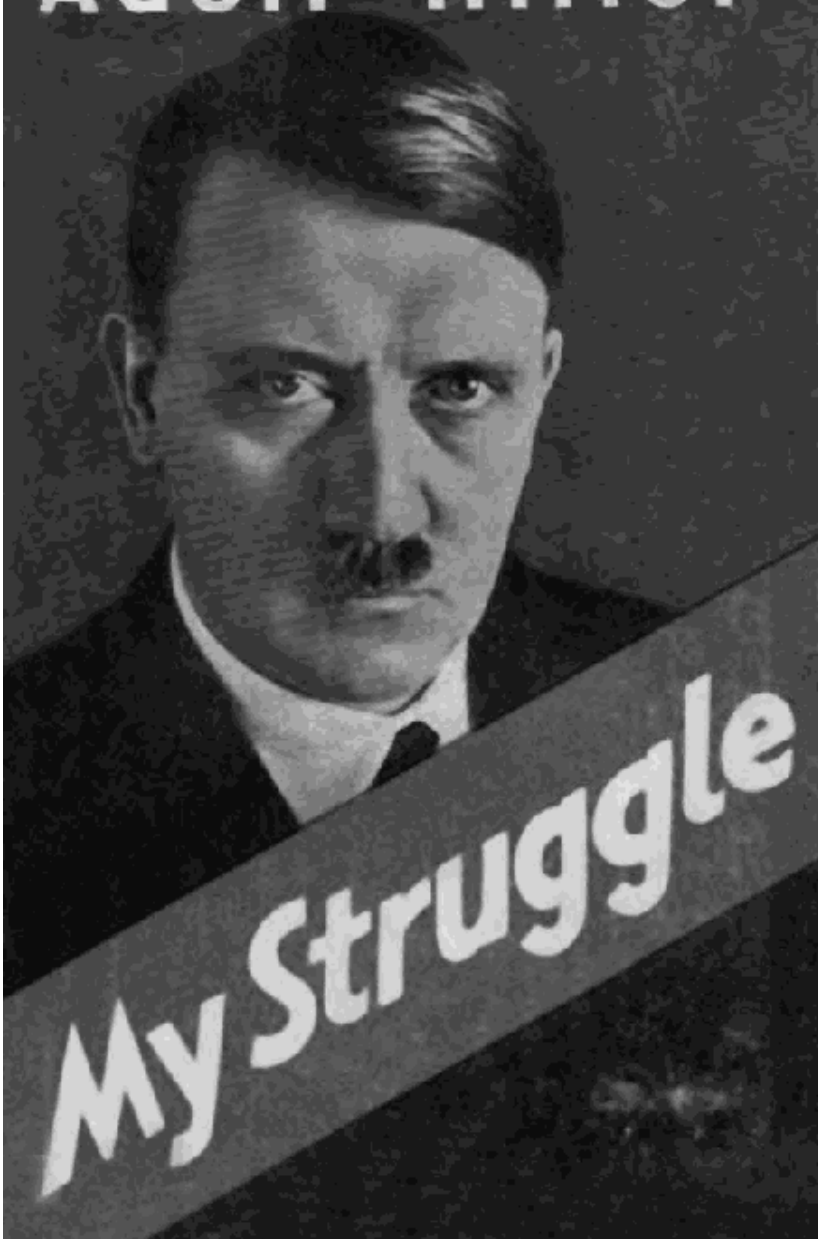


Adolf Hitler

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 jacket over a white shirt and a dark tie. The background is dark and textured.

My Struggle



Greg Kittle

MY STRUGGLE

Adolf Hitler

ALVERLAG DER NSDAP. FRANZ EHER NACHF.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

ON April 1st, 1924, I began to serve my sentence of detention in the Fortress of Landsberg am Lech, following the verdict pronounced by the Munich People's Court on that day.

After years of uninterrupted labour it was now possible for the first time to begin a work for which many had asked and which I myself felt would be profitable for the Movement. I therefore decided to devote two volumes to a description not only of the aims of our Movement, but also of its development. There is more to be learned from this than from any purely doctrinaire treatise.

This has also given me the opportunity of describing my own development in so far as such a description is necessary to the understanding of the first as well as of the second volume and to refute the unfounded tales which the Jewish press has circulated about me.

In this work I turn not to strangers, but to those followers of the Movement whose hearts belong to it and who wish to study it more profoundly. I know that fewer people are won over by the written, than by the spoken, word and that every great movement on this earth owes its growth to great speakers and not to great writers.

Nevertheless, in order to achieve more equality and uniformity in the defence of any doctrine, its fundamental principles must be committed to writing. May these two volumes therefore serve as building stones which I contribute to the common task.

The Fortress,

Landsberg am Lech.

AT half-past twelve on the afternoon of November 9th, 1923, those whose names are given below fell in front of the *Feldherrnhalle* and in the forecourt of the former War Ministry in Munich as loyal believers in the resurrection of their people:

Alfarth, Felix, Merchant, born July 5th, 1901
Bauriedl, Andreas, Hatter, born May 4th, 1879
Casella, Theodor, Bank Official, born August 8th, 1900
Ehrlich, Wilhelm, Bank Official, born August 19th, 1894
Faust, Martin, Bank Official, born January 27th, 1901
Hechenberger, Ant., Mechanic, born September 28th, 1902
Koerner, Oskar, Merchant, born January 4th, 1875
Kuhn, Karl, Head Waiter, born July 26th, 1897
Laforce, Karl, Student of Engineering,
born October 28th, 1904
Neubauer, Kurt, Man-servant, born March 27th, 1899
Pape, Claus von, Merchant, born August 16th, 1904
Pfordten, Theodor von der, Councillor to the Supreme
Provincial Court, born May 14th, 1873
Rickmers, Joh., retired Cavalry Captain,
born May 7th, 1881
Scheubner-Richter, Max Erwin von, Dr. of Engineering,
born January 9th, 1884
Stransky, Lorenz, Ritter von, Engineer,
born March 14th, 1899
Wolf, Wilhelm, Merchant, born October 19th, 1898

The so-called national authorities refused to allow the dead heroes a common grave. I therefore dedicate to them the first volume of this work, as a common memorial, in order that they, as martyrs to the cause, may be a permanent inspiration to the followers of our Movement.

The Fortress, Landsberg a/L., October 16th, 1924.

Adolf Hitler

VOLUME ONE

A Reckoning

CHAPTER I

MY HOME

TO-DAY I CONSIDER IT A GOOD OMEN THAT DESTINY appointed Braunau-on-the-Inn to be my birthplace, for that little town is situated just on the frontier between those two German States, the reunion of which seems, at least to us of the younger generation, a task to which we should devote our lives, and in the pursuit of which every possible means should be employed.

German-Austria must be restored to the great German Fatherland, and not on economic grounds. Even if the union were a matter of economic indifference, and even if it were to be disadvantageous from the economic standpoint, it still ought to take place. People of the same blood should be in the same Reich. The German people will have no right to engage in a colonial policy until they have brought all their children together in one State. When the territory of the Reich embraces all Germans and proves incapable of assuring them a livelihood, only then can the moral right arise, from the need of the people, to acquire foreign territory. The plough is then the sword, and the tears of war will produce the daily bread for the generations to come.

For this reason the little frontier town appeared to me as the symbol of a great task, but in another respect it teaches us a lesson that is applicable to our day. Over a hundred years ago this sequestered spot was the scene of a tragic calamity which affected the whole German nation and will be remembered for ever, at least in the annals of German history. At the time of our Fatherland's deepest humiliation, a Nürnberg bookseller, Johannes Palm, an uncompromising

nationalist and an enemy of the French, was put to death here because he had loved Germany even in her misfortune. He obstinately refused to disclose the names of his associates, or rather the principals who were chiefly responsible for the affair, just as Leo Schlageter did. The former, like the latter, was denounced to the French by a government official, a director of police from Augsburg who won ignoble renown on that occasion and set the example which was to be copied at a later date by the German officials of the Reich under Herr Severing's regime.

In this little town on the Inn, hallowed by the memory of a German martyr, a town that was Bavarian by blood but under the rule of the Austrian State, my parents were domiciled towards the end of the last century. My father was a civil servant who fulfilled his duties very conscientiously. My mother looked after the household and lovingly devoted herself to the care of her children—of that period I have not retained many memories, because after a few years my father had to leave that frontier town which I had come to love so much and take up a new post farther down the Inn valley, at Passau, therefore, actually in Germany itself.

In those days it was the usual lot of an Austrian civil servant to be transferred periodically from one post to another. Not long after coming to Passau my father was transferred to Linz, and while there he retired to live on his pension, but this did not mean that the old gentleman would now rest from his labours.

He was the son of a poor cottager, and while still a boy he grew restless and left home. When he was barely thirteen years old he buckled on his satchel and set forth from his native country parish. Despite the dissuasion of villagers who could speak from 'experience,' he went to Vienna to learn a trade there. This was in the 'fifties of last century. It was a sore trial, that of deciding to leave home and face the unknown, with three *gulden* in his pocket, but when the boy of thirteen was a lad of seventeen and had passed his apprenticeship examination as a craftsman, he was not content. On the contrary, the persistent economic

depression of that period and the constant want and misery strengthened his resolution to give up working at a trade and strive for 'something higher.' As a boy it had seemed to him that the position of the parish priest in his native village was the highest in the scale of human attainment, but now that the big city had enlarged his outlook the young man looked up to the dignity of a state official as the highest of all. With the tenacity of one whom misery and trouble had already made old when only half-way through his youth, the young man of seventeen obstinately set out on his new project and stuck to it until he won through. He became a civil servant. He was about twenty-three years old, I think, when he succeeded in making himself what he had resolved to become. Thus he was able to keep the vow he had made as a poor boy, not to return to his native village until he was 'somebody.' He had gained his end, but in the village there was nobody who remembered him as a little boy, and the village itself had become strange to him.

Now at last, when he was fifty-six years old, he gave up his active career; but he could not bear to be idle for a single day. On the outskirts of the small market-town of Lambach in Upper Austria he bought a farm and tilled it himself. Thus, at the end of a long and hard-working career, he returned to the life which his father had led.

It was at this period that I first began to have ideals of my own. I spent a good deal of time scampering about in the open, on the long road from school, and mixing with some of the roughest of the boys, which caused my mother many anxious moments. All this tended to make me something quite the reverse of a stay-at-home. I gave scarcely any serious thought to the question of choosing a vocation in life, but I was certainly quite out of sympathy with the kind of career which my father had followed. I think that an inborn talent for speaking now began to develop and take shape during the more or less strenuous arguments which I used to have with my comrades. I had become a juvenile ringleader who learned well and easily at school, but was rather difficult to manage. In my free time I practised singing in the choir

of the monastery church at Lambach, and thus it happened that I was placed in a very favourable position to be emotionally impressed again and again by the magnificent splendour of ecclesiastical ceremonial. What could be more natural for me than to look upon the abbot as representing the highest human ideal worth striving for, just as the position of the humble village priest had appeared so to my father in his own boyhood days? At least that was my idea for a while, but the childish disputes I had with my father did not lead him to appreciate his son's oratorical gifts in such a way as to see in them a favourable promise for such a career, and so he naturally could not understand the boyish ideas I had in my head at that time. This contradiction in my character made him feel somewhat anxious.

As a matter of fact, that transitory yearning after such a vocation soon gave way to hopes that were better suited to my temperament. Browsing among my father's books, I chanced to come across some publications that dealt with military subjects. One of these publications was a popular history of the Franco-German War of 1870-71. It consisted of two volumes of an illustrated periodical dating from those years. These became my favourite reading. In a little while that great and heroic conflict began to occupy my mind, and from that time onwards I became more and more enthusiastic about everything that was in any way connected with war or military affairs.

The story of the Franco-German War had a special significance for me on other grounds also. For the first time, and as yet only in quite a vague way, the question began to present itself: Is there a difference—and if there be, what is it—between the Germans who fought that war and the other Germans? Why did not Austria also take part in it? Why did not my father and all the others fight in that struggle? Are we not the same as the other Germans? Do we not all belong together?

That was the first time that this problem began to agitate my small brain, and from the replies that were given to the questions which I asked very tentatively, I was forced to

accept the fact, though with a secret envy, that not all Germans had the good luck to belong to Bismarck's Reich. This was something that I could not understand.

It was decided that I should study. Considering my character as a whole, and especially my temperament, my father decided that the classical subjects studied at the *Gymnasium* were not suited to my natural talents. He thought that the *Realschule* would suit me better. My obvious talent for drawing confirmed him in that view, for in his opinion, drawing was a subject too much neglected in the Austrian *Gymnasium*. Probably also the memory of the hard road which he himself had travelled contributed to make him look upon classical studies as unpractical and accordingly to set little value on them. At the back of his mind he had the idea that his son should also become a government official. Indeed he had decided on that career for me. The difficulties with which he had had to contend in making his own career led him to overestimate what he had achieved, because this was exclusively the result of his own indefatigable industry and energy. The characteristic pride of the self-made man caused him to cherish the idea that his son should follow the same calling and if possible rise to a higher position in it. Moreover, this idea was strengthened by the consideration that the results of his own life's industry had placed him in a position to facilitate his son's advancement in the same profession.

He was simply incapable of imagining that I might reject what had meant everything in life to him. My father's decision was simple, definite, clear and, in his eyes, it was something to be taken for granted. A man of such a nature who had become an autocrat by reason of his own hard struggle for existence, could not think of allowing 'inexperienced' and irresponsible young people to choose their own careers. To act in such a way, where the future of his own son was concerned, would have been a grave and reprehensible weakness in the exercise of parental authority and responsibility, something utterly incompatible with his characteristic sense of duty. Still, he did not have his way.

For the first time in my life (I was then eleven years old) I felt myself forced into open opposition. No matter how hard and determined my father might be about putting his own plans and opinions into effect, his son was no less obstinate in refusing to accept ideas on which he set little or no value. I would not become a civil servant. No amount of persuasion and no amount of 'grave' warnings could break down that opposition. I would not become a government official, not on any account. All the attempts which my father made to arouse in me a love or liking for that profession, by picturing his own career for me, had only the opposite effect. It nauseated me to think that one day I might be fettered to an office stool, that I could not dispose of my own time, but would be forced to spend the whole of my life filling out forms.

One can imagine what kind of thoughts such a prospect awakened in the mind of a boy who was by no means what is called a 'good boy' in the current sense of that term. The ease with which I learned my lessons made it possible for me to spend far more time in the open air than at home. To-day, when my political opponents pry into my life, as far back as the days of my boyhood, with diligent scrutiny so as finally to be able to prove what disreputable tricks this Hitler was accustomed to play in his young day, I thank Heaven that I can look back on those happy days and find the memory of them helpful. The fields and the woods were then the terrain on which all disputes were fought out. Even attendance at the *Realschule* could not alter my way of spending my time. But I had now another battle to fight.

So long as the paternal plan to make me a state functionary contradicted my own inclinations only in the abstract, the conflict was easy to bear. I could be discreet about expressing my personal views and thus avoid constantly recurrent disputes. My own resolution not to become a government official was sufficient for the time being to put my mind completely at rest. I held on to that resolution inexorably. But the situation became more difficult once

I had a positive plan of my own which I could present to my father as a counter-suggestion. This happened when I was twelve years old. How it came about I cannot exactly say now, but one day it became clear to me that I wanted to be a painter—I mean an artist. That I had an aptitude for drawing was an admitted fact. It was even one of the reasons why my father had sent me to the *Realschule*; but he had never thought of having that talent developed so that I could take up painting as a professional career. Quite the contrary. When, as a result of my renewed refusal to comply with his favourite plan, my father asked me for the first time what I myself really wished to be, the resolution that I had already formed expressed itself almost automatically. For a while my father was speechless. "A painter? An artist?" he exclaimed.

He wondered whether I was in a sound state of mind. He thought that he might not have caught my words rightly, or that he had misunderstood what I meant, but when I had explained my ideas to him and he saw how seriously I took them, he opposed them with his characteristic energy. His decision was exceedingly simple and could not be deflected from its course by any consideration of what my own natural qualifications really were.

"Artist! Not as long as I live, never." As the son had inherited some of the father's obstinacy, along with other qualities, his reply was equally energetic, but, of course, opposed to his, and so the matter stood. My father would not abandon his 'Never,' and I became all the more determined in my 'Nevertheless.'

Naturally the resulting situation was not pleasant. The old gentleman was embittered and indeed so was I, although I really loved him. My father forbade me to entertain any hopes of taking up painting as a profession. I went a step further and declared that I would not study anything else. With such declarations the situation became still more strained, so that the old gentleman decided to assert his parental authority at all costs. This led me to take refuge in silence, but I put my threat into

execution. I thought that, once it became clear to my father that I was making no progress at the *Realschule*, he would be forced to allow me to follow the career I had dreamed of.

I do not know whether I calculated rightly or not. Certainly my failure to make progress became apparent in the school. I studied just those subjects that appealed to me, especially those which I thought might be of advantage to me later on as a painter. What did not appear to have any importance from this point of view, or what did not otherwise appeal to me, I completely neglected. My school reports of that time were always in the extremes of good or bad, according to the subject and the interest it had for me. In one column the remark was 'very good' or 'excellent,' in another 'average' or even 'below average.' By far my best subjects were geography and general history. These were my two favourite subjects, and I was top of the class in them.

When I look back over so many years and try to judge the results of that experience I find two very significant facts standing out clearly before my mind. Firstly, I became a nationalist. Secondly, I learned to understand and grasp the true meaning of history.

The old Austria was a multi-national State. In those days at least, the citizens of the German Reich, taken all in all, could not understand what that fact meant in the everyday life of the individuals within such a State. After the magnificent triumphant march of the victorious armies in the Franco-German War the Germans in the Reich became steadily more and more estranged from the Germans beyond their frontiers, partly because they did not deign to appreciate those other Germans at their true value or simply because they were incapable of doing so. In thinking of Austria, they were prone to confuse the decadent dynasty and the people which was essentially very sound.

The Germans in the Reich did not realize that if the Germans in Austria had not been of the best racial stock they could never have given the stamp of their own character to

an Empire of fifty-two millions, so definitely that in Germany itself the idea arose—though quite erroneously—that Austria was a German State. That was an error which had dire consequences; but all the same it was a magnificent testimony to the character of the ten million Germans in the Ostmark. Only very few Germans in the Reich itself had an idea of the bitter struggle which those Eastern Germans had to carry on daily for the preservation of their German language, their German schools and their German character. Only to-day, when a tragic fate has wrested several millions of our kinsfolk from the Reich and has forced them to live under the rule of the stranger, dreaming of that common fatherland towards which all their yearnings are directed and struggling to uphold at least the sacred right of using their mother tongue—only now have the wider circles of the German population come to realize what it means to have to fight for the traditions of one's race. So at last, perhaps there are people here and there who can assess the greatness of that German spirit which animated the old Ostmark and enabled those people, left entirely dependent on their own resources, to defend the Reich against the Orient for several centuries and subsequently to hold the frontiers of the German language by means of a guerilla warfare of attrition, at a time when the German Reich was sedulously cultivating an interest in colonies but not in its own flesh and blood at its very threshold.

What has happened always and everywhere, in every kind of struggle, happened also in the language fight which was carried on in the old Austria. There were three groups—the fighters, those who were luke-warm, and the traitors. This sifting process began even in the schools and it is worth noting that the struggle for the language was waged perhaps in its bitterest form around the school, because this was the nursery where the seeds had to be tended which were to spring up and form the future generation. The tactical objective of the fight was the winning over of the child, and it was to the child that the first rallying cry was addressed, "German boy, do not forget that you are a German,"

and "Remember, little girl, that one day you must be a German mother.

Those who know something of the juvenile spirit can understand how youth will always lend a ready ear to such a rallying cry. In many ways the young people led the struggle, fighting in their own manner and with their own weapons. They refused to sing non-German songs. The greater the efforts made to win them away from their German allegiance, the more they exalted the glory of their German heroes. They stinted themselves in buying sweetmeats, so that they might spare their pennies to help the war fund of their elders. They were incredibly alert to the significance of what the non-German teachers said and they contradicted in unison. They wore the forbidden emblems of their own nation and were happy when penalized, or even physically punished. In their own way, they faithfully mirrored their elders, and often their attitude was finer and more sincere.

Thus it was that at a comparatively early age I took part in the struggle which the nationalities were waging against one another in the old Austria. When collections were made for the South Mark German League and the School League we wore cornflowers and black-red-gold colours to express our loyalty. We greeted one another with *Heil!* and instead of the Austrian anthem we sang our own *Deutschland über Alles*, despite warnings and penalties. Thus the youth was being educated politically, at a time when the citizens of a so-called national State for the most part knew little of their own nationality except the language. Of course, I did not belong to the luke-warm section. Within a little while I had become an ardent 'German National, which had a different meaning from the party significance attached to that term to-day. I developed very rapidly in the nationalist direction, and by the time I was fifteen years old, I had come to understand the distinction between dynastic patriotism and *völkisch* nationalism, my sympathies being entirely in favour of the latter even in those days. Such a preference may not perhaps be clearly intelligible to those who have never taken the trouble to study the internal con-

ditions that prevailed in Austria under the Habsburg monarchy.

In Austria it was world-history as taught in schools that served to sow the seeds of this development, for Austrian history, as such, is practically non-existent. The fate of this State was closely bound up with the existence and development of Germany as a whole, so that a division of history into German history and Austrian history is practically inconceivable. And indeed it was only when the German people came to be divided between two States that this division began to make German history.

The insignia of a former imperial sovereignty which were still preserved in Vienna appeared to act as a magic guarantee of an everlasting bond of union.

When the Habsburg State crumbled to pieces in 1918 the Austrian Germans instinctively raised an outcry for union with their German mother-country. That was the voice of unanimous yearning in the hearts of the whole people for a return to the unforgotten home of their fathers. But such a general yearning could not be explained except by the historical training through which the individual Austrian Germans had passed. It was a spring that never dried up. Especially in times of distraction and forgetfulness its quiet voice was a reminder of the past, bidding the people to look beyond the mere well-being of the moment to a new future.

The teaching of universal history in what are called the higher grade schools is still very unsatisfactory. Few teachers realize that the purpose of teaching history is not the memorizing of some dates and facts, that it does not matter whether a boy knows the exact date of a battle or the birthday of some marshal or other, nor when the crown of his fathers was placed on the brow of some insignificant monarch. That is not what matters.

To study history means to search for and discover the forces that are the causes of those results which appear before our eyes as historical events. The art of reading and studying consists in remembering the essentials and forgetting what is inessential.

Probably my whole future life was determined by the fact that I had a teacher of history who understood, as few others understand, how to make this viewpoint prevail in teaching and in examining. This teacher was Dr. Leopold Poetsch, of the *Realschule* at Linz. He was the ideal personification of the qualities necessary to a teacher of history in the sense I have mentioned above. An elderly gentleman with a decisive manner but a kindly heart, he was a very attractive speaker and was able to inspire us with his own enthusiasm. Even to-day I cannot recall without emotion that venerable personality whose enthusiastic exposition of history so often made us entirely forget the present and allow ourselves to be transported as if by magic into the past. He penetrated through the dim mist of thousands of years and transformed the historical memory of the dead past into a living reality. When we listened to him we became afire with enthusiasm and we were sometimes moved even to tears.

It was still more fortunate that this master was able not only to illustrate the past by examples from the present, but from the past, he was also able to draw a lesson for the present. He understood better than any other the everyday problems that were then agitating our minds. The national fervour which we felt in our own small way was utilized by him as an instrument of our education, inasmuch as he often appealed to our national sense of honour, for in that way he maintained order and held our attention much more easily than he could have done by any other means. It was because I had such a master that history became my favourite subject. As a natural consequence, but without the conscious connivance of my teacher, I then and there became a young rebel. But who could have studied German history under such a teacher and not become an enemy of that State whose rulers exercised such a disastrous influence on the destinies of the German nation? Finally, how could one remain a faithful subject of the House of Habsburg, whose past history and present conduct proved it to be ready, ever and always, to betray the interests of the German people for the sake of paltry personal interests? Did not we, as youngsters,

fully realize that the House of Habsburg did not, and could not, have any love for us Germans?

What history taught us about the policy followed by the House of Habsburg was corroborated by our own everyday experiences. In the north and in the south the poison of foreign races was eating into the body of our people, and even Vienna was steadily becoming more and more a non-German city. The 'Imperial House' favoured the Czechs on every possible occasion. Indeed, it was the hand of the goddess of eternal justice and inexorable retribution that caused the most deadly enemy of Germanism in Austria, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, to fall by the very bullets which he himself had helped to cast. He was the prime mover in the work, begun by the ruling classes, of turning Austria into a Slav State.

The burdens laid on the shoulders of the German people were enormous and the sacrifices of money and blood which they had to make were incredibly heavy. Yet anybody who was not quite blind must have seen that it was all in vain. What affected us most bitterly was the consciousness of the fact that this whole system was morally sanctioned by the alliance with Germany, whereby the slow extirpation of Germanism in the old Austrian Monarchy seemed in some way to be more or less countenanced by Germany herself. Habsburg hypocrisy, which endeavoured outwardly to make the people believe that Austria still remained a German State, increased the feeling of hatred against the Imperial House and at the same time aroused a spirit of rebellion and contempt.

Only in the German Reich itself did those who were then its rulers fail to understand what all this meant. As if struck blind, they stood beside a corpse and in the very symptoms of decomposition they believed that they recognized the signs of renewed vitality. In that unhappy alliance between the young German Empire and the illusory Austrian State lay the germ of the World War and also of the final collapse.

In subsequent passages of this book I shall go to the root of this problem. Suffice it here to say that in the very

early years of my youth I came to certain conclusions which I have never abandoned. Indeed I became more profoundly convinced of them as the years passed. They were, firstly, that the dissolution of the Austrian Empire was a preliminary condition for the safeguarding of German nationality and culture; further, that national feeling is by no means identical with dynastic patriotism; and, above all, that the House of Habsburg was destined to bring misfortune on the German nation.

As a logical consequence of these convictions, there arose in me a feeling of intense love for my German-Austrian home and a profound hatred for the Austrian State.

The way of looking at history which was developed in me through my study of history at school never left me afterwards. World-history became more and more an inexhaustible source for the understanding of contemporary historical events, which means politics. Therefore, I would not 'learn history, but let history teach me.

A precocious revolutionary in politics, I was no less a precocious revolutionary in art. At that time, the provincial capital of Upper Austria had a theatre which, relatively speaking, was not bad. Almost everything was produced there. When I was twelve years old I saw a performance of *Wilhelm Tell* there. That was my first experience of the theatre. Some months later I attended a performance of *Lohenorin*, the first opera I had ever heard. I was fascinated at once. My youthful enthusiasm for the Bayreuth Master knew no bounds. Again and again I was drawn to hear his operas; and to-day I consider it a great piece of luck that these modest productions in the little provincial city prepared the way and made it possible for me to appreciate better productions later on.

All this helped to intensify my profound aversion for the career that my father had chosen for me, and this dislike became especially strong as the rough corners of youthful boorishness were worn down, a process which, in my case, was fraught with a good deal of pain. I became more and more convinced that I should never be happy as a govern-

ment official, and now that the *Realschule* had recognized and acknowledged my aptitude for drawing, my own resolution became all the stronger. Imprecations and threats had no longer any power to change it. I wanted to become a painter and no power on earth could force me to become a civil servant. The only peculiar feature of the situation now was that as I grew bigger I became more and more interested in architecture. I considered this fact as a natural complement of my talent for painting and I rejoiced inwardly that the sphere of my artistic interests was thus enlarged. I had no notion that one day it would have to be otherwise.

The question of my career was decided much sooner than I could have foreseen. When I was in my thirteenth year my father was suddenly taken from us. He was still in robust health when a stroke of apoplexy painlessly ended his earthly sojourn and left us all deeply bereaved. His most ardent longing was to be able to help his son to advance in a career and thus save him from the harsh ordeal that he himself had had to undergo, but it appeared then as if that longing were in vain. And yet, though he himself was not conscious of it, he had sown the seeds of a future which neither of us foresaw at that time.

At first nothing was changed outwardly. My mother felt it her duty to continue my education in accordance with my father's wishes, which meant that she would have me study for the civil service. For my own part, I was even more firmly determined than ever before that in no circumstances would I become a government official. The curriculum and teaching methods followed in the higher grade school were so far removed from my ideals that I became profoundly indifferent. Illness suddenly came to my assistance. Within a few weeks it decided my future and put an end to the long-standing family conflict. My lungs became so seriously affected that the doctor advised my mother very strongly not in any circumstances to allow me to take up a career which would necessitate working in an office. He ordered that I should give up attending the *Realschule* for a year at least. What I had

secretly desired for such a long time, and had persistently fought for, now suddenly became reality without effort on my part. Influenced by my illness, my mother agreed that I should leave the *Realschule* and attend the Academy.

Those were happy days, which appeared to me almost like a dream; and they were doomed to remain only a dream. Two years later my mother's death put a brutal end to all my fine projects. She succumbed to a long and painful illness which, from the very beginning, permitted little hope of recovery. Though expected, her death came as a terrible blow to me. I respected my father, but I loved my mother.

Poverty and stern reality forced me to decide promptly. The meagre resources of the family had been almost entirely used up through my mother's severe illness. The allowance which came to me as an orphan was not enough for the bare necessities of life. Somehow or other, I would have to earn my own bread. With my clothes and linen packed in a valise and with an indomitable resolution in my heart, I left for Vienna. I hoped to forestall Fate, as my father had done fifty years before, I was determined to become 'somebody'—but certainly not a civil servant.

CHAPTER II

LEARNING AND SUFFERING IN VIENNA

WHEN MY MOTHER DIED MY FATE HAD ALREADY been decided in one respect. During the last months of her illness I went to Vienna to take the entrance examination for the Academy of Fine Arts. Armed with a bulky packet of sketches, I felt convinced that I should pass the examination quite easily. At the *Realschule* I was by far the best student in the drawing class, and since that time I had made more than ordinary progress in drawing. I was, therefore, pleased with myself and was proud and happy at the prospect of what I considered an assured success.

