus protected, but his position in the factory or concern, would, in the long run, have become untenable, if he were not a member of a trade-union. The majority of the workers belonged to trade-unions. Generally speaking, the unions had conducted successfully the battle for the establishment of a definite scale of wages and had concluded agreements which guaranteed the worker a steady income. Undoubtedly, all workers benefited by the results of that campaign and, for honest men especially, conflicts of conscience must have arisen if they took the wages which had been assured through the struggle fought by the trade-unions and at the same time refrained from taking part in the fight.

It was difficult to discuss this problem with the average bourgeois employer. He had no understanding (or did not wish to have any) for either the material or moral side of the

question. Finally, his own supposed economic interests were, on principle, opposed to every kind of organization which united the workmen that were dependent on him. Hence it was for the most part impossible to bring these bourgeois employers to take an impartial view of the situation. Here, therefore, as in so many other cases, it was necessary to appeal to disinterested outsiders who would not be liable to fix their attention on the trees and fail to see the forest. With a little goodwill on their part, they could readily understand a state of affairs which is of the highest importance for our present and future existence.

In the first volume of this book I have already expressed my views on the nature, purpose and necessity of trade-unions. There I adopted the standpoint that, unless measures are undertaken by the State (usually futile in such cases) or a new ideal is introduced in our education, which would change the attitude of the employer towards the worker, no other course will be open to the latter, except to defend his own interests himself by claiming his equal rights as a contracting party within the economic sphere of the nation's existence. I stated further that this would conform to the ideal of a national community, if thereby social injustices could be redressed which would otherwise cause serious damage to the whole social structure. I stated, moreover, that the worker would always find it necessary to undertake this protective action as long as there were men among the employers who had no sense of their social obligations or even of the most elementary human rights, whilst I concluded by saying, that, if such self-defence be considered necessary, its form ought to be that of an association made up of the workers themselves on the basis of trade-unions.

This was my general idea and it remained the same in 1922, but a clear and precise formula was still to be discovered. We could not be satisfied with merely understanding the problem; it was necessary to come to some conclusions that could be put into practice. The following questions had to be answered:-

(1) Are trade-unions necessary?

(2) Should the National Socialist German Labour Party itself operate on a trade-unionist basis or have its members take part in trade-unionist activities in some form or other?

(3) What form should a National Socialist trade-union take? What are the tasks confronting us and the ends we must try to attain?

(4) How can we establish trade-unions for such tasks and aims?

I think that I have already answered the first question adequately. In the present state of affairs I am convinced that we cannot possibly dispense with the trade-unions. On the contrary, they are among the most important institutions in the economic life of the nation. Not only are they important in the sphere of social policy but also, and even more so, in the national political sphere, for, when the great masses of a nation see their vital needs satisfied through a just trade-unionist movement, which is at the same time educating them, the stamina of the whole nation in its struggle for existence will be enormously reinforced thereby. Above all, the trade-unions are necessary as building stones for the future economic parliament, which will be made up of chambers representing the various professions and occupations.

The second question is also easy to answer. If the trade-unionist movement is important, then it is clear that National Socialism ought to take a definite stand on that question, not only theoretically, but also in practice. But how? That is more difficult to decide.

The National Socialist Movement, which aims at establishing the National Socialist *volkisch* State, must always bear in mind the principle that every future institution under that State must be evolved from the Movement itself. It is a great mistake to believe that, by the mere acquisition of supreme political power, we can suddenly bring about a definite reorganization, from nothing, without the help of a certain reserve of men who have been trained beforehand, especially in the spirit of the Movement. Here, also, the principle holds good that the spirit is always more important

than the external form which it animates, since this form can be created mechanically and quickly. For instance, the leadership principle may be imposed on an organized political community in a dictatorial way. But, this principle can become a living reality only when, by means of a gradual process of development from an extremely small nucleus, and by that process of elimination which the hard realities of life continually enforce, there is produced, after the lapse of years, the necessary material from which leaders, capable of carrying the principle into practical effect, are chosen.

It is out of the question to think that a scheme for the constitution of a State can be pulled out of a portfolio at a moment's notice and 'introduced' by imperative orders from above. One may try that kind of thing, but the result will always be something that cannot endure, and may even prove abortive. This calls to mind the origin of the Weimar Constitution and the attempt to impose on the German people a new constitution and a new flag, neither of which had any inner relation to the vicissitudes of our nation's history during the last half-century.

The National Socialist State must guard against all such experiments. It can only grow out of an organization which has already existed for a long time. This organization must be in itself the essence of National Socialist life, so that finally it may be able to establish a National Socialist State which will be a living reality.

As I have already said, the germ-cells of the economic chambers must be established in the various vocational representative bodies and especially in the trade-unions. If this subsequent vocational representation and the central economic parliament are to be National Socialist institutions, these important germ-cells must be vehicles of the National Socialist ideology. The institutions of the Movement must be transferred to the State; but the State cannot call into existence all of a sudden and as if by magic, corresponding organizations unless these are to remain completely lifeless.

Looking at the matter from the highest standpoint, the

National Socialist Movement will have to recognize the necessity for instituting its own trade-unionist activities.

It must do so for a further reason, namely, because a real National Socialist education for the employer as well as for the employee, in the spirit of mutual co-operation within the common framework of the national community, cannot be secured by theoretical instruction, appeals and exhortations, but only through the struggle of daily life. In and through this struggle the Movement must educate the several large economic groups and bring them closer to one another through a wider outlook. Without this preparatory work it would be sheer illusion to hope that a real national community could be brought into existence. Only the great *Weltanschauung* for which the Movement is fighting can serve to form by degrees that general attitude which the new era will one day prove to be internally and fundamentally sound and not mere outward show.

Hence, the Movement must not only adopt a positive attitude towards the trade-unionist idea, it must go further; it must, by means of practical activity, provide the multitude of its members and adherents with the education requisite for the future National Socialist State.

The answer to the third question follows from what has already been said. The National Socialist trade-union is not an instrument for class warfare, but a representative organ of the various professions and callings. The National Socialist State recognizes no 'classes' but, from the political point of view, only citizens with absolutely equal rights and equal obligations corresponding thereto. Apart from these, it recognizes subjects of the State who have no political rights whatsoever.

According to the National Socialist concept, it is not the task of the trade-union to band together certain men within the national community and thus gradually to transform these men into a class, so as to use them in a conflict against other similarly organized groups within the national community. We certainly cannot assign this task to the trade-union as such. This was the task assigned to it the moment it became

a fighting weapon in the hands of the Marxist. The trade-union is not naturally an instrument of class warfare; but the Marxists transformed it into an instrument for use in their own class struggle. They created the economic weapon which the international Jew uses for the purpose of destroying the economic foundations of free and independent national States, of ruining their national trade and industry and thereby enslaving free nations to serve Jewish world-finance which transcends all state boundaries.

In contradistinction to this, the National Socialist trade-union must organize definite groups of those who participate in the economic life of the nation and thus enhance the security of the national economic system itself, reinforcing it by the elimination of all those anomalies which ultimately exercise a destructive influence on the social body of the nation, damaging the vital forces of the national community, prejudicing the welfare of the State and, by no means the least consequence, bringing evil and destruction on economic life itself.

In the hands of the National Socialist trade-union the strike is not, therefore, an instrument for disturbing and dislocating national production, but for increasing it and making it run smoothly, by fighting against all those abuses which, by reason of their non-social character, hinder efficiency in business and thereby hamper the existence of the whole nation, for individual efficiency is always in direct relation to the general social and legal position of the individual in the economic process and to the consequent conviction that the economic prosperity of the nation must necessarily redound to the benefit of the individual citizen. The National Socialist employee will have to recognize the fact that his own material welfare is bound up with the economic prosperity of the nation. The National Socialist employer must recognize that the welfare and contentment of his employees are necessary prerequisites for the existence and development of his own economic prosperity.

National Socialist workers and employers are both, at one and the same time, the representatives and administrators

of the whole national community. The large measure of personal freedom which is accorded to them for their activities is to be explained by the fact that experience has shown that the productive powers of the individual are greater if he is accorded a generous measure of freedom than if he is coerced from above. Moreover, by according this freedom, we give free play to the natural process of selection which brings forward the ablest, most capable and most industrious. For the National Socialist trade-union, therefore, the strike is a means that may, and indeed must be, resorted to as long as there is not yet a National Socialist *völkisch* State, but when that State is established it will, as a matter of course, abolish the class struggle between the two great groups made up of employers and employees respectively, a struggle which has always resulted in lessening national production and injuring the national community. In place of this struggle, the National Socialist State will undertake the task of caring for and defending the rights of all parties concerned. It will be the duty of the economic chambers to keep the national economic system in smooth working order and to remove whatever defects or errors may affect it adversely. Questions which are to-day settled only by the struggle of millions of people will then be settled in the representative chambers of trades and professions and in the central economic parliament. Thus employers and employees will no longer find themselves drawn into a mutual conflict over wages and hours of work, always to the detriment of the interests of both. They will solve these problems together before a higher authority, whose sole aim will be to safeguard the welfare of the national community and of the State. Here, as everywhere else, the inflexible principle must hold good that the interests of the country must come before party interests.

The task of the National Socialist trade-union will be to educate and prepare its members to conform to these ideals, namely, that all must work together for the maintenance and security of our nation and its State, each one according to the abilities and powers with which Nature has endowed him

and which have been developed and trained by the national community.

Our fourth question was, How can we establish trade-unions for such tasks and aims? It is by far the most difficult to answer.

Generally speaking, it is easier to establish something in new territory than in old territory which already has its established institutions. It is easy to set up a new business in a district where there is no existing business of the same kind, but it is more difficult if the same kind of enterprise already exists and it is most difficult of all when the conditions are such that only one enterprise of this kind can prosper. In the latter case, the promoters of the new enterprise find themselves confronted not only with the problem of introducing their own business, but also that of how to bring about the destruction of the other business already existing in the district, so that the new enterprise may prosper.

It would be senseless to have a National Socialist trade-union side by side with other trade-unions, for the former must be thoroughly imbued with a feeling for the ideological nature of its task and the resulting obligation not to tolerate other similar or hostile institutions. It must also insist that it alone is necessary, to the exclusion of all the rest. It can come to no arrangement and no compromise with kindred tendencies, but must assert its own absolute and exclusive right to exist.

There were two ways which might have led to such a development: —

(1) We could have established our own trade-union and then gradually taken up the fight against the Marxist international trade-unions.

(2) We could have joined the Marxist trade-unions in an attempt to imbue them with a new spirit and, with the idea of transforming them into an instrument in the service of the new ideal.

For the following reasons, it would have been inadvisable to choose the first method. Our financial situation was still

the cause of much concern to us at that time and our resources were very slender. The effects of the inflation were steadily spreading and made the situation still more difficult, because at that time the trade-unions were unable to render their members any tangible service. From this point of view, there was no reason why the individual worker should pay his dues to the union. Even the Marxist unions then existing were on the point of collapse when, as the result of Herr Cuno's inspired Ruhr policy, millions suddenly poured into their coffers. This so called 'national' Chancellor of the Reich should be dubbed the 'saviour' of the Marxist trade-unions.

We could not count on similar financial facilities, and nobody would have felt inclined to join a new trade-union which on account of its financial weakness, could not offer him the slightest material benefit. On the other hand, I had to guard against the danger of creating a new organization of this kind which would only serve to provide 'cushy jobs' for men of little ability.

At that time the question of personnel played a most important rôle. I did not have a single man whom I could have called upon to carry out this important task. He who could have succeeded at that time in overthrowing the Marxist unions to make way for the triumph of the National Socialist corporative idea, which would have replaced this weapon of ruinous class warfare, could have been reckoned as one of the very greatest men our country had produced and his bust installed in the Valhalla at Regensburg for the admiration of posterity. But I knew of no person who could have qualified for such an honour.

In this connection we must not be led astray by the fact that the international trade-unions are conducted by men of only mediocre significance. This fact is actually of no importance, for when those unions were founded there was nothing else of a similar kind in existence. To-day, the National Socialist Movement must fight against a monster organization which has existed for a long time, and has been carefully thought out to the last detail. The assailant must always exercise more intelligence than the defender, if he is

to overthrow the latter. The Marxist trade-unionist citadel may be governed to-day by mediocre leaders, but it cannot be taken by assault, except through the dauntless energy and genius of a superior leader on the other side. If such a leader cannot be found it is futile to haggle with Fate and even more foolish to try to make the attempt under a leader wanting in the necessary qualities. Here one must apply the maxim that in life it is often better to leave a thing alone for the time being, rather than try to do it by halves or do it badly, owing to a lack of suitable means.

To this we had to add another consideration, which was not at all of a demagogic character. At that time I had, and I still have to-day, the firmly rooted conviction that when one is engaged in a great ideological struggle in the political field, it would be a grave mistake to mix up economic questions with this struggle in its earlier stages. This applies particularly to our German people, because in their case, the economic struggle would immediately divert their energy from the political fight. Once people are brought to believe that they can buy a little house with their savings they will devote themselves to the task of increasing their savings and no spare time will be left to them for the political struggle against those who, one way or another, intend one day to secure possession of the pennies that have been hoarded. Instead of participating in the political conflict on behalf of the opinions and convictions which they have been brought to accept, they will now go 'all out' for their 'settlement' idea and in the end they will fall between two stools.

To-day the National Socialist Movement is at the beginning of its struggle. To a great extent it must first of all shape and develop its ideals. It must employ every ounce of its energy in the struggle to have its great ideals accepted, but this effort will not be crowned with success, unless the combined energies of the Movement be devoted exclusively to this struggle.

To-day we have a classic example of how the militant strength of a people becomes paralysed when that people is too much taken up with purely economic problems. The

Revolution which took place in November 1918, was not brought about by the trade-unions, but was carried out in spite of them, and the German bourgeoisie is not waging a political fight for the future of its country because it believes that that future can be amply secured by constructive work in the economic field.

We must learn a lesson from such phenomena, because in our case the same thing would happen in the same circumstances. The more the combined strength of our Movement is concentrated in the political struggle, the more confidently may we count on being successful along our whole front, but if we busy ourselves prematurely with trade-unionist problems, settlement problems, etc., it will be to the detriment of our cause, taken as a whole. For, though these problems may be important, they cannot be solved in an adequate manner until we have political power in our hands and are able to use it in the service of these schemes. Until that day comes these problems can have only a paralysing effect on the Movement and if it takes them up too soon they will only be a hindrance in the effort to attain its ideological aims. It may then easily happen that trade-unionist considerations will decide the political trend of the Movement, instead of the *Weltanschauung* of the Movement determining the course the trade-unions are to adopt.

The Movement and the nation can derive advantage from a National Socialist trade-unionist organization, only if the latter be so thoroughly inspired by National Socialist ideas that it runs no danger of falling into step behind the Marxist movement, for a National Socialist trade-union which considered itself only as a competitor against the Marxist unions would be worse than none. It must declare war against the Marxist trade-union, not only as an organization but, above all, as an ideal. It must declare itself hostile to the idea of class and class warfare and, in place of this, it must declare itself the defender of the various vocational and professional interests of the German people.

Considered from all these points of view it was not then advisable, nor is it yet advisable, to think of founding our

own trade-union, unless somebody appeared who was obviously called upon by Fate to solve this particular problem. Therefore, there remained only two possible courses—either to recommend our own party members to leave the trade-unions in which they were enrolled, or to remain in them for the moment, with the idea of disrupting them as much as possible.

In general, I recommended the latter alternative. There could be nothing against this, especially in 1922-1923, since, during the inflation, the financial gain which the trade-unions derived from the few members who belonged to our, as yet, youthful Movement was negligible, but the damage done to the unions was very considerable since the adherents of National Socialism were their most inveterate critics and consequently exerted a disintegrating influence from within.

I entirely discountenanced all experiments which were destined from the very beginning to be unsuccessful. I would have considered it criminal to deprive a worker of some part of his scanty earnings on behalf of an organization which, according to my inner conviction, could not promise any real advantage to its members.

If a new political party fades out of existence it is seldom a matter for regret, but nearly always for congratulation and nobody has a right to complain, for what each individual contributes to a political movement is given with the idea that he may receive no return for it. The man who pays his dues to a trade-union has the right to expect that the promises made to him will be kept in return; if this is not done, then the promoters of such a trade-union are swindlers, or at least irresponsible persons who ought to be brought to book.

The course of action we pursued in 1922 was adopted in accordance with these principles. Others thought they knew better and founded trade-unions. They upbraided us for being short-sighted and failing to see into the future, but it did not take long for these organizations to disappear and the result was the same as in our own case with this difference, that we had deceived neither ourselves nor other people.

CHAPTER XIII

THE GERMAN POLICY OF ALLIANCES

THE ERRATIC MANNER IN WHICH THE FOREIGN affairs of the Reich were conducted was due to a lack of sound guiding principles in the formation of practical and useful alliances. Not only did this state of affairs continue after the Revolution, but it became even worse. If the confused state of our political ideas in general before the War may be looked upon as the chief cause of our defective foreign policy, in the post-war period this must be attributed to a lack of honest intentions. It was natural that those parties which had finally achieved their destructive purpose by means of the Revolution were not interested in the adoption of a policy of alliances which must ultimately result in the restoration of a free German State. A development in this direction would not have been in conformity with the purposes of the November crime; it would have interrupted, or even put an end to, the internationalization of German national economy and German labour and above all the political repercussions within the country, resulting from a foreign policy which aimed at liberating Germany, would, in the long run, have been fatal to those who now wield the power in the Reich. One cannot imagine the revival of a nation unless that revival be preceded by a process of nationalization. Conversely, every important success in the field of foreign politics must call forth a favourable reaction at home. Experience proves that every struggle for liberty increases national sentiment and national self-confidence and thereby gives rise to a keener awareness of anti-national elements and tendencies. Conditions and persons that may

be tolerated and even pass unnoticed in times of peace will not only become the object of aversion when national enthusiasm is aroused, but will even provoke positive opposition, which frequently turns out disastrous for them. In this connection we may recall the spy-scare that became prevalent when the war broke out, when human passion suddenly manifested itself to such a heightened degree as to lead to the most brutal persecutions, often without justifiable grounds, although everybody knows that the spy-danger is greater during long periods of peace; yet, for obvious reasons, it does not then attract a similar amount of public attention.

For this reason the subtle instinct of those parasites of the State who came to the surface of the national body as a result of the events which took place in November 1918 makes them feel at once that a movement to restore the freedom of our people, supported by a wise foreign policy and the consequent awakening of national feeling, would possibly mean the end of their own criminal existence. Thus we may explain the fact that, since 1918, the competent government departments have failed as regards foreign policy and the Government of the country has practically always worked systematically against the interests of the German nation, for that which at first sight seemed a matter of chance proved, on closer examination, to be a logical advance along the lines first openly followed by those responsible for the November Revolution of 1918.