I had, however, one misgiving. It seemed to me that I was better qualified for drawing than for painting, especially in the various branches of architectural drawing. At the same time my interest in architecture was constantly increasing, and I advanced in this direction at a still more rapid pace after my first visit to Vienna, which lasted two weeks. I was not yet sixteen years old. I went to the Hof Museum to study the paintings in the art gallery there; but the building itself captured almost all my interest. From early morning until late at night I spent all my time visiting the various public buildings, and it was the buildings themselves that were always the principal attraction for me. For hours and hours I could stand in wonderment before the Opera and the Parliament House. The whole Ring Strasse had a magic effect upon me, as if it were a scene from the Arabian Nights.

And now here I was for the second time in this beautiful city, impatiently waiting to hear the result of the entrance

examination, but proudly confident that I had got through. I was so convinced of my success that when the news that I had failed to pass was brought to me, it struck me like a bolt from the blue. Yet the fact was that I had failed. I went to see the Rector and asked him to explain the reasons why they refused to accept me as a student in the general School of Painting, which was part of the Academy. He said that the sketches which I had brought with me showed unquestionably that painting was not what I was suited for, but that the same sketches gave clear indications of my aptitude for architectural designing. Therefore, the School of Painting did not come into question for me, but rather the School of Architecture, which also formed part of the Academy. They found it hard to believe that I had never been to a school for architecture and had never received any instruction in architectural designing.

When I left the magnificent Hansen building, in the Schiller Platz, I was quite crestfallen. I felt at odds with myself for the first time in my young life, for what I had heard about my capabilities now appeared to me as a lightning flash which clearly revealed a dualism under which I had been suffering for a long time, but for which I had hitherto been unable to account.

Within a few days I myself also knew that I ought to become an architect, but of course the way was very difficult. I was now forced bitterly to rue my former conduct in neglecting and despising certain subjects at the *Real-schule*. Before attending courses at the School of Architecture at the Academy it was necessary to attend the Technical College, but a necessary qualification for entrance to this College was a matriculation certificate gained at the higher grade school, which I did not possess. As far as one could foresee my dream of following an artistic calling seemed beyond the limits of possibility.

After the death of my mother I went to Vienna for the third time. This visit was destined to last several years. Since I had been there before, I had recovered my old calm and resoluteness. My former self-assurance had come back,

and I had my eyes steadily fixed on the goal. I was determined to be an architect. Obstacles are placed across our path in life, not to be boggled at, but to be surmounted, and I was fully determined to surmount these obstacles, having constantly before my mind the picture of my father, who had raised himself by his own efforts to the position of civil servant though he was the poor son of a village shoemaker. I had a better start, and the possibility of winning through was greater. At that time my lot in life seemed to me a harsh one; but to-day I see in it the wise workings of Providence. Adversity had me in its grip and often threatened to smash me; but the will grew stronger as the obstacles increased, and finally the will triumphed.

I am thankful for that period of my life, because it hardened me and enabled me to be hard, and I am even more thankful because I appreciate the fact that I was thus saved from the emptiness of a life of ease and that a mother's darling was taken from comfortable surroundings and handed over to Adversity as to a new mother. Though I then rebelled against it as too hard a fate, I am grateful that I was cast, against my wishes, into a world of misery and poverty and thus came to know the people for whom I was afterwards to fight.

It was during this period that my eyes were opened to two perils, the names of which I scarcely knew hitherto and had no notion whatsoever of their terrible significance for the existence of the German people. These two perils were Marxism and Judaism.

For many people the name of Vienna signifies innocent jollity, a festive place for happy mortals. For me, alas, it is a living memory of the saddest period of my life. Even to-day, the mention of that city arouses only gloomy thoughts in my mind. The very name of that Phaeacian town spells five years of poverty — five years in which, first as a casual labourer and then as a poor painter, I had to earn my daily bread, and a meagre morsel indeed it was, not even sufficient to still the hunger which I constantly felt. That hunger was the faithful companion which never left me and shared in

everything I did. Every book that I bought meant renewed hunger, and every visit I paid to the opera meant the intrusion of that inalienable companion during the days that followed. I was always struggling with my unsympathetic friend, and yet during that time I learned more than I had ever learned before. Apart from my architectural studies and rare visits to the opera, for which I had to deny myself food, I had no pleasure in life except my books.

I read a great deal then, and I pondered deeply over what I read. All my free time after work was devoted exclusively to study. Thus, within a few years, I was able to acquire a stock of knowledge which I find useful even to-day. But, over and above that, there formed in my mind during those years, an impression of life and a *Weltanschauung*. These became the granite basis of my conduct. I have had to add but little to what I then learned and made my own, and I have had to alter none of it.

On the contrary, I am firmly convinced to-day that, generally speaking, it is in youth that men lay the essential groundwork of their creative thought, wherever that creative thought exists. I make a distinction between the wisdom of age—which can only arise from the greater profundity and foresight that are based on the experiences of a long life—and the creative genius of youth, which blossoms out in thought and ideas with inexhaustible fertility, without being able to digest these immediately, because of their very superabundance. These furnish the building materials and plans for the future, and it is from them that age takes the stones and builds the edifice, unless the so-called wisdom of the years has smothered the creative genius of youth.

The life which I had hitherto led at home with my parents differed little from that of many others. I looked forward without apprehension to the morrow, and there was no such thing as a social problem to be faced. Those among whom I passed my young days belonged to the small bourgeois class. Therefore, it was a world that had very little contact with the world of genuine manual labourers, for, though at first this may appear astonishing, the gulf

which separates that class, which is by no means economically well-off, from the manual labouring class is often deeper than people think. The reason for this division, which we may almost call enmity, lies in the fear that dominates a social group which has only just risen above the level of the manual labourer—a fear lest it may fall back into its old condition or at least be classed with the labourers. Moreover, there is something repulsive in remembering the cultural indigence of that lower class and their rough manners with one another; so that people who are only on the first rung of the social ladder find it unbearable to be forced to have any contact with the cultural level and standard of living beyond which they have passed.

Thus, it happens that very often those who belong to what can really be called the upper classes find it much easier than do the upstarts to descend to and intermingle with their fellow-beings on the lowest social level, for, by the word upstart, I mean everyone who has raised himself through his own efforts to a social level higher than that to which he formerly belonged. In the case of such a person the hard struggle through which he has passed often destroys his innate human sympathy. His own fight for existence kills his sensibility to the misery of those who have been left behind.

From this point of view Fate had been kind to me. Circumstances forced me to return to that world of poverty and economic insecurity above which my father had raised himself in his early days, and thus the blinkers of a narrow *petit bourgeois* education were torn from my eyes. Now for the first time I learned to know men and I learned to distinguish between an outer polish or coarse manners and the real inner nature of people.

At the beginning of the century Vienna already ranked among those cities where social conditions were iniquitous. Dazzling riches and loathsome destitution were to be found side by side. In the centre and in the Inner City one felt the pulse-beat of an Empire which had a population of fifty-two millions, with all the perilous charm of a State

made up of multiple nationalities. The dazzling splendour of the Court acted like a magnet to the wealth and intelligence of the whole Empire, and this attraction was further strengthened by the centralizing policy of the Habsburg monarchy itself. This centralizing policy was necessary in order to hold together that hotch-potch of heterogeneous nationalities, but the result of it was an extraordinary concentration of higher officials in the city, which was at one and the same time the metropolis and imperial residence.

Vienna was not merely the political and intellectual centre of the Danubian monarchy; it was also the industrial centre. In contrast to the vast number of military officers of high rank, state officials, artists and scientists, there was the still vaster army of workers. Abject poverty rubbed shoulders with the wealth of the aristocracy and the merchant class. Thousands of unemployed loitered in front of the palaces on the Ring Strasse, and below that *Via Triumphalis* of the old Austria the homeless huddled together in the murk and filth of the canals.

There was hardly any other German city in which the social problem could be studied better than in Vienna. But here I must utter a warning against the illusion that this problem can be 'studied' from a higher social level. The man who has never been in the clutches of that crushing viper can never know what its poison is. An attempt to study it in any other way will result only in superficial talk and sentimental delusions. Both are harmful: the first because it can never go to the root of the problem, the second, because it evades the question entirely. I do not know which is the more nefarious — to ignore social distress, as do the majority of those who have been favoured by fortune and those who have risen in the social scale through their own efforts, or the equally supercilious and often tactless, but always genteel, condescension displayed by people who have a craze for being charitable and who plume themselves on 'sympathizing with the people.' Of course such persons sin to a degree which they, with their lack of instinctive understanding, are unable to realize, and

thus they are astonished to find that the social conscience on which they pride themselves never produces any results, but often causes their good intentions to be resented, and then they talk of the ingratitude of the people.

Such persons are slow to learn that social activity is something very different and that they cannot expect gratitude since they are not distributing favours, but establishing rights. I was protected against the temptation to study the social question in the way just mentioned, for the simple reason that I was forced to suffer myself. It was, therefore, not a question of studying the problem objectively, but rather one of testing its effects on myself. Though the rabbit came through the ordeal of the experiment, this must not be taken as evidence of its harmlessness. When I try to-day to recall the succession of impressions received during that time I find that I can do so only with approximate completeness. Here I shall describe only the more essential impressions and those which personally affected and often staggered me, and I shall mention the few lessons I learned from this experience.

At that time it was for the most part not very difficult to find work, because I had to seek work not as a skilled tradesman, but as a so-called extra-hand and had to be ready to take any job that turned up by chance, just for the sake of earning my daily bread.

Thus I adopted the same attitude as all those emigrants who shake the dust of Europe from their feet, with the cast-iron determination to lay the foundations of a new existence in the New World and acquire for themselves a new home. Liberated from all the paralysing prejudices of class and calling, environment and tradition, they enter any service that is open to them, accepting any work that comes their way, filled more and more with the idea that honest work never disgraced anybody, no matter what kind it may be. So I was resolved to enter what was for me a new world and make my way.

I soon found out that there was always some kind of work to be got, but I also learned that it could just as quickly and

easily be lost. The uncertainty of being able to earn a regular daily livelihood soon appeared to me the gloomiest feature in this new life upon which I had entered.

Although the skilled worker was not so frequently thrown idle as the unskilled worker, yet the former was by no means protected against the same fate; because though he might not have to face hunger as a result of unemployment due to the lack of demand on the labour market, the lock-out and the strike deprived the skilled worker of the chance to earn his bread. The element of uncertainty in earning one's daily bread causes far-reaching and serious repercussions throughout the whole social-economic structure.

The country lad who migrates to the big city feels attracted by what has been described as easy work (which it may be in reality) and shorter working hours and especially by the magic glamour of the big city. Accustomed in the country to earn a steady wage, he has been taught not to quit his former post until a new one is at least in view. As there is a great scarcity of agricultural labour, the probability of long unemployment in the country is very slight. It is a mistake to assume that the lad who leaves the countryside for the town is not made of such sound material as those who remain at home to work on the land. On the contrary, experience shows that it is the more healthy and more vigorous that emigrate, and not the reverse. Among these emigrants I include not merely those who emigrate to America, but also the farm-hand who decides to leave his native village and migrate to the big city, where he will be a stranger. He is ready to take the risk of an uncertain fate. In most cases, he comes to town with a little money in his pocket and for the first few days he is not discouraged if he should not have the good fortune to find work, but if he finds a job and then loses it in a little while, the case is much worse. To find work anew, especially in winter, is often difficult and indeed sometimes impossible. For the first few weeks life is still bearable. He receives his out-of-work money from his trade-union and is thus enabled to carry on. But when the last of his own money is gone and

his trade-union ceases to pay out because of prolonged unemployment, then comes real distress. He now loiters about and is hungry. Often he pawns or sells the last of his belongings. His clothes begin to get shabby and with the increasing shabbiness of his outward appearance he descends to a lower social level and, in addition to his physical misery, now mixes with a class of human beings through whom his mind becomes poisoned. When he has nowhere to sleep, and if this happens in winter, as is very often the case, he is in dire distress. Finally he gets work, but the same story repeats itself a second time, then a third time, and now it is probably much worse. Little by little, he becomes indifferent to this everlasting insecurity. Finally he grows used to the repetition. Thus, even a man who is normally of industrious habits grows careless in his whole attitude towards life and gradually becomes an instrument in the hands of unscrupulous people who exploit him for the sake of their own ignoble aims. He has been so often thrown out of employment through no fault of his own that he is now more or less indifferent as to whether the strike in which he takes part is for the purpose of securing his economic rights or is aimed at the destruction of the State, the whole social order and even civilization itself. Though the idea of going on strike may not be to his liking, yet he joins in out of sheer indifference.

I saw this process happen before my eyes in thousands of cases, and the longer I observed it, the greater became my dislike for that mammoth city which greedily attracts men to its bosom, in order to break them mercilessly in the end. When they came they still felt themselves in communion with their own people at home; if they remained that tie was broken.

I was so buffeted about by life in the metropolis that I myself tasted the physical experience of such a lot and felt the effects of it in my own soul. One other thing became clear to me. The sudden change from work to idleness and vice versa and the constant fluctuation thus caused between earning and expenditure finally destroyed

the sense of thrift in many people and also the habit of regulating expenditure in an intelligent way. The body appeared to grow accustomed to vicissitude, eating heartily in good times and going hungry in bad. Indeed hunger shatters all plans for regulating expenditure in better times when employment has again been found. The reason for this is that the deprivations which the unemployed worker has to endure must be compensated for psychologically by a persistent mental mirage in which he imagines himself eating heartily once again, and this dream develops into such a longing that it turns into a morbid impulse to cast off all self-restraint when work and wages turn up again. Therefore, the moment work is found anew he forgets to regulate the expenditure of his earnings but spends them to the full without thinking of the morrow. This leads to confusion even in the little weekly housekeeping budget, because the expenditure is not carefully planned. At first, the earnings will last perhaps for five days instead of seven; on subsequent occasions they will last only for three; as the habit grows, the earnings will last scarcely for a day, and finally they will disappear in one night.

Often there are a wife and children at home, and in many cases it happens that these become infected by such a way of living, especially if the husband is good to them and loves them in his own way and according to his own lights. Then the week's earnings are spent in common at home within two or three days. The family eat and drink together as long as the money lasts and at the end of the week they hunger together. Then the wife wanders about furtively in the neighbourhood, borrows a little and runs up small debts with the shopkeepers, in an effort to pull through the lean days towards the end of the week. They sit down together to the midday meal, with only meagre fare on the table, and often even nothing to eat. They wait for the coming pay-day, talking of it and making plans; and while they are thus hungry they dream of the plenty that is to come, and so the little children become acquainted with misery in their early years.

The evil culminates when the husband goes his own way from the beginning and the wife protests, simply out of love for the children. Then there are quarrels and bad feeling and the husband takes to drink as he becomes more and more estranged from his wife. He now becomes drunk every Saturday. Fighting for her own existence and that of the children, the wife has to dog his footsteps on the road from the factory to the tavern in order to get a few shillings from him on pay-day. Then when he finally comes home, maybe on the Sunday or the Monday, having parted with his last pence, terrible scenes take place.

I have had actual experience of all this in hundreds of cases. At first I was disgusted and indignant, but later on I came to recognize the whole tragedy of their misfortune and to understand the profound causes of it. They were the unhappy victims of evil circumstances. Housing conditions were very bad at that time. In Vienna manual labourers lived in surroundings of appalling misery. I shudder even to-day when I think of the woeful dens in which people dwelt, the night-shelters and the slums, and all the tenebrous spectacles of ordure, loathsome filth and wickedness. What will happen one day when hordes of emancipated slaves come forth from these dens of misery to swoop down on their unthinking fellows? For unthinking they certainly are. Unthinkingly they allow things to go on as they are, little dreaming, in their insensibility, that the day of reckoning must inevitably come, unless Fate is appeased betimes.

To-day I thank Providence for having sent me to such a school. There I could not refuse to take an interest in matters that did not please me. This school soon taught me a profound lesson.

In order not to despair completely of the people among whom I then lived I had to differentiate between their outward appearance and their way of living, on the one hand, and the reasons for their development, on the other. Then I could bear everything without discouragement, for those who emerged from all this misfortune and misery, from this filth and outward degradation, were not human

beings as such, but rather the lamentable results of lamentable laws. In my own life similar hardships prevented me from giving way to a pitying sentimentality at the sight of these degraded products which had finally resulted from the pressure of circumstances. The sentimental attitude would have been the wrong one to adopt.

Even in those days I already saw that there was a two-fold method by which alone it would be possible to bring about an amelioration of these conditions, namely, to awaken a profound sense of social responsibility for the creation of a better basis for our future development, combined with a ruthless determination to prune away all incorrigible outgrowths.

Just as Nature concentrates her attention, not on the preservation of what already exists, but on the selective breeding of offspring in order to carry on the species, so in human life also it is less a matter of artificially improving the existing generation (which, owing to human characteristics, is impossible in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred), but more of securing from the very start a better road for future development.

During my struggle for existence in Vienna I perceived very clearly that the aim of all social activity must never be merely charitable relief, which is ridiculous and useless, but it must rather be a means to find a way of eliminating the fundamental deficiencies in our economic and cultural life—deficiencies which necessarily bring about the degradation of the individual or at least lead him towards such degradation. The difficulty of employing any means, even the most drastic, to overcome the hostility towards the State prevailing among certain criminal classes is largely due to an attitude of uncertainty regarding the inner motives and causes of this contemporary phenomenon. The reasons for this uncertainty are to be found in a sense of guilt for having permitted this tragedy of degradation. That feeling paralyses every serious and firm resolve and so contributes to the vacillating, and therefore weak and ineffectual, application of even those measures which are indispensable for self-

preservation. When an age is no longer burdened with its own consciousness of blame in this regard, then and only then, will it have that inner tranquillity and outer strength necessary to cut off drastically and ruthlessly all parasite growth and root out the weeds. Because the Austrian State had almost no sense of social right or social legislation its inability to abolish those evil outgrowths was manifest.

I do not know what appalled me most at that time; the economic misery of those who were then my companions, their crude customs and morals, or the low level of their culture.

How often does our bourgeoisie rise up in moral indignation on hearing from the mouth of some pitiable tramp that it is all the same to him whether he be a German or not, and that he will feel at home wherever he can get enough to keep body and soul together. They bewail such a lack of national pride and express their horror at such sentiments.

But how many people really ask themselves why it is that their own sentiments are better? How many of them understand that their natural pride in being members of so favoured a nation arises from the innumerable succession of instances they have encountered which remind them of the greatness of their country and their nation in all spheres of artistic and cultural life? How many of them realize that pride in their country is largely dependent on knowledge of its greatness in all those spheres? Do our bourgeois circles ever think what a ridiculously meagre share the people have in that knowledge which is a necessary prerequisite for the feeling of pride in one's country?

It cannot be objected here that in other countries similar conditions exist and that nevertheless the working classes in those countries have remained patriotic. Even if that were so, it would be no excuse for our negligent attitude, but it is not so. What we call chauvinistic education—in the case of the French people, for example—is only the excessive exaltation of the greatness of France in all spheres of culture or, as the French say, civilization. The French boy is not educated on purely objective principles. Wherever the impor-

tance of the political and cultural greatness of his country is concerned, he is taught in the most subjective way imaginable.

Education ought always to be on broad, general lines and these ought to be deeply engraven, by constant repetition if necessary, on the memories and feelings of the people. In our case, however, we are not merely guilty of sins of omission, but also of positively perverting the little which some individuals had the luck to learn at school. The rats that poison our body politic gnaw from the hearts and memories of the broad masses even that little which distress and misery have left.

Let the reader try to picture the following: — There is a lodging in a cellar and this lodging consists of two damp rooms. In these rooms a workman and his family live—seven people in all. Let us assume that one of the children is a boy of three. That is the age at which children first become conscious of the impressions which they receive. In the case of highly gifted people traces of the impressions received in those early years remain in the memory up to an advanced age. Now, the narrowness and congestion of those living quarters are not conducive to pleasant relations and thus quarrels and fits of mutual anger arise. These people can hardly be said to live with one another, but rather on top of one another. The small misunderstandings which disappear of themselves in a home where there is enough space for people to get away from one another for a while, here become the source of chronic disputes. As far as the children are concerned the situation is tolerable from this point of view. In such conditions they are constantly quarreling with one another, but the quarrels are quickly and easily forgotten, but when the parents fall out with one another daily bickerings often develop into rudeness such as cannot be adequately imagined. The results of such experiences must become apparent later on in the children. One must have practical experience of such a *milieu* in order to be able to picture the state of affairs that arises from such mutual recriminations when the father

assaults the mother and maltreats her in a fit of drunken rage. At the age of six the unfortunate child begins to be aware of sordid facts which an adult would find revolting. Infected with moral poison, undernourished in body and with its poor little head alive with vermin, the young 'citizen' goes to the primary school. With difficulty he barely learns to read and write. There is no possibility of learning any lessons at home. On the contrary, the father and mother themselves talk before the children in the most disparaging way about the teacher and the school and they are much more inclined to insult the teachers than to put their offspring across their knee and knock sound reason into him. What the little fellow hears at home does not tend to increase his respect for his human surroundings. Here nothing good is said of human nature as a whole and every institution, from the school to the government, is reviled. No matter what the subject, religion or morals, the State or the social order, they rail against them all and drag them down into the dirt. When the lad leaves school, at the age of fourteen, it would be difficult to say what are the most striking features of his character, incredible ignorance in so far as real knowledge is concerned or cynical impudence combined with an attitude towards morality which is really startling in one so young.

What position can a person fill in the world which he is about to enter, if to him nothing is sacred, if he has never come into contact with anything noble but, on the contrary, has been intimately acquainted with the lowest kind of human existence? The child of three has got into the habit of reviling all authority by the time he is fifteen. He has been acquainted only with moral filth and vileness, everything being excluded that might stimulate his thoughts towards higher things. Now this young specimen of humanity enters the school of life. He leads the same kind of life which was exemplified for him by his father during his childhood. He loiters about the streets and comes home at all hours. He even blackguards that broken-hearted being who gave him birth. He curses God and the world and finally ends up in a reformatory for young people where he acquires the final

polish, and his bourgeois contemporaries are astonished at the lack of 'patriotic enthusiasm' which this young citizen displays.

Day after day the bourgeois world sees how poison is spread among the people through the medium of the theatre, the cinema, gutter journalism and obscene books, and yet they are astonished at the deplorable 'moral standards' the 'lack of national feeling' among the masses — as if the overdone sentimentality of the cinema, rubbishy papers and suchlike could lay a foundation for recognition of the greatness of one's country, apart entirely from the earlier education which the individual has received.

I then came to understand, quickly and thoroughly, what I had never been aware of before, namely, that the question of 'nationalizing' a people is first and foremost one of establishing sound social conditions which will furnish the foundation necessary for the education of the individual, for only when family upbringing and school education have inculcated upon the mind of the individual a knowledge of the cultural and economic and, above all, of the political greatness of his own country—then, and then only, will it be possible for him to feel proud of being a citizen of that country. I can fight only for something that I love. I can love only what I respect, and in order to respect a thing I must at least have some knowledge of it.

As soon as my interest in social questions was once awakened I began to study them thoroughly. A new and hitherto unknown world was thus revealed to me. In the years 1909-10 I had so far improved my position that I no longer had to earn my daily bread as a manual labourer. I was now working independently in a small way, as a painter in water colours. This *métier* was a poor one indeed as far as earnings were concerned, for these were only sufficient to pay for the bare necessities of life, yet it had an interest for me, in view of the profession to which I aspired. Moreover, when I came home in the evenings I was now no longer dead-tired as formerly, when I used to be unable to open a book without falling asleep almost immediately.

My present occupation was, therefore, in line with the profession I aimed at for the future. Moreover I was master of my own time and could arrange my working-hours better than formerly. I painted in order to earn my bread, and I studied because I liked it.

Thus I was able to acquire that theoretical knowledge of the social problem which was a necessary complement to what I was learning through actual experience. I studied all the books which I could find that dealt with this question and I thought deeply on what I read. I think that the people among whom I then lived considered me an eccentric person.

Besides my interest in the social question I naturally devoted myself with enthusiasm to the study of architecture. Side by side with music, I considered it queen of the arts. To study it was for me not work but pleasure. I could read or draw into the small hours of the morning without ever getting tired, and I became more and more confident that my dream of a brilliant future would come true, even though I should have to wait long years for its fulfilment. I was firmly convinced that one day I should make a name for myself as an architect.

The fact that, side by side with my professional studies, I took the greatest interest in everything that had to do with politics did not seem to me to signify anything of great importance. On the contrary, I looked upon this practical interest in politics merely as part of an elementary obligation that devolves on every thinking man. Those who have no understanding of the political world around them have no right to criticize or complain. On political questions, therefore, I still continued to read and study a great deal, but 'reading' had probably a different significance for me from that which it has for the average run of our so-called 'intellectuals.'

I know people who read interminably, book after book, page after page, and yet I should not call them 'well-read.' Of course they 'know' an immense amount, but their brain seems incapable of assorting and classifying the material which they have gathered from books. They have not the faculty of distinguishing between what is of value and

what is worthless in a book, in order that they may retain the former in their minds, and if possible, skip over the latter while reading or, if that be not possible, when once read, throw it overboard as useless ballast. Reading is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. Its chief purpose is to help towards filling in the framework which is made up of the talents and capabilities that each individual possesses. Thus each one procures for himself the implements and materials necessary for the fulfilment of his calling in life, no matter whether this be the elementary task of earning one's daily bread or a career taken up in response to a higher call. Such is the first purpose of reading, and the second purpose is to give us a general knowledge of the world in which we live. In both cases, however, the material which we have acquired through reading must not be stored up in the memory on a plan that corresponds to the successive chapters of the book, but each little piece of knowledge thus gained must be treated as if it were a little stone to be inserted into a mosaic, so that it finds its proper place among all the other pieces and particles that help to form a general world-picture in the brain of the reader. Otherwise, only a confused jumble of chaotic notions will result from all reading, and this jumble is not merely useless, but it also tends to make the unfortunate possessor of it conceited, for he seriously considers himself a well-educated person and thinks that he understands something of life. He believes that he has acquired knowledge, whereas the truth is that every increase in such knowledge draws him more and more away from real life, until he finally ends up in some sanatorium or takes to politics and becomes a member of parliament.

Such a person never succeeds in turning his knowledge to practical account when the opportune moment arrives, for his mental equipment is not ordered according to the broad lines of human existence, but in the order of succession in which he read the books and their contents is stored in his mind. If Fate should one day call upon him to use some of his book-knowledge for certain practical purposes in life, Fate would have to name the book and give the number of

the page, for the poor noodle himself would never be able to find the spot where he gathered the information now called for; but since the page is not mentioned at the critical moment the 'wise fool' finds himself in a state of hopeless embarrassment. In a high state of agitation he searches for analogous cases and it is almost certain that he will finally hit on the wrong prescription.

Were this not so, there could be no explanation for the political achievements of our highly-placed government officials, unless we assume that they are due to malice and chicanery rather than to pathological weakness.

On the other hand, a man who has cultivated the art of reading will instantly discern, in a book, a journal or a pamphlet, what ought to be remembered because it meets his personal needs or is of value as general knowledge. What he thus learns is incorporated in his mental conception of this or that problem or thing, further correcting the mental picture or enlarging it so that it becomes more exact and precise. Should some practical problem suddenly demand examination or solution, memory will immediately select the requisite information from the mass that has been acquired through years of reading and will place this information at the service of a man's powers of judgment so he may gain a new and clearer view of the problem, or even solve it. Only thus can reading have any meaning or value.

The speaker, for example, who has not the sources of information ready to hand which are necessary to a proper treatment of his subject, is unable to defend his opinions against an opponent, even though those opinions be perfectly sound and true. In every discussion his memory will leave him shamefully in the lurch. He cannot summon up arguments to support his statements or to refute his opponent. So long as the speaker has only to defend himself on his own personal account, the situation is not serious, but the evil arises when Fate places at the head of public affairs such a *soi-disant* know-all, who in reality knows nothing.

From early youth I endeavoured to read books in the right way and I was fortunate in having a good memory and

intelligence to assist me. From that point of view my sojourn in Vienna was particularly useful and profitable. My daily experiences there were a constant stimulus to study the most diverse problems from new angles. Inasmuch as I was in a position to put theory to the test of reality and reality to the test of theory, I was safe from the danger of losing myself in a haze of theories on the one hand, and of becoming superficial, on the other.

My everyday experiences at that time made me determined to make a fundamental theoretical study of two most important questions, apart from the social question. It is impossible to say when I might have started to make a thorough study of the doctrine and characteristics of Marxism, were it not for the fact that I then literally pitched head foremost into the problem.

What I knew of Social Democracy in my youth was precious little and that little was for the most part wrong. The fact that it led the struggle for universal suffrage and the secret ballot gave me an inner satisfaction, for my reason then told me that this would weaken the Habsburg regime, which I so thoroughly detested. I was convinced that except at the cost of sacrificing the German element, the Danubian State could not continue to exist. Even a long and steady Slavization of the Austrian Germans would not have constituted a guarantee that the Empire would endure, because it was very questionable if, and how far, the Slavs possessed the necessary capacity for preserving the State as such. Therefore, I welcomed every movement that might lead towards the final disruption of that impossible State which, to continue to exist, would have to stamp out the German character in ten million people. The more this babel of tongues wrought discord and disruption, even in the parliament, the nearer did the hour approach for the dissolution of this Babylonian Empire. That would mean the liberation of my German-Austrian people and only then would it become possible for them to be re-united with the mother-country.