Undoubtedly a distinction ought to be made between, (1) the responsible administrators of our affairs of State, or rather those who ought to be responsible; (2) the average run of our parliamentary politicians, and (3) the bulk of our people, whose sheepish docility corresponds to their want of intelligence. The first know what they want. The second fall into line with them, either because they know what is afoot, or because they have not the courage to take an uncompromising stand against a course which they know and feel to be detrimental. The third just submit because they are too stupid to understand.

While the National Socialist German Labour Party was only a small and practically unknown society, problems of foreign policy could have only a secondary importance in the eyes of many of its members. This was the case especially because our Movement has always proclaimed, and must proclaim, the principle, that the freedom of the country in its foreign relations is not a gift that will be bestowed upon us by Heaven or by any earthly powers, but can only be the fruit of a development of our inner strength. Only by first rooting out the causes which led to our collapse and by eliminating all those who are profiting by that collapse can we establish the conditions necessary for the struggle for freedom abroad.

It will be easily understood, therefore, why during the early stages of our young Movement's development, we preferred to concentrate on the problem of internal reform rather than on foreign policy. But, when the small and insignificant society expanded and finally outgrew its first framework, and the young organization assumed the importance of a great association, we then felt it incumbent upon us to take a definite stand on problems regarding the development of a foreign policy. It was necessary to lay down fundamental principles which would not only be in accord with the basic ideas of our *Weltanschauung*, but would actually be an outcome of it.

Just because our people have had no political education in matters concerning our relations abroad, it is necessary for the youthful Movement to teach its leaders and also the masses of the people, the guiding principles governing our foreign political attitude, which is the prerequisite for the practical execution of any measures adopted in our foreign policy of the future with the object of regaining the freedom of our people and of re-establishing the genuine sovereignty of the Reich.

The fundamental and guiding principles which we must always bear in mind when studying this question are, that foreign policy is only a means to an end and that the sole end to be pursued is the welfare of our own people. Every

problem in foreign politics must be considered solely from the following point of view: Will such and such a solution prove advantageous to our people now or in the future, or will it injure their interests? That is the only question which must be considered in dealing with any problem. Party politics, religious considerations, humanitarian ideals—all such and all other preoccupations must, without compromise, give way to this.

Before the War, the purpose to which German foreign policy should have been directed was to ensure the supply of material necessities for the maintenance of our people and their children, to prepare means for the attainment of this end and the gaining of the necessary support in the shape of advantageous alliances. The task to be accomplished is the same to-day, but with this difference, that in pre-war times it was a question of caring for the maintenance of the German people, with the help of the power which a strong and independent State then possessed, but our task to-day is to make our nation powerful once again by re-establishing a strong and independent State. The re-establishment of such a State is the prerequisite and necessary condition which must be fulfilled in order that we may be able subsequently to put into practice a foreign policy which will serve to guarantee the existence, welfare and subsistence of our people in the future. In other words, the aim which Germany ought to pursue to-day in her foreign policy is to prepare the way for the recovery of her liberty to-morrow.

In this connection there is a fundamental principle which we must bear in mind, namely, that the possibility of winning back the independence of a nation is not absolutely bound up with territorial integrity. It will suffice if a remnant, no matter how small, of a nation and State still exists, provided it possesses the necessary independence to become not only the vehicle of the common spirit of the whole people, but also to prepare the way for the military fight for the nation's liberty.

If a people numbering a hundred million souls tolerates the yoke of common slavery in order to prevent the territory

belonging to its State from being broken up and divided, that is worse than if such a State and such a people were dismembered, and only one fragment still retained its complete independence. Of course, the proviso here is that this fragment is inspired with a consciousness of the solemn duty that devolves upon it, not only persistently to proclaim its spiritual and cultural unity, but also to make the necessary preparations for the military conflict which will finally liberate and re-unite the fragments suffering under oppression.

One must also bear in mind the fact that the restoration of lost territories which were formerly part of the State, both ethnologically and politically, must, in the first instance, be a question of winning back political power and independence for the mother-country itself, and that in such cases the special interests of the lost territories must be uncompromisingly regarded as a matter of secondary importance in the face of the one main task, which is to win back the freedom of the mother-country. The liberation of oppressed or detached fragments of the population, or provinces of an empire, cannot be accomplished by reason of the wishes of the oppressed or the protests of the bereaved mother-country, but only by resort to force on the part of those sections of the one-time united parent-country which have still more or less retained their sovereign rights.

Therefore, the first condition for the reconquest of lost territories is intensive promotion of the welfare, and reinforcement of the strength, of that portion of the State which remained intact after the partition, allied to a cherished and indestructible determination to consecrate the fresh strength thus being developed to the cause of liberating and uniting the entire nation when the time is ripe. That is to say, the interests of the separated territories must be subordinated to a single purpose, namely, to gain for the remaining portion of the original State that degree of political strength and power necessary to oppose the will of the hostile victor. Oppressed territories are not returned to the bosom of their common parent-country as a result of heated protests, but

only by the power of the sword. The forging of this sword must be the aim of the domestic policy adopted by a country's government, whereas it is the object of foreign policy to safeguard the forging process and to gain allies.

In the first volume of this book I discussed the inadequacy of our policy of alliances before the War. There were four possible ways of securing the necessary foodstuffs for the maintenance of our people. Of these ways the fourth, which was the most unfavourable, was chosen. Instead of a sound policy of territorial expansion in Europe, our rulers embarked on a policy of colonial and trade expansion. Their policy was the more mistaken, inasmuch as they presumed that in this way the danger of an armed conflict would be averted. The result of their attempt to sit on two stools at the same time might have been foreseen, they fell between them, and the World War was only the final reckoning which the Reich had to pay for the failure of its foreign policy.

The course that should have been adopted in those days was the third, which I indicated, namely, to increase the strength of the Reich as a continental Power by the acquisition of new territory in Europe. At the same time, a further expansion through the subsequent acquisition of colonial territory, might thus have been brought within the range of possibility. Of course, this policy could not have been carried through except in alliance with Britain, or by making such an abnormal effort to increase the country's military strength and armament that, for forty or fifty years, all cultural undertakings would have had to be completely relegated to the background. This would have been justifiable, for the cultural importance of a nation is almost always dependent on its political freedom and independence. Political freedom is a prerequisite condition for the existence, or rather the growth, of culture. Accordingly, no sacrifice can be too great when there is a question of securing the political freedom of a nation. The sacrifices which have to be made in the sphere of general culture, in favour of an intensive strengthening of the military power of the State will be

richly rewarded later on. Indeed, it may be asserted that such a concentrated effort to preserve the independence of the State is usually succeeded by a certain easing of tension or is counterbalanced by a sudden blossoming forth of the hitherto neglected cultural spirit of the nation. Thus Greece flourished during the great Periclean era after the miseries she had suffered during the Persian Wars, and the Roman Republic turned its energies to the cultivation of a higher civilization when it was freed from the stress and troubles of the Punic Wars.

Of course, it is not to be expected that a parliamentary majority of cowardly and stupid people would ever be capable of deciding on such a resolute policy entailing the absolute subordination of all other national interests to the one sole task of preparing for a future conflict of arms which would result in establishing the security of the State. The father of Frederick the Great sacrificed everything in order to be ready for such a conflict; but the fathers of our absurd parliamentary democracy, with the Jewish hall-mark, could not do so. That is why, in pre-war times, the military preparations necessary to enable us to conquer new territory in Europe were only very mediocre, so that it was difficult to dispense with the support of really useful allies. Those who directed our foreign affairs would not entertain the bare idea of systematically preparing for war. They rejected every plan for the acquisition of territory in Europe and, by preferring a policy of colonial and trade expansion, they sacrificed the alliance with England, which was then possible. At the same time, they neglected to seek the support of Russia, which would have been a logical proceeding. Finally, they stumbled into the World War, abandoned by all except the ill-starred Habsburgs.

The characteristic of our present foreign policy is that it follows no discernible or even intelligible line of action. Whereas before the War, a mistake was made in taking the fourth way that I have mentioned, and in pursuing it in a half-hearted manner, since the Revolution not even the keenest observer can detect any attempt to pursue

a definite course. Even more than before the War, there is absolutely no such thing as a systematic plan, except systematic attempts to destroy the last possibility of a national revival.

If we make an impartial examination of the situation existing in Europe to-day as far as concerns the relation of the various Powers to one another, we can establish the following facts. For the past three hundred years the history of our Continent has been definitely determined by Britain's efforts to preserve the balance of power in Europe, thus ensuring the necessary protection of her own rear while she pursued the great aims of British world-policy. The traditional tendency of British diplomacy ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth has been to employ systematically every possible means to prevent any one Power from attaining a preponderant position over the other European Powers and if necessary, to break that preponderance by means of armed intervention. The only German parallel to this has been the tradition of the Prussian Army. Throughout the centuries Britain has adopted various methods to achieve her ends, choosing them according to the actual situation or the task to be faced; but the will and determination to use them has always been the same. The more difficult Britain's position became in the course of history, the more did the British Imperial Government consider it necessary to maintain a condition of political paralysis among the various European States, as a result of their mutual rivalries. When the North American colonies obtained their political independence it became still more necessary for Britain to make every effort to establish and maintain the defence of her flank in Europe. In accordance with this policy, Britain, after having crushed the great naval Powers, Spain and Holland, concentrated all her forces against the increasing strength of France, until she brought about the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte and thereby destroyed the military hegemony of France, her most dangerous rival.

The change in the attitude of British statesmen towards Germany took place only very slowly, not only because the

German nation did not represent an obvious danger for Britain as long as it lacked national unification, but also because the current of public opinion in Britain, which, for certain political purposes, had been moulded along certain lines, by a system of propaganda that had been carried out for a long time, could be directed into a fresh channel only by slow degrees. In this case the calm reflections of the statesman are transformed into sentimental values which are not only more telling in effect, but also more permanent. When the statesman has attained one of his ends he immediately turns his thoughts to others; but only by degrees and by the slow process of propaganda, can the sentiment of the masses be shaped into an instrument for the attainment of the new aims which their leaders have chosen. As early as 1870/71 Britain had, however, decided on the new stand she would take. On certain occasions minor oscillations in that policy were caused by the growing influence of America on the commercial markets of the world and also by the increasing political power of Russia, but, unfortunately, Germany did not take advantage of these and, therefore, the original tendency of British diplomacy was reinforced.

Britain looked upon Germany as a Power which was of importance commercially and politically and which, partly because of its enormous industrial development, was assuming such threatening proportions that the two countries were already contending against one another in the same sphere. The so-called peaceful conquest of the world by commercial enterprise, which, in the eyes of those who governed our public affairs at that time, represented the highest peak of human wisdom, was just the thing that led British statesmen to adopt a policy of resistance. That this resistance assumed the form of organized aggression on a vast scale was in full conformity with a type of statesmanship which did not aim at the maintenance of a dubious world peace, but aimed at the consolidation of British world-mastery. In carrying out this policy, Britain allied herself with all those countries which were of any military importance and this was in keeping with her traditional caution in estimating the power of her

adversary and also in recognizing her own temporary weakness. That line of conduct cannot be called unscrupulous, because such a comprehensive organization for war purposes must not be judged from the heroic point of view, but from that of expediency. The object of a diplomatic policy is not to see that a nation perishes heroically, but rather that it survives. Hence, every road that leads to this goal is justifiable and failure to take it must be looked upon as criminal neglect of duty.

When the German Revolution took place, Britain's fears of German world-hegemony were laid to rest. From that time onward Britain has not been interested in erasing Germany from the map of Europe. On the contrary, the astounding collapse which took place in November 1918 found British diplomacy confronted with a situation which at first appeared incredible. For four and a half years the British Empire had fought to break the presumed preponderance of a continental Power. A sudden collapse then occurred which apparently removed this Power from the foreground of European affairs. Germany betrayed such a lack of even the primordial instinct of self-preservation, that European equilibrium was destroyed within forty-eight hours. Germany was annihilated and France became the first political Power on the continent of Europe.

The tremendous propaganda which was carried on during the War for the purpose of encouraging the British public to 'stick it out' to the end aroused all the primitive instincts and passions of the populace and was bound eventually to act as a drag on the decisions of British statesmen. With the colonial, economic and commercial destruction of Germany, Britain's war aims were realized. Anything in excess of these aims was an obstacle to the furtherance of British interests. Only the enemies of Britain could profit by the disappearance of Germany as a great continental Power in Europe. In November 1918, however, and up to the summer of 1919, it was not possible for Britain to change her diplomatic attitude, because during the long war she had appealed, more than ever before, to the feelings

of the populace. In view of the feeling prevalent among her own people, Britain could not change her foreign policy. Another reason which rendered this impossible was the military strength to which other European Powers had now attained. France had taken the direction of affairs into her own hands and could impose her law upon the others. During those months of negotiation and bargaining the only Power that could have altered the course which things were taking was Germany herself; but Germany was torn asunder by a civil war, and had declared through the medium of her so-called statesmen that she was ready to accept any and every dictate imposed on her.

Now, in the history of nations, when a nation loses its instinct for self-preservation and ceases to be a possible active ally, it sinks to the level of an enslaved nation and its territory is fated to deteriorate into a colony.

The only possible course which Britain could adopt in order to prevent France from becoming too powerful was to participate in her lust for aggrandizement. Actually, Britain had not realized her war aims. Not only had she failed to prevent a continental Power from predominating and thus upsetting the balance of power in Europe, but she had helped to bring about this very situation and in an acute degree.

In 1914, Germany, considered as a military State, was wedged in between two countries, one of which equalled, while the other excelled her in military strength. Then there was Britain's supremacy at sea. France and Russia alone hindered and opposed the excessive aggrandizement of Germany. The unfavourable geographical situation of the Reich, from the military point of view, might be looked upon as another coefficient of security against an exaggerated increase of German power. In the event of a conflict with Britain, Germany's seaboard, being short and cramped, was unfavourable from the military point of view, whilst her frontiers on land were too extensive and open to attack.

France's position is different to-day. She is the foremost military Power, without a serious rival on the Continent.

Her southern frontiers are practically secure from attack by Spain and Italy, she is safeguarded against Germany by the prostrate condition of our country. A long stretch of her coast-line faces the vital nerve-centre of the British Empire. Not only could French aeroplanes and long-range batteries attack the vital industrial, commercial and administrative centres in Great Britain, but submarines could threaten the great British commercial routes. A submarine campaign based on France's long Atlantic coast and on the European and North African coasts of the Mediterranean, would have disastrous consequences for Britain.

Thus the political results of the war to prevent the development of German power was the creation of French hegemony on the Continent. The military result was the consolidation of France as the first continental Power and the recognition of American equality at sea. The economic result was the cession of great spheres of British interests to her former allies and associates.

Just as Britain's traditional policy renders the Balkanization of Europe desirable and necessary up to a certain point, France aims at the Balkanization of Germany. What Britain has always desired, and will continue to desire, is to prevent any one continental Power in Europe from attaining a position of world-importance. Therefore, Britain wishes to maintain the balance of power in Europe, for this appears to be the prerequisite of British world-hegemony. What France has always desired, and will continue to desire, is to prevent Germany from becoming a homogeneous Power. Therefore, France wants to maintain a system of small German States, whose forces would balance one another and over which there would be no central government. This, in conjunction with the French occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, would furnish the conditions necessary for the establishment and guarantee of French hegemony in Europe. The final aims of French diplomacy will inevitably be in perpetual opposition to the ultimate tendencies of British statesmanship.

Taking these considerations as a starting-point, anyone who investigates the possible alliances which Germany could form to-day, is forced to the conclusion that the only course open to Germany is a rapprochement with Great Britain. Although the consequences of Britain's war policy were, and are, disastrous for Germany, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that, as things stand to-day, Britain's vital interests no longer demand the destruction of Germany. On the contrary, British policy must tend more and more, from year to year, towards curbing France's unbridled lust for hegemony. Now, a policy of alliances cannot be pursued by bearing past grievances in mind, but it can be rendered fruitful by taking account of past experiences. Experience should have taught us that alliances formed for negative purposes are intrinsically weak. The destinies of nations can be welded together only by the prospect of a common success, of common gain and conquest, in short, a common extension of power for both contracting parties.

Our people's lack of insight in questions of foreign politics is clearly demonstrated by the reports in the daily press, which talk about the 'pro-German attitude' of one or the other foreign statesman, this assumed pro-German attitude being taken as a special guarantee that such persons will champion a policy that will be advantageous to our people. That kind of talk is absurd to an incredible degree and reckons with the unparalleled simplicity of the average German Philistine when he comes to talking politics. There is no British, American, or Italian statesman who could ever be described as 'pro-German.' Every British statesman is, first and foremost, a Britisher, the American statesman, an American, and no Italian statesman would be prepared to adopt a policy that was not pro-Italian. Therefore, anyone who expects to form alliances with foreign nations on the basis of a pro-German feeling among the statesmen of other countries is either a fool or a deceiver. The necessary condition for linking together the destinies of nations is never mutual esteem or mutual sympathy, but rather the prospect of advantages accruing to the contracting parties.

Although it is true that a British statesman will always follow a pro-British and not a pro-German policy, it is also true that certain definite interests involved in this pro-British policy may, for various reasons, coincide with German interests. Naturally, that can be so only to a certain degree and the situation may one day be completely reversed. But the art of the statesman consists in finding at the crucial moment, for the execution of his own vital policy, those allies who must, in their own interests, adopt a similar course.

The practical application of these principles at the present time must depend on the answers to the following questions—What States are not vitally interested in the fact that, by the complete abolition of a German Central Europe, the economic and military power of France has reached a position of absolute hegemony? Which are the States that, in consideration of the conditions which are essential to their own existence and in view of the tradition that has hitherto been followed in conducting their foreign policy, envisage such a development as a menace to their own future?

One point on which we must be clear is that France is, and will remain, the implacable enemy of Germany. It does not matter what governments have ruled or will rule in France, whether Bourbon or Jacobin, Napoleonist or bourgeois-democratic, clerical Republican or Red Bolshevik, their foreign policy will always be directed towards acquiring possession of the Rhine frontier and consolidating France's position on this river by disuniting and dismembering Germany.

Britain did not want Germany to be a world-power, but France did not want Germany as a Power to exist at all—a very different matter! To-day we are not fighting for our position as a world-power, but only for the existence of our country, for national unity and our children's daily bread. Taking this point of view into consideration, only two States remain to us as possible allies in Europe, namely, Britain and Italy.