Accordingly, I had no feeling of antipathy towards the

actual policy of the Social Democrats. That its avowed purpose was to raise the level of the working classes (which, in my ignorance, I then foolishly believed) was a further point in favour of Social Democracy rather than against it, but the feature that contributed most to estrange me from the Social Democratic movement was its hostile attitude towards the struggle for the preservation of Germanism in Austria and its undignified wooing of the Slav 'comrades,' who received these approaches favourably as long as any practical advantages were forthcoming, but otherwise maintained a haughty reserve, thus giving the suitors the answer their behaviour deserved.

So it happened that, at the age of seventeen, the word 'Marxism' was very little known to me, while I looked on 'Social Democracy' and 'Socialism' as synonymous expressions. It was only as the result of a sudden blow from the rough hand of Fate that my eyes were opened to the nature of this unparalleled system of duping the public.

Hitherto my acquaintance with the Social Democratic Party had only been that of a mere spectator at some of their mass meetings. I had not the slightest idea of the Social-Democratic doctrine or of the mentality of its partisans but now was suddenly brought face to face with the products of its teaching and what was called its *Weltanschauung*. In this way a few months sufficed for me to learn something which in other circumstances might have required years of study—namely, that under the cloak of social virtue and love of one's neighbour a veritable pestilence was spreading abroad and that if this pestilence were not stamped out without delay it might eventually succeed in exterminating the human race.

I first came into contact with the Social Democrats while working in the building trade. From the very moment I started work the situation was not very pleasant for me. My clothes were still rather decent, I was careful of my speech and I was reserved in manner. I was so occupied with thinking of my own present lot and future prospects that I did not take much interest in my immediate

surroundings. I had sought work so that I should not starve and at the same time so as to be able to make further headway with my studies, though this headway might be slow. Possibly I should not have bothered about my companions had it not been that on the third or fourth day an event occurred which forced me to take a definite stand. I was called upon to join the trade-union.

At that time I knew nothing about the trade-unions. I had had no opportunity of forming an opinion on their utility or inutility, as the case might be, but when I was told that I must join the union, I refused. The grounds which I gave for my refusal were simply that I knew nothing about the matter and that anyhow I would not allow myself to be forced into anything. Probably the former reason saved me from being thrown out right away. They probably thought that within a few days I might be converted or become more docile, but if they thought so, they were profoundly mistaken. After two weeks I found it utterly impossible for me to take such a step, even if I had been willing to take it at first. During those fourteen days I came to know my fellow-workmen better, and no power in the world could have moved me to join an organization whose representatives had meanwhile shown themselves in a light which I found so unfavourable.

At first, my resentment was aroused.

At midday some of my fellow-workers used to adjourn to the nearest tavern, while the others remained on the building premises and there ate their midday meal, which was in most cases a very scanty one. These were the married men whose wives brought them their midday soup in dilapidated vessels. Towards the end of the week there was a gradual increase in the number of those who remained to eat their midday meal on the building premises. I understood the reason for this afterwards. They now talked politics.

I drank my bottle of milk and ate my morsel of bread somewhat apart from the others, while I circumspectly studied my environment or else fell to meditating on my

own harsh lot. Yet I heard more than enough, and I often thought that much of what they said was meant for my ears, in the hope of making me adopt a definite attitude, but all that I heard had the effect of arousing the strongest antagonism in me. Everything was disparaged—the nation, because it was held to be an invention of the capitalist class (how often I had to listen to that phrase!); the Fatherland, because it was held to be an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie for the exploitation of the working classes; the authority of the law, because that was a means of oppressing the proletariat; the school system, as a means of training not only slaves, but also slave-drivers; religion, as a means of doping the people, in order to exploit them afterwards; morality, as the badge of stupid and sheepish docility. There was nothing that they did not drag in the mud.

At first I remained silent, but that could not last very long. Then I began to take part in the discussion and to reply to their statements. I had to recognize, however, that this was bound to be entirely fruitless, as long as I did not have at least a certain amount of definite information about the questions that were discussed. I therefore decided to consult the sources from which they claimed to have drawn their so-called wisdom, and, with this end in view, I studied book after book, pamphlet after pamphlet.

Meanwhile, we argued with one another on the building premises. Day by day I was becoming better informed than my companions on the subjects on which they claimed to be informed. Then a day came when the more redoubtable of my adversaries resorted to the most effective weapon they had to replace the force of reason, namely, intimidation and physical force. Some of the leaders among my adversaries ordered me to leave the building or else allow myself to be flung off the scaffolding. As I was quite alone I could not put up any effective resistance, so I chose the first alternative and departed, having, however, learned a lesson.

I went away full of disgust, but at the same time so deeply moved that it was quite impossible for me to turn my

back on the whole situation and think no more about it. When my anger began to calm down, the spirit of obstinacy got the upper hand and I decided that at all costs I would get back to work again in the building trade. This decision became all the stronger a few weeks later, when my little savings had entirely run out and hunger clutched me once again in its merciless grip. I had no alternative, I got work again and had to leave for the same reasons as before.

I tortured myself with the question, 'Are these men worthy to belong to a great people?' The question is profoundly disturbing, for if the answer is in the affirmative, then the struggle to defend one's nationality is no longer worth all the trouble and sacrifice we demand of our best elements if it be on behalf of such a rabble. On the other hand, if the answer is in the negative, then our nation is poor in human material. After days spent in such meditation and introspection, I was depressed and saw before my mind's eye the ever-increasing and menacing army of people who could no longer be reckoned as belonging to their own nation.

It was with changed feelings, that, some days later, I gazed on the interminable ranks of Viennese workmen parading four abreast, at a mass demonstration. I stood dumbfounded for almost two hours, watching that enormous human dragon which slowly uncoiled itself there before me. When I finally left the square and wandered in the direction of my lodgings I felt dismayed and depressed. On my way I noticed the *Arbeiterzeitung* (The Workers' Journal) in a tobacco shop. This was the chief press-organ of the old Austrian Social Democracy. In a cheap café, where the common people used to forgather and where I often went to read the papers, the *Arbeiterzeitung* was also displayed. Hitherto I had not been able to bring myself to do more than glance at the wretched thing for a couple of minutes, for its whole tone was a sort of mental vitriol to me. Under the depressing influence of the demonstration I had witnessed, some interior voice urged me to buy the paper in that tobacco shop and read it through. So I took it home with me and spent a whole evening reading it, despite the

steadily mounting rage provoked by this ceaseless outpouring of falsehoods.

I now found that in the social democratic daily papers I could study the inner character of this movement much better than in all their theoretical literature. What a discrepancy between the two, between the literary effusions which dealt with the theory of Social Democracy and their high-sounding phraseology about liberty, human dignity and beauty, the air of profound wisdom, the disgusting moral pose and the brazen prophetic assurance — a meticulously woven glitter of words, to dazzle and mislead the reader and, on the other hand, the daily press spreading this new doctrine of human redemption in the most vile fashion! No means was too base, provided it could be exploited in the campaign of slander. These journalists were real virtuosos in the art of twisting facts and presenting them in a deceptive form. The theoretical literature was intended for the simpletons of the *soi-disant* intelligentsia of the middle and upper classes. The newspaper propaganda was intended for the masses.

This probing into books and newspapers and the study of the teachings of Social Democracy reawakened my love for my own people, and thus what at first seemed an impassable gulf became the occasion of a closer affection.

Having once understood the working of the colossal system for poisoning the popular mind, only a fool could blame the victims of it. During the years that followed I became more independent, and as I did so, I became better able to understand the inner cause of the success achieved by this Social Democratic gospel. I now realized the meaning and purpose of those brutal orders which prohibited the reading of all books and newspapers that were not 'Red' and at the same time demanded that only the 'Red' meetings should be attended. In the clear light of reality I was able to see what must have been the inevitable consequences of that intolerant teaching.

The mentality of the broad masses is accessible only to what is strong and uncompromising. Like woman whose inner sensibilities are not under the sway of abstract

reasoning, but are always subject to the influence of a vague emotional longing for the strength that completes her being, and who would rather bow to the strong man than dominate the weakling—in like manner the masses of the people prefer the ruler to the suppliant, and are filled with a stronger sense of mental security by a teaching that brooks no rival, than by one which offers them a liberal freedom. They have very little idea of how to use that freedom, and thus they are prone to feel that they have been abandoned. They feel very little shame at being terrorized intellectually and they are scarcely conscious of the fact that their freedom as human beings is impudently abused, nor have they the slightest suspicion of the intrinsic fallacy of the whole doctrine. They see only the ruthless force and brutality of its determined utterances, to which they always submit.

If Social Democracy is opposed by a more truthful teaching, then, even though the struggle be of the most bitter kind, this truthful teaching will finally prevail, provided it be enforced with equal ruthlessness.

Within less than two years I had gained a clear understanding of Social Democracy, its teaching and its weapons. I recognized the infamy of that technique whereby the movement carried on a campaign of mental terrorism against the bourgeoisie, which is neither morally nor spiritually equipped to withstand such attacks. The tactics of Social Democracy consisted in opening, at a given signal, a veritable barrage of lies and calumnies against the man whom they believed to be the most redoubtable of their adversaries, until the nerves of the bourgeoisie gave way and they sacrificed the man who was attacked, simply in the hope of being allowed to live in peace. But the hope always proved to be a foolish one, for they were never left in peace. The same tactics were repeated again and again, until fear of these ruthless fanatics exercised, by sheer force of suggestion, a paralyzing effect on their victims.

Through its own experience, Social Democracy learned the value of strength and for that reason it attacks mostly those in whom it senses real mettle which is indeed

a very rare possession. On the other hand, it praises every weakling among its adversaries, more or less cautiously according to the measure of his mental qualities, known or assumed. They have less fear of a man of genius who lacks will-power, than of a vigorous character of mediocre intelligence, and at the same time they highly commend those who are devoid of both intelligence and will-power.

The Social Democrats know how to create the impression that they alone are the protectors of peace. In this way, acting very circumspectly, but never losing sight of their ultimate goal, they conquer one position after another, at one time by methods of quiet intimidation, and at another, by sheer daylight robbery, employing these latter tactics at those moments when public attention is turned towards other matters from which it does not wish to be diverted, or when the public considers an incident too trivial to create a scandal and thus provoke the anger of a malignant opponent. These tactics are based on an accurate estimation of human frailties and must lead to success, with almost mathematical certainty, unless the other side also learns how to fight poison gas with poison gas. Weaker elements must be told that here it is a question of to be or not to be.

I also came to understand that physical intimidation has its significance for the mass as well as for the individual. Here again, the psychological effect has been calculated to a nicety. Intimidation in workshops and in factories, in assembly halls and at mass demonstrations, will always meet with success as long as it does not have to encounter the same kind of intimidation in a stronger form.

Then, of course, the Social Democratic Party will raise a horrified outcry and appeal to the authority of the State, which it has just repudiated and will, in most cases, quietly achieve its aim amid the general confusion, namely, to discover some bovine creature holding an important government position, who, in a vain attempt to curry favour with the dreaded opponent in case of future trouble, is ready to finish off those who dare to oppose this world-enemy. The impression which such successful tactics makes on

the minds of the broad masses, whether they be adherents or opponents, can be estimated only by one who knows the popular mind, not from books, but from practical life, for the successes which are thus obtained are taken by the adherents of Social Democracy as a triumph of the righteousness of their own cause; on the other hand, the beaten opponent very often loses faith in the effectiveness of any further resistance.

The more I understood the methods of physical intimidation that were employed, the more sympathy I had for the multitude that had succumbed to it. I am thankful now for the ordeal which I had to go through at that time; for it was the means of bringing me to think kindly again of my own people, inasmuch as the experience enabled me to distinguish between the false leaders and the victims who have been led astray, for those who had been misled in this way can only be described as victims. If I attempted to give a faithful picture of those on the lowest rung of the social ladder, my picture would be incomplete, if I did not add that even in the social depths I still found light in the shape of a rare spirit of self-sacrifice and loyal comradeship, contentment and a modest reserve. This was true especially of the older generation of workmen. Although these qualities were disappearing more and more in the younger generation, owing to the all-pervading influence of the big city, yet among the younger generation also, there were many who were fundamentally sound and who were able to maintain themselves uncontaminated amid the sordid surroundings of their everyday existence. If these men, who in many cases meant well and were upright in themselves, were, as far as their political activities were concerned, in the ranks of the mortal enemy of our people, that was because they, as decent workpeople, did not and could not grasp the downright infamy of the doctrine taught by the socialist agitators. Furthermore, it was because no other section of the community bothered itself about the lot of the working classes, and social conditions finally proved more powerful than any feelings which might have led them to adopt a

different attitude. A day was bound to come when want gained the upper hand and drove them to join the Social Democrats.

On innumerable occasions the bourgeoisie took a definite stand against even the most legitimate human demands of the working classes. This line of conduct was not only ill-judged and indeed immoral, but the bourgeoisie did not even stand to gain by it. The result was that even the honest workman abandoned the original concept of the trade-union organization and was dragged into politics.

There were millions of workmen who began by being hostile to the Social Democratic Party, but their defences were repeatedly stormed and finally they had to surrender. Yet this defeat was due to the stupidity of the bourgeois parties, who had opposed every social demand put forward by the working classes. The short-sighted refusal to support attempts to improve labour conditions, the refusal to adopt measures for the prevention of accidents in the factories, the refusal to forbid child labour, the refusal to consider protective measures for female workers, especially expectant mothers—all this was of assistance to the Social Democratic leaders, who were thankful for every opportunity which they could exploit for forcing the masses into their net. Our bourgeois parties can never repair the damage that resulted from the mistake they then made, for they sowed the seeds of hatred when they opposed all efforts at social reform and thus, to all outward appearances, at least, lent colour to the claim put forward by the arch-enemy of our people, that only the Social Democrats protected. In this way it provided the moral justification of the actual existence of the trade-union, which was, from the outset, the chief political recruiting-ground for the Social Democratic Party.

During those years in Vienna, I was forced, whether I liked it or not, to decide on the attitude I should take towards the trade-union. Because I looked upon them as inseparable from the Social Democratic Party, my decision was hasty—and mistaken. I repudiated them as a matter

of course, but on this essential question, too, Fate intervened and gave me a lesson, with the result that I changed the opinion which I had first formed.

When I was twenty years old I had learned to distinguish between the trade-union as a means of defending the social rights of the employees and of fighting for better living conditions for them and, on the other hand, the trade-union as a political instrument used by the party in the class struggle.

The fact that the Social Democrats grasped the enormous importance of the trade-union movement, secured for them a weapon which they used with success, whereas the bourgeois parties by their failure to understand it, lost their political prestige. They thought that their own arrogant veto would arrest the logical development of the movement, but what they actually did was to produce an illogical development. It is absurd and also untrue to say that the trade-union movement was in itself hostile to the nation. To maintain the opposite would be more correct. If the activities of the trade-union are directed towards improving the condition of a class, which is a mainstay of the nation, and succeed in doing so, such activities are not directed against the Fatherland or the State but are, in the truest sense of the word, national. In that way, the trade-union organization helps to create the social conditions which are indispensable in a general system of national education. It deserves high recognition when it destroys the psychological and physical germs of social disease and thus contributes to the general welfare of the nation.

It is, therefore, superfluous to ask whether the trade-union is indispensable. So long as there are employers who lack social understanding and have false ideas of justice and fair play, it is not only the right, but also the duty, of their employees (who are, after all, an integral part of our people) to protect the general interests against the greed and unreason of the individual. To safeguard the loyalty and confidence of the people is as much in the interests of the nation as to safeguard public health. Both are seriously

menaced by dishonourable employers who are not conscious of their duty as members of the national community. Their personal avidity or ruthlessness sow the seeds of future trouble. To eliminate the causes of such a development is an action that deserves the approbation of the country, and not the reverse.

It is useless to argue that the individual workman is free at any time to escape from the consequences of an injustice which he has actually suffered, or thinks he has suffered, at the hands of an employer, — in other words, he can leave. That argument is only a ruse to distract attention from the question at issue. Is it, or is it not, in the interests of the nation to remove the causes of social unrest? If it is, then the fight must be carried on with the only weapons that promise success. The individual workman is never in a position to stand up against the might of the big employer, for the question here is not one that concerns the triumph of right since, if right had been recognized as the guiding principle, the conflict could not have arisen at all. But here it is a question of who is the stronger. If it were otherwise, a sense of justice would, in itself, lead to an honourable settlement of the dispute, or, to put the case more correctly, such a dispute would never have arisen.

If unsocial and dishonourable treatment of men provokes resistance, then the stronger party will win through in the conflict, until the constitutional legislative authorities do away with the evil through legislation. Therefore it is evident that, only if the individual workmen combine against the individual employer as representing the concentrated force of the undertaking, can they hope not to be doomed to defeat from the outset. Thus the trade-unions can help to inculcate and strengthen a sense of social responsibility in daily life and open the way to practical results. In doing this they tend to remove those causes of friction which are a continual source of discontent and complaint.

The blame for the fact that the trade-unions do not fulfil this much-desired function must be laid at the doors of those who barred the road to legislative social reform, or rendered

such a reform ineffective by sabotaging it through their political influence.

Since the political bourgeoisie failed to understand—or, rather, did not wish to understand—the importance of the trade-union movement, the Social Democrats seized the advantage offered them by this mistaken policy and took the trade-unions under their exclusive protection, without any protest from the other side. In this way they established for themselves a solid bulwark behind which they could safely retire whenever the struggle assumed a critical aspect. Thus the genuine purpose of the movement gradually fell into oblivion, and was replaced by new objectives, for the Social Democrats never had the slightest intention of upholding the original purpose for which the trade-union movement was founded.

Within a few decades the trade-union movement was transformed, by the expert hand of Social Democracy, from an instrument which had been originally fashioned for the defence of human rights into an instrument for the destruction of the national economic structure. The interests of the working class were not for one moment permitted to interfere with this aim, for, in the political sphere the application of economic pressure always renders extortion successful, if the one side be sufficiently unscrupulous and the other sufficiently inert and docile. In this case both these conditions were fulfilled.

By the beginning of the present century the trade-unionist movement had already ceased to serve the purpose for which it had been founded. From year to year it fell more and more under the political control of the Social Democrats, until it finally came to be used solely as a battering-ram in the class struggle. The plan was to shatter, by means of constantly repeated blows, the economic edifice on the building of which so much time and care had been expended. Once this objective had been reached, the destruction of the State would become easier, because the State would already have been deprived of its economic foundations. It became less and less a question of protecting the real interests of the

workers, until political acumen no longer deemed it advisable to supply the social and cultural needs of the broad masses, since there was a danger that if these masses once felt content they could no longer be employed as mere passive material in the political struggle.

The mere prospect of such a development caused such anxiety among the leaders in the class-warfare, that they eventually rejected and inveighed against every genuinely beneficial social reform, and conditions were such that these leaders did not have to trouble to justify such an illogical policy.

As the masses were taught to increase and raise their demands, the possibility of satisfying them dwindled, and whatever ameliorative measures were taken seemed less and less significant, so that it was always possible to persuade the masses that this ridiculous degree in which the most sacred claims of the working classes were being granted, represented a diabolical plan to weaken their fighting power and, if possible, to paralyse it. In view of the limited thinking capacity of the broad masses, the success achieved is not to be wondered at.

In the bourgeois camp there was high indignation over the dishonesty of the Social Democratic tactics, but not even the most tentative steps were taken to lay down guiding principles for their own line of conduct in the light of this. The refusal of the Social Democrats, to improve the miserable living conditions of the working classes, ought to have induced the bourgeois parties to make the most energetic efforts in this direction and to snatch from the hands of the class-warfare leaders their most precious weapon; but nothing of this kind happened.

Instead of attacking the position of its adversaries the bourgeoisie allowed itself to be pressed and hurried. Finally, it adopted means that were so tardy and so insignificant that they were ineffective and were rejected. So the whole situation remained just as it had been before the bourgeois intervention, except that the discontent had increased.

Like a threatening storm, the 'free trade-union' hung

above the political horizon and overshadowed the life of each individual. It was one of the most frightful instruments of terror that threatened the security and independence of the national economic structure, the stability of the State and the liberty of the individual. Above all, it was the 'free trade-union' that turned democracy into a ridiculous term, insulted the ideal of liberty and derided that of fraternity with the slogan, 'If you won't become one of us, we'll crack your skull.'

Thus did I come to know this friend of humanity. During the years that followed, my knowledge was widened and deepened, but I never felt called upon to alter my original opinion. The more I became acquainted with the external forms of Social Democracy, the greater became my desire to understand the inner nature of its doctrines. For this purpose the official literature of the party was of little use. In discussing economic questions, its statements were false and its proofs unsound. In treating of political aims its attitude was insincere. Furthermore, its modern methods of chicanery in the presentation of its arguments were profoundly repugnant to me. Its flamboyant sentences, its obscure and incomprehensible phrases, pretended to contain great thoughts, but they were devoid of meaning. One would have had to be a decadent Bohemian in one of our modern cities in order to feel at home in that labyrinth of nonsense, or enjoy intimate experiences amid the stinking fumes of this literary dadaism. These writers were obviously counting on the proverbial humility of a certain section of our people, who believe that a person who is incomprehensible must be profoundly wise.

By comparing the theoretical falsity and absurdity of that doctrine with the reality of its external manifestations, I gradually came to have a clear idea of its final aims. During such moments I had dark presentiments and feared something evil. I had before me a teaching inspired by egotism and hatred, calculated to win its victory, the winning of which would be a mortal blow to humanity. Meanwhile, I had discovered the relationship existing between this destructive

teaching and the specific character of a people, who up to that time had been to me almost unknown. Knowledge of the Jews is the only key to a true understanding of the inner nature, and, therefore, the real aims, of Social Democracy.

The man who has come to know this race has succeeded in removing from his eyes the veil through which he had seen the aims and meaning of this party in a false light; then, out of the murk and fog of socialist talk rises the grimacing spectre of Marxism.

To-day it is hard, and almost impossible, for me to say when the word 'Jew' first began to have any particular significance for me. I do not remember ever having heard the word at home during my father's lifetime. If this word had been used with a particular inflection I think the old gentleman would have considered those who used it in this way as being 'behind the times.' In the course of his career he had, despite his pronounced nationalist tendencies, come to be more or less of a cosmopolitan, and this had not been without its effect on me. In school, too, I found no reason to alter the picture I had formed at home. At the *Realschule* I knew one Jewish boy. We were all on our guard in our relations with him, but only because his reticence and certain actions of his warned us to be discreet. Beyond that, my companions and myself formed no particular opinion regarding him.

It was not until I was fourteen or fifteen years old that I frequently ran up against the word 'Jew,' partly in connection with political controversies. These references aroused a slight aversion in me, and I could not avoid an uncomfortable feeling which always came over me when I had to listen to religious disputes. But, at that time, I did not see the Jewish question in any other light.

There were very few Jews in Linz. In the course of centuries the Jews who lived there had become Europeanized and so civilized in appearance that I even looked upon them as Germans. The reason why I did not then perceive the absurdity of such an illusion was that the only thing which I recognized as distinguishing them from us was the practice

of their strange religion. As I thought that they were persecuted on account of their faith my aversion to hearing remarks against them grew almost into a feeling of horror. I did not in the least suspect that there could be such a thing as systematic anti-Semitism.

Such were the views I held when I went to Vienna.

Confused by the mass of impressions I received from the architectural surroundings, and depressed by my own troubles, I did not at first distinguish between the different social strata of which the population of that mammoth city was composed. Although Vienna then had about two hundred thousand Jews among its population of two millions, I did not notice them. During the first weeks of my sojourn, my eyes and my mind were unable to cope with the onrush of new ideas and values. Not until I had gradually settled down in my new surroundings, and the confused picture began to grow clearer, did I gain a closer insight into my new world, and with that I came up against the Jewish problem.

I will not say that the manner in which I first became acquainted with it was particularly pleasant. In the Jew I still saw a man who was of a different religion, and, therefore, on grounds of human tolerance, I was against the idea that he should be attacked because he had a different faith. Consequently I considered that the tone adopted by the anti-Semitic press in Vienna was unworthy of the cultural traditions of a great people. The memory of certain events which happened in the Middle Ages came to my mind, and I felt that I should not like to see them repeated. Generally speaking, these anti-Semitic newspapers were not regarded as belonging to the first rank (but I did not then understand the reason of this) and so I regarded them as the products of jealousy and envy rather than as the expression of a sincere, though wrong-headed, feeling. My own opinions were confirmed by what I considered to be the infinitely more dignified manner in which the really important papers replied to these attacks or simply ignored them, which latter seemed to me the better way.

I diligently read what was generally called the world

press—*Neue Freie Presse*, *Wiener Tageblatt*, etc.—and I was astonished by the abundance of information these gave their readers and the impartial way in which they presented particular problems. I appreciated their dignified tone, although sometimes the flamboyancy of the style was unconvincing, and I did not like it. All this, however, might be attributed to the atmosphere of the metropolis.

Since, at that time, I considered Vienna to be such, I thought this constituted sufficient grounds to excuse these shortcomings of the press, but I was frequently disgusted by the grovelling way in which the Viennese press played lackey to the Court. Scarcely a move took place at the Hofburg which was not presented in glorified colours to the readers. There was such a fuss, especially when it was a question of 'the wisest monarch of all times,' that one was reminded of the antics of the mountain-cock at mating-time. It all seemed artificial, and to my mind, unworthy of liberal democracy. I thought that this cheap way of currying favour at the Court belittled the dignity of the nation, and that was the first shadow that fell on my appreciation of the great Viennese press.

While in Vienna I continued to follow with a vivid interest all the events that were taking place in Germany, whether connected with political or with cultural questions. I had a feeling of pride and admiration when I compared the rise of the young German Reich with the decline of the Austrian State. But, although the foreign policy of that Reich was a source of real pleasure on the whole, the internal political happenings were not always so satisfactory. I did not approve of the campaign which, at that time, was being carried on against Wilhelm II. I looked upon him not only as the German Emperor but, above all, as the creator of the German Navy. The fact that the Emperor was prohibited by the Reichstag from making political speeches, made me very angry, because the prohibition came from a quarter which, in my eyes, had no reason for doing so, for at a single sitting those same parliamentary ganders did more cackling than the whole dynasty of emperors, including even the

weakest could have done in the course of centuries. It annoyed me to have to acknowledge that in a nation where any half-witted fellow could claim for himself the right to criticize and might even be let loose on the people as a 'legislator' in the Reichstag, the wearer of the Imperial Crown could be the subject of a 'reprimand' on the part of the most miserable assembly of drivellers that had ever existed.

I was even more disgusted at the way in which this same Viennese press salaamed obsequiously before the meanest steed belonging to the Habsburg royal stables and went off into wild ecstasies of delight if the nag wagged its tail in response. At the same time these newspapers took up an attitude of anxiety in matters that concerned the German Emperor, trying to cloak their enmity by the serious air of concern which they assumed. Naturally, they protested that they had no intention of interfering in Germany's internal affairs—God forbid! They pretended that by touching a delicate spot in such a friendly way they were fulfilling a duty that devolved upon them by reason of the mutual alliance between the two countries and at the same time discharging their obligations of journalistic truthfulness. Having thus excused themselves about tenderly touching a sore spot, they probed the wound ruthlessly.

That sort of thing made my blood boil, and now I began to be more and more on my guard when reading the great Viennese press. I had to acknowledge, however, that on such subjects, one of the anti-Semitic papers—*Deutsches Volksblatt*—acted with more dignity. What got still more on my nerves was the repugnant manner in which the big newspapers cultivated admiration for France. One really had to feel ashamed of being a German when confronted by those mellifluous hymns of praise for 'the great cultured nation. This wretched Gallomania more often than once made me throw away one of these newspapers belonging to the world press.' I now often turned to the *Volksblatt* which was much smaller in size but which treated such subjects more decently. I was not in accord with its sharply

anti-Semitic tone, but again and again I found that its arguments gave me food for serious thought.

Anyhow it was as a result of such reading that I came to know the man and the movement which then determined the fate of Vienna. These were Dr. Karl Lueger and the Christian Socialist Party. At the time I went to Vienna I felt opposed to both. I looked on both the man and the movement as reactionary. But even an elementary sense of justice forced me to change my opinion when I had an opportunity of knowing the man and his work; and slowly that opinion grew into outspoken admiration when I had better grounds for forming a judgment. To-day, as well as then, I respect Dr. Karl Lueger as the most eminent type of German Burgomaster. How many prejudices were overcome through such a change in my attitude towards the Christian Socialist Movement!

My ideas about anti-Semitism changed also in the course of time, but that was the change which I found most difficult. It cost me a great internal conflict with myself, and it was only after months of struggle between reason and sentiment that the former gained the victory. Two years later sentiment rallied to the side of reason and became a faithful guardian and counsellor. At the time of this bitter inner struggle between calm reason and the sentiments in which I had been brought up, the lessons that I learned on the streets of Vienna were of invaluable assistance. A time came when I no longer passed blindly along the streets of the mighty city, as I had done in the early days, but now with my eyes open, not only in order to study the buildings, but also the human beings.

Once, when passing through the oldest part of the city, I suddenly encountered a creature in a long caftan and wearing black sidelocks. My first thought was, Is this, then, a Jew? They certainly did not have this appearance in Linz. I watched the man stealthily and cautiously, but the longer I gazed at that strange countenance and examined it feature by feature, the more the question shaped itself in my brain, 'Is this, then, a German?'

As was always my habit with such experiences, I turned to books for help in removing my doubts. For the first time in my life I bought myself some anti-Semitic pamphlets, for a few pence, but unfortunately they all began with the assumption that the reader had at least a certain degree of information on the Jewish question or was even familiar with it. Moreover, the tone of most of these pamphlets was such that I became doubtful again, because the statements made were partly superficial and the proofs extraordinarily unconvincing. For weeks, and indeed for months, I returned to my old way of thinking. The subject appeared so enormous and the accusations were so far-reaching that I was afraid of being unjust and so I became again anxious and uncertain.

Naturally, I could no longer doubt that here it was not a question of Germans who happened to be of a different religion, but rather that it was a question of an entirely different people, for as soon as I began to investigate the matter and observe the Jews, Vienna appeared to me in a different light. Wherever I now went, I saw Jews, and the more I saw of them the more strikingly and clearly they stood out as different from the other citizens. Especially the old part of the city and the district north of the Danube Canal swarmed with a people who, even in outer appearance bore no similarity to the Germans.

Any indecision which I may still have felt about that point was finally removed by the activities of a certain section of the Jews themselves. A great movement, called Zionism, the aim of which was to assert the national character of Judaism, was strongly represented in Vienna. To all outward appearances it seemed as if only one group of Jews championed this movement, while the great majority disapproved of it, or even repudiated it, but a closer investigation of the situation showed that since that part of Jewry which was styled 'liberal' did not disown the Zionists as if they were not members of their race, but rather as brother Jews who publicly professed their faith in an unpractical,

and even dangerous way, there was no real rift in their internal solidarity.

This fictitious conflict between the Zionists and the 'liberal' Jews soon disgusted me; for it was false through and through and therefore in direct contradiction to the moral dignity and immaculate character on which that race had always prided itself. Cleanliness, whether moral or of another kind, had its own peculiar meaning for these people. That they were water-shy was obvious on looking at them and, unfortunately, very often even when not looking at them. The odour of those people in caftans often used to make me feel ill. Apart from that there were the unkempt clothes and the ignoble exterior. All these details were certainly not attractive, but the revolting feature was that beneath their unclean exterior one suddenly perceived the moral mildew of the chosen race.

What soon gave me food for serious thought was the insight which I gradually gained into the activities of the Jews in certain walks of life. Was there any shady undertaking, any form of foulness, especially in cultural life, in which at least one Jew did not participate? On probing to the heart of this kind of abomination, one discovered, like a maggot in a rotten body, a tiny Jew, who was apt to be blinded when thus exposed to the light of day.

In my eyes the charge against Judaism became a grave one the moment I discovered the scope of Jewish activities in the press, in art, in literature and in the theatre. All unctuous protests were now more or less futile. One needed only to look at the posters and to study the names of the authors of the appalling productions advertised as being performed in the cinemas and theatres, in order to become hardened against the Jews. Here was a pestilence, a moral pestilence, with which the public was being infected. It was worse than the black plague of long ago. And in what doses this poison was manufactured and distributed! Naturally, the lower the moral and intellectual level of such an author of 'artistic' products, the more inexhaustible his fecundity, and at times it even seemed as though these creatures turned

out their stuff like machines and hurled it at the public. In this connection we must remember there is no limit to the number of such writers. One ought to realize that for one Goethe, Nature may bring into existence ten thousand such scribblers who act as the worst kind of germ-carriers in poisoning human souls. It was a terrible thought, and yet one which could not be overlooked, that the greater number of the Jews seemed specially destined by Nature to play this shameful part.

Was it for this reason that they were called the chosen people?

I then began to investigate carefully the names of all the fabricators of these unclean products which played such a big part in the cultural life of the public. The result of that investigation was still more unfavourable to the attitude which I had hitherto held in regard to the Jews. Though my feelings might rebel a thousand times, reason now had to draw its own conclusions.

The fact that nine-tenths of all the 'smutty' literature, artistic tripe' and theatrical banalities, had to be charged to the account of a people who formed scarcely one per cent of the nation could not be gainsaid. It was there and had to be admitted. Then I began to examine my favourite 'world press, with that fact before my mind.

The deeper I probed, the more did the object of my former admiration lose its glory. Its style became still more repellent and I was forced to reject its subject-matter as entirely shallow and superficial. Its impartial attitude in the presentation of facts and views seemed to me to contain more falsehood than truth. The writers were—Jews.

Thousands of details that I had scarcely noticed before seemed to me now to deserve attention. I began to grasp and understand things which had formerly puzzled me. I saw the liberal policy of that press in another light. Its dignified tone in replying to the attacks of its adversaries and its dead silence in other cases now became clear to me as part of a cunning and despicable way of deceiving the readers. Its brilliant theatrical criticisms always praised the

Jewish authors and its adverse criticism was reserved exclusively for the Germans.

The slight pin-pricks against Wilhelm II showed the persistency of its policy, just as did its systematic commendation of French culture and civilization. The subject-matter of the serial was trivial and often indecent. The language of this press as a whole had the accent of a foreign people. The general tone was so openly derogatory to the Germans that this must have been definitely intentional. To whose interest was this? Or was it mere chance? In attempting to find an answer to these questions I gradually became more and more dubious.

The process was hastened by glimpses which I gained of another aspect of the case, namely, the general conception of manners and morals which was openly upheld and put into practice by a large section of the Jews. Here again the life which I observed in the streets taught me by living example.

The part which the Jews played in the evil of prostitution, and more especially in the white slave traffic, could be studied here better than in any other Western European city, with the possible exception of certain ports in Southern France. Walking by night along the streets of the Leopoldstadt, almost at every turn, whether one wished it or not, one witnessed certain incidents of which the majority of Germans knew nothing until the War made it possible, and indeed inevitable, for the soldiers to see such things on the Eastern front. A cold shiver ran down my spine when I first ascertained that it was the cold-blooded and shameless Jew who showed his consummate skill in conducting a sordid and vicarious trade among the dregs of the big city. Then I was filled with wrath.

I had now no more hesitation about investigating the Jewish problem in all its details. Henceforth, I was determined to do so, but as I learned to track down the Jew in all the different spheres of cultural and artistic life, and in the various manifestations of this life everywhere, I suddenly came upon him where I had least expected to find

him. I now realized that the Jews were the leaders of Social Democracy. In the face of that revelation the scales fell from my eyes. My long inner struggle was at an end.

In my relations with my fellow-workmen I was often astonished to find how easily and how often they changed their opinions on the same question, sometimes within a few days and sometimes even within the course of a few hours. I found it difficult to understand how men, who always had reasonable ideas when I spoke to them as individuals, suddenly lost this reasonableness the moment they came under the influence of the mass. I was often on the verge of despair. When, after talking to them for hours, I was convinced that I had at last broken the ice or made them see the error of their way of thinking, and was sincerely pleased, I would often find to my disgust that next day I had to begin all over again. All my efforts had been in vain. With pendulum-like regularity they swung back to their original opinions.

I was able to understand their position fully. They were dissatisfied with their lot and cursed the fate which had hit them so hard. They hated their employers, whom they looked upon as the heartless agents of their cruel destiny. Often they used abusive language against the public officials, whom they accused of having no sympathy with the situation of the working people. They made public demonstrations against the cost of living and paraded through the streets in defence of their claims. At least all this could be explained in the light of reason, but what was impossible to understand was the boundless hatred they expressed against their own fellow-citizens, how they disparaged their own nation, mocked at its greatness, reviled its history and dragged the names of its most illustrious men in the gutter.

This hostility towards their own kith and kin, their own native land and home was as irrational as it was incomprehensible. It was against Nature.

One could cure that malady temporarily, but only for some days, or at most for some weeks, but on meeting those whom one believed to have been converted one found that

they had reverted to their old way of thinking and were again the prey of perverse opinions.

I gradually discovered that the Social Democratic press was mainly controlled by Jews, but I did not attach special importance to this circumstance, for the same was true of other newspapers. In this connection there was, however, one striking fact, namely, that there was not a single newspaper with which Jews were connected that could be spoken of as 'national' in the sense that I, with my education and convictions, used that word.

Making an effort to overcome my natural reluctance, I tried to read articles published in the Marxist press. However, as my aversion increased tenfold, I set about learning something of the people who wrote and published this mischievous stuff — from the publisher downwards, all of them were Jews! I got hold of as many Social Democratic pamphlets as I could and looked up the names of the authors — Jews all! I noted the names of nearly all their leaders and most of them belonged to the chosen race, whether they were members of the *Reichsrat* (Imperial Council), trade-union secretaries, chairmen of various organizations or street agitators. Everywhere the same sinister picture presented itself. I shall never forget the list of names—Austerlitz, David, Adler, Ellenbogen, and others. One fact became quite evident to me, namely, that this alien race held in its hand the leadership of that Social Democratic Party with whose minor representatives I had been disputing for months past. I was happy at last to know for certain that the Jew was not a German.

Thus I learnt to know thoroughly those who were leading our people astray. One year in Vienna had sufficed to convince me that no worker is so rooted in his preconceived notions that he will not surrender them in face of better and clearer arguments and explanations. Gradually I became an expert in the doctrine of the Marxists and used this knowledge as an instrument to drive home my own firm convictions. I was successful in nearly every case. The great masses can be rescued, but a lot of time and a

great deal of patience must be devoted to such work. A Jew, on the other hand, can never be rescued from his fixed notions.

I was then simple enough to attempt to show them the absurdity of their teaching. Within my small circle I talked to them until my throat ached and my voice grew hoarse. I believed that I could finally convince them of the danger inherent in the Marxist nonsense. But I achieved the very opposite. It seemed to me that a growing insight into the disastrous effects of the Social Democratic doctrine in theory and in practice only served to strengthen their opposition.

The more I debated with them the more familiar I became with their tactics in debate. At the outset they counted upon the stupidity of their opponents; but when they got so entangled that they could not find a way out, they played the trick of acting the innocent simpleton. Should they fail, in spite of their tricks of logic, they acted as if they could not understand the counter-arguments and feeling themselves cornered, hastily transferred the discussion to another field. They uttered truisms and platitudes; and, if you accepted these, took this acceptance as applying to other problems and matters differing essentially from the original theme. If you cornered them on this point they would escape again, and you could not force them to make any precise statement. Whenever one tried to get a firm grip on any of these apostles, one's hand grasped only a slimy jelly which slipped through the fingers, but coagulated again a moment afterwards. If your arguments were so telling that your adversary felt forced to give in on account of those listening and if you then thought that at last you had gained ground, a surprise was in store for you on the following day. The Jew would be utterly oblivious to what had happened the day before, and he would start once again by repeating his former absurdities, as if nothing had happened. Should you become indignant and remind him of yesterday's defeat, he pretended astonishment and could not remember anything, except that on the previous day he had proved that his statements were correct. Sometimes I was dumbfounded. I

do not know what amazed me the more—their quickness in repartee or the artful way in which they dressed up their falsehoods. I gradually came to hate them.

Yet all this had its good side, because the better I came to know the real leaders, or at least the propagators of Social Democracy, the more did my love for my own people increase accordingly. Considering the satanic skill which these evil counsellors displayed, who could blame their unfortunate victims? Indeed, I found it extremely difficult to prove a match for the dialectic perfidy of that race. How futile was it to try to win over such people, seeing that they distorted the truth, denied the very words they had just uttered and used them again a few moments afterwards to serve their own ends in argument! The better I came to know the Jew, the easier it was to excuse the workers.

In my opinion the most culpable were not to be found among the workers, but rather among those who did not think it worth while to take the trouble to sympathize with these, and in accordance with the iron law of justice to give to the hard-working son of the people what was his, while at the same time executing his seducer and corrupter.

Moved by my own daily experiences, I now began to investigate more thoroughly the sources of the Marxist teaching itself. Its effects were well known to me in detail, one needed only a little imagination in order to be able to forecast the inevitable consequences. The only question now was, 'Did the founders foresee the effects of their work in the form which it was eventually to assume, or were the founders themselves the victims of an error?' To my mind both alternatives were possible.

If the second question had to be answered in the affirmative, then it was the duty of every thinking person to push his way into the forefront of this sinister movement with a view to preventing it from producing the worst possible results. But if it were the first question which had to be answered in the affirmative, then it must be admitted that the original authors of this evil which has infected

the nations were devils incarnate, for only the brain of a monster, and not that of a man, could plan an organization whose activities must finally bring about the collapse of human civilization and turn this world into a desert waste. Such being the case, the only alternative left was to fight, and in that fight to employ all the weapons which the human spirit, human intellect and human will could furnish, leaving it to Fate to decide in whose favour the balance should tilt.

I began to gather information about the authors of this teaching, with a view to studying the principles of the movement. The fact that I attained my object sooner than I could have anticipated was due to the insight into the Jewish question which I had recently gained, slight though it was. This newly acquired knowledge alone enabled me to make a practical comparison between reality and the theoretical talk of the founders of Social Democracy, because I now understood the language of the Jew. I realized that the Jew uses language for the purpose of dissimulating his thoughts or at least veiling them, so that his real aim cannot be discovered in his words, but rather by reading between the lines. This was the moment at which my opinions underwent the greatest transformation which I had as yet experienced; from being a soft-hearted cosmopolitan I became ardently anti-Semitic.

Only on one further occasion, and that for the last time, did I give way to oppressing thoughts which caused me some moments of profound anxiety. As I critically reviewed the activities of the Jewish people throughout long periods of history I became perplexed and asked myself whether, for inscrutable reasons beyond the comprehension of poor mortals such as ourselves, Destiny might not have irrevocably decreed that the final victory should go to this small people? May it not be that this people which lives only for the things of this earth has been promised the earth as a reward? Have we, from the objective point of view, a right to fight for self-preservation, or is this right subjective? Fate answered the question for me inasmuch as it led me to make a detached and exhaustive inquiry into the

Marxist teaching and the activities of the Jewish people in connection with it.

The Jewish doctrine of Marxism repudiates the aristocratic principle of Nature and substitutes for the eternal right of might and strength, the dead weight of sheer numbers. Thus it denies the individual worth of the human personality, disputes the teaching that nationality and race are of primary significance, and by doing this deprives Man of the very foundations of his existence and civilization. If the Marxist teaching were to be accepted as the foundation of the life of the universe, it would lead to the disappearance of all order that is conceivable to the human mind, and thus the adoption of such a law would provoke chaos in the structure of the greatest organism that we know, with the result that the inhabitants of this earthly planet would finally disappear.

Should the Jew, with the aid of his Marxist creed, triumph over the peoples of this world, his crown will be the funeral wreath of mankind, and this planet will once again follow its orbit through ether, devoid of human life, as it did millions of years ago. Nature, the eternal, takes merciless vengeance on those who defy her laws. Therefore, I believe to-day that my conduct is in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator. In resisting the Jew I am defending the handiwork of the Lord.

CHAPTER III

VIENNA DAYS — GENERAL REFLECTIONS

TO-DAY, I AM OF THE OPINION THAT, GENERALLY speaking, a man should not publicly take part in politics before he has reached the age of thirty, though, of course, exceptions must be made in the case of those who are naturally gifted with extraordinary political ability. The reason is that, until they have attained this age, most men are engaged in acquiring a certain general philosophy through the medium of which they can examine the various political problems of their day and adopt a definite attitude towards each. Only after he has acquired a fundamental *Weltanschauung* and thereby gained stability in the judgment he forms on specific problems of the day, is a man, having now reached maturity, at least of mind, qualified to participate in the government of the community.

If this is not so, he runs the risk of discovering that he has to alter the attitude which he had hitherto adopted with regard to essential questions, or, despite his superior knowledge and insight, he may have to remain loyal to a point of view which his reason and convictions have now led him to reject. If he adopt the former line of action he will find himself in a difficult situation, because in giving up a position hitherto maintained he will appear inconsistent and will have no right to expect his followers to remain as loyal to him as leader as they were before. This change of attitude on the part of the leader means that his adherents are assailed by doubt and not infrequently by a sense of discomfiture as far as their former opponents are concerned. Although he himself no longer dreams of standing by his political pronouncements

to the last—for no man will die in defence of what he does not believe—he makes increasing and shameless demands on his followers. Finally, he throws aside the last vestiges of true leadership and becomes a 'politician.' This means that he becomes one of those whose only consistency lies in their inconsistency, which is accompanied by overbearing insolence and oftentimes by an artful mendacity developed to a shamelessly high degree.

Should such a person, to the misfortune of all decent people, succeed in becoming a member of parliament, it will be clear from the outset that for him the essence of political activity consists in a heroic struggle to retain his hold on this sinecure as a source of livelihood for himself and his family. The more his wife and children are dependent on him, the more stubbornly will he fight to maintain for himself the representation of his parliamentary constituency. For that reason any other person who shows evidence of political ability is his personal enemy. In every new movement he will apprehend the possible beginning of his own downfall, and everyone who is a better man than he will appear to him in the light of a menace. I shall subsequently deal more fully with the problem to which this kind of parliamentary vermin gives rise.

When a man has reached his thirtieth year he has still a great deal to learn, but henceforward what he learns will serve to fill up the framework of that fundamental *Weltanschauung* which he already possesses. What he learns anew will not imply the abandonment of principles already held, but rather a deeper knowledge of those principles, and thus his colleagues will never have the disconcerting feeling that he has misled them hitherto. On the contrary, their confidence is increased when they perceive that their leader's qualities are steadily developing since his newly acquired knowledge serves to enrich the doctrines in which they themselves believe. In their eyes every such development is fresh proof of the correctness of the opinions which they had hitherto held.

A leader who has to abandon his general *Weltanschau-*

ung, because he recognizes its foundation to be false, acts honourably only if he admits the wrongness of his views and is prepared to bear the consequences. In such a case he ought to refrain from taking a public part in any further political activity. Having once gone astray in essential matters he may possibly go astray a second time, but anyhow he has no right whatsoever to expect or demand that his fellow-citizens should continue to give him their support.

How little such an honourable line of conduct commends itself to our public leaders nowadays is proved by the general corruption prevalent among the rabble which at the present moment feels itself called upon to play the politician. There is scarcely one among them who has been chosen for this task.

If he adopts the second alternative, the result will be one which is not uncommon to-day. In the same degree in which the leader no longer believes in what he himself says, his defence of his cause will be superficial and without conviction but, on the other hand, he will stoop to the use of base weapons.

Although in those days I used to give more time than most others to the consideration of political questions, yet I carefully refrained from taking a public part in politics. Only to a small circle did I speak of those things which agitated my mind or were the cause of my constant pre-occupation. The habit of discussing matters within such a restricted group had many advantages in itself. Rather than learning to deliver speeches I learned to know the people and their often very primitive views and protests. At the same time I wasted no opportunity of extending my own education and in those days no city in Germany could have offered me more possibilities for this than did Vienna.

In the old Danubian Monarchy political interests were more comprehensive and more broad-minded than in the Germany of that epoch, excepting certain parts of Prussia, Hamburg and the districts bordering on the North Sea. When I speak of Austria here, I mean that part of the great Habsburg Empire which, by reason of its German

population, furnished not only the historic basis for the formation of this State, but whose population had for centuries been the sole source of its strength and had given that politically artificial structure its internal cultural life. As time went on the stability of the Austrian State and the guarantee of its continued existence depended more and more on the preservation of this germ-cell of the Habsburg Empire. Just as the hereditary imperial provinces constituted the heart of the Empire, and just as it was this heart that constantly sent the blood of life pulsating through the whole political and cultural system, so Vienna was its brain and its will. At that time Vienna presented an appearance which made one think of her as an enthroned queen whose authoritative sway united the conglomeration of heterogeneous nationalities that lived under the Habsburg sceptre. The radiant beauty of the capital made one forget the sad symptoms of senile decay which the State as a whole betrayed.

Though the Empire was internally rickety because of the violent conflict going on between the various nationalities, the outside world (and Germany in particular) saw only that lovely picture of the city. The illusion was all the greater because at that time Vienna seemed to have entered upon the last and most spectacular phase of her splendour. Under a Mayor who had the true stamp of genius, the venerable residential city of the rulers of the old Empire seemed to have renewed the glory of its youth. The last great German who sprang from the ranks of the people that had colonized the Ostmark was no 'statesman,' in the official sense, he, Dr. Lueger, however, in his rôle as Mayor of 'the Imperial Capital and Residential City,' had achieved so much in almost every sphere of municipal activity, whether economic or cultural, that the heart of the whole Empire throbbed with renewed vigour and he thus proved himself a much greater statesman than the so-called 'diplomats' of that period.

The fact that this political conglomeration of heterogeneous races called Austria, finally broke down, is no

evidence whatsoever of political incapacity on the part of the German element in the old Ostmark. The collapse was the inevitable result of an impossible situation. Ten million people cannot permanently hold together a State of fifty millions, composed of different and conflicting nationalities, unless certain definite conditions are fulfilled before it is too late.

The German-Austrian possessed vision. Accustomed to live in a great Empire, he had a keen sense of the obligations incumbent on him in such a situation. He was the only member of the Austrian State who looked beyond the borders of the narrow lands belonging to the Crown, to the frontiers of the Reich. Indeed when Destiny severed him from the common Fatherland he tried to master the tremendous task before him and to preserve for the German-Austrians that patrimony which, through innumerable struggles, their ancestors had originally wrested from the East. It must be remembered that the German-Austrians could not put their undivided strength into this effort, because the hearts and minds of the best among them were constantly turning back towards their kinsfolk in the Fatherland, so that their home claimed only part of their affection.

The mental horizon of the German-Austrian was comparatively broad. His commercial interests comprised almost every part of the heterogeneous Empire. The conduct of almost all important undertakings was in his hands. The leading engineers and officials were—for the most part—of German origin. The German played the foremost part in carrying on the foreign trade of the country, as far as that sphere of activity was not under Jewish control. He was the political cement that held the State together. His military duties carried him far beyond the narrow frontiers of his homeland. Though the recruit might join a German regiment, that regiment was as likely to be stationed in Herzegovina as in Vienna or Galicia. The officers in the Habsburg armies were still Germans and so was the majority in the higher branches of the civil service. Art and science were in German hands. Apart from the new artistic

trash, which might easily have been produced by a negro tribe, all genuine artistic inspiration came from the German section of the population. In music, architecture, sculpture and painting, Vienna was the source which supplied the entire Dual Monarchy, and that source never seemed to show signs of drying up. Finally, it was the German element that determined the conduct of foreign policy, though a small number of Hungarians were also active in that field.

All efforts to save the State were, however, doomed to end in failure, because the essential prerequisites were missing.

There was only one possible way to controlling and holding in check the centrifugal forces of the different and differing nationalities in the Austrian State. Either it had a central government and was, at the same time, internally organized, or it would cease to exist.

Now and again there were lucid intervals in the highest quarters, when this truth was recognized, but it was soon forgotten again, or else deliberately ignored, because of the difficulties to be overcome in putting it into practice. Every project which aimed at giving the Empire a more federal shape was bound to be ineffective because there was no central nucleus in the form of a predominating state. In this connection it must be remembered that internal conditions in Austria were quite different from those which characterized the German Reich as founded by Bismarck. Germany was faced with only one difficulty, which was that of transforming the purely political traditions, because throughout the whole of Bismarck's Germany there was a common cultural basis. The German Reich contained only members of one and the same racial or national stock, with the exception of a few foreign minorities. Conditions in Austria were quite the reverse. With the exception of Hungary, none of the provinces possessed a political tradition of past greatness, or if they did, it was either obliterated or obscured by the passage of Time. Moreover, this was the epoch when the principle of nationality began to be in the ascendant, and that phenomenon awakened the national instincts in the various countries affiliated under the Habs-

burg sceptre. It was difficult to control the action of these newly awakened national forces, because, adjacent to the frontiers of the Dual Monarchy, new national States were springing up whose people were of the same or kindred racial stock as the respective nationalities that constituted the Habsburg Empire. These new States were able to exercise a greater power of attraction than the German element.

Even Vienna could not hold her own indefinitely. When Budapest had developed into a great city, a rival had grown up whose mission was, not to help in holding together the various divergent parts of the Empire, but rather to strengthen one part. Within a short time Prague followed the example of Budapest, and later on came Lemberg, Laibach and others. The fact was that these places, which had formerly been provincial cities, now became national capitals, and provided centres for a cultural life that was gradually becoming more and more independent. In this way national political instincts acquired a spiritual foundation and gained in depth. The time was bound to come when the particularist interests of those various countries would become stronger than common imperial interests. Once that stage was reached, Austria's doom was sealed. The course of this development had been clearly perceptible since the death of Joseph II. Its rapidity depended on a number of factors, some of which had their origin in the monarchy itself, while others resulted from the position which the Empire held in the world of foreign politics.

It was impossible to make anything like a successful effort for the permanent consolidation of the Austrian State unless a ruthless and persistent policy of centralization were put into force. Above all, by the adoption, as a matter of principle, of one language as the official language of the State, the purely formal unity of the latter should have been emphasized, and thus the administration would have had in its hand that technical instrument without which the State could not endure as a political unity. Only if this had been done, could the schools and other forms of education have been used to inculcate a feeling of common citizenship.

Such an objective could not be reached within ten or twenty years, but the effort would have to be envisaged in terms of centuries, just as, in all problems of colonization, steady perseverance is a far more important element than intensive effort for a short period of time.

It goes without saying that in such circumstances the country must be governed and administered by strict adhesion to the principle of uniformity. For me, it was quite instructive to discover why this did not take place, or rather, why it had not been done. Those who were guilty of the omission must be held responsible for the break-up of the Habsburg Empire.

More than any other State, the old Austria depended on a strong and capable government. The Habsburg Empire lacked ethnical uniformity, which constitutes the fundamental basis of a national State and will preserve the existence of such a State even though the ruling power be grossly inefficient. When a State is composed of a homogeneous population, the natural inertia of the latter and the powers of resistance derived from that inertia will preserve it from internal collapse during astonishingly long periods of misgovernment and maladministration. It may often seem as if the life had died out of such a body-politic; but a time comes when the apparent corpse rises up and gives the rest of the world astonishing proof of its indestructible vitality.

The situation is utterly different in a country where the population is not homogeneous, where there is no bond of common blood, but only the rule of force. Should the ruling hand show signs of weakness in such a State, the result will not be to cause a kind of hibernation of the State, but rather to awaken the individualistic instincts of the various racial groups. These instincts do not make themselves felt as long as these groups are dominated by a strong central will-to-govern. The danger which exists in these slumbering separatist instincts can be rendered more or less innocuous only through centuries of common education, common traditions and common interests. The younger such States are, the more does their existence depend on the

ability and strength of the central government. If their foundation is due only to the work of a strong personality or a leader who is a man of genius, they will, in many cases, break up as soon as the founder disappears; because, though great, he stood alone, but even after centuries the danger inherent in these separatist instincts I have spoken of, is not always completely overcome. They may be only dormant and may suddenly awaken when the central government shows weakness and the force of a common education as well as the dignity of a common tradition prove unable to withstand the vital energies of separatist nationalities forging ahead towards the shaping of their own individual existence.

Failure to see the truth of all this constituted what may be called the tragic guilt of the Habsburg rulers.

Only in the case of one Habsburg ruler, and that for the last time, did the hand of Destiny hold aloft the torch that threw light on the future of his country, but thereafter the torch was then extinguished for ever.

Joseph II, who ruled over the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, was filled with a growing anxiety when he realized the fact that his House had been pushed to an outlying frontier of the Reich and that the time would soon be at hand when it would be overturned and engulfed in the whirlpool caused by that Babel of nationalities, unless something was done at the eleventh hour to overcome the dire consequences resulting from the negligence of his ancestors. With superhuman energy this 'Friend of Mankind' made every possible effort to counteract the effects of the carelessness and thoughtlessness of his predecessors. Within one decade he strove to repair the damage that had been done throughout the centuries. If Destiny had only granted him forty years for his labours, and if only two generations had carried on the work which he had begun, the miracle might have been performed. But when he died, broken in body and spirit after ten years of rulership, his work was buried with him in the grave and rests with him there in the Capucin Crypt.

sleeping an eternal sleep, without hope of a reawakening. His successors had neither the ability nor the will-power necessary for the task they had to face.

When the first signs of a new revolutionary epoch appeared in Europe, the infection gradually spread to Austria, and when the fire finally broke out it was fed and fanned not by discontent with the social or political conditions, but by forces that had their origin in the nationalist yearnings of the various groups.

The European revolutionary movement of 1848 primarily took the form of a class-conflict in almost every other country, but in Austria it took the form of a new racial struggle. In so far as the German-Austrians there forgot the origins of the movement, or perhaps had failed to recognize them at the start and consequently took part in the revolutionary uprising, they sealed their own fate, for they thus helped to awaken the spirit of Western Democracy which, within a short while, shattered the foundations of their own existence.

The setting up of a representative parliamentary body, without previously having decreed that there should be one official language and without having firmly established the use of this language, was the first great blow to the predominance of the German element in the Dual Monarchy. From that moment, the State was also doomed to collapse sooner or later. What followed was nothing but the historical liquidation of an empire. To watch that process of progressive disintegration was a tragic and, at the same time, an instructive experience. The execution of history's decree was carried out in thousands of ways. The fact that great numbers of people went about blindfolded amid the manifest signs of dissolution only proved that the gods had decreed the destruction of Austria.

I do not wish to dwell on details because these would lie outside the scope of this book. I want to treat in detail only those events which are typical among the causes that lead to the decline of nations and States and are, therefore, of

importance to our present age. Moreover, they helped to furnish the basis of my own political outlook.

Among the institutions which most clearly manifested unmistakable signs of decay, even to the weak-sighted Philistine, was that which, of all state institutions, ought to have been the most firmly established, namely, the parliament, or the *Reichsrat* as it was called in Austria.

The pattern for this corporate body was obviously that which existed in England, the land of classic democracy. The constitution of that beneficent institution was adopted, lock, stock, and barrel, and transferred, with as little alteration as possible, to Vienna. As the Austrian counterpart to the British two-chamber system, an upper and a lower Chamber were established in Vienna. The two 'Houses' themselves, considered as buildings, were somewhat different in appearance. When Barry built the palatial Houses of Parliament, on the shores of the Thames, he could look to the history of the British Empire for inspiration for his work. In that history he found sufficient material to fill and decorate the twelve hundred niches, brackets, and pillars of his magnificent edifice. His statues and paintings made of the House of Lords and the House of Commons temples dedicated to the glory of the nation.