Britain is by no means desirous of having a France on whose military power there is no check in Europe, with the

result that she might one day pursue a policy which, in some way or other, would inevitably conflict with British interests; nor can Britain be pleased to see France in possession of such enormous coal and iron fields in Western Europe, which might make it possible for her one day to play a rôle in world-commerce which might endanger British interests. Moreover, Britain will never be desirous of having a France whose political position on the Continent, owing to the dismemberment of the rest of Europe, seems so absolutely assured that she is not only able to resume a French world-policy on a large scale, but even finds herself compelled to do so. It would be possible for an enemy to drop nightly a thousand times as many bombs as the Zeppelins did in the past. The military predominance of France weighs heavily on the minds of the British.

Italy is another Power which cannot, and surely will not, welcome any further strengthening of France's power in Europe. The future of Italy will be conditioned by developments in the territories bordering on the Mediterranean. The reason that made Italy come into the War was not a desire to contribute towards the aggrandizement of France, but rather to deal her hated Adriatic rival a mortal blow. Any further increase of France's power on the Continent would hamper the development of Italy's future, and Italy does not deceive herself into thinking that racial kinship between the nations will in any way eliminate rivalries.

Serious and impartial consideration proves that it is these two Powers, Great Britain and Italy, whose natural interests not only do not run counter to the conditions essential to the existence of the German nation, but are to a certain extent identical with them.

When we consider the possibility of alliances we must be careful not to lose sight of three factors. The first factor concerns ourselves; the other two concern the States in question.

Is it at all possible to conclude an alliance with Germany as she is to-day? Can a Power which would enter into an alliance for the purpose of securing assistance in the

execution of its own *offensive* aims form an alliance with a State, whose rulers have, for years, presented a spectacle of deplorable incompetence and pacifist cowardice and where the majority of the nation, blinded by democratic and Marxist teachings, betrays the interests of its own people and country in a manner that cries to Heaven for vengeance? As things stand to-day, can any Power hope to establish useful relations with a State and hope to fight together for the furtherance of their common interests, if this State has neither the will nor the courage to lift a finger in defence of its bare existence? Can a Power for which an alliance must be much more than a pact to guarantee a state of slow decomposition on the lines of the old and disastrous Triple Alliance, associate itself for life or death with a State whose most characteristic signs of activity consist in an abject servility in external relations and a scandalous repression of the national spirit at home? Can such a Power be associated with a State in which there is nothing of greatness, because its whole policy does not deserve it? Or can alliances be made with governments which are in the hands of men who are despised by their own fellow-citizens and are consequently not respected abroad?

Never! A self-respecting Power which expects something more from alliances than commissions for greedy parliamentarians will not, and cannot, enter into an alliance with our present-day Germany. Our present inability to form alliances furnishes the principal and most profound reason for the solidarity of the enemies who are robbing us. Because Germany does not defend herself in any way apart from the flamboyant protests of our parliamentarian elect, because there is no reason why the rest of the world should take up the fight in our defence and because God does not follow the principle of granting freedom to a nation of cowards, despite all the blubbing prayers addressed to Him by our 'patriotic' associations, even those States which have not a direct interest in our annihilation cannot do otherwise than participate in France's campaign of plunder, if for no other reason than that, by their participation, they at

cast prevent France from being the sole country to be aggrandized thereby.

In the second place, we must not underestimate the difficulty of changing the opinion of the bulk of the population in former enemy countries, which had been influenced in a certain direction by means of propaganda. When a foreign nation has for years been presented to the public as a horde of 'Huns,' 'robbers,' 'Vandals,' etc., it cannot suddenly be presented as something different, and the enemy of yesterday cannot be recommended as the ally of to-morrow.

A third factor, however, deserves greater attention, since it is of essential importance for the establishment of future alliances in Europe. From the political point of view it is not in the interests of Great Britain that Germany should be ruined still more, but such a development would be very much in the interests of the Jews who manipulate the international money-markets. The cleavage between official, or rather traditional, British statesmanship and the controlling influence of the Jew on the money-markets is nowhere so clearly manifested as in the various attitudes adopted towards problems of British foreign policy. Contrary to the interests and welfare of Great Britain, Jewish finance demands not only the absolute economic destruction of Germany, but its complete political enslavement. The internationalization of our German economic system, that is to say, the transference of our productive forces to the control of Jewish international finance, can be completely carried out only in a State that has been politically Bolshevized. But the Marxist fighting forces of international and Jewish stock-exchange capital cannot finally smash the German national State without friendly help from outside. To this end the armies of France will have to attack Germany until the Reich, inwardly cowed, succumbs to the Bolshevik storm-troops of international money-grubbing Jewry.

Hence it is, that, at the present time, the Jew is the chief agitator for the complete destruction of Germany. Whenever we read of Germany being attacked in any part of the world

the Jew is always the instigator. In peace-time as well as during the War the Jewish-Marxist stock-exchange press systematically stirred up hatred against Germany, until one State after another abandoned its neutrality and placed itself at the service of the Allies in the World War, even against the real interests of its own people.

The Jewish way of reasoning is quite clear. The Bolshevization of Germany, that is to say, the extermination of the *völkisch* and national German intellectuals, and the resultant exploitation of German labour under the yoke of Jewish international finance is only the overture to the movement for expanding Jewish power on a wider scale and finally subjugating the world to its rule. As has so often happened in the course of history, Germany is the chief pivot of this formidable struggle. If our people and our State fall victims to these oppressors of the nations, who lust after blood and gold, the whole earth will become the prey of that hydra-headed monster. If Germany succeeds in freeing herself from its grip, this great menace to the nations of the world will thereby be eliminated.

It is certain that Jewry will resort to every possible underhand device in order not only to keep alive the old anti-German feeling among other nations, but to intensify it if possible. It is no less certain that these activities are only very partially in keeping with the true interests of the nations among whom the poison is being spread. As a general principle, Jewry carries on its campaign in the various countries by the use of arguments that are best calculated to appeal to the mentality of the respective nations and are most likely to produce the desired results. Our nation has been so torn asunder racially that it is easy for Jewry in its fight for power to make use of the more or less 'cosmopolitan' and pacifist ideas, in short, the international tendencies, which are the result of this disruption. In France, the Jews exploit the well-known and accurately estimated chauvinistic spirit. In England, they exploit the commercial and world-political outlook. In short, they always work upon the essential characteristics peculiar to the mentality of each

nation. When they have by this means achieved a decisive influence in the political and economic spheres, they can drop the pretence which their former tactics necessitated, now disclosing their real intentions and the ends for which they are fighting. Their work of destruction now goes ahead more quickly, reducing one State after another to a mass of ruins on which they will erect the everlasting and sovereign Jewish Empire.

In England, and also in Italy, the contrast between the better kind of native statesmanship and the policy of the Jewish financiers often becomes strikingly evident.

Only in France does there exist to-day, in a greater degree than ever before, a profound harmony between the aims of the Stock Exchange, of the Jews who control it and those of a chauvinistic national policy. This identity of purpose constitutes an immense danger for Germany and it is for this very reason that France is, and will remain, by far her most dangerous enemy. The French nation, which is becoming more and more polluted by negro blood, represents a menace to the existence of the white race in Europe, because it is bound up with the Jewish campaign for world-domination. The contamination caused by the influx of negroid blood on the Rhine, in the very heart of Europe, is in accord with the sadistic and perverse lust for vengeance on the part of the hereditary enemy of our people, just as it suits the purpose of the cool, calculating Jew who would use this means of beginning a process of bastardization in the very centre of the European continent and, by infecting the white race with the blood of an inferior stock, destroy the foundations of its independent existence.

France's activities in Europe to-day, spurred on by the French lust for vengeance and systematically directed by the Jew, are a criminal attack upon the existence of the white races and will one day arouse against the French people a spirit of vengeance among a generation which will recognize racial pollution as the original sin of mankind. As far as Germany is concerned, the danger which France represents, makes it her duty to relegate all sentiment to a subordinate

plane and to extend a hand to those who are threatened with the same menace and who are not willing to suffer or tolerate France's lust for hegemony. For a long time to come there will be only two Powers in Europe with which it may be possible for Germany to conclude an alliance. These Powers are Great Britain and Italy.

If we take the trouble to review the way in which German foreign policy has been conducted since the Revolution we must, in view of the constant and incomprehensible failure of our governments, either lose heart or be overcome with rage and take up the cudgels against such a regime. Their way of acting cannot be attributed to a want of understanding, because what seemed to every thinking man to be inconceivable was accomplished by the leaders of the November parties, with their Cyclopean intellects. They wooed France and begged her favour. Indeed, throughout these past years, they have, with the touching simplicity of incorrigible visionaries, gone on their knees to France again and again, they have grovelled before the *Grande Nation*, and thought they recognized in each successive wily trick performed by the French hangmen the first signs of a change of feeling. Our real political wire-pullers never shared this absurd credulity. The idea of establishing a friendship with France was for them only a means of thwarting every attempt on Germany's part to adopt a practical policy of alliances. They had no illusions about French aims or those of the men behind the scenes in France. What induced them to take up such an attitude and to act as if they honestly believed that the fate of Germany could possibly be changed in this way, was the cool calculation that otherwise our people might take the reins into their own hands and choose another road.

Of course, it is difficult for us, even within the framework of our own Movement, to propose Britain as our possible ally in the future. Our Jewish press has been adept in concentrating hatred against Britain, in particular, and many of our good German simpletons perched on the branches which the Jews had limed to fool them. They babbled about

a restoration of German sea-power and protested against the robbery of our colonies. Thus they furnished material which the contriving Jew transmitted to his clansmen in England, to be used there for purposes of practical propaganda. It is high time that even our easily duped bourgeoisie, which loves to dabble in politics, realized that to-day we have not to fight for 'sea-power' and the like. Even before the War it was absurd to direct the national energies of Germany towards this end without first having secured our position in Europe. Such an aspiration to-day reaches that peak of absurdity which may be called criminal in the domain of politics.

The success of the Jewish wire-pullers in concentrating the attention of the people on things which are only of secondary importance to-day was often calculated to drive one to despair. They incited the people to demonstrations and protests while at the same time France was tearing our nation asunder bit by bit and systematically removing the very foundations of our national independence.

In this connection I have in mind one particular bone of contention of which the Jew has made extraordinarily skilful use in recent years, namely, South Tyrol. The reason why I take up this question here is that I want to call to account that shameless canaille, who, relying on the ignorance and short memory of a large section of our people, simulate a national indignation which is as foreign to the real character of our parliamentary imposters as the idea of respect for private property is to a jackdaw.

I should like to state here that I was one of those who, at the time when the fate of South Tyrol was being decided—that is to say, from August 1914 to November 1918—took their place where that country could be most effectively defended, namely, in the Army. I did my share of the fighting during those years, not merely to save South Tyrol from being lost, but also to save every other German province for the Fatherland.

The parliamentary highwaymen, the whole gang of party politicians, did not take part in that combat. On the contrary.

while we carried on the fight in the belief that a victorious issue to the War would enable the German nation to keep South Tyrol, along with other frontier provinces, these traitors carried on a seditious agitation against such a victorious issue, until the fighting Siegfried succumbed to the dagger-thrust in his back. The inflammatory and hypocritical speeches of the elegantly dressed parliamentarians in the Vienna *Rathaus Platz* or in front of the *Feldherrnhalle* in Munich could not save South Tyrol for Germany. That could have been done only by the battalions fighting at the front. Those who broke up that fighting front betrayed South Tyrol, together with all the other provinces of Germany.

Anyone who thinks that the South Tyrolean question can be solved to-day by protests, declarations and processions organized by various associations, is either a humbug or merely a German Philistine. It must be quite clearly understood that we shall not get back the territories we have lost if we depend on solemn prayers addressed to Almighty God or on pious faith in a League of Nations, but only by the force of arms. The only question is, therefore: Who is ready to take up arms for the restoration of the lost territories?

As far as I myself am concerned, I can state with a good conscience, that I would have courage enough to take part in a campaign for the reconquest of South Tyrol, at the head of parliamentary storm battalions consisting of parliamentary gasconaders, other party leaders and various Councillors of State. How I should enjoy seeing the shrapnel burst above the heads of those taking part in an 'enthusiastic' protest demonstration! I think that if a fox were to break into a poultry-yard his presence would not provoke such a helter-skelter and rush for cover as we should witness in the case of such a fine assembly of 'protestors.' The vilest part of it all is, that these talkers themselves do not believe that anything can be achieved in this way. Each one of them knows very well how harmless and ineffectual their whole play-acting is. They do it only because it is easier to babble about the restoration of South Tyrol now, than it was to

fight for its preservation in days gone by. Each one plays the part that he is best suited to play in life. In those days we sacrificed our lives. To-day these people are engaged in shouting themselves hoarse.

It is particularly interesting to note to-day how Legitimist circles in Vienna preen themselves on their work for the restoration of South Tyrol. Seven years ago their august and illustrious dynasty helped, by an act of perjury and treason, to make it possible for the victorious world-coalition to take away South Tyrol. At that time these circles supported the perfidious policy adopted by their dynasty and did not trouble themselves in the least about the fate of South Tyrol or any other province. Naturally, it is easier to-day to take up the fight for this territory, since the present struggle is waged with 'the weapons of the mind.' Anyhow it is easier to join in a 'meeting of protest' and talk yourself hoarse in giving vent to the righteous indignation that fills your breast, or stain your finger with the writing of a newspaper article, than to blow up a bridge, for instance, during the occupation of the Ruhr.

The reason why certain circles have made the question of South Tyrol the pivot of German-Italian relations during the past few years is quite evident. Jews and Habsburg Legitimists are greatly interested in preventing Germany from pursuing a policy of alliance which might one day lead to the resurgence of a free German Fatherland. It is not out of love for South Tyrol that they play this rôle to-day—for their policy would turn out detrimental rather than helpful to the interests of that province—but through fear of an agreement being established between Germany and Italy. A tendency towards lying and calumny is inborn in these people, and that explains how they can calmly and brazenly attempt to twist things in such a way as to make it appear that we have 'betrayed' South Tyrol.

One thing must be made clear to these gentlemen, namely, that South Tyrol was betrayed, in the first place, by every German who was sound in wind and limb and was not at the front during the years 1914-1918 to do his duty to his

country. In the second place, South Tyrol was betrayed by every man who, during those years, did not help to reinforce the national spirit and the national powers of resistance, so as to enable the country to carry on the war and keep up the fight to the very end. In the third place, South Tyrol was betrayed by everyone who took part in the November Revolution, either directly by co-operation, or indirectly by a cowardly toleration of it, and thus destroyed the sole weapon that could have saved South Tyrol. In the fourth place, South Tyrol was betrayed by those parties and their adherents who put their signatures to the disgraceful treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. Thus the matter stands, my brave gentlemen, who make your protests only in words.

To-day I am guided by a calm and cool recognition of the fact that the lost territories cannot be won back by the glib tongues of parliamentary speechifiers, but only by the whetted sword; in other words, through a fight in which blood will be shed.

I have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that now the die is cast, it is not only impossible to win back South Tyrol through a war, but that I should definitely take my stand against such a move, because I am convinced that it would not be possible to arouse the national enthusiasm of the German people to the pitch necessary to carry such a war to a successful issue. On the contrary, I believe that if we have to shed German blood once again it would be criminal to do so for the sake of liberating two hundred thousand Germans, when close at hand more than seven million Germans are suffering under a foreign yoke and a life-line of the German nation has become a playground for hordes of African negroes.

If the German nation is to put an end to a state of things which threatens to wipe it off the map of Europe, it must not fall into the error of the pre-war period and make the whole world its enemy. It must ascertain who is its most dangerous enemy, so that it can concentrate all its forces in a struggle to rout him, and if, in order to gain the victory in this struggle, sacrifices have to be made elsewhere, future

generations will not condemn us on that account. The more brilliant the resulting victory, the better will they be able to appreciate the dire necessity and the deep anxiety which led us to make that bitter decision.

We must always be guided by the fundamental principle that, as a preliminary to winning back lost provinces, the political independence and strength of the mother-country must first be restored. The first task which a strong government must accomplish in the sphere of foreign politics is to make that independence possible and to secure it by a wise policy of alliances, but it is just on this point that we National Socialists have to guard against being dragged along in tow by our ranting bourgeois patriots who take their cue from the Jew. It would be a disaster if, instead of preparing for the coming struggle, our Movement, too, were to content itself with mere protests by word of mouth.

It was the fantastic idea of a Nibelungen alliance with the rotting body of the Habsburg State that brought about Germany's ruin. Fantastic sentimentality in dealing with the possibilities arising in the field of foreign politics to-day would be the best means of preventing our revival for innumerable years to come.

Here I must briefly answer the objections which may be raised in connection with the three questions I have put.

1. Is it possible to form an alliance with present-day Germany whose weakness is obvious to all?

2. Can the ex-enemy nations change their attitude towards Germany?

3. Is not the influence of Jewry stronger than the recognition of facts, and does not this influence thwart all good intentions and render all plans futile?

I think that I have already dealt adequately with one aspect of the first question. Of course nobody will enter into an alliance with present-day Germany. No Power in the world would link its fortunes with those of a State whose government does not afford grounds for the slightest confidence. I strongly object to the attempt which has been made by many of our compatriots to explain and excuse the

conduct of the government by referring to the woeful state of public feeling.

The lack of character which our people have shown during the last six years is indeed deeply distressing. The indifference with which they have treated the crying needs of our nation is depressing in the extreme and their cowardice is often revolting, but one must never forget that we are dealing with a people who gave the world, a few years previously, an admirable example of the highest human qualities. From the first days of August 1914 to the end of the tremendous struggle between the nations, no people in the world gave a better proof of manly courage, tenacity and patient endurance, than this people which is so cast down and dispirited to-day. Nobody dare assert that our humiliating position to-day is in keeping with the true character of our nation. What we have to endure to-day, physically and spiritually, is due only to the appalling, soul-destroying influence of the act of high treason committed on November 9th, 1918. More than ever before the poet is right when he says that evil must inevitably continue to breed evil. But even to-day, the fundamentally sound qualities of our nation are not dead, they are only dormant in the depths of the national conscience, and sometimes in the clouded firmament we see the gleam of qualities which Germany will one day remember as the first symptoms of a revival. More than once thousands of young Germans have rallied to a call, resolved, as in 1914, freely and willingly to offer themselves as a sacrifice on the altar of their beloved Fatherland. Millions of men have resumed work, whole-heartedly and zealously, as if no revolution had ever affected them. The smith is at his anvil once again, the farmer is driving his plough and the scientist is in his laboratory—all doing their duty, with the same zeal and devotion as formerly. The oppression which we suffer at the hands of our enemies is no longer accepted, as formerly, with a laugh and a shrug, but is resented with bitterness and anger. There can be no doubt that a great change of attitude has taken place. This change has not yet taken the shape of a conscious intention and urge

to restore the political power and independence of our nation, but the blame for this must be attributed to those who, less in response to a heaven-sent call than in order to satisfy their own ambition, have been governing our nation since 1918 and leading it to ruin.