Here it was that Vienna encountered the first difficulty. When Hansen, the Danish architect, had completed the last gable of the marble palace in which the new body of representatives of the people was to be housed, he had to turn to the ancient classical world for subjects for his decorations. This theatrical shrine of 'Western Democracy' was adorned with the statues and portraits of Greek and Roman statesmen and philosophers. As if meant to serve as an ironic symbol, the horses of the quadrigae that surmount the two Houses are pulling away from one another towards the four corners of the globe. There could be no better symbol for the kind of activity then going on within the walls of that same building.

The 'nationalities' were opposed to any kind of glorification of Austrian history in the decoration of this building.

insisting that such would constitute an insult and a provocation. Much the same happened in Germany, where it was not until the battles of the Great War were being waged that the inscription dedicating the Reichstag (which was built by Wallot) to the German people, was finally engraved.

I was not yet twenty years of age when I first entered the fine building in the Franzensring to watch and listen during a session of the Lower Chamber. I was filled with conflicting feelings.

I had always hated the parliament, but not as an institution in itself. On the contrary, as one who cherished ideals of political freedom, I could not even imagine any other form of government. In the light of my attitude towards the House of Habsburg I should then have considered it a crime against liberty and reason to think of any kind of dictatorship as a possible form of government.

A certain admiration which I had for the British Parliament contributed towards the formation of this opinion. I became imbued with that feeling of admiration, almost without my being conscious of it, through so much reading of newspapers while I was yet quite young. I could not discard that admiration all in a moment. The dignified way in which the British House of Commons fulfilled its function impressed me greatly, thanks largely to the glowing terms in which the Austrian Press reported on its doings. I used to ask myself whether there could be any nobler form of self-government by the people.

These considerations furnished the very motives of my hostility to the Austrian parliament. The form in which parliamentary government was here represented seemed unworthy of its great prototype. The following considerations also influenced my attitude: —

The fate of the German element in the Austrian State depended on its position in the *Reichsrat*. Up to the time that universal suffrage by secret ballot was introduced, the German representatives had a majority in the parliament, though that majority was not a very substantial one. This situation gave cause for anxiety because the Social-

Democratic faction could not be relied upon when national questions were at stake. In matters that were of critical concern for the German element, the Social-Democrats always took up an anti-German stand, because they were afraid of losing their followers among the other national groups. Even at that time the Social-Democratic party could no longer be considered as a German party. The introduction of universal suffrage put an end even to the purely numerical predominance of the German element. The way was now clear for the further 'de-Germanization' of the Austrian State.

The national instinct of self-preservation made it impossible for me to welcome a representative system in which the German element was not really represented as such, but was always betrayed. Yet all these, and many others, were defects which could not be attributed to the parliamentary system as such, but rather to the Austrian State in particular. I still believed that if the German majority could be restored in the representative body there would be no occasion to oppose such a system as long as the old Austrian State continued to exist.

Such was my general attitude at the time when I first entered those sacred and contentious halls. For me they were sacred only because of the radiant beauty of that majestic edifice — a Greek miracle on German soil. But I soon became enraged by the hideous spectacle that met my eyes. Several hundred representatives were there to discuss a problem of great economic importance. The experience of that day was enough to supply me with food for thought for several weeks. The intellectual level of the debate was depressing. Sometimes the debaters did not make themselves intelligible at all. Several of those present did not speak German, but only their Slav vernaculars or even dialects. Thus I had the opportunity of hearing with my own ears what I had been hitherto acquainted with only through reading the newspapers — a turbulent mass of people, all gesticulating and bawling together, with a pathetic old man ringing his bell and making frantic efforts to call the House

to a sense of its dignity, by friendly appeals, exhortations, and grave warnings. I could not refrain from laughing.

Several weeks later I paid a second visit. This time the House presented an entirely different picture, so much so that one could hardly recognize it as the same place. The hall was practically empty. The very atmosphere was sleepy, only a few members were in their places, yawning in each other's faces. One was speechifying. A deputy speaker was in the chair. When he looked round it was quite plain that he felt bored.

Then I began to reflect seriously on the whole thing. I went to the parliament whenever I had any time to spare and watched the spectacle silently, but attentively. I listened to the debates, as far as they were intelligible, and I studied the more or less intelligent features of those 'elect' representatives of the various nationalities which composed that ill-fated State. Gradually I formed my own ideas about what I saw.

A year of such quiet observation was sufficient to transform, or completely destroy, my former opinion as to the character of this parliamentary institution. I no longer opposed merely the perverted form which the principle of parliamentary representation had assumed in Austria. It had become impossible for me to accept the system in itself. Up to that time I had believed that the disastrous deficiencies of the Austrian parliament were due to the lack of a German majority, but now I recognized that the institution itself was wrong in its very essence and character.

A number of problems presented themselves to my mind. I studied more closely the democratic principle of 'decision by majority vote,' and I scrutinized no less carefully the intellectual and moral worth of the gentlemen who as 'the chosen representatives of the nation' were entrusted with the task of making this institution function.

Thus it happened that at one and the same time I came to know the institution itself and those of whom it was composed, and it was thus that, within the course of a few years, I came to form a clear and vivid picture of the average

type of that most highly worshipped phenomenon of our time—the parliamentarian. The picture of him which I then formed became deeply engraved on my mind and I have never altered it since, at least as far as essentials go.

Once again these object-lessons taken from real life saved me from getting firmly entangled by a theory which at first sight seems so alluring to many people, though that theory itself is a symptom of human decadence.

Democracy, as practised in Western Europe to-day, is the forerunner of Marxism. In fact, the latter would not be conceivable without the former. Democracy is the breeding-ground in which the bacilli of the Marxist world-pest can grow and spread. By the introduction of parliamentarianism, democracy produced an abortion of 'filth and fire,' the fire of which however seems to have died out.

I am more than grateful to Fate that this problem came to my notice when I was still in Vienna, for if I had been in Germany at that time, I might easily have found only a superficial solution. If I had been in Berlin, when I first discovered what a ridiculous thing this institution was, which we called parliament, I might easily have gone to the other extreme and believed (as many people believed, and apparently not without good reason) that the salvation of the people and the Reich could be secured only by restrengthening the principle of imperial authority. Those who held this belief did not discern the tendencies of their time and were blind to the aspirations of the people.

In Austria one could not be so easily misled. There it was impossible to fall from one error into another. If the parliament were worthless, the Habsburgs were worse, or at least not in the slightest degree better. The problem was not solved by rejecting the parliamentary system. Immediately the question arose, What then? To repudiate and abolish the *Reichsrat* would have resulted in leaving all power in the hands of the Habsburgs. For me especially, that idea was impossible.

Since this problem was specially difficult in regard to Austria, I went into the whole question more thoroughly

than I otherwise should have done at that early age. The aspect of the situation that first made the most striking impression on me and gave me grounds for serious reflection was the manifest lack of any individual responsibility in the representative body.

Parliament passes some act or decree which may have the most devastating consequences, yet nobody bears the responsibility for it. Nobody can be called to account, for surely one cannot say that a Cabinet discharges its responsibility when it resigns after having brought about a catastrophe. Or can we say that the responsibility is fully discharged when a new coalition is formed or parliament dissolved? Can a fluctuating majority ever be held responsible for anything? Can the principle of responsibility mean anything else than the responsibility of a definite person?

Is it possible to call the leader of any government to account for any action, the preparations for and execution of which are the outcome of the wishes and inclination of a majority? Is it not considered right that, instead of developing constructive ideas and plans, the business of a statesman consists in the art of making a whole pack of blockheads understand his projects so that they will grant him their generous consent? Is it an indispensable quality in a statesman that he should possess a gift of persuasion commensurate with the statesman's ability to plan a far-reaching policy and take important decisions? Does it really prove that a statesman is incompetent if he should fail to gain a majority of votes in support of a definite scheme in an assembly which is the haphazard result of a more or less honest election? Has there ever been a case where such an assembly has comprehended a great political scheme before that scheme was put into practice and its greatness openly demonstrated through its success? In this world is not the creative act of the genius always a protest against the inertia of the mass? What shall the statesman do if he does not succeed in coaxing the parliamentary multitude to give its consent to his policy? Shall he purchase that consent?

Or, when confronted with the obstinate stupidity of his fellow-citizens, should he refrain from pushing forward with the measures which he deems to be of vital necessity to the life of the nation? Should he resign or remain in power? In such circumstances does not a man of character find himself face to face with an insoluble contradiction between his own political insight on the one hand and, on the other, his sense of decency or, better still, of honesty? Where can we draw the line between duty to the public and the obligation under which personal honour places a man? Must not every genuine leader renounce the idea of degrading himself to the level of a political jobber? And, on the other hand, does not every jobber feel the itch to play politics, seeing that the final responsibility will never rest with him personally, but with an anonymous mass which can never be called to account for its actions? Must not our parliamentary principle of government by numerical majority necessarily lead to the destruction of the principle of leadership? Does anybody honestly believe that human progress originates in the composite brain of the majority and not in the brain of the individual? Or, is it presumed that in the future, human civilization will be able to dispense with this as a condition of its existence? Is not the creative brain of the individual more indispensable to-day than ever before?

The parliamentary principle of vesting legislative power in the decision of the majority rejects the authority of the individual and puts in its place the strength of the majority in question. In doing so, it contradicts the aristocratic principle, which is a fundamental law of Nature, but of course, we must remember that the aristocratic principle need not be exemplified by the upper ten thousand to-day.

The devastating influence of this modern and democratic parliamentary institution might not easily be recognized by those who read the Jewish press, unless the reader has learned how to think independently and to examine the facts for himself. This institution is primarily responsible for the inrush of second-rate people into the field of politics.

Confronted with such a phenomenon, a man who is endowed with real qualities of leadership will be tempted to refrain from taking part in political life, because under these conditions the situation does not call for a man who has a capacity for constructive statesmanship, but rather for a man who is capable of bargaining for the favour of the majority. All the more will this activity appeal to small minds and will attract them accordingly.

The narrower the mental outlook, the more insignificant the ability and the more accurate the estimate such a political jobber has of his own inferiority, the more will he be inclined to appreciate a system which does not demand creative genius or even high-class talent, but rather that crafty kind of sagacity which makes an efficient town clerk, and even prefers this kind of petty craftiness to the political genius of a Pericles. Such a mediocrity does not even have to worry about responsibility for what he does. He need not trouble on that account, since, from the beginning, he knows that whatever be the results of his 'statesmanship' his end is already written in the stars — he will one day have to clear out and make room for another who is of similar mental calibre. It is another sign of our decadence that the number of eminent statesmen grows as the standard by which the individual is judged becomes lower, and that standard will fall the more the individual politician has to depend upon parliamentary majorities. A man of real political ability will refuse to act the lackey to a bevy of footling cacklers, and they, in their turn, being the representatives of the majority—which means the dunder-headed multitude—hate nothing so much as a superior brain. It is always a consolation to such village councillors from Gotham to be led by a person whose intellectual stature is on a level with their own. Thus each one may have the opportunity to shine in debate among such compeers and, above all, each one feels that he may one day rise to the top. If Peter be boss to-day, then why not Paul to-morrow?

This invention of democracy is very closely connected with a peculiar phenomenon which has recently spread to a

pernicious extent, namely, the cowardice of a large section of our so-called political leaders. Whenever important decisions have to be made, they are always fortunate in being able to hide behind the so-called majority.

In observing one of these political manipulators one notices how he wheedles the majority in order to get their sanction for whatever action he takes. He has to have accomplices in order to be able to shift responsibility to other shoulders whenever he finds it opportune to do so. That is the main reason why this kind of political activity is abhorrent to men of character and courage, while at the same time it attracts inferior types, for a person who is not willing to accept responsibility for his own actions, but always seeks to be covered, must be classed among the cowards and the rascals. If the leaders of the nation are of such miserable stuff, the evil consequences will soon manifest themselves. Nobody will then have the courage to take a decisive step. They will submit to abuse and defamation rather than pluck up courage to take a definite stand, and thus nobody is left who is willing to risk his life, if need be, in carrying out a ruthless decision.

One truth which must always be borne in mind is that the majority can never replace the man. The majority represents not only ignorance but also cowardice, and just as a hundred blockheads do not equal one man of wisdom, so a hundred poltroons are incapable of taking any political line of action that requires moral strength and fortitude.

The lighter the burden of responsibility on each individual leader, the greater will be the number of those who, in spite of their sorry mediocrity, will feel the call to place their immortal talents at the disposal of the nation. They are so much on the tip-toe of expectation that they find it hard to wait their turn. They stand in a long queue, painfully and sadly counting the number of those ahead of them and calculating the hours until they can eventually come forward. They are delighted every time the holder of the office on which they have set their hearts, is changed and they are grateful for every scandal which removes one of the aspirants

waiting ahead of them in the queue. If somebody sticks too long to his office stool they consider this almost a breach of a sacred understanding based on their mutual solidarity. They grow furious and do not rest until that inconsiderate person is finally driven out and forced to hand over his cosy berth. After that he will have little chance of getting another opportunity. Usually these placemen who have been forced to give up their posts push themselves again into the waiting queue unless they are hounded away by the protests of the other aspirants.

The result of all this is that, in such a State, the quick succession of changes in public positions and public offices has a very unfavourable effect which may easily lead to disaster. It is not only the ignorant and the incompetent person who is the victim of these conditions, for the genuine leader is affected in an even greater degree, if Fate has actually succeeded in putting such a man into that position. Let the superior quality of such a leader be once recognized and the result will be that a joint front will be organized against him, particularly if that leader, though not coming from their ranks, dares to push his way into the circles of the elect. They want to have only their own company and will quickly take up a hostile attitude towards any man who may show himself obviously above and beyond them. Their instinct, which is so blind in other directions, is very sharp in this particular. The inevitable result is that the intellectual level of the ruling class sinks steadily. One can easily forecast how much the nation and the State are bound to suffer from such a state of affairs, provided one does not belong to that same class of 'leaders.

The parliamentary regime in the old Austria was the very archetype of the institution as I have described it. Though the Austrian Premier was appointed by the King-Emperor, this act of appointment merely gave practical effect to the will of the parliament. The huckstering and bargaining that went on in regard to every ministerial position was typical of Western Democracy. The results that followed were in keeping with the principles applied. The intervals between

the replacement of one person by another gradually became shorter, finally ending up in a wild relay race. With each change the quality of the 'statesman' in question deteriorated, until finally only the petty type of parliamentarian remained. In such people the qualities of statesmanship were measured and valued according to the adroitness with which they pieced together one coalition after another, in other words, to their craftiness in manipulating the pettiest political transactions, which is the only kind of practical activity by means of which these men can prove themselves to be suitable representatives of the people. In this sphere Vienna was the school which offered the most impressive examples.

Another feature that engaged my attention quite as much was the contrast between the talents and knowledge of these representatives of the people, on the one hand, and, on the other, the nature of the tasks they had to face. Willy-nilly one could not help thinking seriously of the narrow intellectual outlook of these chosen representatives of the various constituent nationalities, and one could not avoid pondering on the methods by which these noble figures in our public life were first discovered. It was worth while to make a thorough study and examination of the way in which the real talents of these gentlemen were devoted to the service of their country; in other words, to analyse thoroughly the routine of their activities.

The whole spectacle of parliamentary life became more and more desolate the more one penetrated into its intimate structure and studied the persons and principles of the system in a spirit of ruthless objectivity. Indeed it is very necessary to be strictly objective in the study of the institution whose sponsors talk of 'objectivity' in every other sentence, as the only fair basis of examination and judgment. If one studied these gentlemen and the laws governing their strenuous existence, the results were surprising.

There is no other principle which turns out to be quite so ill-conceived as the parliamentary principle, if we examine it objectively.

In our examination of it we may pass over the methods

according to which the election of the representatives takes place, as well as the wiles which bring them into office and bestow new titles on them. It is quite evident that only to a tiny degree are public wishes or public needs satisfied by the manner in which an election takes place, for everybody who properly estimates the political intelligence of the masses, can easily see that this is not sufficiently developed to enable them to form general political judgments on their own account, or to select the men who might be competent to carry out their ideas in practice.

Whatever definition we may give of the term 'public opinion,' only a very small part of it originates in personal experience or individual insight. The greater portion of it results from the manner in which public matters have been presented to the people through an overwhelmingly impressive and persistent system of enlightenment.

In the religious sphere the profession of a denominational belief is largely the result of education, while the religious yearning itself slumbers in the soul; so, too, the political opinions of the masses are the final result of influences systematically operating on human sentiment and intelligence in virtue of a method which is applied sometimes with almost incredible thoroughness and perseverance.

By far the most effective part in political education, which, in this connection, is best expressed by the word 'propaganda,' is that played by the press. The press is the chief means employed in the process of political 'enlightenment'. It represents a kind of school for adults. This educational activity, however, is not in the hands of the State, but in the clutches of powers which are partly of a very inferior character. While still a young man in Vienna, I had excellent opportunities for getting to know the men who owned this machine for mass instruction, as well as those who supplied it with the ideas it propagated. At first I was quite surprised when I realized how little time was necessary for this dangerous 'Great Power' within the State to produce a certain belief among the public—even when the genuine will and convictions of the public were completely misconstrued.

It took the press only a few days to transform some ridiculously trivial matter into an issue of national importance, while vital problems were completely ignored or shelved and hidden away from public attention.

The press succeeded in the magic art of producing names from nowhere within the course of a few weeks. It made it appear that the great hopes of the masses were bound up with those names, and made their bearers more popular than many a man of real ability could ever hope to be in a long lifetime; at the same time old and tried figures in the political and other spheres of public life quickly faded from the public memory and were forgotten as if dead, though still in the full enjoyment of their health. Yet these were names which only a month before, had been unknown and unheard-of. Sometimes such men were so vilely abused that it looked as if their names would soon stand as permanent symbols of the worst kind of baseness. In order to estimate properly the really pernicious influence which the press can exercise one has only to study this infamous Jewish method whereby honourable and decent people are besmirched with mud and filth, in the form of low abuse and slander, from hundreds of quarters simultaneously, as if in response to some magic formula.

These intellectual pickpockets would grab at anything which might serve their evil ends. They would poke their noses into the most intimate family affairs and would not rest until they had sniffed out some petty item which could be used to destroy the reputation of their unfortunate victim. But if the result of all this nosing should be that nothing derogatory was discovered in the private or public life of the victim, they resorted to slander, in the belief that some of their animadversions would stick, even though refuted a thousand times. In most cases it finally turned out impossible for the victim to continue his defence, because the accuser worked together with so many accomplices that his slanders were re-echoed interminably. But these slanderers would never own that they were acting from motives which influence the common run of humanity or are comprehensible

in them. Oh, no! The scoundrel who defamed his contemporaries in this villainous way would crown himself with a halo of heroic probity fashioned of unctuous phraseology and twaddle about his 'duties as a journalist and other lying nonsense of that kind. When these slanderers gathered together in large numbers at meetings and congresses they would utter a lot of slimy talk about a special kind of honour which they called the 'professional honour of the journalist. Then the assembled species would bow their respects to one another. This is the kind of being that fabricates more than two-thirds of what is called public opinion, from the foam of which the parliamentary Aphrodite eventually arises.

Several volumes would be needed if one were to give an adequate account of the whole procedure and fully describe all its hollow fallacies, but if we pass over the details, and look at the product itself and its activities, I think this alone will be sufficient to open the eyes of even the most innocent and credulous person, so that he may recognize the absurdity of this institution by looking at it objectively. In order to realize how this form of human aberration is as harmful as it is absurd, the best and easiest method is to compare democratic parliamentarianism with a genuine Germanic Democracy.

The remarkable characteristic of the parliamentary form of democracy is the fact that a number of persons, let us say five hundred—including, in recent times, women also—are elected to parliament and invested with authority to give final judgment on anything and everything. In practice, they alone are the governing body; for, although they may appoint a Cabinet, which seems outwardly to direct the affairs of state, this Cabinet is only a sham. In reality the so-called government cannot do anything against the consent of the assembly. It can never be called to account for anything, since the right of decision is not vested in the Cabinet, but in the parliamentary majority. The Cabinet always functions only as the executor of the will of the majority. Its political ability can be judged only according to how far it succeeds

in adjusting itself to the will of the majority or in persuading the majority to agree to its proposals, but this means that it must descend from the level of a real governing power to that of a mendicant who has to beg the favour of the majority. Indeed the chief preoccupation of the Cabinet must be to secure for itself, in the case of each individual measure, the favour of the majority, or to establish a new one that will be more favourably disposed. If it should succeed in either of these efforts, it may go on 'governing' for a little while, if it should fail, it must resign. The question whether its policy as such has been right or wrong does not matter at all.

All responsibility is thereby practically abolished. To what consequences such a state of affairs can lead may be easily understood from the following simple observations.

Those five hundred deputies who have been elected by the people have followed various callings and show very varying degrees of political capacity, with the result that the whole combination is disjointed and sometimes presents quite a sorry picture. Surely nobody believes that these chosen representatives of the nation are the choice spirits or first-class intellects. Nobody, I hope, is foolish enough to pretend that hundreds of statesmen can emerge from papers placed in the ballot-box by electors who are anything but intelligent. The absurd notion that men of genius are born out of universal suffrage cannot be too strongly repudiated. A nation produces a genuine statesman once in the space of many years, and never by the hundred. Secondly, among the broad masses there is an instinctive antipathy towards every outstanding genius. There is a better chance of seeing a camel pass through the needle's eye than of seeing a really great man 'discovered' through an election.

Throughout the history of the world, those who have been above the average have generally come to the fore of their own accord, but here five hundred persons possessing but modest intellectual qualities pass judgment on the most important problems affecting the nation. They form governments, which, in turn, have to gain the consent of the illustrious assembly for every legislative step that may be

taken, which means that the policy to be carried out is actually the policy of the five hundred, and generally speaking, this is obvious. Let us pass over the intellectual qualities of these representatives and ask what is the nature of the task before them. If we consider the fact that the problems which have to be discussed and solved belong to the most varied and diverse fields, we can very well realize how inefficient a governing system must be, which entrusts the right of decision to a mass assembly, in which only very few possess the knowledge and experience which would qualify them to deal with the matters that have to be settled. The most important economic measures are submitted to a tribunal in which not more than one-tenth of the members have studied the elements of economics. This means that final authority is vested in men who are utterly devoid of any preparatory training which would make them competent to decide on the questions at issue.

The same holds true of every other problem. It is always a majority of ignorant and incompetent people who decide on each measure, for the composition of the institution does not vary, while the problems to be dealt with extend to the most varied spheres of public life and would actually require to be weighed and settled by a continually changing body of representatives. It is out of the question to think that the same people are fitted to decide on transport questions as well as, let us say, on questions of foreign policy, unless each of them be a universal genius, but scarcely more than one genius appears in the course of a century. Here, unfortunately, it is seldom a question of even average brains, but only of dilettanti who are as narrow-minded as they are conceited and arrogant, semi-educated persons of the worst kind. This is why these honourable gentlemen show such astonishing levity in discussing and deciding matters that would demand the most painstaking consideration even from great minds. Measures of momentous importance for the future existence of the State are framed and discussed in an atmosphere more suited to the card-table. Indeed the latter

suggests a much more fitting occupation for these gentlemen than that of deciding the destiny of a people.

Of course it would be unfair to assume that each member in such a parliament originally possessed such a slight sense of responsibility. That is not so, but this system, by forcing the individual to pass judgment on questions which he is not competent to decide gradually debases his moral character. Nobody will have the courage to say, "Gentlemen, I am afraid we know nothing of what we are talking about. I, for one, admit this." Anyhow, if such a declaration were made it would not change matters very much, for such outspoken honesty would not be understood and such an honourable fool ought not to be allowed to spoil the game. Those who have a knowledge of human nature know that nobody likes to be considered a fool by his associates, and in certain circles honesty is taken as an index of stupidity.

Thus it happens that a naturally upright man, once he finds himself elected to parliament, may eventually be induced by force of circumstances, to acquiesce in a general line of conduct which is base in itself and amounts to a betrayal of the public trust. The feeling that, if the individual refrained from taking part in a certain decision, his attitude would not alter the situation in the least, destroys every real honest instinct which might occasionally prick the conscience of one person or another. Finally, the otherwise upright deputy will succeed in persuading himself that he is by no means the worst of the lot and that, by taking part in a certain line of action, he may prevent something worse from happening.

A counter-argument may be put forward here. It may be said that of course the individual member may not have the knowledge which is requisite for the treatment of this or that question, yet his attitude towards it is taken on the advice of his party as the guiding authority in each political matter; and it may further be said that the party sets up special committees of experts who have even more than the requisite knowledge for dealing with the questions placed before them.

At first sight, that argument seems sound. But then another question arises, namely, why are five hundred persons elected, if only a few have the wisdom which is required to deal with the more important problems? That is just the point.

It is not the aim of our modern democratic parliamentary system to bring together an assembly of intelligent and well-informed deputies. Not at all. The aim is rather to bring together a group of nonentities who are dependent on others for their point of view and who can be the more easily led, the narrower their individual mental outlook. That is the only way in which a party policy, according to the evil meaning it has to-day, can be put into effect, and by this method alone is it possible for the wire-puller, who exercises the real control, to remain in the dark, so that he personally can never be brought to account for his actions. For, in such circumstances none of the decisions taken, no matter how disastrous they may turn out for the nation as a whole, can be laid at the door of the individual whom everybody knows to be the evil genius responsible for the whole affair, all responsibility is shifted to the shoulders of the faction. In practice, no actual responsibility remains, for responsibility arises only from personal duty and not from the obligations that rest with a parliamentary assembly of empty talkers.

The parliamentary institution attracts people of the badger type, who shun the light. Any upright man, who is ready to accept personal responsibility for his actions, will despise such an institution. That is the reason why this brand of democracy has become a tool in the hands of that race which, because of its secret aims, must shun the light, as it always has done and always will do. Only a Jew can praise an institution which is as corrupt and as false as himself.

As a contrast to this kind of democracy we have the Germanic democracy, which is a true democracy, for here the leader is freely chosen and is obliged to accept full respon-

sibility for all his actions and omissions. The problems to be dealt with are not put to the vote of the majority, but are decided by the individual and as a guarantee of the sincerity of his decisions, he pledges all he has in the world and even his life.

The objection may be raised here, that under such conditions, it would be very difficult to find a man who would be ready to devote himself to so fateful a task. The answer to that objection is as follows: We thank God that the inner spirit of our German democracy will of itself prevent the chance carcerist, who may be intellectually worthless and a moral twister, from coming by devious ways to a position in which he may govern his fellow-citizens. The fear of assuming such far-reaching responsibilities, under Germanic democracy, will scare off the ignorant and the weak. Should it happen that such a person tried to creep in surreptitiously, it will be easy enough to identify him and apostrophize him ruthlessly, somewhat thus, "Be off, you scoundrel. Do not soil these steps with your feet; because these are the steps that lead to the portals of the Pantheon of History, and they are not meant for sneaks but for heroes."

Such were the views I formed after two years attendance at the sessions of the Viennese parliament. Then I ceased to go there.

The parliamentary regime was one of the causes of the steady decline of the strength of the Habsburg State during the last years of its existence. The more the predominance of the German element was whittled away through parliamentary procedure, the more pronounced became the system of playing off one of the various constituent nationalities against the other. In the *Reichsrat* it was always the German element that suffered through the system, which meant that the results were detrimental to the Empire as a whole, for at the close of the century even the most simple-minded people could recognize that the cohesive forces within the Dual Monarchy no longer sufficed to counterbalance the separatist tendencies of the provincial nationalities. On the contrary, as the measures which the State was able to adopt for its own

preservation became more and more ineffectual the general contempt for the State increased. Not only Hungary, but also the various Slav provinces, gradually ceased to identify themselves with the monarchy which embraced them all and, accordingly, they did not feel its weakness as in any way detrimental to themselves. They rather welcomed these manifestations of senile decay. They looked forward to the final dissolution of the State, and not to its recovery.

In the parliament the complete collapse was postponed by the humiliating concessions that were made to every kind of importunate demand at the expense of the German element; while, throughout the country, it was staved off by playing off the various nationalities one against another. The general trend of this development was directed against the Germans. Especially since the right of succession to the throne had given the Archduke Franz Ferdinand a certain amount of influence, the policy of Czechization was being carried out systematically. With all the means at his command the heir to the Dual Monarchy personally furthered the policy that aimed at eliminating the influence of the German element, or at least he approved of that policy. By making use of State officials, purely German districts were gradually but definitely brought within the danger zone of the mixed languages. Even in Lower Austria this process began to make headway with constantly increasing speed, and Vienna was looked upon by many Czechs as their largest city.

In the family circle of this new Habsburger the Czech language was favoured. The wife of the Archduke had formerly been a Czech countess and was wedded to the Prince by a morganatic marriage. She came from an environment where hostility to the Germans had been traditional. The leading idea in the mind of the Archduke was to establish in Central Europe a Slav State which was to be constructed on a purely Catholic basis, as a bulwark against Orthodox Russia. As had happened often in Habsburg history, religion was thus exploited to serve a purely political policy, and in this case a fatal policy, at least, as far as

German interests were concerned. The result was lamentable in many respects.

Neither the House of Habsburg nor the Catholic Church received the reward which they had expected. Habsburg lost the throne and the Church lost a great State. By employing religious motives in the service of politics, a spirit was aroused of which the instigators of that policy had never dreamed. The reply to the attempt to exterminate Germanism in the old Monarchy by every available means was the Pan-German Movement in Austria.

In the 'eighties of the last century Manchester Liberalism, which was Jewish in its fundamental ideas, had reached the zenith of its influence in the Dual Monarchy, or had already passed that point. The reaction which set in, did not arise from social, but from nationalist, tendencies, as was always the case in the old Austria. The instinct of self-preservation drove the German element to defend itself energetically. Economic considerations only slowly began to play an important part; but they were of secondary concern. Out of the general political chaos two party organizations emerged. The one was more of a national, and the other more of a social, character, but both were highly interesting and instructive for the future.

After the war of 1866, which had resulted in the defeat of Austria, the House of Habsburg contemplated having its revenge on the battlefield. Only the tragic end of the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico prevented still closer collaboration with France. The chief blame for Maximilian's disastrous expedition was attributed to Napoleon III and the fact that the Frenchman left him in the lurch aroused a general feeling of indignation. Yet the Habsburgs were still lying in wait for their opportunity. If the war of 1870-71 had not been such a singular triumph, the Viennese Court might have risked bloodshed in order to have its revenge for Sadowa. But when there arrived from the Franco-German battlefield the first reports which, though true, seemed miraculous and almost incredible, the 'most wise' of all

monarchs recognized that the moment was inopportune and tried to accept the unfavourable situation with as good a grace as possible.

The heroic conflict of those two years (1870-71) produced a still greater miracle, for, with the Habsburg the change of attitude never came from an inner heartfelt urge, but only from the pressure of circumstances. The German people of the Ostmark, however, were entranced by the triumphant glory of the newly established German Empire and were profoundly moved when they saw the dream of their fathers thus gloriously realized. Let us make no mistake, the true German-Austrian realized from this time onward, that Königgrätz was the tragic, though necessary, pre-condition for the re-establishment of a Reich which should no longer be burdened with the palsy of the old alliance and which indeed had no share in that morbid decay. Above all, the German-Austrian had come to feel in the very depths of his own being that the historical mission of the House of Habsburg had come to an end and that the new Reich must choose only an Emperor who was of heroic mould and was therefore worthy to wear the 'Crown of the Rhine.' Destiny should be praised for having chosen a scion of that House which, in a turbulent age, had given the nation a shining example for all time, in the shape of Frederick the Great.

After the great war of 1870-71 the House of Habsburg set to work fully determined to exterminate slowly and deliberately (for that was bound to be the result of the Slavophile policy) the dangerous German element about whose inner feelings and attitude there could be no doubt. Then the fire of rebellion blazed up among the people whose extermination had been decreed — a fire such as had never been witnessed in modern German history. For the first time nationalists and patriots were transformed into rebels; not rebels against the nation or the State as such but rebels against a form of government which, they were convinced, would inevitably bring about the ruin of their own people. For the first time in modern history the traditional

dynastic patriotism and national love of Fatherland and people were in open conflict.

It was to the credit of the Pan-German movement in Austria during the closing decade of the last century that it pointed out clearly and unequivocally that a State is entitled to demand respect and protection for its authority, only when such authority is administered in accordance with the interests of the nation, or at least not in a manner detrimental to those interests. The authority of the State can never be an end in itself; for, if that were so, any kind of tyranny would be inviolable and sacred. If a government uses the instruments of power in its hands for the purpose of leading a people to ruin, then rebellion is not only the right, but also the duty, of every individual citizen.

The question of whether and when such a situation arises cannot be answered by theoretical dissertations, but only by sheer force and success.

Every government, even though it may be the worst possible and even though it may have betrayed the nation's trust in thousands of ways, will claim that its duty is to uphold the authority of the State. Its adversaries, who are fighting for national self-preservation, must use the same weapons which the government uses if they are to prevail against such a rule and secure their own freedom and independence. Therefore, the conflict will be fought out with 'legal' means as long as the power which is to be overthrown uses them; but the insurgents will not hesitate to apply illegal means if the oppressor himself employs them.

Generally speaking, we must not forget that the highest aim of human existence is not the preservation of a State or government but rather the preservation of the race.

If the race is in danger of being oppressed or even exterminated, the question of legality is only of secondary importance. The established power may, in such a case, employ only those means which are recognized as 'legal,' yet the instinct of self-preservation on the part of the oppressed will always justify, to the highest degree, the employment of all available weapons. It is only through

recognition of this principle that certain peoples of this earth have, in the course of history, been able to set such a magnificent example in their struggle against the foreign oppressor or tyranny at home. Human rights are above the right of the State. But if a people be defeated in the struggle for its human rights this means that its weight has proved too light in the scale of Destiny to be worthy of the good fortune to continue to exist on earth. For the doom of those who are neither prepared nor able to fight for their existence is sealed by an ever-just providence. The world is not for faint-hearted races.

Austria affords a very clear and striking example of how easy it is for tyranny to hide its head under the cloak of what is called 'legality.'

The legal exercise of power in the Habsburg State was then based on the anti-German attitude of the parliament, with its non-German majorities, and on the dynastic House which was also hostile to the German element. The whole authority of the State was incorporated in these two factors. To attempt to alter the lot of the German element through these two factors would have been senseless. Those who advocated the 'legal' way as the only possible way, and also obedience to the State authority, could offer no resistance; because a policy of resistance could not have been put into effect through legal measures. To follow the advice of the legalist counsellors would have meant the inevitable ruin of the German element within the Monarchy, and this disaster would not have been long in coming. The German element was actually saved only by the collapse of the State as such.

The spectacled theorist would have given his life for his doctrine rather than for his people. Because man has made laws, he subsequently comes to think that he exists for the sake of those laws. A great service rendered by the Pan-German movement then was that it abolished all such nonsense, though the doctrinaire theorists and other fetish-worshippers were shocked.

When the Habsburgs attempted to come to close quarters with the German element, by the employment of all the means of attack which they had at their command, the Pan-German Party hit out ruthlessly against the 'illustrious' dynasty. This party was the first to probe into and expose the corrupt condition of the State; and in so doing it opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands. To have liberated the high ideal of love for one's country from the embrace of this deplorable dynasty was one of the great services rendered by the Pan-German movement.

When that party first made its appearance it secured a large following. Indeed, the movement threatened to become almost an avalanche, but the first successes were not maintained. At the time I went to Vienna the Pan-German Party had been eclipsed by the Christian-Socialist Party, which had come into power in the meantime. Indeed, the Pan-German Party had sunk to a level of almost complete insignificance.

The rise and decline of the Pan-German movement, on the one hand, and the marvellous progress of the Christian-Socialist Party, on the other, became for me an object of study and as such they played an important part in the development of my own views. When I went to Vienna all my sympathies were exclusively with the Pan-German movement.

I was just as much impressed by the fact that they had the courage to shout *Heil Hohenzollern* as I rejoiced at their determination to consider themselves an integral part of the German Reich, from which they were separated only temporarily. They never missed an opportunity of explaining their attitude in public, which roused my enthusiasm and confidence. To avow one's principles publicly on every problem that concerned Germanism, and never to make any compromises, seemed to me the only way to save our people. What I could not understand was how this movement broke down so soon, after such a magnificent start, and it was no less incomprehensible that the Christian-Socialists should gain such tremendous power within the same space of

time. They had just reached the pinnacle of their popularity. When I began to compare those two movements, Fate placed before me the best means of understanding the causes of this puzzling problem. The action of Fate was, in this case, hastened by my own straitened circumstances.

I shall begin my analysis with an account of the two men who must be regarded as the founder and leaders of the two movements. These were Georg von Schönerer and Dr. Karl Lueger. As far as personality goes, both were far above the level of the average parliamentary figure. They lived lives of immaculate and irreproachable probity amidst the bog of all-round political corruption. Personally, I first liked the Pan-German representative, Schönerer, and it was only afterwards and gradually that I felt an equal liking for the Christian-Socialist leader.

When I compared their respective abilities, Schönerer seemed to me a better and more profound thinker on fundamental problems. He foresaw the inevitable downfall of the Austrian State more clearly and accurately than anyone else. If this warning in regard to the Habsburg Empire had been heeded in Germany, the disastrous World War, which involved Germany against the whole of Europe, would never have taken place. But though Schönerer succeeded in penetrating to the essential of a problem he was often very much mistaken in his judgment of men.

Herein lay Dr. Lueger's special talent. He had a rare gift of insight into human nature and he was very careful not to take men as something better than they were in reality. He based his plans on the practical possibilities which human life offered him, whereas Schönerer had very little understanding of this. All the ideas that this Pan-German protagonist had were right in the abstract, but he did not have the forcefulness or understanding necessary to convey his ideas to the broad masses. He was not able to formulate them so that they could be easily grasped by the masses, whose powers of comprehension are limited and will always remain so. Therefore, all Schönerer's knowledge was only the wisdom of a prophet and he never succeeded in putting

it into practice. This lack of insight into human nature led him to form a wrong estimate of certain movements and old institutions. Schönerer realized, indeed, that the problems he had to deal with were in the nature of a *Weltanschauung*; but he did not understand that only the broad masses of a nation can make such convictions which are almost of a religious nature prevail.

Unfortunately, he understood only very imperfectly how feeble is the fighting spirit of the so-called bourgeoisie. That weakness is due to their business interests, which individuals are too much afraid of risking and which therefore deter them from taking action. Generally speaking, a *Weltanschauung* can have no prospect of success, unless the broad masses declare themselves ready to act as its champion and to fight on its behalf wherever and to whatever extent that may be necessary. This failure to understand the importance of the lower strata of the population resulted in a very inadequate conception of the social problem.

In all this Dr. Lueger was the opposite of Schönerer. His profound knowledge of human nature enabled him to form a correct estimate of the various social forces and it saved him from underrating the power of existing institutions. It was perhaps this very quality which enabled him to utilize those institutions as a means to serve the purposes of his policy.

He saw only too clearly that, in our epoch, the political fighting power of the upper classes is quite insignificant and not at all capable of fighting for the triumph of a great new movement. Thus he devoted the greatest part of his political activity to the task of winning over those sections of the population whose existence was in danger, a fact which tended to foster, rather than to paralyse, the militant spirit in them. He was also quick to adopt all available means for winning the support of long established institutions, so as to be able to derive the greatest possible advantage for his movement from those old sources of power.

Thus it was that, first of all, he chose as the social basis of his new party that middle class which was threatened with

extinction. In this way, he secured a solid following which was willing to make great sacrifices and had good fighting stamina. His extremely wise attitude towards the Catholic Church rapidly won over the younger clergy in such large numbers that the old clerical party was forced to retire from the field of action or else, and this was the wiser course, join the new party, in the hope of gradually winning back one position after another. It would be a serious injustice to the man if we were to regard this as his essential characteristic, for he possessed not only the qualities of an able tactician, but had the true genius of a great reformer although this was limited by his exact perception of the possibilities at hand and also of his own capabilities.

The aims which this really eminent man decided to pursue were intensely practical. He wished to conquer Vienna, the heart of the Monarchy. It was from Vienna that the last pulses of life beat through the diseased and worn-out body of the decrepit Empire. If the heart could be made healthier, the other parts of the body were bound to revive. That idea was correct in principle, but the time within which it could be applied in practice was strictly limited, and that was Lueger's weak point. His achievements as Burgomaster of the City of Vienna are immortal, in the best sense of the word, but all that could not save the Monarchy. It came too late.

His rival, Schönerer, saw this more clearly. What Dr. Lueger undertook to put into practice turned out marvellously successful, but the results which he expected to follow these achievements did not come. Schönerer did not attain the ends he had proposed to himself, but his fears were realized, alas, in a terrible fashion. Thus both these men failed to attain their further objectives. Lueger could not save Austria and Schönerer could not prevent the downfall of the German people.

To study the causes of the failure of these two parties is to learn a lesson that is highly instructive for our own epoch. This is specially useful for my friends, because in many points the circumstances of our own day are similar

to those of that time. Therefore, such a lesson may help us to guard against the mistakes which brought one of those movements to an end and rendered the other barren of results.

In my opinion, the wreck of the Pan-German movement in Austria must be attributed to three causes. The first of these consisted in the fact that the leaders did not have a clear conception of the importance of the social problem, particularly for a new movement which had an essentially revolutionary character. Schönerer and his followers directed their attention principally to the bourgeois classes. For that reason, their movement was bound to turn out mediocre and tame. The German bourgeoisie, especially in its upper circles, is — though the individual may not be aware of this — pacifist even to the point of complete self-abnegation wherever the internal affairs of the nation or State are concerned. In good times, which in this case means times of good government, such an attitude makes this social class extraordinarily valuable to the State, but when there is a bad government, such a quality has a destructive effect. In order to ensure the possibility of carrying through a really strenuous struggle, the Pan-German movement should have devoted its efforts to winning over the masses. The failure to do this left the movement from the very beginning without the elementary impulse which such a wave needs if it is not to ebb within a short while.

In failing to see the truth of this principle clearly at the very outset of the movement, and in neglecting to put it into practice, the new party made an initial mistake which could not possibly be rectified afterwards, for the numerous moderate bourgeois elements admitted into the movement increasingly determined its internal orientation and thus destroyed all further prospects of gaining any appreciable support among the masses of the people. Under such conditions such a movement could not get beyond mere discussion and criticism. A faith that was almost religious and the spirit of sacrifice were no longer to be found in the movement. Their place was taken by the effort towards

'positive' collaboration, which in this case meant to acknowledge the existing state of affairs, gradually to tone down the bitterness of the dispute and to finish up by making a dishonourable peace.

Such was the fate of the Pan-German movement, because at the start the leaders did not realize that the most important condition of success was that they should recruit their following from the broad masses of the people. The movement thus became bourgeois and respectable and radical only in moderation.

The second cause of its rapid decline was due to this mistake. The position of the Germans in Austria was already desperate when Pan-Germanism arose. Year by year parliament was being used more and more as an instrument for the gradual extinction of the German-Austrian population. The only hope of an eleventh-hour effort to save it lay in the overthrow of the parliamentary system, but there was very little prospect of this happening. Consequently, the Pan-German movement was confronted with a question of primary importance. To overthrow the parliament, should the Pan-Germanists have entered it 'to undermine it from within, as the current phrase was? Or should they have assailed the institution as such from outside? They entered the parliament and came out defeated, but they had been obliged to enter it, for in order to wage an effective war against such a power from the outside, indomitable courage and a ready spirit of sacrifice were necessary. In such cases the bull must be seized by the horns. Furious attacks may bring the assailant to the ground again and again, but if he has a stout heart he will stand up, even though some bones may be broken, and only after a long and tough struggle will he achieve his triumph. New champions are attracted to a cause by the appeal of great sacrifices made for its sake, until that indomitable spirit is finally crowned with success. To achieve this, however, one needs those who come from the broad masses of the people. They alone have the requisite determination and tenacity to fight a sanguinary issue through to the end. The Pan-German movement did

not have these broad masses as its champions and so the only course left open to it was to enter parliament.

It would be a mistake to think that this decision resulted from a long series of internal hesitations of a moral kind, or that it was the outcome of careful calculation. They did not even consider any other solution. Those who participated in this blunder were actuated by general considerations and vague notions as to what would be the significance and effect of taking part in that institution which they had condemned on principle. In general they hoped that they would thus have the means of expounding their cause to the broad masses of the people, because they would be able to speak in 'the forum of the whole nation.' It also seemed reasonable to believe that by attacking the evil at the root they would achieve more than by attacking from outside. They believed that, if protected by the immunity of parliament, the position of the individual protagonists would be strengthened and that thus the force of their attacks would be enhanced. In reality everything turned out otherwise.

The forum in which the Pan-German representatives spoke had not grown greater, but had actually become smaller, for each spoke only to the circle that was ready to listen to him or could read the report of his speech in the newspapers. The largest forum of immediate listeners is not the parliamentary auditorium; it is the large public meeting, for here alone will there be thousands of men who have come simply to hear what a speaker has to say, whereas at the parliamentary sittings only a few hundred are present, and for the most part these are there only to earn their daily allowance for attendance and not to be enlightened by the wisdom of one or other of the 'representatives of the people.' The most important consideration is that the same public is always present and that this public does not wish to learn anything new, because, setting aside the question of its intelligence, it lacks even that modest quantum of will-power which is necessary for the effort of learning.

Not one of the representatives of the people will pay homage to a superior truth and devote himself to its service

Not one of these gentry will act thus, unless he has grounds for hoping that by such a *volte-face* he may be able to retain the representation of his constituency in the coming election. Therefore, only when it becomes quite clear that the old party is likely to have a bad time of it at the forthcoming elections—only then will those models of manly virtue set out in search of a new party or a new policy which may have better electoral prospects, but of course this change of front will be accompanied by a veritable deluge of high moral motives to justify it, and thus it always happens that when an existing party has incurred such general disfavour among the public that it is threatened with the probability of a crushing defeat, a great migration commences. The parliamentary rats leave the party ship. All this happens not because the individuals in the case have become better informed on the questions at issue and have resolved to act accordingly; these changes of front are evidence only of that gift of clairvoyance which warns the parliamentary flea at the right moment and enables him to hop into another warm party bed.

To speak in such a forum is to cast pearls before certain animals. Verily, it does not repay the pains taken, for the result must always be negative. That is what happened in this case. The Pan-German representatives might have talked themselves hoarse, but to no effect.

The press either ignored them totally or so mutilated their speeches that the logical argument was destroyed or the meaning twisted round in such a way that the public got only a very wrong impression regarding the aims of the new movement. What the individual members said was not of importance, what was important was what people read as coming from them. This consisted of mere extracts which had been torn out of the context of the speeches and gave an impression of incoherent nonsense, which was exactly what was intended. Thus the only public to which they really spoke consisted merely of five hundred parliamentarians and that is saying a great deal.

The worst aspect of the case was that the Pan-German movement could hope for success only if the leaders realized from the very first moment that here it must be less a question of a new party than of a new *Weltanschauung*. This alone could arouse the inner moral forces that were necessary for such a gigantic struggle, and in this struggle the leaders must be men of first-class brains and indomitable courage. If the struggle on behalf of a *Weltanschauung* is not conducted by men of heroic spirit who are ready to sacrifice everything, within a short while it will become impossible to find real fighting followers who are ready to lay down their lives for the cause. A man who fights only for his own existence has not much interest left for the service of the community.

In order to secure the conditions that are necessary for success, everybody concerned must be made to understand that the new movement looks to the future for its honour and glory, but that it has no contemporary reward to offer its members. If a movement should offer a large number of positions and offices that are easily accessible, the number of unworthy candidates admitted to membership will be constantly on the increase, and eventually a day will come when there will be such a preponderance of political profiteers among the membership of a successful party that the combatants who bore the brunt of the battle in the earlier stages of the movement can now scarcely recognize their own party and may be thrown overboard by the later arrivals as unwanted ballast. Then the movement will no longer have a mission to fulfil.

Once the Pan-German party decided to collaborate with parliament they were no longer leaders and combatants in a popular movement, but merely parliamentarians. Thus the movement sank to the common political party level of the day and had no longer the strength to face a hostile fate and run the risk of martyrdom. Instead of fighting, the Pan-German leaders fell into the habit of talking and negotiating. The new parliamentarians soon found that it was a more satisfactory, because less risky, way of fulfilling their task, if

they were to defend the new *Weltanschauung* with the 'intellectual' weapon of parliamentary rhetoric rather than risk their lives in a struggle, the outcome of which was uncertain and could, at best, offer no prospect of personal gain for themselves.

When they had taken their seats in parliament their adherents outside hoped and waited for miracles to happen. Naturally, no such miracles happened or could happen. Thereupon the adherents of the movement soon grew impatient, because the reports they read about their own representatives did not in the least come up to what had been expected when they voted for these same representatives at the elections. The reason for this was not far to seek. It was due to the fact that an unfriendly press refrained from giving a true account of what the Pan-German representatives of the people were actually doing.

As the new deputies got to like this mild form of 'revolutionary' struggle in parliament and in the provincial diets, they gradually became reluctant to resume the more hazardous work of expounding the principles of the movement to the broad masses of the people.

Mass meetings in public became more and more rare, though this is the only means of exercising a really effective influence on the people, because here the influence comes from direct personal contact and only in this way can the support of large sections of the people be obtained. When the tables on which the speakers used to stand in the great beer-halls, addressing an assembly of thousands, were deserted for the parliamentary tribune, and the speeches were no longer addressed to the people directly, but to the so-called 'chosen' representatives, the Pan-German movement lost its popular character and in a little while degenerated to the level of a more or less serious club where problems of the day were discussed academically. The wrong impression created by the press was no longer corrected by personal contact with the people at public meetings, where the individual representatives might have given a true account of their activities. The final result of this neglect was that

the word 'Pan-German' came to have an unpleasant sound in the ears of the masses.

The knights of the pen and the literary snobs of to-day ought to realize that the great reformatations which have taken place in this world were never conducted by a goose-quill. The task of the pen must always be that of presenting the theoretical concepts which motivate such changes. The force which has always set in motion the great historical avalanches of religious and political movements is the magic power of the spoken word.

The broad masses of a population are more susceptible to the appeal of rhetoric than to any other force. All great movements are popular movements. They are the volcanic eruptions of human passions and emotions, stirred into activity by the ruthless goddess of Adversity or by the torch of the spoken word cast into the midst of the people. In no case have great movements been set afoot by the syrupy effusions of aesthetic *littérateurs* and drawing-room heroes. The doom of a nation can be averted only by a storm of glowing passion; but only those who are passionate themselves can arouse passion in others. It is only through the capacity for passionate feeling that chosen leaders can wield the power of the word which, like blows from a hammer, will open the door to the hearts of the people. He who is not capable of passionate feeling and speech was never chosen by Providence to be the herald of its will. Therefore, a writer should stick to his ink-bottle and busy himself with theoretical questions, if he has the requisite ability and knowledge. He was not born or chosen to be a leader.

A movement which has great aims to achieve must carefully guard against the danger of losing contact with the masses of the people. Every problem encountered must be examined from this point of view first of all and the decision taken must always be in harmony with this principle.

The movement must avoid everything which might lessen or weaken its power of influencing the masses, not from demagogical motives, but because of the simple fact that

no great ideal, no matter how sublime and exalted it may be, can be realized without the formidable strength of the great bulk of the people. Stern reality alone must mark the way to the goal. Only too often in this world, to be unwilling to walk the road of hardship means the total renunciation of our aims and purposes, whether that renunciation be consciously willed or not.

The moment the Pan-German leaders, by virtue of their acceptance of the parliamentary principle, moved the centre of their activities away from the people and into parliament, they sacrificed the future for the sake of a cheap momentary success. They chose the easier way in the struggle and in doing so rendered themselves unworthy of the final victory.

While in Vienna I used to ponder seriously over these questions and I saw that the main reason for the collapse of the Pan-German movement lay in the fact that these very questions were not rightly appreciated. To my mind the movement seemed at that time chosen to take over the leadership of the German element in Austria.

The first two blunders which led to the downfall of the Pan-German movement were very closely connected with one another. Failure to recognize the inner dynamic forces which bring about great changes led to an inadequate appreciation of the part which the broad masses play in bringing about such changes. The result was that too little attention was given to the social problem and that the attempts made by the movement to capture the minds of the lower classes were too few and too weak. If there had been a proper appreciation of the tremendous power of resistance always shown by the masses in revolutionary movements, a different attitude towards the social problem would have been taken, and also a different policy in the matter of propaganda. Then the centre of gravity of the movement would not have been transferred to the parliament, but would have remained in the workshops and in the streets.

There was a third mistake, which also had its roots in the failure to understand the significance of the broad masses. The masses are first set in motion in a definite direction

by men of superior talents; but then these masses, once in motion, are like a flywheel inasmuch as they sustain the momentum and steady balance of the offensive.

The policy of the Pan-German leaders in deciding to carry through a difficult fight against the Catholic Church can be explained only by attributing it to an inadequate understanding of the spiritual character of the people.

The reasons why the new party engaged in a violent campaign against Rome were as follows:—As soon as the House of Habsburg had definitely decided to transform Austria into a Slav State, all sorts of measures were adopted which seemed suitable for that purpose. The Habsburg rulers had no scruples of conscience about exploiting even religious institutions in the service of this new 'State idea.' One of the many methods employed was the use of Czech parishes and their clergy as instruments in the Slavization of Austria, which was carried out in the following way. Parish priests of Czech nationality were appointed to purely German districts. Gradually and steadily pushing the interests of the Czech people before those of the Church, the parish priests became generative cells in the process of de-Germanization.

Unfortunately, the German-Austrian clergy completely failed to counter this procedure. Not only were they incapable of taking a similar initiative on the German side, but they showed themselves unable to meet the Czech offensive with adequate resistance. The German element was accordingly pushed backwards, slowly but steadily, through the perversion of religious belief for political ends, on the one side, and the lack of proper resistance on the other. Such were the tactics used in dealing with the minor problems, but those used in dealing with the major problems were not very different.

The anti-German aims pursued by the Habsburgs, especially through the instrumentality of the higher clergy, did not meet with any vigorous resistance, while the clerical representatives of the German interests withdrew completely to the rear. The general impression created could not be other than that the Catholic clergy as such were grossly

neglecting the rights of the German population. Therefore, it looked as if the Catholic Church was not in sympathy with the German people, but that it unjustly supported their adversaries. The root of the whole evil, especially in Schönerer's opinion, lay in the fact that the centre of authority of the Catholic Church was not in Germany and that this fact alone was sufficient reason for the hostile attitude of the Church towards the demands of our people.

The so-called cultural problem receded almost completely into the background, as was generally the case throughout Austria at that time. In assuming a hostile attitude towards the Catholic Church, the Pan-German leaders were influenced not so much by the Church's attitude regarding questions of science, etc., but principally by the fact that the Church did not defend German rights, as it should have done, but always supported those who encroached on these rights, especially the Slavs.

Georg Schönerer was not a man who did things by halves. He went into battle against the Church because he was convinced that this was the only way in which the German people could be saved. The *Los-von-Rom* (Away from Rome) movement seemed the most formidable, but at the same time most difficult, method of attacking and destroying the adversary's citadel. Schönerer believed that if this movement could be carried out successfully the unfortunate division between the two great religious denominations in Germany would be wiped out and that the inner forces of the German Reich and the German nation would be enormously enhanced by such a victory. But in this case the premises as well as the conclusions were erroneous.

It was undoubtedly true that the national powers of resistance, in everything concerning Germanism as such, were much weaker among the German Catholic clergy than among their non-German colleagues, especially the Czechs, and only an ignorant person could be unaware of the fact that it scarcely ever entered the minds of the German clergy to take the offensive on behalf of German interests.

At the same time, everybody who is not blind to facts must admit that all this should be attributed to a characteristic under which we Germans are all doomed to suffer. This characteristic shows itself in our objective attitude towards our own nationality, as towards other things.

While the Czech priest adopted a subjective attitude towards his own people and only an objective attitude towards the Church, the German parish priest showed a subjective devotion to his Church and remained objective in regard to his nation. It is a phenomenon which, unfortunately for us, can be observed occurring in exactly the same way in thousands of other spheres.

It is by no means the peculiar heritage of Catholicism, but it is something in us which does not take long to undermine almost every institution, especially institutions of the State and those which have ideal aims. Take, for example, the attitude of our civil service in regard to the efforts made to bring about a national resurgence and compare that attitude with the stand which the civil service in any other country would have taken in such a case. Or, can anyone believe that the military officers in any other country in the world would place the 'authority of the State' before the vital needs of the nation, as they have done as a matter of course in our country for the past five years and have even deemed theirs a meritorious attitude? Or, let us take another example. In regard to the Jewish problem, do not the two Christian denominations take up a standpoint to-day which does not correspond to the national exigencies or even the interests of religion? Consider the attitude of a Jewish Rabbi towards any question, even one of minor importance, concerning the Jews as a race, and compare his attitude with that of the majority of our clergy, whether Catholic or Protestant.

We observe the same phenomenon wherever it is a matter of standing up for some abstract idea. 'The authority of the State,' 'democracy,' 'pacifism,' 'international solidarity,' etc., all such notions become rigid, dogmatic conceptions with us, so that the general vital needs of the nation are judged purely in the light of these conceptions.

This unfortunate habit of looking at all national demands from the point of view of a pre-conceived notion makes it impossible for us to see the subjective side of a thing which objectively contradicts our own doctrine. It finally leads to a complete reversal of the relation of means and end. Any attempt at a national revival will be opposed, if the preliminary condition of such a revival be that a bad and pernicious regime must first of all be overthrown, because such an action will be considered as a violation of the 'authority of the State.' In the eyes of those who take that standpoint, the 'authority of the State' is not a means which is there to serve an end, but rather, to the mind of the dogmatic believer in objectivity, an end in itself, which suffices as the whole purpose of his own miserable existence. Such people would raise an outcry if, for instance, anyone should attempt to set up a dictatorship, even though the dictator in question were a Fr  derick the Great and the politicians for the time being, who constituted the parliamentary majority, were petty and incompetent men, because to such sticklers for abstract principles, the law of democracy is more sacred than the welfare of the nation. In accordance with his principles, one of these gentry will defend the worst kind of tyranny, though it may be leading a people to ruin, because it is the fleeting embodiment of the 'authority of the State,' and another will reject even a highly beneficial government if it should happen not to be in accord with his notion of democracy.

In the same way, our German pacifist will remain silent while the nation is groaning under an oppression which is being exercised by a blood-thirsty military power, if this state of affairs can be altered only through active resistance and the employment of physical force, which is contrary to the spirit of the pacifist associations. The German international Socialist may be robbed and plundered by his comrades in all the other countries of the world, in the name of 'solidarity,' but he responds with fraternal kindness and never thinks of trying to get his own back, or even of defending himself. And why? Because he is a—German.

It may be unpleasant to dwell on such truths, but if something is to be done we must start by diagnosing the disease.

The phenomenon which I have just described also accounts for the feeble manner in which German interests are promoted and defended by a section of the clergy. Such conduct is not the manifestation of a malicious intent, nor is it the outcome of orders given from 'above,' as we say, but such a lack of national grit and determination is due to defects in our educational system, on the one hand, which fails to imbue our youth with a sense of pride in their German nationality, and, on the other, to our subjection to the ideal which has become our idol.

The education which makes men the devotees of such abstract notions as 'democracy,' 'international Socialism,' 'pacifism,' etc., is so hard-and-fast and exclusive and, operating as it does from within outwards, so purely subjective, that in forming their general picture of outside life as a whole, they are fundamentally influenced by these *a priori* notions. On the other hand, their attitude towards their own German nationality has been very objective from youth upwards. The pacifist—if he is a German—who surrenders himself subjectively, body and soul, to the dictates of his dogmatic principles, will always first consider the objective right or wrong of a situation when danger, no matter how grave and unmerited, threatens his own people and he will never take his stand in the ranks of his own people and fight for and with them from the sheer instinct of self-preservation.