If any man seeks to sit in judgment upon our nation to-day he must ask himself, "What has been done to help it?" Was the poor support which the nation gave the resolutions passed by our governments (which were of a shadowy nature) a sign of our nation's lack of vitality or was it not rather a sign of the complete failure of the methods employed in administering this valuable trust? What have our governments done to reawaken in this nation a spirit of proud self-assertion, courageous defiance and righteous hatred?

In 1919, when the Peace Treaty was imposed on the German nation, there were grounds for hoping that this instrument of unrestricted oppression would help to reinforce the outcry for the freedom of Germany. Peace treaties which make demands that fall like a whip-lash on the people turn out not infrequently to be the signal for a future revival.

How could the Treaty of Versailles have been exploited! How, in the hands of a willing government, could this instrument of unlimited blackmail and shameful humiliation have been applied for the purpose of rousing national sentiment to fever-pitch! How could a well-directed system of propaganda have utilized the sadistic cruelty of that treaty in order to change the indifference of the people into a feeling of indignation and transform that indignation into a spirit of dauntless resistance!

Every clause of that treaty should have been branded upon the hearts and minds of the German people until, in the souls of sixty million men and women, a common sense of shame and a hatred shared in common burst into flame like a torrent of fire, in the heat of which were forged an inflexible resolve and the cry, "We must have arms!" A treaty of that kind can be used for such a purpose. Its unbounded oppression and its impudent demands were an excellent propaganda weapon to arouse the sluggish spirit of the

nation and restore its vitality. Then, every type of reading-matter from the child's story-book to the last newspaper in the country, every theatre and cinema, every pillar where placards are posted and every free space on the hoardings should be utilized in the service of this one great mission, until the faint-hearted cry of 'Lord, deliver us,' which our patriotic associations send up to Heaven to-day was transformed, even in the mind of the smallest child, into the ardent prayer, 'Almighty God, bless our arms when the hour comes. Be just, as Thou hast always been just. Judge now if we deserve our freedom. Lord, bless our struggle.'

All opportunities were neglected and nothing was done. Who can be surprised if our people are not such as they should be or might be, when the rest of the world looks upon us only as its valet, or as an obedient dog that will lick his master's hand after he has been whipped. Of course the possibility of forming alliances with other nations is hampered by the indifference of our own people, but much more by our governments. Their corrupting influence is to blame for the fact that now, after eight years of indescribable oppression, there exists only a faint desire for liberty.

Before our nation can embark upon a policy of alliances, it must restore its prestige among other nations, and it must have an authoritative government that is not a drudge in the service of foreign States and the taskmaster of its own people, but rather the herald of the national will. If our people had a government which looked upon this as its mission, a courageous foreign policy pursued by the Reich government would, before six years had elapsed, enjoy the equally courageous support of a people yearning for freedom.

The second objection referred to the difficulty of changing ex-enemy nations into friendly allies. That objection may be answered as follows: The general anti-German psychosis which has developed in other countries through war-propaganda must of necessity continue to exist as long as there is no renaissance of the national instinct of self-preservation among the German people, which will transform the German Reich once more into a State able to play its

part on the chess-board of European politics and one which the others regard as a worthy partner. Only when the government and the people give evidence of their fitness to enter into an alliance will some Power, whose interests coincide with ours, set about instituting a system of propaganda for the purpose of changing public opinion among its own people. Naturally, it will take several years of persevering and ably directed work to achieve such a result. Just because a long period is needed in order to change the public opinion of a country, it is necessary to reflect calmly before such an enterprise be undertaken. This means that one must not enter upon this kind of work unless one is absolutely convinced that it is worth the trouble and that it will bring results which will bear good fruit in the future. One must not try to change the opinions and feelings of a people by basing one's actions on the vain cajolery of a more or less brilliant Foreign Minister, but only if there be a tangible guarantee that the new orientation will be really useful. Otherwise, public opinion in the country concerned would be plunged into a state of complete confusion. The most reliable guarantee that can be given for the possibility of subsequently entering into an alliance with a certain State is not to be found in the loquacious suavity of some individual member of the government, but in the manifest stability of a definite and practical policy on the part of the government as a whole, and in public opinion which is solidly of the same mind. Universal faith in this policy will be strengthened in the same measure in which the government give tangible evidence of their activity through the medium of preparatory and supporting propaganda and in the measure in which the trend of public opinion is reflected in the government's policy.

Therefore, a nation in such a position as ours will be looked upon as a possible ally only when public opinion and the government are united in the same enthusiastic and openly avowed determination to carry through the fight for national freedom. That condition of affairs must be firmly established before any attempt can be made to change public

opinion in other countries which, for the sake of defending their own interests, are disposed to take the road shoulder-to-shoulder with a companion who seems able to play his part in defending those interests—in other words, they are ready to establish an alliance.

For this purpose, however, one thing is necessary. Seeing that the task of bringing about a radical change in the public opinion of a country calls for hard work and many do not at first understand what it means, it would be both foolish and criminal to commit mistakes which could be used as weapons in the hands of those who are opposed to such a change.

One must recognize the fact that it takes a long time for a people to understand completely the inner purposes which a government has in view, because it is not possible to explain the ultimate aims of the preliminary steps undertaken with a view to pursuing a certain policy. The government has to count on the blind faith of the masses or the intuitive instinct of the ruling caste that is more developed intellectually, but since many people lack this insight, as well as this political acumen, and since political considerations forbid a public explanation of why such and such a course is being followed, a certain number of leaders in intellectual circles will always oppose new tendencies which, because they are not easily grasped, can easily be regarded in the light of mere experiments. It is in this way that the opposition of over-anxious conservative circles is aroused.

For this reason it is our bounden duty not to allow any weapon to fall into the hands of those who would interfere with the work of bringing about a mutual understanding with other nations. This is especially so when, as in our case, we have to deal with the pretensions and unpractical talk of our patriotic associations and our small bourgeoisie who air their political opinions in the cafés. That the cry for a new navy, the restoration of our colonies, etc., is just silly talk which is not based on any plan for its practical execution, cannot be denied by anyone who thinks over the matter calmly and seriously. At the same time the manner in which Britain exploits the foolish tirades of these champions of the

policy of protest who are in reality playing into the hands of our mortal enemies cannot be considered advantageous to Germany. These people dissipate their energies in futile demonstrations against everything and everybody which is harmful to our interests and those who indulge in them forget the fundamental principle which is a preliminary condition of all success, namely, that if a thing is worth doing, it is worth doing well. Because they keep on grumbling against five or ten States, they fail to concentrate all the forces of our national will and our physical strength for a blow at the heart of our most bitter enemy and in this way they sacrifice the possibility of securing an alliance which would reinforce our strength for that decisive conflict.

Here, too, there is a mission for National Socialism to fulfil. It must teach our people not to fix their attention on the little things, but rather on major issues, not to exhaust their energies on questions of secondary importance and not to forget that the object for which we have to fight to-day is the bare existence of our people and that the sole enemy at whom we must strike, is the Power which is robbing us of that existence. It may be that we shall have to swallow many a bitter pill, but this is by no means an excuse for refusing to listen to reason or for raising a stupid and useless outcry against the rest of the world, instead of concentrating all our forces against our most deadly enemy.

Moreover, the German people will have no moral right to complain of the manner in which the rest of the world acts towards them, as long as they themselves have not called to account those criminals who sold and betrayed their country. We are not acting sincerely if we indulge in long-range abuse and protests against Britain and Italy and then allow those scoundrels to go scot-free, who, acting in the pay of the enemy, wrested the weapons out of our hands, broke the backbone of our resistance and bartered away the paralysed Reich for thirty pieces of silver. Our enemies are acting in the only way in which they could be expected to act, and we ought to learn a lesson from their behaviour.

Anyone who cannot rise to the level of this outlook must

reflect that otherwise there would be nothing for us to do except to resign ourselves to our lot, since a policy of alliances would be impossible for all time, for if we cannot form an alliance with Britain because she has robbed us of our colonies, or with Italy because she has taken possession of South Tyrol, or with Poland or Czechoslovakia, then there remains no other possibility of an alliance in Europe except with France which, *inter alia*, has robbed us of Alsace and Lorraine. There can scarcely be any doubt as to whether this last alternative would be advantageous to the German people; the only matter for doubt is whether he who upholds such opinions is merely a simpleton or an astute rogue. As far as the leaders are concerned, I think the latter hypothesis is true.

A change in public feeling among those nations which have hitherto been enemies and whose true interests will, in the future, coincide with ours could be effected, as far as one can foresee, if the internal strength of our State and our manifest determination to secure our own existence made it clear that we should prove valuable allies. Moreover, it is essential that incompetence or even criminal bungling should not furnish grounds which may be utilized for purposes of propaganda by those who would oppose our projects for establishing an alliance with one or other of our former enemies.

The answer to the third question is the most difficult. Is it conceivable that those who represent the true interests of those nations which may possibly form an alliance with us could put their views into practice against the will of the Jew, who is the mortal enemy of national and independent States? For instance, could the motive forces of Great Britain's traditional statesmanship smash the disastrous influence of the Jew, or could they not?

This question, as I have already said, is very difficult to answer. The answer depends on so many factors that it is impossible to form a conclusive judgment. One thing, at least, is certain: There is, at the present time, one State in which the regime is so firmly established and so absolutely

at the service of the country's interests that the forces of international Jewry could not possibly organize a real and effective obstruction of measures considered to be politically necessary.

The fight which Fascist Italy waged against Jewry's three principal weapons, even if it be to a great extent sub-conscious (though I do not believe this myself), furnishes the best proof that the poison-fangs of that power which transcends all State boundaries are being drawn, even though in an indirect way. The prohibition of freemasonry and secret societies, the suppression of the international press and the definite abolition of Marxism, together with the steadily increasing consolidation of the Fascist concept of the State—all this will enable the Italian Government, in the course of years, to advance more and more the interests of the Italian people without paying any attention to the hissing of the Jewish world-hydra.

The situation in Britain is not so favourable. In that country of 'freest democracy' it is the Jew who, even to-day, can impose his will practically without let or hindrance, through his hold on public opinion. And yet there is a perpetual struggle in Britain between those who are entrusted with the defence of state interests and the protagonists of Jewish world-dictatorship.

To what extent these two tendencies run counter to one another became obvious for the first time when, after the War, British statesmen adopted one attitude with regard to the Japanese problem, while the press took up a different one. Immediately after the cessation of hostilities the old mutual antipathy between America and Japan began to reappear. Naturally, the great European Powers could not remain indifferent to this new war menace. In Britain, despite the ties of kinship, there was a certain amount of jealousy and anxiety over the growing importance of the United States in all spheres of international economics and politics. What was formerly a colonial territory, the daughter of a great mother, seemed about to become the new mistress of the world. It is quite understandable that to-day Britain

should re-examine her old alliances and that British statesmen should look anxiously ahead to a day when the cry will no longer be, "Britannia rules the waves", but rather, "The seas belong to the United States."

The gigantic North American State, with the enormous resources of its virgin soil, is much more invulnerable than the encircled German Reich. Should a day come when the fate of the nations will have to be decided, Britain would be doomed, if she stood alone. Therefore she eagerly reaches out her hand to a yellow race and enters upon an alliance which, from the racial point of view is perhaps unpardonable; but from the political standpoint it represents the sole possibility of reinforcing Britain's world position in face of the tremendous developments taking place on the American continent. Thus, despite the fact that Britain and America fought side by side on the battlefields of Europe, the British Government could not decide to break off the alliance with their Asiatic partner, yet the whole Jewish press opposed the idea of a Japanese alliance.

How can we explain the fact that up to 1918 the Jewish press championed the policy of the British Government against the German Reich and then suddenly veered round and began to go its own way. It was not in the interests of Great Britain to have Germany annihilated, but primarily a Jewish interest, and to-day the destruction of Japan would serve British political interests less than it would serve the far-reaching intentions of those who are leading the movement that hopes to establish a Jewish world-empire. While Britain is making every effort to maintain her position in the world, the Jew is laying his plans for its conquest. He already sees the present European States as pliant instruments in his hands, whether indirectly through the power of so-called Western Democracy or in the form of direct domination through Russian Bolshevism. But it is not only the Old World that he holds in his snare; a like fate threatens the New World. Jews control the financial forces of America on the Stock Exchange. Year after year the Jew increases his hold on labour in a nation of one hundred and twenty million

souls, but a very small section still remains quite independent and is thus a cause of chagrin to the Jew.

The Jews show consummate skill in manipulating public opinion and forge from it a weapon to be wielded in the struggle for their own future. The great leaders of Jewry are confident that the day is near at hand when the promise given in the Old Testament will be fulfilled and the Jews will rule the other nations of the earth. Among this great mass of de-nationalized countries which have become Jewish colonies one independent State could bring about the ruin of the whole structure at the last moment, the reason being that Bolshevism as a world-system cannot continue to exist unless it encompasses the whole earth. Should one State alone preserve its national strength and its national greatness the empire of the Jewish satraps, like every other form of tyranny, would succumb to the force of the national idea.

As a result of his millennial experience in accommodating himself to surrounding circumstances, the Jew knows very well that he can undermine the existence of European nations by a process of racial bastardization, but that he could hardly do the same to an Asiatic national State like Japan. To-day he can ape the ways of the German and the Englishman, the American and the Frenchman, but he has no means of approach to the yellow Asiatic. Therefore, he seeks to destroy the Japanese national State by using other national States as his instruments, so that he may rid himself of a dangerous opponent before he takes over supreme control of the last existing national State and transforms that control into a tyranny for the oppression of the defenceless. He does not want to have a national Japanese State in existence when he founds his millennial Jewish empire of the future and therefore he wants to destroy the former before establishing his own dictatorship. That is why he is busy to-day stirring up antipathy towards Japan among the other nations, as he once stirred it up against Germany. Thus it may happen that even while British statesmanship is still endeavouring to base its policy on an alliance with Japan, the Anglo-Jewish press is clamouring for war against the

prospective ally and, to the accompaniment of the slogans, "Democracy!" and "Down with Japanese militarism and imperialism!" actually preparing for a war of annihilation. Thus, in Britain to-day the Jew is becoming refractory and so the struggle against the Jewish world-menace is bound to commence there, too.

In this field, too, the National Socialist Movement has a tremendous task before it.

It must open the eyes of our people in regard to foreign nations and it must continually remind them of the real enemy who menaces the world to-day. Instead of preaching hatred against Aryans from whom we may be separated on almost every other count, but with whom the bond of kindred blood and the main features of a common civilization unite us, we must arouse general indignation against the malevolent enemy of humanity and the real author of all our sufferings.

The National Socialist Movement must see to it that at least in our own country the mortal enemy is recognized and that the fight against him may be the beacon-light of a happier era, and show other nations, too, the way of salvation for struggling Aryan humanity.

Moreover, may reason be our guide and our strength be in our indomitable will. May the sacred duty of acting thus grant us perseverance and our faith prove our supreme protection.

CHAPTER XIV

EASTERN BIAS OR EASTERN POLICY

THERE ARE TWO CONSIDERATIONS WHICH INDUCE me to make a special analysis of Germany's attitude towards Russia. These are, that firstly, this may prove to be the most important problem which German foreign policy has to solve, and secondly, this problem is, at the same time, the touchstone which will test the political capacity of the young National Socialist Movement for clear thinking and adopting the right course of action.

I must confess that the second consideration has often been a source of great anxiety to me. The members of our Movement are not recruited from circles which are habitually indifferent to public affairs, but mostly from among men who hold more or less extreme views. Such being the case, it is only natural that their understanding of foreign politics should at first labour under the prejudices and inadequate knowledge of those circles to which they formerly belonged by virtue of their political and ideological opinions. This is true not only of the men who come to us from the Left. On the contrary, however harmful may have been the kind of teaching they formerly received in regard to these problems, in very many cases this was, in part, at least, counterbalanced by the sound and natural instincts which they retained. In such cases it is only necessary to substitute a better teaching in place of the earlier influences, in order to transform the instinct of self-preservation and other sound instincts into valuable assets. On the other hand, it is much more difficult to train a man to see clearly in political matters, if his previous education in this field was

no less devoid of sense and logic, but if, in addition, he has sacrificed the last residue of his natural instincts on the altar of objective thinking. It is particularly difficult to induce such representatives of our so-called intellectual circles to adopt a realistic and logical attitude in protecting their own interests and the interests of their nation in its relations with foreign countries. Their minds are overladen with a large burden of prejudices and absurd ideas and, as if this were not enough, they have lost or renounced every instinct of self-preservation. Against these men the National Socialist Movement has to fight a hard battle, too, and the struggle is all the harder because, though very often they are utterly incompetent, they are so self-conceited that, without the slightest justification, they even look down on others whose opinions are more sound. These arrogant snobs, who pretend to know better than other people, are wholly incapable of calmly and coolly analysing a problem and of weighing the pros and cons, which is the necessary preliminary to any decision or action taken in the field of foreign politics.

Since these particular circles are, at present, beginning to deflect our foreign policy in the most disastrous way from protecting the real interests of our people, in order to serve their own fantastic ideologies, I feel it incumbent upon me to give my own followers a clear exposition of the most important problem in our foreign policy, namely, our relations with Russia. I shall deal with it as thoroughly as may be necessary to make it generally understood and as far as the limits of this book permit.

Let me begin by making the following general remarks. If, by foreign policy, we mean the establishment of relations between any nation and the other nations on this earth, we must admit that the establishment of such relations must depend on certain definite facts. Moreover, we, as National Socialists, must lay down the following principle as regards the essential characteristics of the foreign policy pursued by a *völkisch* State. The first object of the foreign policy of a *völkisch* State is to safeguard the existence on this

earth of the race which has been organized as an entity by this State, by the establishment of a healthy, enduring and natural proportion between the size and the growth of the population, on the one hand, and the area and resources of its territory, on the other.

The only proportion which can be termed 'healthy' is one in which the resources of the soil are sufficient to guarantee the nation's food-supply. Any condition which falls short of this is none the less unhealthy for the fact that it may endure for centuries or even thousands of years. Sooner or later, this lack of proportion must of necessity lead to the decline or even annihilation of the people concerned. Only a sufficiently large space on this earth can assure the independent existence of a people.