Another example may further illustrate how far this applies to the different religious denominations. In so far as its origin and tradition are based on German ideals, Protestantism defends these ideals better, but it fails the moment it is called upon to defend national interests which belong to a sphere outside its ideals and traditional development, or which, for some reason or other, are rejected by it.

Protestantism, therefore, will always take its part in promoting German ideals as far as concerns moral integrity

or national education, when the essential German character, the German language or German freedom are to be defended, because these represent the principles on which Protestantism itself is grounded. But this same Protestantism violently opposes every attempt to rescue the nation from the clutches of its mortal enemy, because the Protestant attitude towards the Jews is more or less rigidly and dogmatically fixed. And yet this is the first problem which has to be solved unless all attempts to bring about a German renaissance are doomed to turn out ridiculous and impossible.

During my sojourn in Vienna I had ample leisure and opportunity to study this problem without allowing any prejudices to intervene, and in my daily intercourse with people I was able to test in a thousand ways the correctness of the opinion I had formed.

Here, at the meeting-place of many nationalities, it was obvious that it was always the German pacifist who tried to consider the interests of his own nation objectively, but you would never find a Jew who adopted a similar attitude towards his own race. Furthermore, I found that only the German Socialist is 'international' in the sense that he feels himself obliged not to demand justice for his own people in any other manner than by whining and wailing to his international comrades. Nobody could ever reproach Czechs or Poles or other nations with such conduct. In short, even at that time, I recognized that this evil is only partly the result of the doctrines taught by socialism, pacifism, etc., but mainly the result of our totally inadequate system of education, the defects of which are responsible for the lack of devotion to our own nationality.

Therefore, the first theoretical argument advanced by the Pan-German leaders in support of their offensive against Catholicism was quite untenable.

The only way to remedy the evil of which I have been speaking is to train the Germans from youth upwards to an absolute recognition of the rights of their own people, instead of poisoning their minds, while they are still children, with the virus of this cursed 'objectivity,' even in matters con-

cerning the very preservation of our own existence. The result of this would be that the Catholic in Germany, just as in Ireland, Poland or France, will be a German first and foremost, but this presupposes the establishment of a radical national government.

The strongest proof in support of my contention is furnished by what took place when our people were called for the last time before the tribunal of History to defend their own existence, in a life-and-death struggle. As long as there was no lack of leadership in the higher circles, the people fulfilled their duty and obligations to an overwhelming extent. Whether Protestant pastor or Catholic priest, each did his very utmost to help our powers of resistance to hold out, not only in the trenches, but also, and to an even greater degree, at home. During those years, and especially during the first outburst of enthusiasm, there was for both religious camps one undivided and sacred German Reich for whose preservation and future existence they all prayed to Heaven.

The Pan-German movement in Austria ought to have asked itself this one question, 'Is the preservation of the German element in Austria possible, as long as that element remains within the fold of the Catholic Church?' If so, then the political party should not have meddled in religious and denominational questions, but if not, then a religious reformation should have been started and not a political party movement. Anyone who believes that a religious reformation can be achieved through the agency of a political organization shows that he has no idea of the development of religious conceptions and doctrines of faith and how these are put into practice by a Church.

No man can serve two masters, and I hold that the foundation or overthrow of a religion has far more serious consequences than the foundation or overthrow of a State, to say nothing of a party.

It is no argument to the contrary to say that the attacks were only defensive measures against attacks from the other side.

Undoubtedly, there have always been unscrupulous rogues who did not hesitate to use religion as an instrument in their political dealings, for such was usually the sole object of such fellows, but on the other hand, it would be wrong to hold religion itself, or a religious denomination, responsible for a number of rascals who exploit the Church for their own base interests just as they would exploit anything else in which they had a part.

Nothing could be more to the taste of one of these parliamentary loungers and tricksters than to be able to find a scapegoat at least, after the event, for his political sharp practice. The moment religion or a religious denomination is attacked and made responsible for his personal misdeeds, this shrewd fellow will raise an outcry at once and call the world to witness how justified he was in acting as he did, proclaiming that he and his eloquence alone have saved religion and the Church. The public, which is mostly stupid and has a very short memory, is not capable of recognizing the real instigator of the quarrel in the midst of the turmoil that has been raised. Frequently it does not remember the beginning of the fight and so the rogue gains his end. A cunning fellow of that sort is quite well aware that his misdeeds have nothing to do with religion, and so he will laugh up his sleeve all the more heartily when his honest, but artless, adversary loses the game and, one day, losing all faith in humanity, retires from public life.

But also from another point of view it would be wrong to make religion, or the Church as such, responsible for the misdeeds of individuals. If we compare the magnitude of the organization, as it is apparent to everyone, with the average weakness of human nature we shall have to admit that the proportion of good to bad is more favourable here than anywhere else. Among the priests there may, of course, be some who use their sacred calling to further their political ambitions. There are clergy who, unfortunately, forget that in the political mêlée they ought to be the champions of sublime truth and not the abettors of falsehood and slander, but for each one of these unworthy specimens we

can find a thousand or more, who fulfil their mission nobly as the trustworthy guardians of souls and who tower above the level of our corrupt epoch, as little islands above the universal swamp.

I cannot, and do not, condemn the Church as such if some depraved person in the robe of a priest commits some offence against the moral code; nor should I for a moment think of blaming the Church if one of its innumerable members betrays and besmirches his compatriots, especially in an epoch when such conduct is quite common. We must not forget, particularly in our day, that for one such Ephialtes there are a thousand whose hearts bleed in sympathy with their people during these, our years of misfortune and who, together with the best of our nation, yearn for the hour when Fortune will smile on us again.

If it be objected that here we are concerned not with the petty problems of everyday life, but principally with fundamental truths and questions of dogma, the only way of answering that objection is to ask the question, 'Do you feel that Providence has called you to proclaim the Truth to the world?' If so, then go and do it, but you ought to have the courage to do it directly and not use some political party as your mouthpiece, for this, too, would be false. In the place of something that now exists and is bad, put something else that is better and will last into the future.

If you lack the requisite courage, or if you yourself do not know clearly what your better self ought to be, leave the whole thing alone, but, whatever happens, do not try to reach the goal by the roundabout way of a political party if you are not brave enough to fight with your visor lifted. Political parties have no right to meddle in religious questions except when these relate to something that is alien to the nation and thus calculated to undermine racial customs and morals. In the same way, religion must not be mixed up with party politics. If some ecclesiastical dignitaries should misuse religious institutions or religious teachings to injure their own nation, their opponents ought never to take the same road and fight them with the same

weapons. To a political leader, the religious teachings and institutions of his people should be sacred and inviolable; otherwise, he should not be a statesman, but a reformer, if he has the necessary qualities for such a mission. Any other line of conduct will lead to disaster, especially in Germany.

In studying the Pan-German movement and its conflict with Rome I was firmly persuaded, then and especially in later years, that by their failure to understand the importance of the social problem, the Pan-Germanists lost the support of the broad masses, who are the indispensable combatants in such a movement. By entering parliament the Pan-German leaders deprived themselves of their élan, and at the same time burdened themselves with all the defects of the parliamentary institution. Their struggle against the Catholic Church made their position impossible in numerous circles among the lower and middle classes, while at the same time it robbed them of innumerable high-class elements—some of the best indeed that the nation possessed. The practical outcome of the Austrian *Kulturkampf* was negative.

Although they succeeded in wresting one hundred thousand members from the Church, that did not do much harm to the latter. The Church did not need to shed tears over these lost sheep, for it lost only those who had for a long time ceased to belong to it in their inner hearts. The difference between this new reformation and the great Reformation was that, at that time, some of the best members left the Church because of religious convictions, whereas in this new reformation only those left who had been indifferent before and who were now influenced by political considerations. From the political point of view alone, the result was as ridiculous as it was deplorable.

Once again a political movement which had promised so much for the German nation collapsed, because it was not conducted in a spirit of unflinching adherence to naked reality, but lost itself in spheres in which it was bound to be broken up.

The Pan-German movement would never have made this mistake if it had properly understood the psyche of the broad masses. If the leaders had known that, for psychological reasons alone, it is not expedient to place two or more adversaries before the masses—since that leads to a complete splitting up of their fighting strength—they would have concentrated the full and undivided force of their attack against a single adversary. Nothing in the policy of a political party is so fraught with danger as allowing its decisions to be directed by people who want to have their fingers in every pie though they do not know how to cook the simplest dish.

Even though there is much that can be said against the various religious denominations, political leaders must not forget that history teaches us that no purely political party in similar circumstances ever succeeded in bringing about a religious reformation. One does not study history for the purpose of forgetting its lessons afterwards, when the time comes to apply them, or of imagining that in this particular case things are different, so that the eternal truths of history are no longer applicable. One learns history in order to be able to apply its lessons to the present time and whoever fails to do this cannot pretend to be a political leader. In reality he is quite a superficial person or, as is mostly the case, a conceited simpleton whose good intentions cannot make up for his incompetence.

The art of leadership, as displayed by really great leaders of the people throughout the ages, consists in concentrating the attention of the people against a single adversary and taking care that nothing will divide that attention. The more the militant energies of the people are directed towards one objective, the greater will be its magnetic force and its striking power. The leader of genius must have the ability to make different opponents appear as if they belonged to one category, for weak and wavering natures among a leader's following may easily begin to be dubious about the justice of their own cause if they have to face several enemies.

As soon as the vacillating masses find themselves facing an opposition that is made up of different groups of enemies, their sense of objectivity will be aroused and they will ask how it is that all the others can be in the wrong and they themselves, and their movement, alone in the right. Such a feeling would be the first step towards a paralysis of their fighting vigour. Where there are various enemies who are split up into divergent groups it will be necessary to block them together as forming one solid front, so that the bulk of the followers in a popular movement may see only one common enemy against whom they have to fight. Such uniformity intensifies their belief in the justice of their own cause and strengthens their feeling of hostility towards the opponent.

The Pan-German movement was unsuccessful because the leaders did not grasp the significance of that truth. They saw the goal clearly and their intentions were right, but they took the wrong road. Their action may be compared to that of an Alpine climber who never loses sight of the peak he wants to reach, who has set out with the greatest determination and energy, but pays no attention to the road beneath his feet. With his eye always fixed firmly on the goal, he does not examine or notice the nature of the ascent, and finally he fails.

The manner in which the great rival of the Pan-German party set out to attain its goal was quite different. The way it took was well and shrewdly chosen, but it did not have a clear vision of the goal. On almost all points where the Pan-German movement failed, the policy of the Christian-Socialist party was correct and systematic.

They assessed the importance of the broad masses correctly and gained their support by emphasizing the social character of the movement from the very start. By directing their appeal especially to the lower middle class and the artisans, they gained adherents who were faithful, persevering and self-sacrificing. The Christian-Socialist leaders took care to avoid all controversy with religious institutions and thus they secured the support of that mighty organization.

the Catholic Church. The leaders recognized the value of propaganda on a large scale and they were veritable virtuosos in working up the spiritual instincts of the broad masses of their adherents. The failure of this party to carry into effect the dream of saving Austria from dissolution, must be attributed to two main defects in the means they employed, and also to the lack of a clear perception of the ends they wished to reach. The anti-Semitism of the Christian-Socialists was based on religious, instead of racial, principles. The reason for this mistake also gave rise to the second error.

The founders of the Christian-Socialist party were of the opinion that they could not base their attitude on the racial principle if they wished to save Austria, because they felt that a general disintegration of the State might quickly result from the adoption of such a policy. In the opinion of the party chiefs, the situation in Vienna demanded that all factors which tended to estrange the nationalities from one another should be carefully avoided and that all factors making for unity should be emphasized.

At that time Vienna was so honeycombed with foreign elements, especially Czech, that the greatest amount of tolerance was necessary if these elements were to be enlisted in the ranks of any party that was not anti-German on principle. If Austria was to be saved, those elements were indispensable, and so attempts were made to win the support of the small traders, a great number of whom were Czechs, by combating the liberalism of the Manchester School. The leaders believed that by adopting this attitude they had found a slogan against Jewry which, because of its religious implications, would unite all the different nationalities which made up the population of the old Austria. It was obvious, however, that this kind of anti-Semitism did not trouble the Jews very much. If the worst came to the worst, a few drops of baptismal water would settle the matter, whereupon the Jew could still carry on his business safely and at the same time retain his Jewish entity.

On such superficial grounds it was impossible to deal

with the whole problem in an earnest and rational way. The consequence was that many people could not understand this kind of anti-Semitism and therefore refused to take part in it. The attractive force of the idea was thus restricted exclusively to narrow-minded circles, because the leaders failed to go beyond the mere emotional appeal and did not ground their position on a truly rational basis. The intellectuals were opposed to such a policy on principle. It looked more and more as if the whole movement were a new attempt to proselytize the Jews or, on the other hand, as if it were merely organized from a wish to compete with other contemporary movements. Thus the struggle lost all traces of having been organized for a spiritual and sublime mission. Indeed, it seemed to some people—and these were by no means worthless elements—to be immoral and reprehensible. The movement failed to awaken a belief that here there was a problem of vital importance for the whole of humanity, on the solution of which the destiny of the whole non-Jewish world depended.

Through this shilly-shallying way of dealing with the problem, the anti-Semitism of the Christian-Socialists turned out to be quite ineffective. It was anti-Semitic only in outward appearance which was worse than if it had made no pretence at all to anti-Semitism, for the pretence gave rise to a false sense of security among people who believed that the enemy had been brought to bay, but, as a matter of fact, these people themselves were being led by the nose. The Jew readily adjusted himself to this form of anti-Semitism and found its continuance more profitable to him than its abolition would have been.

This whole attitude led to great sacrifices being made for the sake of that State which was composed of many heterogeneous nationalities, but much greater sacrifices had to be made by the representatives of the German element. It was impossible to adopt a 'nationalist' attitude for fear of losing the foothold gained in Vienna itself. It was hoped that the Habsburg State might be saved by a silent evasion of the nationalist question, but it was this very policy

that brought that State to ruin. The same policy also led to the collapse of Christian Socialism, for thus the movement was deprived of the only source of energy from which a political party can draw the inner driving force it needs.

During those years I carefully followed the two movements and observed how they developed, one because my heart was with it, and the other, because of my admiration for that remarkable man who then appeared to me bitterly symbolic of the whole German population in Austria.

When the imposing funeral cortège of the dead Burgo-master wound its way from the City Hall towards the Ring Strasse, I stood among the hundreds of thousands who watched the solemn procession pass by. As I stood there I felt deeply moved, and my instinct told me that the work of this man had been all in vain, because a sinister Fate was inexorably leading this State to its downfall. If Dr. Karl Lueger had lived in Germany he would have been ranked among the great leaders of our people. It was a misfortune for himself and for his work that he had to live in this impossible State. When he died, the fire had already been kindled in the Balkans and was spreading month by month. Fate had been merciful in sparing him the sight of what, even to the last, he had hoped to prevent.

I endeavoured to analyse the cause which rendered one of these movements futile and wrecked the progress of the other. The result of this investigation was the profound conviction that, apart from the inherent impossibility of consolidating the position of the State in the old Austria, the two parties made the following fatal mistake. The Pan-German party was perfectly right in its fundamental ideas regarding the aim of the movement, which was to bring about a German renaissance, but it was unfortunate in its choice of means. It was nationalist, but unfortunately it paid too little heed to the social problem, and thus it failed to gain the support of the masses. Its anti-Jewish policy, however, was grounded on a correct perception of the significance of the racial problem and not on religious principles, but it was a mistake, and wrong from a tactical

point of view to make war on one religious denomination.

The Christian-Socialist movement had only a vague conception of a German revival as part of its object, but it was intelligent and fortunate in the choice of means to carry out its policy as a party. The Christian-Socialists grasped the significance of the social question, but they adopted the wrong principles in their struggle against Jewry, and they utterly failed to appreciate the power of the national idea.

Had the Christian-Socialist party, apart from its shrewd estimate of the value of the broad masses, also gauged correctly the importance of the racial problem (which was properly grasped by the Pan-German movement) and had this party been really nationalist, or if the Pan-German leaders, on the other hand, in addition to their correct handling of the Jewish problem and of the national idea, had adopted the practical standpoint of the Christian-Socialist Party, and particularly their attitude towards Socialism—then a movement would have developed which, in my opinion, might even at that time have successfully altered the course of German history. If things did not turn out thus, the fault lay for the most part in the character of the Austrian State.

I did not find my own convictions upheld by any party then in existence, and so I could not bring myself to enlist as a member in any of the existing organizations or even lend a hand in their struggle. Even at that time all those organizations seemed to me to be already jaded in their energies and were therefore incapable of bringing about a really profound and not merely superficial national revival of the German people.

My inner aversion to the Habsburg State was increasing daily. The more I paid special attention to questions of foreign policy, the more the conviction grew upon me that this phantom State would surely bring misfortune on the Germans. I realized more and more that the destiny of the German nation could not be decisively influenced from here, but only from within the German Reich itself. This was true not only in regard to general political questions, but

also—and in no less a degree—in regard to the whole sphere of cultural life.

Here, also, in all matters affecting national culture and art, the Austrian State showed all the signs of senile decrepitude, or at least it was ceasing to be of any consequence to the German nation, as far as these matters were concerned. This was especially true of its architecture. Modern architecture could not produce any great results in Austria, because, since the building of the Ring Strasse, architectural activity, in Vienna at least, had become insignificant when compared with the progressive schemes which were being planned in Germany.

I came more and more to lead what may be called a two-fold existence. Reason and reality forced me to continue to endure my harsh, but beneficial, experience in Austria, but my heart was elsewhere. A feeling of discontent grew upon me and made me depressed the more I came to realize the inside hollowness of this State and the impossibility of saving it from collapse. At the same time I felt perfectly certain that it would bring all kinds of misfortune on the German people. I was convinced that the Habsburg State would balk and hinder every German who might show signs of real greatness, while at the same time it would aid and abet every non-German activity.

This conglomerate spectacle of heterogeneous races which the capital of the Dual Monarchy presented, this motley of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs and Croats, etc., and always that bacillus which is the solvent of human society, the Jew, here and there and everywhere—the whole spectacle was repugnant to me. The gigantic city seemed to be the incarnation of racial adulteration.

The German language, which I had spoken from the time of my boyhood, was the vernacular of Lower Bavaria. I never forgot that particular style of speech, and I could never learn the Viennese dialect. The longer I lived in that city, the stronger became my hatred of the promiscuous swarm of foreign peoples which had begun to batten on that old nursery-ground of German culture. The idea that this

State could maintain its further existence for any considerable time was quite absurd. Austria was then like an ancient mosaic in which the cohesive cement had dried up and become old and friable. As long as such a work of art remains untouched it may hold together and continue to exist, but the moment a blow falls on it, it breaks up into thousands of fragments. It was, therefore, now only a question of when the blow would come. Because my heart was always with the German Reich and not with the Austrian Monarchy, the hour of Austria's dissolution as a State appeared to me only as the first step towards the emancipation of the German nation.

All these considerations intensified my yearning to depart for that country for which my heart had been secretly longing since the days of my youth. I hoped that one day I might be able to make my mark as an architect and that I could devote my talents to the service of my country on a large, or on a small scale, according to the will of Fate. A final reason was that I longed to be among those who lived and worked in that land from which the movement should be launched, the object of which would be the fulfilment of what my heart had always longed for, namely, the union of the country in which I was born with our common Fatherland, the German Reich.

There are many who may not understand how such a yearning can be so strong, but I appeal especially to two groups of people. The first includes all those who are denied the happiness I have spoken of, and the second embraces those who once enjoyed that happiness, but have had it torn from them by a harsh fate. I turn to all those who have been torn from their mother-country and who have to struggle for the preservation of their most sacred patrimony, their native language, who are persecuted and, because of their loyalty and love for the homeland, yearn sadly for the hour when they will be allowed to return to the bosom of their mother-country. To these I address my words, and I know that they will understand.

Only he who has himself experienced what it means to

be a German and yet to be denied the right of belonging to his Fatherland, can appreciate the profound nostalgia which that enforced exile causes. It is a perpetual heartache, and there is no place for joy and contentment until the doors of the home of his fathers are thrown open and all those in whose veins kindred blood is flowing will find peace and rest within their common Reich.

Vienna was a hard school for me, but it taught me the most profound lessons of my life. I was scarcely more than a boy when I went to live there, and when I left, I had grown to be a man of a grave and pensive nature. In Vienna I acquired the foundation of a general *Weltanschauung* and developed a faculty for analysing political questions in detail. That *Weltanschauung* and the political ideas then formed have never been abandoned, though they were expanded later on. It is only now that I can fully appreciate how valuable those years were to me.

I have given a detailed account of this period because in Vienna stark reality taught me the truths that now form the fundamental principles of the Party which, within the course of five years, has grown from modest beginnings to be a great mass movement. I do not know what my attitude towards Jewry, Social Democracy, or rather Marxism, in general, to the social problem, etc., would be to-day if I had not acquired a stock of personal beliefs at such an early age, by dint of hard study and under the duress of Fate. For, although the misfortunes of the Fatherland may have stimulated thousands to ponder over the inner causes of the collapse, that could not lead to such a thorough knowledge and deep insight as a man develops who has fought a hard struggle for many years in order that he might be master of his own fate.

CHAPTER IV

MUNICH

AT LAST I WENT TO MUNICH, IN THE SPRING OF 1912. The city itself was as familiar to me as if I had lived for years within its walls. This was because my studies in architecture had been constantly turning my attention to the metropolis of German art. One must know Munich if one would know Germany, and it is impossible to acquire a knowledge of German art without seeing Munich.

All things considered, this pre-war sojourn was by far the happiest and most contented time of my life. My earnings were very slender, but after all, I did not live for the sake of painting. I painted in order to get the bare necessities of existence while I continued my studies. I was firmly convinced that I should finally succeed in reaching the goal I had marked out for myself, and this conviction alone was strong enough to enable me to bear the petty hardships of everyday life without worrying very much about them.

Moreover, almost from the very first moment of my sojourn there, I came to love that city more than any other place known to me. 'A German city,' I said to myself. 'How different from Vienna!' It was with a feeling of disgust that my imagination reverted to that conglomeration of races. Another pleasant feature here was the way the people spoke German, which was much nearer my own way of speaking than the Viennese idiom. The Munich idiom recalled the days of my youth, especially when I spoke with those who had come to Munich from Lower Bavaria. There were a thousand or more things which I loved, instinctively, or which I came to love during the course of my stay, but what

attracted me most was the marvellous accord of native folk-energy with the fine artistic spirit of the city, that unique harmony between the Hofbräuhaus and the Odeon, the October Festival and the Pinakothek, etc. The reason why my heart's strings are entwined around this city as around no other spot in this world is probably because Munich is, and will remain, inseparably connected with the development of my own career; and the fact that, from the beginning of my stay, I felt inwardly happy and contented is to be attributed to the charm which the marvellous capital of the House of Wittelsbach has for anyone who, apart from a gift of cool calculation, is blessed with a feeling for beauty.

Apart from my professional work, I was most interested in the study of current political events, particularly those which were connected with foreign policy. I approached these by way of the German policy of alliances which, ever since my Austrian days, I had considered to be an utterly mistaken one, but in Vienna I had not yet seen quite clearly how far the German Reich had progressed in self-delusion. In Vienna I was inclined to assume, or probably I persuaded myself to do so in order to excuse the German mistake, that possibly the authorities in Berlin knew how weak and unreliable their ally would prove to be when brought face to face with realities, but that, for more or less mysterious reasons, they refrained from allowing their opinion on this point to be made public. Their idea was that they should support the policy of alliances which Bismarck had initiated, the sudden discontinuance of which might be undesirable, if for no other reason than that it might arouse those foreign countries which were lying in wait for their chance, or might alarm the Philistines at home.

My contact with the people soon taught me, to my horror, that my assumptions were wrong. I was amazed to find everywhere, even in circles otherwise well informed, that nobody had the slightest intimation of the real character of the Habsburg Monarchy. Among the common people in particular, there was a prevalent illusion that the Austrian

ally was a power which would have to be seriously reckoned with and would 'do its bit' in the hour of need. The bulk of the people continued to look upon the Dual Monarchy as a 'German' State and believed that it could be relied upon. They assumed that its strength could be measured by the millions of its subjects, as was the case in Germany. First of all, they did not realize that Austria had ceased to be a German State and, secondly, that the conditions prevailing within the Austrian Empire were steadily pushing it headlong to the brink of disaster.

At that time I knew the condition of affairs in the Austrian State better than the professional diplomats. Blindfolded, as nearly always, these diplomats stumbled along on their way to disaster. The opinions prevailing among the people reflected only what had been drummed into them from above, and these higher authorities grovelled before the 'ally,' as the people of old bowed down before the Golden Calf. They probably thought that by being polite and amiable they might balance the lack of honesty on the other side, and at the same time, they took every declaration at its full face value. Even while in Vienna, I used to be annoyed again and again by the discrepancy between the speeches of the official statesmen and the contents of the Viennese press, and yet Vienna was still a German city, at least as far as appearances went. But one encountered an utterly different state of things on leaving Vienna, or rather German-Austria, and coming into the Slav provinces. It was only necessary to glance at the Prague newspapers in order to see how the whole exalted hocus-pocus of the Triple Alliance was judged there. In Prague they had nothing but gibes and sneers for that masterpiece of statesmanship. Even in the piping times of peace, when the two emperors kissed each other on the brow in token of friendship, these papers did not disguise their belief that the alliance would be liquidated the moment the first attempt was made to bring it down from the shimmering heights of a Nibelungen ideal to the plane of stern reality.

Great indignation was aroused a few years later, when

the alliances were put to the first practical test. Italy not only withdrew from the Triple Alliance, leaving the other two members to go their own way, but she even joined their enemies. That anybody should believe even for a moment in the possibility of such a miracle as that of Italy fighting on the same side as Austria, would be simply incredible to any man who did not suffer from the blindness of official diplomacy.

In Austria only the Habsburgs and the German-Austrians supported the alliance. The Habsburgs did so from shrewd calculation of their own interests and from necessity. The Germans did it out of good faith and political ignorance. They acted in good faith inasmuch as they believed that by establishing the Triple Alliance they were doing a great service to the German Reich and were thus helping to strengthen it and consolidate its defence. They showed their political ignorance, however, in holding such ideas, because, instead of helping the German Reich, they really chained it to a moribund State which might drag its associate into the grave with itself. Above all, by championing this alliance they fell more and more a prey to the Habsburg policy of de-Germanization, for the alliance gave the Habsburgs good grounds for believing that the German Reich would not interfere in their domestic affairs and thus they were in a position to carry into effect, with more ease and less risk, their domestic policy of gradually eliminating the German element. Not only could the 'objectivity' of the German Government be counted upon, and thus there need be no fear of protest from that quarter, but one could always remind the German-Austrians of the alliance and thus silence those who would be sure to object, should the methods employed in the process of Slavization become too drastic.

What could the German-Austrians do, when the people of the German Reich itself had openly proclaimed their trust and confidence in the Habsburg regime? Should they resist and thus be branded openly before their kinsfolk in the Reich as traitors to their own national interests? They, who,

for so many decades, had sacrificed so much for the sake of their German tradition!

Once the influence of the Germans in Austria had been wiped out, what then would be the value of the alliance? If the Triple Alliance were to be advantageous to Germany, was it not a necessary condition that the predominance of the German element in Austria should be maintained? Or did anyone really believe that Germany could continue to be the ally of a Habsburg Empire under the hegemony of the Slavs?

The official attitude of German diplomacy, as well as that of the general public, towards internal problems affecting the Austrian nationalities was not merely stupid, it was insane. On the alliance, as on a solid foundation, they grounded the security and future existence of a nation of seventy millions, while, at the same time, they allowed their partner to continue his policy of undermining the sole foundation of that alliance, methodically and resolutely, from year to year. A day must come when nothing but a formal contract with Viennese diplomats would be left. The alliance itself, as an effective support, would be lost to Germany. As far as concerned Italy, such had been the case from the outset.

If people in Germany had studied history and the psychology of nations a little more carefully, not one of them could have believed for a single hour that the Quirinal and the Viennese Hofburg could ever stand shoulder to shoulder on a common battle-front. Italy would have flared up like a volcano if any Italian government had dared to send a single Italian soldier to fight for the Habsburg State, for so fanatically did the Italians hate that State, that it would have been impossible for them to meet on the field of battle, except as enemies. More than once in Vienna I have witnessed explosions of the contempt and the profound hatred which 'allied' the Italians to the Austrian State. The crimes which the House of Habsburg had committed against Italian freedom and independence in the course of several centuries were too grave to be forgiven, even with the best of goodwill, but this goodwill did not exist, either among the rank and

file of the population or in the government. Therefore, for Italy there were only two ways of co-existing with Austria—alliance or war. By choosing the first, it was possible to prepare leisurely for the second.

Especially since relations between Russia and Austria tended more and more towards the arbitration of war, the German policy of alliances was as senseless as it was dangerous. Here was a classic instance which demonstrated the lack of any broad or logical line of thought.

What was the reason for forming an alliance at all? It could not have been other than the wish to secure the future of the Reich better than would be possible if it were to depend exclusively on its own resources. But the future of the Reich could not have meant anything else than the problem of securing the means of existence of the German people. An answer had, therefore, to be found to the following questions. What form shall the life of the nation assume in the near future—that is to say within such a period as we can forecast? And by what means can the necessary foundation and security for this development be guaranteed within the framework of the general distribution of power among the European nations?