The extent of the territory necessary for the accommodation of the national population must not be estimated in the light of present exigencies or even of its agricultural productivity in relation to the number of the population. In the first volume of this book, under the heading, 'Germany's Policy of Alliances before the War', I have already explained that the territorial dimensions of a State are of importance not only as the immediate source of the nation's food-supply, but also from the military standpoint. Once a people has become self-supporting as a result of the adequate area of its territory, the next consideration is how to take the necessary steps to safeguard this territory. National security depends on the political and military strength of a State and this, in turn, depends on its geographical situation looked at from the military point of view.

Thus the German nation could assure its own future only by becoming a World Power. For nearly two thousand years the defence of our national interests (as we ought to describe our more or less successful foreign political activities) was a matter of world history. We ourselves have witnessed this, since the gigantic international struggle of the German people for their existence on this earth, and it was carried out in such a way that it has become known in the annals of history as the World War.

When Germany entered this struggle it was presumed that she was a World Power. I say 'presumed' because in reality she was no such thing. If, in 1914, there had been a different proportion between the German population and its territorial area, Germany would really have been a World Power and, leaving other factors out of count, the War would have ended in her favour.

It is neither my task nor my intention here to discuss what would have happened if certain conditions had been fulfilled, but I feel it absolutely incumbent on me to depict the present situation in its true light, and to point out its weaknesses which give cause for alarm, in order to make at least those who belong to the National Socialist Movement aware of what steps must be taken.

Germany is not a World Power to-day. Even though our present military weakness could be overcome, we would still have no claim to be called a World Power. What importance has any State on earth in which the proportion between the size of the population and the territorial area is so hopelessly unsatisfactory as in the present German Reich? In an epoch in which the world is being gradually portioned out among States, many of whom embrace almost whole continents, one cannot speak of a World Power in referring to a State whose political mother-country is limited to a territorial area of barely five-hundred-thousand square kilometres.

Looked at purely from the territorial point of view, the area of the German Reich is insignificant in comparison with that of so-called World Powers. It would be wrong to cite the case of Britain for the purpose of disproving this statement, because Great Britain, the mother-country, is in reality the great metropolis of the British World Empire, which covers almost one-fourth of the earth's surface. Among the giant States we must also consider the United States of America, Russia and China. These are enormous territories, some of which have more than ten times the area of the present German Reich. France must also be ranked among these States. Not only because she is constantly increasing

the strength of her army by recruiting coloured troops from the population of her gigantic empire, but also because, from the racial point of view, she is rapidly becoming negroid to such an extent that we can actually speak of the formation of an African state on European soil. The contemporary colonial policy of France cannot be compared with that of Germany in the past. If France develops along the lines it has taken in our day, and should that development continue for the next three hundred years, all traces of French blood will finally be lost in the formation of a Euro-African mulatto state. This would represent a formidable and compact colonial territory stretching from the Rhine to the Congo, inhabited by an inferior race which had developed through a slow and steady process of bastardization. In this, French colonial policy differs from the policy followed by the old Germany.

The former German colonial policy consisted in half-measures as did almost everything undertaken at that time. It did not aim at the acquisition of new territory for the settlement of German nationals nor did it make any attempt (criminal though this might have been) to reinforce the power of the Reich through the enlistment of black troops. The Askari units in German East Africa represented a small and hesitant step in this direction, but in reality they served only for the defence of the colony itself. The idea of transporting black troops to a European theatre of war — apart entirely from the practical impossibility of doing so during the World War — was never entertained as a proposal to be carried out under favourable conditions; whereas the French, on the contrary, always looked on this as the underlying motive and justification for their colonial activities.

Thus we find in the world to-day a number of powerful States which are not only superior to Germany as regards the numerical strength of their population, but which also possess in territorial area the chief support of their political power. Never has the position of the German Reich, judged from the point of view of its area and the size of its population, been so unfavourable in comparison with other States of

whilom importance, as at the beginning of its history two thousand years ago and again to-day. In that other era we were a young people and we stormed a world of decadent giant States, the last of which was Rome, to whose overthrow we contributed. To-day we find ourselves in a world of great and powerful States among which our own Reich is steadily losing in significance.

We must always face this bitter truth with clear and calm minds. We must study the area and population of the German Reich in relation to the other States and compare them throughout the centuries. Then, I know, everyone will realize to his consternation that what I said at the outset is true, namely, that Germany is no longer a World Power, whether she be strong or weak from the military point of view. There is no comparison between our position and that of the other States throughout the world, and this is to be attributed to the ill-fated foreign policy pursued by our governments, to the fact that our foreign policy failed absolutely to pursue a definite aim with unswerving perseverance and also to the fact that we have lost every sound impulse and instinct for self-preservation.

If the National Socialist Movement is to be credited by posterity with having fulfilled a great mission on behalf of our nation it must fully recognize the serious nature of our actual position in the world, and struggle bravely and doggedly against the aimlessness and inefficiency which have hitherto led the German people to pursue a false course as regards foreign policy. Without respect for 'tradition,' and without any preconceived notions, the Movement must find the courage to organize our national forces and set them on the path which will lead them beyond the confines of the 'living space' which is theirs to-day, to the acquisition of new territory. Thus the Movement will save the German people from the danger of perishing or of becoming slaves in the service of any other people.

Our Movement must seek to abolish the present lack of proportion between our population and the area of our national territory, considered as the source of our main-

tenance or as a basis of political power. It ought also to strive to abolish the contrast between past history and the hopelessly powerless position in which we are to-day. In striving to do so, it must bear in mind the fact that we are the custodians of the highest form of civilization on this earth, that we have a correspondingly high duty and that we shall fulfil this duty only if we inspire the German people with race-consciousness, so that they will concern themselves not merely with the breeding of dogs, horses and cats, but also care for the purity of their own blood.

When I say that the foreign policy hitherto followed by Germany has been aimless and ineffectual, the proof of my statement will be found in the actual failure of this policy. Were our people intellectually backward, or did they lack courage, the final results of their efforts could not have been worse than those of which we are witnesses to-day. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by developments during the last decades before the War, because we must not measure the strength of a State taken by itself, but in comparison with other States. Now, this comparison shows that not only had the strength of the other States increased more steadily than that of Germany, but that in the long run it proved to be greater, so that, despite her apparent prosperity, Germany gradually dropped further behind in the race with other States, in short, the difference in size increased much to our detriment. Even in the size of our population we lagged behind, and kept on losing ground. Since the courage of our people is unsurpassed by that of any other in the world and their sacrifice in defence of their existence greater than that of any other nation, their failure can be ascribed only to the false way in which this sacrifice was used.

If, in this connection, we examine the chain of political vicissitudes through which our people have passed during more than a thousand years, recalling the innumerable struggles and wars and investigating the results as we have them before us to-day, we must confess that from the sea of blood only three phenomena have emerged which we can

consider as the lasting fruits of a definite foreign policy, or, in fact of a policy at all.

These were, firstly, the colonization of the Ostmark, which was mainly the work of the Bajuvari; secondly, the conquest and settlement of the territory east of the Elbe; and thirdly, the organization of the Brandenburg-Prussian State, which was the work of the Hohenzollerns and which became the model for, and the nucleus of, a new Reich. An instructive lesson for the future!

These first two great successes of our foreign policy turned out to be the most enduring. Without them our people would play no part in the world to-day. These achievements were the first, and unfortunately the only, successful attempts to establish a satisfactory balance between our increasing population and the area of our country, and we must regard it as a fatal mistake that our German historians have never correctly appreciated these two outstanding achievements which were of such significance for the following generations. On the other hand, they wrote panegyrics on many other things, on heroism displayed in the pursuit of a fantastic aim and on innumerable adventurous campaigns and wars, instead of realizing that these latter had no significance in relation to the main course of our national development.

The third great success achieved by our political activity was the establishment of the Prussian State and the development of a particular State concept which grew out of this. To the same source we must attribute the organization of the instinct of national self-preservation and self-defence in the German Army, an achievement which suited the modern world. The transformation of the idea of self-defence on the part of the individual into the duty of national defence is derived from the Prussian State and the new State concept which it introduced. It would be impossible to over-estimate the importance of this process. The German nation, which, as a result of racial disintegration, had become the victim of exaggerated individualism, partially regained, through the disciplinary training of the Prussian Army, its capacity for

organization. What other nations still retain of the original herd instinct, we regained, in some measure, for the national community by the artificial means of military training. Consequently, the abolition of compulsory national military service—which may have no significance for dozens of other nations—had fatal consequences for us. Let ten generations of Germans be without the corrective and educative effect of military training and delivered over to the evil effects of their racial and, consequently, ideological disintegration and our people would lose the last relics of an independent existence on this earth. The German intellect could then make its contribution to civilization only through the medium of individuals living under the rule of foreign nations and its origin would remain unknown, while acting as the fertilizing manure of civilization, until the last residue of Nordic-Aryan blood in us had become corrupted or extinct.

It is a remarkable fact that the real political successes achieved by our people during their millennial struggles are better appreciated and understood by our adversaries than by ourselves. Even to-day we wax enthusiastic about an act of heroism which robbed our people of millions of their best racial stock and turned out completely fruitless in the end.

The distinction between the real political successes which our people have achieved in the course of their long history and the futile aims for which the blood of the nation has been shed is of supreme importance in determining our policy now and in the future.

We National Socialists must never allow ourselves to join in the huzza-ing patriotism of our contemporary bourgeois circles. It would be fatal for us to look upon the developments immediately before the War as in any way binding us in the choice of our own course. We can recognize no obligation devolving on us which may have its origin in any historical phase of the nineteenth century. In contradistinction to the policy of those who represented that period, we must take our stand on the principles already mentioned in regard to foreign policy, namely, the necessity

for bringing our territorial area into accord with the number of our population. From the past we can learn only one lesson, and this is that the aim which is to be pursued in our political conduct must be twofold, namely, (1) the acquisition of territory as the objective of our foreign policy and (2) the establishment of a new, uniform and ideologically secure foundation as the objective of our political activities at home.

I shall deal briefly with the question of how far our territorial aims are justified according to ethical and moral principles. This is all the more necessary here because, in our so-called *völkisch* circles, there are all kinds of smooth-tongued phrase-mongers who try to persuade the German people that the great aim of their foreign policy ought to be to right the wrongs of 1918, while at the same time they consider it incumbent on them to assure the whole world of the brotherly spirit and sympathy of the German people.

In regard to this point I should like to make the following preliminary statement. To demand that the 1914 frontiers should be restored is a glaring political absurdity that is fraught with such consequences as to make the claim itself appear criminal. The confines of the Reich as they existed in 1914 were thoroughly illogical, because they were not really complete, in the sense of including all the members of the German people, nor were they reasonable, in view of the geographical exigencies of military defence. They were not the outcome of a well-considered political plan, they were temporary frontiers established in virtue of a political struggle that had not been fought to a finish, and indeed they were partly the chance result of circumstances. One would be equally justified (and in many cases better justified) in selecting any other year in our history and in demanding that the objective of our foreign policy should be the re-establishment of the conditions then existing. The demands I have mentioned are quite characteristic of our bourgeois compatriots, who, in such matters, take no politically productive thought for the future. They live only in the past

and indeed only in the immediate past, for even their retrospect does not go back beyond their own times. The law of inertia binds them to the present order of things, leading them to oppose every attempt to change this. Their opposition, however, never takes the form of any kind of active defence, it is merely passive obstinacy. Therefore, we must regard it as quite natural that the political horizon of such people should not reach beyond 1914. In proclaiming that the aim of their political activities is to have the frontiers of that time restored, they only help to close up the rifts that are already becoming apparent in the league which our enemies have formed against us. Only on these grounds can we explain the fact that eight years after a world conflagration in which a number of allied belligerents had aspirations and aims that were partly in conflict with one another, the coalition of the victors still remains more or less solid.

Each of those States in its turn profited by the German collapse. In the fear which they all felt of our strength, the Great Powers maintained a mutual silence about their individual feelings of envy and enmity towards one another. They felt that to carry into effect a general process of expropriation of the Reich's possessions would be the surest guarantee against the possibility of our resurgence. A bad conscience and fear of the strength of our people made up the durable cement which has held the members of that league together, even up to the present moment; nor have they been deceived in us. Inasmuch as our bourgeoisie sets up the restoration of the 1914 frontiers as the aim of Germany's political programme, each member of the enemy coalition who might otherwise be inclined to withdraw from it, clings to the coalition for fear that he might, having lost the support of his allies, become an isolated object of attack. Each individual State feels itself endangered and threatened by this battle-cry, and that battle-cry itself is absurd, for the two following reasons:

Firstly, because there is no available means of extricating it from the twilight atmosphere of club meetings and transforming it into something real.

Secondly, because even if it could be carried into effect the result would be so futile that it would not be worth while to risk the blood of our people once again for such a purpose.

There can be scarcely any doubt whatsoever that only through bloodshed could we achieve the restoration of the 1914 frontiers. One must have the simple mind of a child to believe that the revision of the Versailles Treaty can be obtained by indirect means and by beseeching the clemency of the victors—apart from the fact that for this we should need a Talleyrand, and there is no Talleyrand among us. Fifty per cent of our politicians are artful dodgers who are without character and hostile to our people, while the other fifty per cent is made up of well-meaning, harmless, and complaisant incompetents. Moreover, times have changed since the Congress of Vienna, it is no longer princes or their courtesans who haggle and bargain about State frontiers, but the inexorable cosmopolitan Jew who fights for dominion over the nations. The sword is the only means whereby a nation can ward off that strangle-hold. Only when the concentrated might of rampant patriotic fervour is organized can it defy the menace of international enslavement of the nations. Such a course of action entails, and always will entail, bloodshed.

If we are once convinced that the future of Germany calls for supreme effort, then, apart from considerations of political prudence, we are in duty bound to set up an aim that is worthy of that effort and to struggle to achieve it.

The 1914 frontiers are of no significance for the future of the German nation. They did not serve to protect us in the past, nor do they offer any guarantee for our defence in the future. These frontiers do not help the German people to achieve internal unity, nor do they serve to safeguard its food-supplies. From the military standpoint these frontiers are neither strategically good nor even satisfactory. Finally, they cannot serve to improve our present position in relation to other World Powers or rather in relation to the real World Powers. They will not lessen the discrepancy

between ourselves and Great Britain, nor help us to rival the United States in size. Not only that, but they would not serve to lessen substantially the importance of France in international politics.

One thing alone is certain, namely, the attempt to restore the frontiers of 1914, even if it proved successful, would lead to a further draining of the blood of our nation to such an extent that no virile men would be left to execute the revolutions and perform the deeds necessary in order to assure the future existence of the national. On the contrary, under the intoxicating influence of such a superficial success further aims would be renounced, all the more so because so-called 'national honour' would seem to be vindicated and new ports would be opened, at least for a certain time, to our commercial development.

In the face of all this we National Socialists must adhere firmly to the aim that we have set for our foreign policy, namely, that the German people must be guaranteed that living-space to which it is entitled, and only in pursuance of such an aim can the shedding of the blood of our people be justified in the eyes of God and future generations of Germans. God, because we are sent into this world to struggle for our daily bread, as creatures to whom nothing is conated and who must be able to win and maintain their position as lords of the earth by virtue of their own intelligence and courage. In the eyes of further generations of Germans, since the blood of no German should be spilt unless it be to guarantee the lives of a thousand others yet unborn. The territory on which our German peasants will one day be able to rear sturdy sons will justify the sacrifice of the lives of sons of peasants to-day, and though the statesmen responsible for this sacrifice may be persecuted by their contemporaries, posterity will absolve them from the charge of having been guilty of bloodshed and of sacrificing the nation.

Here I must protest sharply against those 'völkisch' scribblers who pretend that such territorial extension would be a 'violation of the sacred rights of man' and accordingly

attack it in their literary effusions. One never knows what are the hidden forces behind the activities of such persons. But it is certain that the confusion which they provoke suits the game our enemies are playing against our nation and is in accordance with their wishes. By the conception of this attitude such scribblers contribute in criminal fashion to weaken from within and to destroy our people's will to defend their own vital interests by the only effective means that can be used for that purpose, for no nation on earth possesses a square yard of territory by decree of a higher Will and by virtue of a higher Right. The German frontiers are the outcome of chance and are only temporary frontiers that have been established as the result of political struggles which took place at various times. The same is also true of the frontiers which demarcate the territories in which other nations live. And just as only an imbecile could look on the physical geography of the globe as fixed and unchangeable, whereas it actually represents only an apparent interval in a continual evolutionary process due to the certain action of the formidable forces of Nature, and is liable to destruction and transformation to-morrow through still more formidable forces—so, too, in the lives of the nations the confines of their 'living space' are liable to change. State frontiers are established by human beings and may be altered by human beings.

The fact that a nation has acquired an enormous territorial area is no reason why other nations should for ever acknowledge its right to that territory. At most, the possession of such territory is a proof of the might of the conqueror and the weakness of those who submit to him, and this might alone is right. If the German people is cramped in an insufficient living space and is, for that reason, faced with a hopeless future, it is not by the law of Destiny, and the refusal to accept such a situation is by no means a violation of Destiny's laws. Just as no Higher Power has allotted more territory to other nations than to the German nation, an unjust distribution of territory cannot constitute an offence against such a Power. The land in

which we now live was not a gift bestowed by Heaven on our forefathers, but was conquered by them at the risk of their lives.

Thus, now, in future our people will not acquire territory and with it the means of subsistence as a favour at the hands of any other nation, but will have to win it by the power of a triumphant sword. To-day we are all convinced of the necessity for regulating our position with regard to France; but our success here will be ineffectual in the vain if the general aims of our foreign policy stop at that.

It can have significance for us only if it serves to cover our flank in the struggle for that extension of territory which is necessary for the existence of our people in Europe, for colonial acquisitions will not solve that question.

It can be solved only by the acquisition of such territory for the settlement of our people as will extend the area of the mother-country and thereby not only keep the newly-settled population in close touch with the parent-country, but will guarantee the entire territory the enjoyment of those advantages accruing from its total size.

The *völkisch* Movement must not play the advocate for other nations, but beg the protagonist of its own nation. Otherwise it would be superfluous and, above all, it would have no right to clamour against the past, for it would then be repeating the action of the past.

The old German policy suffered from having been determined by dynastic considerations, the new German policy must not adopt the sentimentally cosmopolitan attitude of *völkisch* circles.

Above all, we must not form a police guard for the famous 'small oppressed nations,' but we must be the soldiers of the German nation.

We National Socialists must go still further. The right to territory may become a duty when a great nation seems destined to go under unless its territory be extended, and that is particularly true when the nation in question is not a handful of Negroes, but the Germanic mother of all those who have given culture to the modern world.

Germany will either become a World Power or will not continue to exist, but in order to become a World Power she needs that territorial area which would give her the necessary importance to-day and assure the existence of her citizens.

Therefore, we National Socialists have purposely broken away from the line of conduct followed by pre-war Germany in foreign policy.

We are beginning at the point at which our ancestors left off six hundred years ago.

We are putting a stop to the eternal German trek towards Southern and Western Europe and are turning our eyes towards the lands that lie to the east of us.

We are abandoning, once and for all, the colonial and commercial policy of pre-war days and are making a start upon the future policy of territorial expansion, but when we speak of new territory in Europe to-day we must think principally of Russia and the border states under her rule. Destiny itself seems to point the way for us here. In delivering Russia over to Bolshevism, Fate robbed the Russian people of that intellectual class which had once created the Russian State and was the guarantee for its existence.

The Russian State as such was not the outcome of the ability of the Slav to establish a constitution, but rather a marvellous example of the constructive political activity of the Germanic element in a race of inferior worth.

This is the way in which many mighty empires throughout the world were created. More than once inferior races with Germanic organisers and rulers as their leaders became formidable States and continued to exist as long as the racial nucleus which had originally created the State remained.

For centuries, Russia has lived on this Germanic nucleus of its governing classes, but to-day this nucleus has been practically exterminated. The Jew has taken its place.

Just as it is impossible for the Russian, on his own, to shake off the Jewish yoke so, too, it is impossible for the Jew to keep this mighty State in existence for any lengthy period of time.

He himself is by no means an organising element, but rather a ferment of decomposition. This colossal empire in the East is ripe for dissolution, and the end of the Jewish domination in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a State.

We are chosen by Destiny to be the witnesses of a catastrophe which

will afford the most striking confirmation of the *völkisch* theory of race.

It is our task, and the mission of the National Socialist Movement, to develop in our people that political mentality which will enable them to realize that the aim which they must set themselves in future could not find fulfilment in the glorious enthusiasm of a victorious campaign fought with the ardour of an Alexander the Great.

That the Jew should declare himself bitterly hostile to such a policy is only natural, for the Jew knows better than any other what the adoption of this line of conduct will mean for his own future. That fact alone ought to teach all genuine nationalists that this new orientation is the right one, but, unfortunately, the reverse is the case. Not only among the members of the German National Party, but also in purely *völkisch* circles, violent opposition is being raised against this Eastern European policy, and in connection with that opposition, as in all such cases, the authority of great men is cited. The spirit of Bismarck is evoked in defence of a policy which is as stupid as it is impossible, and is in the highest degree detrimental to the German people. They say that Bismarck attached great importance to the maintenance of good relations with Russia. To a certain extent, that is true, but they quite forget to add that he laid equal stress on the importance of good relations with Italy, for example. Indeed, the same Herr von Bismarck once concluded an alliance with Italy, so that he might more easily settle accounts with Austria. Why is this policy not continued to-day? The answer will be to the effect that the Italy of to-day is not the Italy of that time. Well then, honourable sirs, permit me to remind you that the Russia of to-day is no longer the Russia of that time. Bismarck never dreamt of laying down a political course of action which, from the tactical point of view, was to hold good for all time. He was too much the master of the hour to bind himself in that way. The question, therefore, ought not to be what did Bismarck do then, but rather what would he do to-day. And that question is much easier to answer. His political

sagacity would never allow him to ally himself with a State that is doomed to disappear.

Moreover, Bismarck looked upon the colonial and commercial policy of his time with mixed feelings, because at first, his chief concern was to find the surest way of consolidating and internally strengthening the state system which he himself had created. That was the sole reason why, at that time, he welcomed Russian protection in the rear, which gave him a free hand for his activities in the West, but what was then advantageous to Germany would now be detrimental.

As early as 1920-21, when the young National Socialist Movement was slowly beginning to make itself felt in the political world and was spoken of in various circles as the movement for the liberation of the German nation, the Party was approached from various quarters with the object of establishing definite relations with the liberationist movements in other countries. This was quite in keeping with the much-advertised 'League of Oppressed Nations.' The persons concerned were, for the most part, representatives of some of the Balkan States and also of Egypt and India. They always impressed me as loquacious gentlemen who gave themselves airs, but had no real backing. Not a few Germans, however, especially in the nationalist camp, allowed themselves to be taken in by these pompous Orientals, and in the person of some Indian or Egyptian student they believed at once that they were face to face with a 'representative' of India or Egypt. They did not realize that, in most cases, they were dealing with persons who had no backing and who were not authorized to conclude any sort of agreement whatsoever, so that the practical result of any contact with such individuals was nil, unless one chose to enter the time spent thus as a dead loss. I was always on my guard against these attempts, not only because I had something better to do than to waste weeks in such sterile 'discussions,' but also because I believed that even if one were dealing with authorized representatives of such nations, the whole affair would be bound to turn out futile, if not positively harmful.

Even in peace-time it was lamentable enough that the German policy of alliances, because it had no active and aggressive aims in view, ended in a defensive association of antiquated States which, as far as history was concerned were already on the retired list. There was little to be said either for the alliance with Austria or for that with Turkey. While the greatest military and industrial States of the earth had joined together in a league for purposes of active aggression, a few old and effete States were got together, and with this antique bric-à-brac an attempt was made to face an active world-coalition. Germany has had to pay dearly for that mistaken foreign policy and yet not dearly enough to prevent our incorrigible visionaries from falling into the same error again, for the attempt to bring about the disarmament of the all-powerful victorious States through a 'League of Oppressed Nations' is not only ridiculous, but disastrous. It is disastrous because in that way the attention of the German people is again being diverted from real possibilities, which they abandon for the sake of fanciful and fruitless hopes and illusions. The German of to-day is like a drowning man who clutches at any straw. At the same time many of the people who are misled in this way are otherwise highly educated. Whenever some will-o'-the-wisp of a fantastic hope appears these people immediately pursue it. No matter whether it be a League of Oppressed Nations, a League of Nations, or some other fantastic invention, thousands of ingenuous souls will always be found to believe in it.

I well remember the childishly incomprehensible hope that Britain's downfall in India was imminent, which was cherished by *völkisch* circles in the years 1920-21. A few Asiatic mountebanks, who may even have been sincere 'champions of Indian freedom,' were then at a loose end in Europe and succeeded in inspiring otherwise quite reasonable people with the fixed notion that the British World Empire, of which India was the hub, was just about to collapse there. They never realized that this was wishful thinking, nor did they stop to think how absurd their hopes were, for inasmuch

as they expected the end of the British Empire and of Britain's power to follow the collapse of its dominion over India, they themselves admitted that India was of paramount importance to Britain.

It is more than probable that this vital question was not in the nature of a mystery known only to the prophets of German *völkisch* circles, but also to those in whose hands lay the shaping of British history. It is simply puerile to suppose that in Britain itself the importance of India for the British Empire was not adequately appreciated. It is a proof of failure to have learned a lesson from the World War and of a thorough misunderstanding and inability to recognize the quality of Anglo-Saxon determination, if anyone imagines that Britain would let India go without first putting forth the last ounce of her strength in a struggle to hold it. Moreover, it shows how complete is the ignorance prevailing in Germany as to the manner in which Britain administers her Empire and permeates it with her spirit. Britain will never lose India unless her administrative machinery becomes corrupt as a result of racial contamination (which is at present entirely out of the question in India), or unless she is overcome by the sword of some powerful enemy. Indian risings will never bring this about. We Germans have had sufficient experience to know how hard it is to overcome Britain, and apart from all this, I as a Teuton, would far rather see India under British rule than under that of any other nation.

The hopes founded on a legendary rising in Egypt were just as chimerical. The 'Holy War' may give our German nincompoops the pleasing illusion that others are now prepared to shed their blood for them. Indeed this cowardly speculation is almost always the father of such hopes, but in actual fact the 'Holy War' would soon be brought to a sanguinary conclusion under the withering fire of British machine-guns and a hail of British shells.

A coalition of cripples cannot attack a powerful State which is determined, if necessary, to shed the last drop of its blood in order to preserve its existence. I, as a nationalist,

who estimate the worth of humanity according to racial standards, must, in recognizing the inferiority of the so-called 'oppressed nations', refuse to link the destiny of my own people with the destiny of theirs.

To-day we must take up the same attitude towards Russia. The Russia of to-day, deprived of its Germanic ruling class, is, apart from the secret designs of its new rulers, no suitable ally in the struggle for German liberty. From the purely military point of view a Russo-German coalition waging war against Western Europe, and probably against the whole world on that account, would be catastrophic for us. The struggle would have to be fought out, not on Russian, but on German territory, without Germany being able to receive from Russia the slightest effective support. The military forces at the disposal of the present German Reich are so small and so inadequate for the waging of a foreign war that it would be impossible to defend our frontiers against Western Europe, Britain included. The industrial area of Germany would have to be abandoned undefended before the concentrated attack of our adversaries. It must be added that between Germany and Russia there is the Polish State, completely in the hands of the French. Should Germany and Russia together wage war against Western Europe, Russia would have to overthrow Poland before the first Russian soldier could be conveyed to a German front, but it is less a question of soldiers than of technical equipment. In this respect our plight during the World War would be repeated, but in a more terrible manner. At that time German industry had to be drained to help our glorious allies, and on the technical side Germany had to carry on the war almost alone. In this new hypothetical war Russia, as a technical factor, would count for nothing. We should have practically nothing to oppose to the general mechanization of the world, which in the next war will assume overwhelming and decisive proportions. In this important field Germany has not only shamefully lagged behind, but would, with the little she has, have to reinforce Russia, which at the present moment does not possess a

single factory capable of producing a motor-car in good running order. Under such conditions such a struggle would assume the character of sheer slaughter. The youth of Germany would have to shed more of its blood than it did even in the World War; for, as always, it would fall to us to bear the brunt of the fighting, and the result would be an inevitable catastrophe. Even supposing that a miracle took place and that this war did not end in the total annihilation of Germany, the final result would be that the German nation would be bled white, and, surrounded as she would be by great military States, her real situation would be in no way ameliorated.

It is useless to object here that in case of an alliance with Russia we should not think of an immediate war or that anyhow we should have the means of making thorough preparations for war. This is absurd, since an alliance which is not for the purpose of waging war has no meaning and no value. The object of forming an alliance is to wage war. Even though, at the moment when an alliance is concluded, the prospect of war is a distant one, still the idea of the situation developing towards war is the reason underlying the formation of an alliance. It is out of the question to think that the other Powers would be deceived as to the purpose of such an alliance. A Russo-German coalition would either remain a mere scrap of paper (in which case it would have no meaning for us), or the terms of the agreement would be put into effect, and in that case the rest of the world would be forewarned. It would be childish to think that in such circumstances Britain and France would wait ten years to give the Russo-German alliance time to complete its technical preparations. Far from it, the storm would break over Germany immediately.

The fact of forming an alliance with Russia would, therefore, be the signal for a new war, the result of which would be the end of Germany.

To these considerations the following must be added:

(1) Those who are in power in Russia to-day have no

intention of forming an honourable alliance or of remaining true to it, if they did.

It must never be forgotten that the present rulers of Russia are blood-stained criminals that here we have the dregs of humanity which, favoured by the circumstances of a tragic moment, overran a great State, and, in their lust for blood, killed and extirpated millions of educated people belonging to the ruling classes, and that now for nearly ten years they have ruled with a savage tyranny such as has never been known. It must not be forgotten that these rulers belong to a people in which the most bestial cruelty is allied to a capacity for artful mendacity and which, to-day more than ever, believes itself called upon to impose its sanguinary despotism on the rest of the world. It must not be forgotten that the international Jew, who is to-day absolute master in Russia, does not look upon Germany as an ally, but as a State condemned to the same doom as Russia itself. One does not form an alliance with a partner whose only aim is the destruction of his co-partner. Above all, one does not enter into alliances with people to whom no treaty is sacred, because they do not exist as the upholders of truth and honour, but as the protagonists of lying and deception, thievery, plunder and robbery. The man who thinks that he can enter into a treaty with parasites is like a tree that believes it can make a bargain with the mistletoe that feeds on it.

(2) The menace to which Russia once succumbed is perpetually hanging over Germany. Only a bourgeois simpleton could imagine that the Bolshevist danger has been overcome. In his superficial way of thinking he does not suspect that here we are dealing with a phenomenon that is due to an urge of the blood, namely, the aspiration of the Jewish people to become the despots of the world. That aspiration is quite as natural as the impulse of the Anglo-Saxon to rule the world, and as the Anglo-Saxon chooses his own way of attaining those ends and fights for them with characteristic weapons, so does the Jew. The Jew follows his own methods, he insinuates himself into the very heart of

the nations and then proceeds to undermine the national structure from within. The weapons with which he works are lies and calumny, poisonous infection and disintegration, intensifying the struggle until he has succeeded in exterminating his hated adversary to the accompaniment of much bloodshed. In Russian Bolshevism we must recognize the kind of attempt which is being made by the Jew in the twentieth century to secure dominion over the world. In other epochs he worked towards the same goal, but with different, though fundamentally similar, means. The ambition of the Jew is part and parcel of his very nature. Just as no other people would voluntarily check the instinct to increase in numbers or in power, unless forced to do so by external circumstances or senile decay, so the Jew will never, of his own accord, repress his eternal urge and abandon his struggle for world-dictatorship. Only external forces can thwart him, or his instinct for world domination will die out with his race. If nations become impotent or extinct through senility it is because they have failed to preserve their racial purity. The Jews preserve the purity of their blood better than any other people on earth. Thus the Jew pursues his fateful course until he meets another and superior force and after a desperate struggle he who would have stormed the heavens is hurled back once more to the regions of Lucifer.

To-day Germany is Bolshevism's next objective. All the force of a fresh missionary idea is needed to rouse our nation once more, to free it from the toils of the international serpent and stop the process of corruption of our blood from within, so that the forces of our nation, thus liberated, may be employed to preserve our nationality and in this way, prevent a repetition of the recent catastrophe from taking place even in the most distant future. If this be the goal we set ourselves it would be folly to ally ourselves with a country whose ruler is the mortal enemy of our future. How can we release our people from this poisonous grip if we ourselves accept it? How can we teach the German worker that Bolshevism is an infamous crime against humanity if we ally ourselves with this infernal abortion and recognize its existence as legitimate.

What right have we to condemn the members of the broad masses whose sympathies lie with a certain *Weltanschauung* if the rulers of our State choose the representatives of that *Weltanschauung* as their allies? The struggle against the Jewish bolshevization of the world demands that we should declare our position towards Soviet Russia. We cannot cast out the Devil through Beelzebub.

If to-day even *völkisch* circles are eager for an alliance with Russia, let them but pause to look around in Germany itself, in order that they may realize from what quarter their support comes. Do these people holding *völkisch* views believe that a policy which is recommended and acclaimed by the Marxist international press can benefit the German people? Since when do they fight with weapons provided by the Jew?

One reproach which could be levelled against the old German Reich with regard to its policy of alliances was that it spoiled its relations towards all other States by continual vacillation and by its weakness in trying to preserve world peace at all costs, but one reproach which cannot be levelled against it is that it failed to maintain good relations with Russia.

I frankly admit that before the War I thought it would have been better if Germany had abandoned her senseless colonial policy and her naval policy and had joined Britain in an alliance against Russia, thereby renouncing her weak world policy for a determined European policy, with the idea of acquiring new territory on the Continent.

I do not forget the constant insolent threats which Pan-Slav Russia made against Germany. I do not forget the continual mobilization rehearsals, the sole object of which was to irritate Germany. I cannot forget the tone of public opinion in Russia which, in pre-war days, excelled itself in hate-inspired outbursts against our nation and our Reich, nor can I forget the big Russian press which was always more favourable to France than to us. Yet, despite all this, another alternative was open to us before the War. We

might have won the support of Russia and turned against Britain.

Circumstances are entirely different to-day. Although, before the War, we might have swallowed our pride and marched at the side of Russia, that is no longer possible to-day. Since then the hand of the world-clock has moved forward and points the hour in which the destiny of our people must be decided one way or another.

The present process of consolidation now being carried out by the great States of the world is the last warning signal to us to look to ourselves, to bring our people back from the realm of visions to the realm of hard facts and point the sole way into the future, which will lead the old Reich to a new era of prosperity.

If, in view of this great and most important task before it, the National Socialist Movement sets aside all illusions and takes reason as its sole guide, the catastrophe of 1918 may turn out to be an infinite blessing for the future of our nation. As a result of the collapse our nation may succeed in adopting an entirely new attitude with regard to foreign policy, and strengthened within by its new *Weltanschauung*, the German nation may finally stabilize its foreign policy. It may end by gaining what Britain has, what even Russia had, and what enabled France again and again to make analogous decisions which ultimately proved to be to her advantage, namely, a political testament.

The fundamental principles of the political testament of the German nation determining the course of its foreign policy shall be as follows:

Never permit two continental Powers to arise in Europe. Look upon every attempt to establish a second military Power on the frontiers of Germany, be it only in the shape of a State capable of becoming a military power, as tantamount to an attack upon Germany. Regard it not only as your right, but as your duty, to prevent by every possible means, including resort to arms, the establishment of such a State, and to crush it, should it be established. See to it that the strength of our nation does not rest on colonial

foundations, but on those of our own native territory in Europe. Never consider the Reich secure unless, for centuries to come, it is in a position to give every descendant of our race a piece of ground that he can call his own. Never forget that the most sacred of all rights in this world is man's right to the soil which he wishes to cultivate for himself and that the holiest of all sacrifices is that of the blood shed for it.

I should not like to conclude these remarks without referring once again to the sole possibility of an alliance that exists for us in Europe at the present moment. In the previous chapter dealing with the problem of Germany's policy of alliances, I mentioned Britain and Italy as the only countries with which it would be worth while for us to strive to form a close alliance and that such an alliance would be advantageous. I should like here to deal briefly with the military importance of such an alliance.

The military consequences of this alliance would be the direct opposite of the consequences of an alliance with Russia. Most important of all is the fact that a rapprochement with Britain and Italy would in no way involve a danger of war. The only Power liable to oppose such an alliance would be France who would scarcely be in a position to do so. Thus, such an alliance would afford Germany an opportunity of quietly making those preparations which, within the framework of such a coalition, would necessarily have to be made with a view to settling accounts with France. The full significance of such an alliance lies in the fact that its conclusion would not automatically lay Germany open to the threat of invasion, but that the very coalition would be broken up, that is to say, the Entente which has been the cause of so many of our misfortunes would be dissolved, thus making France, our inveterate enemy, the victim of violation. Even though this success would at first have only a moral effect, it would be sufficient to allow Germany such liberty of action as we cannot now imagine, for the new Anglo-German-Italian alliance would have the political initiative and no longer France.

A further result would be that at one stroke Germany

would finally be delivered from her unfavourable strategical position. On the one side, her flank would be strongly protected and, on the other, the guarantee that we would have an adequate supply of foodstuffs and raw materials would be a beneficial result of this new coalition of States.

Almost more important, however, is the fact that this new league would include States whose potential of technical production would, in many respects, be mutually complementary. For the first time Germany would have allies who would not like vampires suck the life-blood of her industry, but could, and would, contribute liberally to the completion of our technical equipment.

We must not forget one final fact, namely, that in this case we should not have allies like Turkey or present-day Russia. The greatest World Power on this earth and a young national State would constitute factors in a European struggle which were very different from the corrupt and decadent Powers to which Germany was allied in the last war.

As I have already said, there are great obstacles in the way of such an alliance. But was not the formation of the Entente somewhat more difficult? Where King Edward VII succeeded, partly in the face of traditional interests, we must and will succeed, if we are so convinced of the necessity for such a development that we are wisely prepared to conquer our own feelings and carry the policy through. This will be possible only when, driven to action by suffering and distress, we renounce the shilly-shallying foreign policy of recent decades and follow unswervingly a course of action in pursuit of a definite aim.

The future goal of our foreign policy ought to be neither a Western nor an Eastern bias; it ought to be an Eastern policy the object of which is the acquisition of such territory as is necessary in order that the German people can live. To carry out this policy we need that force of which France, the mortal enemy of our nation, is now depriving us by holding us in her grip and pitilessly robbing us of our strength. We must, therefore, stop at no sacrifice in an

effort to stop France's striving for hegemony in Europe. As our natural ally to-day we have every Power on the Continent which, like ourselves, feels France's lust for mastery in Europe unbearable. No attempt to approach those Powers ought to appear too difficult to us, and no sacrifice should be considered too great, if the final outcome would be to make it possible for us to overthrow our most bitter enemy. The minor wounds will be cured by the beneficent influence of Time, once the major wound has been cauterized and closed.

Naturally, the internal enemies of our people will howl with rage, but let us, as National Socialists, not be misled into ceasing to advocate what our most profound conviction tells us to be necessary. We must oppose the current of public opinion which will be led astray by Jewish cunning in exploiting our German lack of perception. The waves may often rage and roar around us; but the man who swims with the current attracts less attention than he who buffets it. To-day we are but a rock in the river. In a few years Fate may raise us up as a dam against which the general current will be broken, only to flow forward in a new bed.

It is, therefore, necessary that in the eyes of the rest of the world our Movement should be recognized as representing a definite political programme. Whatever fate Heaven may have in store for us, we must be recognized by an outward and visible sign.

As long as we ourselves recognize the ineluctable necessity which must determine our foreign policy, this knowledge will lend us that power of endurance which we often require when, under the withering fire of the opposition press, some of us experience fear and are assailed by the temptation to make concessions here or there and 'to do as the Romans do,' in order not to have the whole world against us.

CHAPTER XV

THE RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENCE

AFTER WE HAD LAID DOWN OUR ARMS, IN NOVEMBER 1918, a policy was adopted which, as far as man could foretell, was bound to lead gradually to our complete subjugation. Analogous examples culled from history show that those nations which lay down their arms without being absolutely forced to do so, subsequently prefer to submit to the greatest humiliations and exactions rather than try to change their fate by resorting to arms again.

That can be explained on purely human grounds. A shrewd conqueror will always enforce his demands on the conquered only by stages, as far as that is possible. Then he may be reasonably certain that a people who have lost all strength of character (which is always true of every nation that voluntarily submits to the threats of an opponent) will not find in any of these acts of oppression, if one be enforced apart from the other, sufficient grounds for taking up arms again. The more often the conquered nation submits to extortion, the less justifiable in its eyes is the final revolt against a fresh and apparently isolated, but constantly recurring act of extortion, especially if more and greater misfortunes have already been borne in silence and with patience. The fall of Carthage is a terrible example of the slow destruction of a people for which they themselves were to blame.

In his *Drei Bekenntnisse* Clausewitz expressed this idea admirably and gave it a definite form when he said, "The stigma of shame incurred by cowardly submission can never be effaced. The drop of poison which thus enters the blood of a nation will be transmitted to posterity. It will

undermine and paralyse the strength of later generations. But he added that, on the contrary, "even the loss of liberty after a sanguinary and honourable struggle ensures the resurgence of a nation and is the vital nucleus from which a new tree will, one day put forth sound roots."

Naturally, a nation which has lost all sense of honour and all strength of character will not feel the force of such a doctrine, but any nation that takes it to heart will never fall so low. Only those who forget it or do not wish to acknowledge it will collapse. Hence, those responsible for a cowardly submission cannot be expected suddenly to change their line of conduct in accordance with the dictates of common sense and human experience. On the contrary, they will repudiate such a doctrine, either until the people becomes habituated to the yoke of slavery or until the better elements of the nation come to the fore and wrest the power from the hands of the infamous corruptor. In the first case those who hold power will be pleased with the state of affairs, because the conquerors often entrust them with the duties of slave-driver, and they, as utterly characterless beings, are then more cruel in the exercise of their authority over their own countrymen than the most cruel alien appointed to the task by the enemy.

The events which happened in Germany after 1918 prove how the hope of securing the clemency of the victor by means of a voluntary submission had the most disastrous influence on the political attitude and conduct of the broad masses. I say 'the broad masses' expressly, because I cannot persuade myself that the things which were done or left undone by the leaders of the people are to be attributed to a similar disastrous illusion. Seeing that since the war our fate has been in the hands of the Jews, and to-day admittedly so, it is impossible to assume that a defective knowledge of the state of affairs was the sole cause of our misfortunes. On the contrary, we may take it for granted that our people were intentionally brought to ruin. Looked at from this point of view the apparent insanity of our government's foreign policy is revealed as a piece of shrewd

calculating logic, put into effect in order to promote the Jewish idea of a struggle for world-mastery. Thus it appears comprehensible that the same period of seven years, which, after 1806, sufficed to imbue Prussia (which had been in a state of collapse) with fresh vitality and the zeal for battle, has to-day not only been wasted, but has led to a steady sapping of the vital strength of the State. Seven years after November 1918 the Locarno Pact was signed.

Thus the development which occurred took the form I have indicated above. Once the shameful Armistice had been signed, our people were unable to pluck up sufficient courage and energy to offer a sudden resistance to the oppressive measures adopted and constantly repeated by the enemy, who was too shrewd to put forward too many demands at once. He invariably limited his exactions to amounts which, in his opinion and that of our German Government, could be submitted to for the moment, thus avoiding the risk of an outburst of public feeling. But, the more frequently single impositions were accepted and tolerated, the less justifiable did it appear to do now, on account of one single imposition or attempted humiliation, what had not been done previously in the case of so many others, namely, to offer resistance. That is the 'drop of poison' of which Clausewitz speaks. Once this lack of character is manifested the resultant condition becomes steadily aggravated and weighs like an evil heritage on all future decisions. It may become a millstone round the nation's neck, which cannot be shaken off, but which forces it to drag out its existence in slavery.

Thus, in Germany measures enforcing disarmament, oppression, economic spoliation and measures designed to render us politically defenceless followed one upon the other. The result of all this was to create that mood which made so many look upon the Dawes Plan as a blessing and the Locarno Pact as a success. From a higher point of view we may speak of one sole blessing in the midst of so much misery, namely, that, though men may be fooled, Heaven cannot be bribed, for Heaven withheld its blessing. Since

that time misery and anxiety have been the constant companions of our people, and distress is the one ally that has remained loyal to us. Here, too, Destiny has made no exceptions. It has given us our deserts. Since we did not know how to value honour, it has taught us to value liberty through want of bread. Now that the nation has learned to cry for bread, it may one day learn to pray for freedom.

Bitter and obvious as the collapse of our nation was in the years following 1918 that was nevertheless the time chosen to persecute with the utmost severity anyone who presumed to foretell what afterwards invariably took place. This was particularly so when it was a question of silencing warning-voices which were unwelcome because unpleasant. The government to which our people submitted was as hopelessly incompetent as it was conceited, and this was evinced in their attitude towards those who made themselves unpopular by issuing disconcerting warnings. Then we saw, as we can see to-day, the greatest parliamentary nincompoops, really common saddlers and glove-makers (not merely by trade, for that would signify very little) suddenly raised to the rank of statesmen and sermonizing to humble mortals from that pedestal. It did not matter, and it still does not matter, that such a 'statesman', after having displayed his talents for six months is shown up for what he is, namely, a mere wind-bag, and becomes the object of public scorn. It does not matter that he has given the most conclusive proof of complete incompetency. On the contrary, the less real the service parliamentary statesmen of this Republic render the country, the more savagely do they persecute all who expect them to achieve something or who dare to point to their failures and to predict similar failures in the future. Should anyone finally succeed in pinning down one of these parliamentarians to hard facts, so that this 'statesman' is unable to deny the failure of his whole policy and its results, he will find innumerable excuses for his lack of success, but will in no way admit that he himself is the chief cause of the evil.

By the winter of 1922-23, at the latest, it ought to have

been generally recognized that, even after the conclusion of peace, France was still endeavouring with iron consistency to realize her original war aims, for it is inconceivable that for four and a half years France should have continued to sacrifice the none too abundant supply of her national blood in the most decisive struggle throughout her history in order subsequently to obtain compensation through reparations for the damages sustained. Even Alsace and Lorraine, taken by themselves, would not account for the energy with which the French conducted the War, if Alsace-Lorraine were not already considered as a part of the really vast programme which French foreign policy had envisaged for the future. The aim of that programme was the dismemberment of Germany into a number of small states. It was for this that chauvinist France waged war, and in so doing she was in reality selling her people as mercenaries to the international Jew.

This French war aim would have been attained through the World War if, as was originally hoped in Paris, the struggle had been fought out on German soil. Let us imagine the bloody battles of the World War not as having taken place on the Somme, in Flanders, in Artois, outside Warsaw, Nishni-Novogorod, Kowno and Riga, but in Germany, in the Ruhr or on the Maine, on the Elbe, outside Hanover, Leipzig, Nürnberg, etc.; had this happened, then we must admit that the destruction of Germany might have been accomplished. It is very doubtful whether our young federal State could have borne the hard struggle for four and a half years, as it was borne by a France that had been centralized for centuries with the whole national imagination focussed on Paris. If this titanic conflict between the nations took place beyond the frontiers of our Fatherland, not only is all the merit due to the immortal service rendered by our old Army, but it was also very fortunate for the future of Germany. I am of the firm conviction (and this conviction often fills me with dread) that if things had taken a different course there would no longer be a German Reich, but only 'German states,' and

that is the only reason why the blood which was shed by our friends and brothers during the War was not shed quite in vain.

Events took a different turn. In November 1918 Germany did indeed collapse with lightning suddenness, but when the catastrophe took place at home the Army was still holding a line deep in the enemy's country. At that time France's first preoccupation was not the dismemberment of Germany, but the problem of how to get the German troops out of France and Belgium as quickly as possible, and so, in order to put an end to the War, the first thing that had to be done by the French Government was to disarm the German troops and push them back into Germany if possible. Until this was done the French could not devote their attention to realizing their own particular and original war aims. France was, however, hindered in this by the fact that as far as Britain was concerned the War was really won when Germany was destroyed as a colonial and commercial Power and was reduced to the rank of a second-class State. It was not to Britain's interest to wipe out the German State altogether. In fact, on many grounds it was desirable for her to have a future rival against France in Europe. France was therefore forced to carry on by peaceful means the work for which the War had paved the way; and Clemenceau's statement, that for him peace was merely a continuation of the War, thus acquired added significance.

Persistently and at every possible opportunity the effort to dislocate the framework of the Reich had to be continued. By perpetually sending new notes that demanded disarmament, on the one hand, and by the imposition of economic levies, on the other, which could be carried out as a result of the process of disarmament, it was hoped in Paris that the framework of the Reich would gradually become unstable. The more the Germans lost their sense of national honour the more would economic pressure and continued economic distress be effective as factors of political destruction. Such a policy of political oppression and economic exploitation, carried out for ten or twenty years, must, it was believed, in

the long run steadily ruin and eventually disintegrate the most solid national body. Then the French war aims would have been definitely attained.

By the winter of 1922-23 the intentions of the French must have long been obvious. There remained only two possible ways of confronting the situation. It was hoped that either French determination might be blunted by the toughness of the German national body, or, that it might at least be possible to do what was bound to become inevitable one day, that is to say, under the provocation of some particularly brutal act of oppression to put the helm of the German ship of state to roundabout and ram the enemy. That would naturally involve a life-and-death struggle and the chance of surviving this struggle depended on whether France could be so far isolated beforehand that in this second conflict Germany would not have to fight against the whole world, but in defence of Germany against a France that was persistently disturbing the peace of the world.

I insist on this point, and I am profoundly convinced that it is inevitable that this second alternative will one day come about. I shall never believe that France will of herself alter her intentions towards us, because they are, at bottom, only the expression of the French instinct for self-preservation. Were I a Frenchman and were the greatness of France as dear to me as that of Germany is sacred, I neither could nor would act otherwise than a Clemenceau. The French nation, which is slowly dying out, not so much through depopulation as through the progressive disappearance of the best elements of the race, can continue to play an important rôle in the world only if Germany be dismembered. French policy may make a thousand detours on the march towards its fixed goal, but the destruction of Germany is the end which it always has in view as the fulfilment of the most profound desire and ultimate intentions of the French. Now, it is a mistake to believe that if the will on one side remains merely *passive* and intent on its own self-preservation, it can hold out

permanently against another will which is not less forceful, but is *active*. As long as the eternal conflict between France and Germany is waged only in the form of a German defence against the French attack, it will never be brought to a conclusion, although Germany will, in the course of centuries lose one foothold after another. If we study the changes, the line of demarcation of the German language has undergone from the twelfth century up to our day, in the frontiers within which the German language is spoken, we can hardly hope for future success from an attitude and development which have hitherto been so detrimental to us.

Only when the Germans have fully realized all this will they cease to allow the national will to live to peter out in passive defence, but will rally it for a last decisive contest with France and a final struggle for the realization of Germany's highest aims and only then will it be possible to put an end to the eternal Franco-German conflict which has hitherto proved so sterile. Of course it is here presumed that Germany sees in the suppression of France nothing more than a means which will make it possible for our people finally to expand in another direction. To-day there are eighty million Germans in Europe, and our foreign policy will be recognized as rightly conducted only when, after barely a hundred years, there will be two hundred and fifty million Germans living on this Continent, not packed together like coolies and working in factories at the bidding of the rest of the world, but as tillers of the soil and workers whose labours will be a mutual guarantee for their existence.

In December 1922 the situation between Germany and France assumed a particularly threatening aspect. France had new and comprehensive oppressive measures in view and needed pledges. Political pressure had to precede economic exploitation, and the French believed that only by making a violent attack upon the central nervous system of German life would they be able to make our 'recalcitrant' people bow to their galling yoke. By the occupation of the Ruhr, it was hoped in France that not only would the moral

backbone of Germany be finally broken, but that we should be reduced to such grave economic straits that we should be forced to subscribe willy-nilly to the heaviest possible obligations. It was a question of bending and breaking Germany. At first Germany bent and subsequently broke down completely.

Through the occupation of the Ruhr, Fate once more reached out its hand to the German people and gave them the chance to arise, for what at first appeared as a heavy stroke of misfortune was found, on closer examination, to be an extremely promising opportunity of bringing Germany's sufferings to an end.

As regards foreign politics, the action of France in occupying the Ruhr really estranged Britain for the first time. Indeed it estranged not merely British diplomatic circles, which had concluded, appraised and upheld the Anglo-French alliance in a spirit of calm and objective calculation, but it also estranged large sections of the British public. The English business-world in particular ill concealed its displeasure at this incredible additional strengthening of the power of France on the Continent. Not only had France now assumed from the military standpoint alone a position in Europe such as Germany herself had not held previously, but she thus obtained control of economic resources which, from the practical point of view, combined her ability to compete in the political world with economic advantages almost amounting to a monopoly. The most important iron and coal mines in Europe were now all in the hands of one nation which, in contrast to Germany, had hitherto defended its vital interests in an active and resolute fashion and which had, during the Great War, given the world fresh proof of its military efficiency. The French occupation of the Ruhr coal-fields effectively cancelled all that Britain had gained by the War, and the victors were no longer the diligent and painstaking British statesmen, but Marshal Foch and the France he represented.

In Italy also the attitude towards France, which, in any

case, had not been very favourable since the end of the War, now became positively hostile. The great and critical moment had come when the Allies of yesterday might become the enemies of to-morrow. The fact that events took another course and that the Allies did not suddenly come into conflict with one another, as in the Second Balkan War, was due to the fact that Germany had no Enver Pasha, but merely a Cuno, as Chancellor of the Reich.

Nevertheless, the French invasion of the Ruhr opened up great possibilities for the future, not only in the field of Germany's foreign policy, but also of her internal politics. A considerable section of our people who, thanks to the persistent influence of a mendacious press, had looked upon France as the champion of progress and liberty, were suddenly cured of this illusion. As in 1914 the dream of international solidarity was suddenly banished from the minds of our German working class and they were brought back to the world of everlasting struggle, where one creature feeds on the other and where the death of the weaker implies the life of the stronger, so again in the spring of 1923.

When the French put their threat into effect and penetrated, at first hesitatingly and cautiously, into the coal-field of the Ruhr the hour of destiny had struck for Germany. If, at that moment, our people had changed not only their frame of mind but also their conduct the German Ruhr could have been made for France what Moscow was for Napoleon. Indeed, there were only two possibilities — either to tolerate this new move, in addition to all the rest and to do nothing, or to focus the attention of the German people on that region of sweltering forges and blazing furnaces, thus firing them with the determination to put an end to this persistent humiliation and to face the horrors of the moment rather than submit to a terror that was endless.

Cuno, who was then Chancellor of the Reich, can claim the immortal merit of having discovered a third way, and our German bourgeois political parties merit the still greater glory of having admired him and collaborated with him.

I shall first deal as briefly as possible with the second alternative.

By occupying the Ruhr, France committed a flagrant violation of the Versailles Treaty. Her action brought her into conflict with several of the guarantor Powers, and especially with Britain and Italy. She could no longer hope that those States would back her in her egotistic act of brigandage. She could only count on bringing the adventure, for such it was at the start, to a satisfactory conclusion by her own unaided efforts. For a German National Government there was only one alternative, namely, the course which honour prescribed. Certainly at the beginning we could not have opposed France with active armed resistance, but it should have been clearly recognized that any negotiations which did not have the argument of force to back them up would turn out futile and ridiculous. It was absurd to adopt the attitude, "We refuse to take part in any negotiations," unless there was a possibility of offering active resistance, but it was still more absurd to consent finally to negotiate without having meantime organized a supporting force.

At the same time, it was, of course, impossible for us to prevent the occupation of the Ruhr by the adoption of military measures. Only a madman could have recommended such a course, but while the impression made by the French action lasted and during the time that that action was being carried out, measures could have been, and should have been undertaken without any regard to the Versailles Treaty, which France herself had violated, to collect a military force which would serve as a collateral argument to back up the negotiators later on, for it was quite clear from the beginning that the fate of this district occupied by the French would one day be decided at some conference table or other. It must also be quite clear to everybody that even the best negotiators have little hope of success as long as the ground on which they stand and the very chair on which they sit are not under the armed protection of their own people. A weak pigmy cannot argue with athletes and a negotiator

without armed defence at his back must always acquiesce when a Brennus throws his sword into the scales on the enemy's side, unless he can preserve the balance with an equally mighty sword of his own. It was distressing to watch the comedy of negotiations which, ever since 1918, regularly preceded each arbitrary dictate that the enemy imposed upon us. We presented a sorry spectacle in the eyes of the whole world when we were invited, as if in derision, to attend conferences, simply to be presented with decisions and programmes which had already been drawn up and passed a long time previously, and which, though we were permitted to discuss them, had, from the outset, to be considered as unalterable. It is true that in scarcely a single instance were our negotiators men of more than mediocre ability. For the most part they justified only too well the sarcastic remark made by Lloyd George with reference to Herr Simon, an ex-cabinet minister of the Reich, that the Germans were not able to choose men of intelligence as their leaders and representatives. But in face of the enemy's resolute determination to acquire power, on the one side, and the lamentable defencelessness of Germany, on the other, even a genius could have achieved but little.

In the spring of 1923, however, anyone who weighed the possibility of seizing the opportunity of the French invasion of the Ruhr to reconstruct the military power of Germany would first have had to restore to the nation its moral weapons, to reinforce its will-power, and to do away with those who had destroyed this most valuable element of national strength.

Just as in 1918 we had to pay with our blood for failure to crush the Marxist serpent underfoot once and for all in 1914 and 1915, we have now to suffer retribution for the fact that in the spring of 1923 we did not seize the opportunity then offered us for finally putting a stop to the mischief being done by the Marxist traitors and murderers.

Any idea of offering real resistance to the French was pure folly as long as the fight had not been taken up against those forces which, five years previously, had broken

German resistance on the battlefields by the influence which they exercised at home. Only bourgeois minds could have arrived at the incredible conviction that Marxism had probably become quite a different thing now and that the unprincipled ringleaders of 1918, who callously used the bodies of our two million dead as stepping-stones on which they climbed into various government positions, would now, in the year 1923, suddenly show themselves ready to pay tribute to the national conscience. It was veritably a piece of incredible folly to expect that those traitors would suddenly appear as the champions of German freedom. They had no intention of doing so. Just as a hyena will not abandon its carrion, a Marxist will not give up betraying his country. It is beside the point to put forward the stupid argument, that so and so many workers gave their lives for Germany. That is true, but then they were no longer internationally-minded Marxists. If, in 1914, the German working class had consisted of real Marxists, the War would have ended within three weeks. Germany would have collapsed before the first soldier had put a foot beyond the frontier. The fact that the German people carried on the War proved that the Marxist delusion had not yet penetrated deeply, but as the War dragged on German soldiers and workers gradually fell once more under the spell of the Marxist leaders, and to the same degree in which they relapsed, their country was bereft of their services. If, at the beginning of the War, or even during the War, twelve or fifteen thousand of these Jewish corruptors of the people had been forced to submit to poison-gas, just as hundreds of thousands of our best German workers from every social class and from every trade and calling had to face it in the field, then the millions of sacrifices made at the front would not have been made in vain. On the contrary, if twelve thousand of these malefactors had been eliminated in time, probably the lives of a million decent men who would have been of service to Germany in the future; might have been saved. But it was in accordance with bourgeois 'statesmanship' to hand over, without batting an eyelid, millions of human beings to be

slaughtered on the battlefield, and to look upon ten or twelve thousand public traitors, profiteers, usurers and swindlers, as the nation's most precious and most sacred asset and to publicly proclaim their persons inviolable. Indeed it would be hard to say what is the most outstanding feature of these bourgeois circles, mental debility, moral weakness and cowardice, or a rascally ideology. It is a class that is certainly doomed to go under, but, unhappily, it drags down the whole nation with it into the depths.

The situation in 1923 was similar to that of 1918. No matter what form of resistance was decided upon, the first prerequisite for taking action was the elimination of the Marxist poison from the body of the nation, and in my opinion it was then the first task of a really National government to seek and to find those forces that were determined to wage a war of annihilation against Marxism and to give those forces a free hand. It was their duty not to bow down before the fetish of 'law and order' at a moment when the enemy from without was dealing the Fatherland a death-blow and when high treason was lurking at every street-corner at home. A really National government ought then to have welcomed disorder and unrest, if this turmoil afforded an opportunity of finally settling with the Marxists, who are the mortal enemies of our people. This opportunity having been neglected, it was sheer folly to think of resisting, no matter what form that resistance might take.

Of course, to settle accounts with the Marxists on a scale which would be of genuine historical and universal importance could not be effected along lines laid down by some secret council or according to a plan concocted in the worn-out brain of some cabinet minister. It would have to be in accordance with the eternal laws of life on this Earth which are, and will remain, those of a ceaseless struggle for existence. It must be remembered that in many instances a hardy and healthy nation has emerged from the ordeal of bloody civil war, while from peace conditions which had been artificially maintained there often resulted a state of

national putrescence that reeked to heaven. The fate of a nation cannot be altered with the velvet glove and in 1923 the iron hand should have been used ruthlessly to crush the vipers that batten on the body of the nation. Only after this had been done would preparations for active resistance have had any point.

At that time I often talked myself hoarse trying to make clear, at least to the so-called national circles, how much was then at stake, and that by repeating the errors committed in 1914 and the subsequent years we would inevitably meet with the same catastrophe as in 1918. I frequently implored them to let Fate have a free hand and to make it possible for our Movement to settle with the Marxists, but I preached to deaf ears. All of them, including the Chief of the Defence Forces, thought they knew better, until finally they found themselves forced to subscribe to the vilest capitulation in the records of history.

I then became profoundly convinced that the German bourgeoisie had come to the end of its mission and was not capable of fulfilling any further function. Then, too, I recognized that all the bourgeois parties had been fighting Marxism merely out of a spirit of competition without sincerely wishing to destroy it. They had long ago become reconciled to the idea that their country was doomed to destruction and their one care was to secure good seats at the funeral banquet. It was for this alone that they kept on 'fighting.'

At that time (I admit it freely) I conceived a profound admiration for the great man beyond the Alps, whose ardent love for his people inspired him not to bargain with Italy's internal enemies, but to use every possible means in an effort to wipe them out. What places Mussolini in the ranks of the world's great men is his decision not to share Italy with the Marxists, but to redeem his country from Marxism by destroying internationalism. What miserable pigmies our sham statesmen in Germany appear by comparison with him! How nauseating it is to witness the conceit and effrontery of these nonentities in criticizing a

man who is a thousand times greater than they, and how humiliating it is to think that this takes place in a country which as recently as fifty years ago had a Bismarck for its leader!

The attitude adopted by the bourgeoisie in 1923 and the way in which they dealt kindly with Marxism decided from the outset the fate of any attempt at active resistance in the Ruhr. With that deadly enemy in our own ranks it was sheer folly to think of fighting France. The most that could then be done was to stage a sham fight in order to satisfy the German national element to some extent, to tranquillize the 'seething indignation of the public,' or dope it, which was what was really intended. Had they really believed in what they did, they ought to have recognized that the strength of a nation lies, primarily, not in its arms, but in its will, and that before setting out to conquer the external enemy, the enemy at home must be exterminated; otherwise, disaster must result if victory be not achieved on the very first day of the fight. The shadow of one defeat is sufficient to break the resistance of a nation that has not been liberated from its internal enemies, and give the adversary the final victory.

In the spring of 1923 all this might have been foreseen. It is useless to ask whether it was then possible to count on a military success against France, for had the result of the German action in regard to the French invasion of the Ruhr been only the destruction of Marxism at home, success would have been on our side. Once liberated from the deadly enemies of her present and future existence, Germany would possess forces which no power in the world could strangle again. On the day when Marxism is broken in Germany, the chains that bind her will be smashed for ever, for never in the course of our history have we been conquered by the might of our enemies, but only through our own failings and the enemy in our own camp.

Since the German Government of that day were unable to decide on such a heroic step, the only alternative left was to choose the first course, namely, to do nothing and let

things slide. But, at this crucial moment, Heaven sent Germany a great man in the person of Herr Cuno. He was neither a statesman nor a politician by profession, still less a born politician, but he was a kind of political office-boy who was entrusted with odd jobs. Apart from that, he was more of a business-man. It was Germany's misfortune that this politicizing business-man looked upon politics in the light of business and acted accordingly.

"France has occupied the Ruhr. What is there in the Ruhr? Coal. Then France has occupied the Ruhr for the sake of its coal!" What was more natural than that Herr Cuno should hit on the idea of a strike in order to prevent the French from obtaining coal? Then (at least so argued Herr Cuno), they would leave the Ruhr one fine day since the occupation had not turned out to be a paying speculation. Such were approximately the lines along which that outstanding national statesman reasoned. At Stuttgart and in other places he addressed 'his people' and his people were lost in admiration. Of course they needed the Marxists for the strike, because the strike had necessarily to be an action undertaken by the workers. It was, therefore, essential to bring the worker (who to a bourgeois statesman such as Cuno, was one and the same thing as a Marxist) into a united front with all other Germans. It was wonderful to see how the countenances of these moth-eaten bourgeois party politicians beamed with delight when the great genius spoke the word of revelation to them. Here was a nationalist and a man of genius. At last they had discovered what they had so long sought, for now the gulf between Marxism and themselves could be bridged over. Thus it became possible for the pseudo-nationalist to play the heavy Teuton, to adopt a nationalist pose and at the same time to extend the trusty hand of friendship to the internationalist traitors of his country. The traitors readily grasped that hand, because, just as Herr Cuno had need of the Marxist chiefs for his 'united front' the Marxist chiefs needed Herr Cuno's money. Both parties, therefore, benefited by the transaction. Cuno obtained his

united front, constituted of nationalist chatterboxes and anti-national swindlers, and now, with the help of the money paid to them by the State, the international imposters were able to pursue their glorious mission, which was to destroy the national economic system, this time at the expense of the State. It was a stroke of genius to think of saving a nation by means of a general strike in which the strikers were paid by the State. It was a command that could be enthusiastically obeyed by the most indifferent of loafers.

Everybody knows that prayers will not liberate a nation, but history has yet to show whether a nation can be set free by 'downing tools.' If instead of promoting a paid general strike at that time, and making this the basis of his 'united front,' Herr Cuno had demanded two hours more work from every German, then the swindle of the 'united front' would have been over and done with, within three days. Nations do not obtain their freedom by refusing to work, but by making sacrifices.

Anyhow, the so-called passive resistance could not last long. Nobody but a man entirely ignorant of war could imagine that an army of occupation could be frightened and driven out by such ridiculous means, and yet this could have been the only purpose of an action for which the country had to pay out milliards and which contributed seriously to devalue the national currency.

Of course, the French were able to settle down comfortably in the Ruhr with an easy mind the moment they saw that such ridiculous measures were being adopted against them. We ourselves had shown them the best way of bringing a recalcitrant civilian population to a sense of reason, if its conduct implied a serious danger to the officials which the army of occupation had placed in authority. Nine years previously we had with lightning-like rapidity wiped out bands of Belgian *francs-tireurs* and made the civilian population clearly understand the seriousness of the situation, when the activities of these bands threatened grave danger to the German Army. Similarly, if passive resistance in the Ruhr had really become a menace to the French, the

armies of occupation would have needed no more than eight days to bring the whole piece of childish nonsense to a gruesome end. The fundamental question will always be, what are we to do if passive resistance reaches a point where it really gets on the nerves of our opponents and they proceed to suppress it with force and bloodshed? Are we still to resist? If so, then we must, whether we like it or not, submit to severe and bloody persecution, and in that case we shall be faced with the same situation which we should have had to face, had we offered active resistance, in other words, we should have to fight. Therefore, so-called passive resistance would be logical only if supported by the determination to continue this resistance, if necessary, either in an open fight or by means of guerilla warfare. Generally speaking, such a struggle is never carried on, except in the conviction that success is possible. A besieged stronghold, hard pressed by the enemy, surrenders, to all practical purposes, at that moment when it is forced to abandon all hope of relief, especially if, in such a case, the defenders are attracted by the promise of life instead of probable death. Let the garrison of a citadel which has been completely encircled by the enemy once lose all hope of deliverance, and the spirit of the defenders is broken immediately.

That is why, if one considers the consequences to which it must inevitably have led, if it was to prove successful, passive resistance in the Ruhr had no practical meaning unless an active front had been organized to support it. In that case a tremendous effort might have been demanded of our nation. If all the Westphalians in the Ruhr could have been assured that the home country had mobilized an army of eighty or a hundred divisions to support them, the French would have found themselves treading on thorns. Surely a greater number of courageous men could have been found to sacrifice themselves for a successful enterprise than for an enterprise that was manifestly futile.

This was the classic occasion that induced us National Socialists to take up a resolute stand against the so-called national battle-cry. During those months I was attacked by

people whose patriotism was a mixture of stupidity and humbug and who took part in the general hue and cry because of the pleasant sensation they felt at being suddenly enabled to show themselves as nationalists, without thereby incurring any danger. In my estimation, this despicable 'united front' was one of the most ridiculous phenomena imaginable, and events proved that I was right.

As soon as the trade-unions had nearly filled their treasuries with Cuno's contributions, and the moment had come for passive resistance to change over from inert defense to active aggression, the Red' hyenas suddenly broke out of the national sheepfold and appeared in their true light. Silently, Herr Cuno stole back to his business. Germany was richer by one experience and poorer by the loss of one great hope.

Up to midsummer of that year several officers, who certainly were not the least brave and honourable of their kind, had not really believed that the course of things could take a turn that was so humiliating. They had all hoped that—if not openly, then at least secretly—the necessary measures would be taken to make this insolent French invasion a turning-point in German history. In our ranks also there were many who counted on the intervention of the Reich Army. That conviction was so ardent that it exerted a decisive influence on the conduct and especially on the training of innumerable young men. But when the disgraceful collapse actually took place, and, after millions of German money had been spent in vain and thousands of young Germans who had been foolish enough to trust in the promises made by the rulers of the Reich had been sacrificed, the Government capitulated in the most humiliating way, public indignation at such a betrayal of our unhappy nation blazed forth. Millions of people now became fully convinced that Germany could be saved only if the whole prevailing system were destroyed root and branch.

There never had been a more propitious moment for such a solution. On the one hand, an act of high treason had been committed against the country, openly and shamelessly. On

the other, a nation was, economically speaking, delivered over to slow starvation. Since the State itself had trampled upon all precepts of faith and loyalty, made a mockery of the rights of its citizens, rendered the sacrifice of millions of its most loyal sons fruitless and robbed other millions of their last penny, it could no longer expect anything but hatred from its subjects. This hatred against those who had ruined the people and the country was bound to find an outlet in one form or another. In this connection I quote here the concluding sentence of a speech which I delivered at the great trial that took place in the spring of 1924.

"Let the judges of this State condemn us for our conduct at that time; History, the goddess of a higher truth and a finer justice, will smile as she tears up their verdict and will acquit us of all guilt."

But History will then also summon before its own tribunal, those who, invested with power, have trampled on law and justice, condemning our people to misery and ruin, and who, in the hour of their country's misfortune, took more account of their own ego than of the life of the community.

I shall not here relate the history of the events leading up to November 8th, 1923, and ending with that date. I shall not do so, because I cannot see that this would serve any beneficial purpose in the future and also because no good could come of opening old sores that have only just healed. Moreover, it would be out of place to talk about the guilt of men who, perhaps in the depths of their hearts, loved their people equally well and who merely failed to take the same path or did not recognize it as the right one to take.

In the face of the great misfortune which has befallen our Fatherland and which affects us all, I must abstain from offending and perhaps disuniting those men who must, at some future date, form one great united front which will be made up of true and loyal Germans and which will have to withstand the common front presented by the enemy of our people. For I know that a time will come when those who

then treated us as enemies will venerate the men who trod the bitter way of death for the sake of their people.

I have dedicated the first volume of this book to our eighteen fallen heroes. Here, at the end of this second volume, let me again, before the adherents and champions of our ideals evoke the memory of those men as heroes who, in the full consciousness of what they were doing, sacrificed their lives for us all. They must always recall the weak and wavering to a sense of their duty—that same duty which they themselves fulfilled loyally even to the making of the supreme sacrifice. I regard as one of their number that man who, as one of the best among us, devoted his life, in his works, in his philosophy and finally in action, to awakening the nation that was his and ours. That man was —

DIETRICH ECKART

EPILOGUE

ON NOVEMBER 9TH, 1923, IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF its existence the National Socialist German Labour Party was dissolved and banned throughout the entire Reich. To-day, in November 1926, it has again been established throughout the Reich, free, stronger and internally more united than ever before.

All persecution of the Movement and its individual leaders, all the imputations and calumnies, have not prevailed against it. The justice of its ideas, the integrity of its intentions and the spirit of self-denial that animates its members, have hitherto enabled it to emerge strengthened from ordeal and oppression. If, in our contemporary world of parliamentary corruption, our Movement remains always conscious of the profound nature of its struggle and feels that it personifies the values of individual personality and race, and orders its actions accordingly, it will, with almost absolute certainty be one day victorious in its struggle, just as Germany must of necessity obtain the position in the world which is her due if she is led and organized according to these principles.

A State which, in an epoch of racial adulteration, devotes itself to the duty of preserving the best elements of its race, will one day rule the Earth.

The adherents of our Movement must always bear this in mind whenever they are filled with misgiving and tempted to compare the magnitude of the sacrifices demanded of them with the prospects of success.