A clear analysis of the principles on which the foreign policy of German statecraft was to be based should have led to the following conclusions:

The annual increase in the population of Germany amounts to almost nine hundred thousand souls. The difficulties of providing for this army of new citizens must grow from year to year and must finally lead to a catastrophe, unless ways and means are found which will forestall the danger of misery and hunger.

There were four ways of providing against this terrible calamity:

(1) It was possible to adopt the French example and artificially restrict the number of births, thus avoiding an excess of population.

In certain circumstances, in periods of distress or under bad climatic conditions, or if the soil yields too poor a

return, Nature herself tends to check the increase of population in some countries and among some races, but by a method which is quite as ruthless as it is wise. She does not impede the procreative faculty as such; but prevents the further existence of the offspring by submitting it to such tests and privations that all but the strongest and healthiest are forced to retreat into the bosom of the Unknown. Whatever survives these hardships has been tested and tried a thousandfold, hardened and rendered fit to continue the process of procreation, so that the same process of selection will begin all over again. By thus dealing brutally with the individual and recalling him the very moment he shows that he is not fitted for the trials of life, Nature preserves the race and the species and raises it to the highest degree of efficiency.

The decrease in numbers therefore implies an increase in strength as far as the individual is concerned, and this eventually means the invigoration of the species.

The case is different when man himself starts the process of numerical restriction. Man is not made of the same stuff as Nature; he is 'humane.' He knows better than the ruthless Queen of Wisdom; he does not impede the preservation of the individual but prevents procreation itself. To the individual who always sees only himself and not the race, this line of action seems more humane and just than the opposite way, but unfortunately, the consequences are also the reverse.

By leaving the process of procreation unchecked and by submitting the individual to the hardest preparatory tests in life, Nature selects the best from an abundance of single elements and stamps them as fit to live and carry on the conservation of the species. Man restricts the procreative faculty and strives obstinately to keep alive at any cost whatever has once been born. This correction of the Divine Will seems to him to be wise and humane, and he rejoices at having trumped Nature's card in one game at least and thus proved that she is not entirely reliable. This little

'masterpiece' made by the Almighty does not like to be told that, although he has succeeded in limiting numbers, his system leads to degeneration in the quality of the individual, for, as soon as the procreative faculty is thwarted and the number of births diminished, the natural struggle for existence which allows only healthy and strong individuals to survive, is replaced by a sheer craze to 'save' feeble, and even diseased, creatures at any cost. Thus are sown the seeds of a human progeny which will become more and more enfeebled from one generation to another, as long as Nature's will is scorned. If this policy is carried out, the final result will always be that such a nation will eventually terminate its own existence on this earth; for, though man may defy the eternal laws of procreation for a certain period, vengeance will follow sooner or later. A stronger race will oust that which has grown weak, for the vital urge, in its ultimate form, will burst asunder all the absurd chains of this so-called humane consideration for the individual and will replace it with the humanity of Nature, which wipes out what is weak in order to make room for the strong.

Any policy which aims at securing the existence of the German nation by restricting the birth-rate robs it of its future.

(2) A second solution is that of internal colonization. This is a proposal which is frequently made in our own time and one hears it lauded a good deal. It is a suggestion that is well-meant, but it is misunderstood by most people, so that it is the source of more mischief than can be imagined.

It is certainly true that the productivity of the soil can be increased to a certain extent, but only within definite limits and not indefinitely. By increasing the productive powers of the soil, it will be possible to balance the effect of a surplus birth-rate in Germany for a certain period of time, without incurring any danger of famine. But we have to face the fact that the general standard of living is rising more quickly than even the birth-rate. Our demands as regards food and clothing are growing from year to year and are out of all proportion to those of our ancestors of, let us say, a hundred

years ago. It would, therefore, be a mistake to assume that every increase in the productive powers of the soil will supply the requisite conditions for an increase in the population. That is true up to at certain point only, for at least a portion of the increased produce of the soil will be consumed in supplying the increased demands caused by the steady rise in the standard of living. But even if these demands were to be curtailed to the narrowest limits possible, and if, at the same time, we were to use all our available energies in intensive cultivation, we should here reach a definite limit which is conditioned by the inherent nature of the soil itself. No matter how industriously we may labour we cannot increase agricultural production beyond this limit. Therefore, though we may postpone the evil hour of distress for a certain time, it will arrive at last. The first phenomenon will be the recurrence of famine periods from time to time, after bad harvests, etc. The intervals between these famines will become shorter and shorter, the more the population increases, and finally, the famine times will disappear only in those rare years of plenty when the granaries are full. A time will ultimately come when, even in those years of plenty, there will not be enough to go round, so that hunger will dog the footsteps of the nation. Nature must now step in once more and select those who are to survive; or else man will help himself by artificially preventing his own increase, with all the fatal consequences to the race and the species which have already been mentioned.

It may be objected here that, in one form or another, this future is in store for all mankind and that the individual nation or race cannot escape the general fate. At first glance, that objection seems logical enough; but we have to take the following into account. The day will certainly come when the whole of mankind will be forced to check the augmentation of the human species, because there will be no further possibility of adjusting the productivity of the soil to the perpetual increase in the population. Nature must then be allowed to use her own methods, or man may possibly take

the task of régulation into his own hands and establish the necessary equilibrium by the application of better means than we have at our disposal to-day. Then, however, it will be a problem for mankind as a whole, whereas now only those races have to suffer from want which no longer have the strength and daring to acquire sufficient land to provide for their needs, for, as things stand to-day, vast spaces still lie uncultivated all over the surface of the globe. Those spaces are only waiting for the ploughshare, and it is certain that Nature did not set those territories apart as the exclusive property of any one nation or race, to be held in reserve for the future. Such land awaits the people who have the strength to acquire it and the diligence to cultivate it.

Nature knows no political frontiers. She begins by establishing life on this globe and then watches the free play of forces. Those who show the greatest courage and industry are the children nearest to her heart and they will be granted the sovereign right of existence.

If a nation confines itself to 'internal colonization', while other races are perpetually increasing their territorial possessions all over the globe, that nation will be forced to restrict the numerical growth of its population at a time when the other nations are increasing theirs. This situation must eventually arise, and it will arise soon if the territory which the nation has at its disposal be small. Now, it is unfortunately true that only too often the best nations—or, to speak more exactly, the only really cultured nations, who at the same time are the chief champions of human progress—have decided, in their blind pacifism, to refrain from the acquisition of new territory and to be content with 'internal colonization.' At the same time nations of inferior quality succeed in getting hold of large areas for colonization all over the globe. The final outcome of this state of affairs will be that races which are culturally superior, but less ruthless would be forced to restrict their increase because of insufficient territory to support the population, while less civilized races could increase indefinitely, owing to the vast territories at their disposal. In other words, should this state

of affairs continue, then the world will one day be possessed by that portion of mankind which is culturally inferior, but more active and energetic.

A time will come, even though in the distant future, when there can be only two alternatives—either the world will be ruled according to our modern concept of democracy, and then every decision will be in favour of the numerically stronger races; or the world will be governed by the law of natural distribution of power, and then those nations will be victorious who are more brutal of will and they will not be the nations who have practised self-denial.

Nobody can doubt that this world will one day be the scene of dreadful struggles for existence on the part of mankind. In the end the instinct of self-preservation alone will triumph; before its consuming fire this so-called humanitarianism, which connotes only a mixture of fatuous timidity and self-conceit, will melt away as snow in the March sunshine. Man has become great through perpetual struggle. In perpetual peace his greatness must decline.

For us Germans the slogan of 'internal colonization' is fatal, because it encourages the belief that we have discovered a means which is in accordance with our innate pacifism and which will enable us to work for our livelihood by leading a drowsy existence. Such a teaching, once it were taken seriously by our people, would mean the end of all effort to acquire for ourselves that place in the world which we deserve. If the average German were once convinced that by this measure he had been given the chance of ensuring his livelihood and guaranteeing his future, any attempt to take an active, and thus profitable, part in promoting the vital interests of the country would be out of the question. Should the nation agree to such an attitude, then any really useful foreign policy might be looked upon as dead and buried, together with all hope for the future of the German people.

Once we know what the consequences of this 'internal colonization' theory would be, we can no longer consider as a mere accident the fact that, among those who inculcate

this pernicious theory upon the minds of our people, the Jew is always in the first rank. He knows his audience too well not to know that they are ready to be the grateful victims of every swindler who promises them a fortune in the shape of a discovery that will enable them to outwit Nature and thus render superfluous the hard and inexorable struggle for existence, so that finally they may become lords of the Earth partly by sheer *dolce far niente* and partly by work, just as it happens.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that any German 'internal colonization' must first of all be considered as suited only for the relief of social grievances, and in particular, for freeing the soil from the grip of the speculator, but that such a system could never suffice to assure the future of the nation, without the acquisition of new territory.

If we adopt a different plan we shall soon reach a point beyond which the resources of our soil can no longer be exploited, and at the same time we shall reach a point beyond which our man-power cannot develop.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that the two factors, namely, limitation to a definitely small area as necessitated by internal colonization, and the restriction of procreation, which leads to the same result, have a very unfavourable effect on the military and political standing of a nation.

The extent of the national territory is a determining factor in the external security of the nation. The larger the territory which a people has at its disposal, the stronger are the national defences of that people. Military victories are more quickly, more easily, more completely and more effectively gained against a people occupying a national territory which is restricted in area, than against States which have extensive territories. Hence, the magnitude of a nation's territory is in itself a certain guarantee that an outside Power will not hastily risk the adventure of an invasion, for in that case the struggle would have to be long and exhausting before victory could be hoped for. The risk being so great, there would have to be extraordinary reasons for such an aggressive adventure. Hence it is, that the territorial magnitude of a

State furnishes a basis whereon national liberty and independence can be maintained with relative ease; while, on the contrary, a State whose territory is small offers a natural temptation to the invader.

As a matter of fact, so-called national circles in the German Reich rejected these first two possibilities of establishing a balance between the constant numerical increase in the population and a national territory which did not expand proportionately. But the reasons given for that rejection were different from those which I have just expounded. It was mainly on the basis of certain moral objections that restriction of the birth-rate was condemned. Proposals for internal colonization were rejected indignantly because it was suspected that such a policy might mean an attack on the big landowners, and that this attack might be the forerunner of a general attack upon the principle of private property as a whole. The form in which the latter solution—internal colonization—was recommended justified these misgivings. Generally speaking, the manner in which the rejection of this proposal was carried out was not skilful in respect of the effect on the bulk of the people and, in any case, it did not go to the root of the problem at all.

Only two further ways were left open by which work and bread could be secured for the increasing population.

(3) It was possible to think of acquiring new territory on which a certain portion of the increasing population could be settled each year, and thus keep the nation in the position of being self-supporting.

(4) Our industry and commerce could have been organized in such a manner as to secure an increase in exports and thus be able to support our people by the increased purchasing power accruing from the profits made on foreign markets.

Therefore, the problem was:—A policy of territorial expansion or a colonial and commercial policy? Both policies were taken into consideration, examined, recommended and rejected, from various standpoints, with the result that the second alternative was finally adopted. The sounder alternative, however, was undoubtedly the first.

The principle of acquiring new territory, on which the surplus population could be settled, has many advantages to recommend it, especially if we take the future, rather than the present, into account.

In the first place, too much importance cannot be attached to the necessity for adopting a policy which will make it possible to maintain a healthy farmer class as the basis of the national community. Many of our present evils have their origin exclusively in the disproportion between the urban and rural portions of the population. A solid stock of small and medium farmers has at all times been the best protection which a nation could have against the social diseases that are prevalent to-day. Moreover, that is the only solution which guarantees the daily bread of a nation within the framework of its domestic national economy. With this condition once guaranteed, industry and commerce would retire from the unhealthy position of foremost importance which they hold to-day and would take their due place within the general scheme of national economy, adjusting the balance between demand and supply. Thus, industry and commerce would no longer constitute the basis of the national subsistence, but would be auxiliary institutions. By fulfilling their proper function, which is to adjust the balance between national production and national consumption, they render national subsistence more or less independent of foreign countries and thus assure the freedom and independence of the nation, especially at critical junctures in its history.

Such a territorial policy, however, cannot be carried out in the Cameroons, but, almost exclusively, here in Europe. One must calmly and squarely face the truth that it certainly cannot be part of the dispensation of Divine Providence to give to one nation a fifty times larger share of the surface of this globe than to another. In considering this state of affairs to-day, one must not allow existing political frontiers to distract attention from those frontiers which on the principle of eternal justice, ought to exist. If there is sufficient 'living space' for all on this earth, then we ought to be given our share of the soil which is absolutely

necessary for our existence, but of course nobody will be prepared to do so. At this point the right of self-preservation comes into effect, and when attempts to settle the difficulty in an amicable way are rejected, the clenched fist must take by force that which was refused to the open hand of friendship. If, in the past, our ancestors had based their political decisions on the same pacifist nonsense as our present generation does, we should not possess more than one-third of the national territory that we possess to-day and probably there would be no German nation to worry about its future in Europe. We owe the two eastern provinces of the Reich to the innate determination of our forefathers in their struggle for existence, and thus it is to the same determined policy that we owe the inner strength which is based on the extent of our political and racial territories and which alone has made it possible for us to exist up to now.

There is still another reason why that solution would have been the correct one. Many contemporary European States are like pyramids standing on their apexes. The European territory which these States possess is ridiculously small when compared with the enormous over-head weight of their colonies, foreign trade, etc. It may be said that they have the apex in Europe and the base of the pyramid all over the world—very different from the United States of America, which has its base on the American Continent and is in contact with the rest of the world only through its apex. Out of that situation arises the incomparable inner strength of the U.S.A. and the contrary situation is responsible for the weakness of most of the European colonial Powers.

Britain cannot be suggested as an argument against this assertion, since faced with the British Empire, one is inclined to overlook the existence of the Anglo-Saxon world as such. Britain's position cannot be compared with that of any other State in Europe, since together with the U.S.A. it forms a vast community of language and culture.

Therefore, the only possibility which Germany had of carrying into effect a sound territorial policy of expansion wa

that of acquiring new territory in Europe itself. Colonies cannot serve this purpose as long as they are not suited for settlement by Europeans on a large scale. In the nineteenth century it was no longer possible to acquire such colonies by peaceful means. Therefore, any attempt at such a colonial expansion would have meant an enormous military struggle. Consequently, it would have been more practical to undertake that military struggle for new territory in Europe, rather than to wage war for the acquisition of possessions abroad.

Such a decision naturally demanded that the nation's undivided energies should be devoted to it. A policy of that kind which requires for its fulfilment every ounce of available energy on the part of all concerned, cannot be carried into effect by half-measures or in a hesitating manner. The political activity of the German Reich should then have been directed exclusively towards this goal. No political step should have been taken as a result of any other consideration unconnected with this task and the means of accomplishing it. Germany should have been alive to the fact that such a goal could have been reached only by war, and the prospect of war should have been faced with calm and collected determination.

The whole system of alliances should have been envisaged and valued from that standpoint. If new territory had to be acquired in Europe it could have been done mainly at Russia's expense, and once again the new German Reich should have set out on its march along the same road as was formerly trodden by the Teutonic Knights, in order to acquire soil for the German plough by means of the German sword, and thus provide the nation with its daily bread. For such a policy, however, there would have been only one possible ally in Europe and that was Britain.

Only by alliance with Britain would it have been possible to safeguard the rear of the new German crusade. The justification for undertaking such a campaign would have been no less strong than the justification which our forefathers had for setting out on theirs. Not one of our pacifists refuses to eat the bread made from the grain grown

in the eastern provinces, and yet the first ploughing there was done by the sword. No sacrifice should have been considered too great if it was a necessary means of gaining Britain's friendship. Colonial and naval ambitions should have been abandoned and attempts should not have been made to compete against British industries. Only a clear and definite policy could lead to such an achievement. Such a policy would have demanded a renunciation of world trade, colonial intentions and naval power. All the means of power at the disposal of the State should have been concentrated in the military forces on land. This policy would have involved a period of temporary self-denial, for the sake of a great and powerful future.

There was a time when Britain might have entered into negotiations with us on the grounds of that proposal, for Britain would have well understood that the problems arising from the steady increase in population were forcing Germany to look for a solution either in Europe with the help of Britain or, without Britain, in some other part of the world.

This outlook was probably the chief reason why Britain tried to draw nearer to Germany about the close of the century. For the first time in Germany an attitude was then manifested which afterwards displayed itself in a most tragic way. People then gave expression to an unpleasant feeling that we might thus find ourselves obliged to do Britain's dirty work — as if an alliance could be based on anything else than mutual give-and-take! And British diplomats were still clever enough to know that an equivalent must be forthcoming in return for any services rendered.

Let us suppose that in 1904 our German foreign policy was managed astutely enough to enable us to play the part which Japan played. It is not easy to measure the greatness of the results that might have accrued to Germany from such a policy. There would have been no World War. The blood which would have been shed in 1904 would not have been one tenth of that shed between 1914 and 1918 — and what a position Germany would hold in the world to-day!

In any case, the alliance with Austria would then have been an absurdity, for this mummy of a State did not attach itself to Germany for the purpose of carrying through a war, but rather to maintain a perpetual state of peace which was meant to be exploited for the purpose of slowly but persistently exterminating the German element in the Dual Monarchy.

Another reason for the impossibility of forming this alliance was that nobody could expect this State to take an active part in defending German national interests, as long as it did not have sufficient strength and determination to put an end to the policy of de-Germanization just beyond its own frontiers. If Germany was not moved by a sufficiently powerful national sentiment and was not sufficiently ruthless to take away from that absurd Habsburg State the right to decide the destinies of ten million inhabitants who were of the same nationality as the Germans themselves, surely it was out of the question to expect her to engage in any far-sighted and courageous undertaking. The attitude of the old Reich towards the Austrian question might have been taken as a test of its stamina for the struggle in which the destiny of the whole nation was at stake.

In any case, the policy of oppression against the German population in Austria should not have been allowed to go on and to become more pronounced year by year, for the value of Austria as an ally depended solely on the preservation of the German element in that country. That course was not followed. Nothing was dreaded so much as the possibility of an armed conflict; but finally, and at a most unfavourable moment, the conflict had to be faced. Germany thought to cut herself loose from the cords of Destiny, but Destiny held her fast. She dreamt of maintaining a world peace and woke up to find herself in a world war.

That dream of peace was a most significant reason why the above-mentioned third alternative for the future development of Germany was not even taken into consideration. The fact was recognized that new territory could be gained only in the east of Europe, but this meant

that there would be fighting ahead, whereas Germany wanted peace at any cost. The slogan of German foreign policy had altered from 'Preservation of the German nation at all costs' to 'Preservation of world-peace at any price.' We know what the result was. I shall resume the discussion of this point in detail later on.

There remained still another alternative, which we may call the fourth, namely, industry and world trade, naval power and colonies.

Such a development might certainly have been achieved more easily and more rapidly. To colonize a territory is a slow process, often extending over centuries. Yet this fact is the source of its inner strength; for it is not through a sudden burst of enthusiasm that it can be put into effect, but rather through a gradual and enduring process of growth quite different from industrial progress, which can be artificially speeded up within a few years. The result thus achieved, however is not of lasting quality but something frail like a soap-bubble. It is much easier to build a fleet quickly than to carry through the tough task of settling a territory with farmers and establishing farmsteads, but the former is also more quickly destroyed than the latter.

In adopting such a course Germany must have known that to follow it out, would necessarily mean war sooner or later. Only children could have believed that sweet and unctuous expressions of friendship and persistent avowals of peaceful intentions could get them their bananas through this 'friendly competition between the nations,' without the prospect of ever having to fight for them. Once we had taken this road, Britain was bound to be our enemy at some time to come. Of course it fitted in nicely with our innocent assumptions, but still it was absurd to grow indignant at the fact that a day came when the British took the liberty of opposing our peaceful penetration with the brutality of violent egotists. Naturally, we, on our side, would never have done such a thing.

If a European territorial policy of expansion against Russia could have been put into practice only if we had had

Britain as our ally, a colonial and world-trade policy on the other hand, could have been carried into effect only against British interests and with the support of Russia. But then this policy should have been adopted in full consciousness of all the consequences it involved and, above all things, Austria should have been discarded as quickly as possible.

At the close of the century the alliance with Austria had become a veritable absurdity from all points of view, but nobody thought of forming an alliance with Russia against Britain, just as nobody thought of making Britain an ally against Russia, for in either case, the final result would inevitably have been war, and to avoid war was the very reason why a commercial and industrial policy was decided upon. It was believed that the peaceful conquest of the world by commercial means provided a method which would permanently supplant the policy of force. Occasionally, however, there were doubts about the efficacy of this principle, especially when some quite incomprehensible warnings were now and again uttered by Britain. That was the reason why the fleet was built. It was not for the purpose of attacking or annihilating Britain, but merely to defend the concept of world peace, mentioned above, and also to defend the principle of conquering the world by 'peaceful' means. Therefore this fleet was kept within such limits as made it inferior to the British fleet, not only as regards the number and tonnage of the vessels, but also in regard to their armament, the idea being to furnish new proofs of peaceful intentions.

The chatter about the peaceful conquest of the world by commercial means was probably the most completely nonsensical stuff ever raised to the dignity of a guiding principle in the policy of a State. This nonsense became even more foolish when Britain was pointed out as a typical example to prove how the thing could be done. Our intellectual attitude towards history and our professorial ideas in that domain have done irreparable harm and offer a striking proof of how people 'learn' history without understanding anything of it. As a matter of fact, Britain ought

to have been looked upon as a convincing argument against the theory of pacific conquest of the world by commercial means. No nation prepared the way for its commercial conquests more brutally than Britain did by means of the sword and no other nation has defended such conquests more ruthlessly. Is it not a characteristic quality of British statecraft that it knows how to use political power in order to gain economic advantages and, inversely, to turn economic conquests into political power? What an astounding error it was to believe that Britain would not have the courage to shed her own blood for the purpose of economic expansion! The fact that Britain did not possess a national army proved nothing, for it is not the actual military structure of the moment that matters, but rather the will and determination to use whatever military strength is available. Britain has always had the armament which she needed. She always fought with those weapons which were necessary for success. She sent mercenary troops to fight as long as mercenaries sufficed, but she never hesitated to draw heavily and deeply on the best blood of the whole nation when victory could be obtained only by such a sacrifice, and in every case the fighting spirit, dogged determination, and use of brutal means in conducting military operations have always remained the same.

But in Germany, through the medium of the schools, the press and the comic papers, there was gradually formed an idea of the Englishman and, to a greater degree, of his Empire, which was bound eventually to lead to the worst kind of self-deception. This absurdity slowly, but persistently, spread to every section of the German nation. The result was an undervaluation for which we have had to pay a heavy penalty. The delusion was so profound that the Englishman was looked upon as a shrewd business man, but at the same time, as a physical coward. Unfortunately, our sagacious teachers of history did not realize that it is not possible to build up such a mighty organization as the British Empire by mere swindle and fraud. The few who called attention to that truth were either ignored or

silenced. I can call vividly to mind the astonished looks of my comrades when they found themselves for the first time face to face with the Tommies in Flanders. After a few days of fighting the consciousness slowly dawned on our soldiers that those Scotsmen were not like the ones we had seen described and caricatured in the comic papers and mentioned in the *communiqués*. It was then that I formed my first ideas on the efficiency of various forms of propaganda.

Such a falsification, however, served the purpose of those who were responsible for it. This caricature of the Englishman, though false, could be used to prove the possibility of conquering the world peacefully by commercial means. Where the Englishman had succeeded we should also succeed. Our far greater honesty and our freedom from that specifically English 'perfidy' would be assets on our side. Thereby it was hoped that the sympathy of the smaller nations and the confidence of the greater nations could be gained more easily.

Because we ourselves believed in it, we did not realize that our honesty was an object of profound aversion to other people. The rest of the world looked on our behaviour as the manifestation of a shrewd deceitfulness and it was not until the revolution came, that they were amazed at the deeper insight it gave them into our mentality, sincere even beyond the limits of stupidity.

Once we understand the part played by that absurd notion of conquering the world by peaceful commercial means, we can clearly understand how that other absurdity, the Triple Alliance, came to exist. With what State then could an alliance have been made? In alliance with Austria we could not acquire new territory by military means, even in Europe, and this very fact was the real reason for the inner weakness of the Triple Alliance. A Bismarck could permit himself such a makeshift, but certainly not any of his bungling successors, least of all when the foundations no longer existed on which he had formed the Triple Alliance. In Bismarck's time Austria could still be looked upon as a German State, but the gradual introduction of universal suffrage turned

the country into a parliamentary Babel in which the German voice was scarcely audible.

From the point of view of racial policy, this alliance with Austria was simply disastrous. A new Slav Great Power was allowed to grow up close to the frontiers of the German Reich. Later on this Power was bound to adopt towards Germany an attitude different from that of Russia, for example. The alliance was thus bound to become more empty and more feeble, because its only supporters were losing their influence and were being systematically pushed out of the more important public offices.

About the year 1900 the alliance with Austria had already entered upon the same phase as the alliance between Austria and Italy.

Here also only two alternatives were possible—either to take the side of the Habsburg Monarchy or to raise a protest against the oppression of the German element in Austria, but, generally speaking, when one adopts such a course it is bound eventually to lead to open conflict.

From the psychological point of view also, the value of the Triple Alliance was slight, since the soundness of an alliance diminishes in the same ratio in which its object is limited to the defence of the *status quo*. On the other hand an alliance will increase in strength the more the parties concerned in it may hope to use it as a means of reaching some practical goal of expansion. Here, as everywhere else, strength lies not in defence, but in attack.

This truth was recognized in various quarters but, unfortunately, not by those called upon to rule the people. As early as 1912 Ludendorff, who was then colonel and attached to the General Staff pointed out these weak features of the alliance in a memorandum, but of course the 'statesmen' did not attach any importance or value to that document. In general it would seem as if common sense were a faculty that is present only in the case of ordinary mortals but is entirely absent when we come to deal with that branch of the species known as 'diplomats.'

It was lucky for Germany that the war of 1914 broke

out with Austria as its direct cause, for thus the Habsburgs were compelled to participate. Had the situation been reversed, Germany would have been left to her own resources. The Habsburg State would never have been ready or willing to take part in a war, for the outbreak of which Germany was responsible. What was the object of so much obloquy later in the case of Italy, would have taken place, only earlier, in the case of Austria. In other words, if Germany had been forced to go to war for some reason of her own, Austria would have remained 'neutral' in order to safeguard the State against a revolution which might have begun immediately after the war had started. The Slav element would have preferred to smash up the Dual Monarchy in 1914 rather than permit it to come to the assistance of Germany, but at that time there were only a few who understood all the dangers and difficulties which resulted from the alliance with the Danubian Monarchy.

In the first place, Austria had too many enemies who were eagerly looking forward to obtaining the heritage of that decrepit State and who gradually developed a certain animosity against Germany, because Germany was an obstacle to their desires, inasmuch as she kept the Dual Monarchy from falling to pieces, an event that was hoped for on all sides. The conviction developed that Vienna could be reached only *via* Berlin.

In the second place, by adopting this policy Germany lost her best and most promising chances of other alliances. In place of these possibilities one now observed a growing tension in her relations with Russia and even with Italy, and this in spite of the fact that the general attitude in Rome was just as favourable to Germany as it was hostile to Austria—a hostility which lay dormant in the individual Italian and broke out violently on occasion.

Since a commercial and industrial policy had been adopted, no motive was left for waging war against Russia. Only the enemies of the two countries, Germany and Russia, could, in these circumstances, have an active interest in such a war. As a matter of fact, it was only the Jews

and the Marxists who tried to stir up bad blood between the two States.

In the third place, the alliance constituted a permanent danger to German security, for any Great Power that was hostile to Bismarck's Reich could mobilize a number of other States in a war against Germany by promising them tempting spoils at the expense of the Austrian ally.

It was possible to arouse the whole of Eastern Europe against Austria, especially Russia and Italy. The world coalition which had developed under the leadership of King Edward could never have become a reality if Germany's ally, Austria, had not offered such an alluring prospect of booty. It was this fact alone which made it possible to combine so many heterogeneous States with divergent interests into one common phalanx of attack. Every member could hope to enrich himself at the expense of Austria, if he joined in the general attack against Germany. The fact that Turkey was also a tacit party to the unfortunate alliance with Austria augmented Germany's peril to an extraordinary degree.

Jewish international finance needed the bait of the Austrian heritage in order to carry out its plans of ruining Germany, for Germany had not yet surrendered to their general and international control in the sphere of trade and finance. Thus it was possible to consolidate that coalition and make it strong enough and brave enough, through sheer weight of numbers, to join in a conflict with the 'horned' Siegfried.

The alliance with the Habsburg Monarchy, which I loathed while still in Austria, was the subject of grave concern on my part and caused me to meditate on it so persistently that I was confirmed in the opinions which I had previously formed.

Among the few people with whom I consorted at that time I did not conceal my conviction that this sinister agreement with a State doomed to collapse would also bring catastrophe to Germany if she did not free herself in time. I never for a moment wavered in that firm conviction, even when the tempest of the World War seemed to have made ship-

wreck of the reasoning faculty itself and had put blind enthusiasm in its place, even among those circles where the coolest and hardest objective thinking ought to have held sway. In the trenches I voiced and upheld my own opinion whenever these problems came under discussion. I held that to abandon the Habsburg Monarchy would involve no sacrifice, if Germany could thereby reduce the number of her own enemies for the millions of Germans who had donned the steel helmet had done so, not in order to fight for the maintenance of a corrupt dynasty, but rather for the salvation of the German people.

Before the War there were occasions on which it seemed that at least one section of the German public had some slight misgivings about the political wisdom of the alliance with Austria. From time to time German conservative circles issued warnings against being over-confident about the worth of that alliance; but, like every other sensible suggestion made at that time, it was thrown to the winds. The general conviction was that the right measures had been adopted to 'conquer' the world, that the success of these measures would be enormous and the sacrifices negligible.

Once again the 'uninitiated' layman could do nothing but look on while the 'elect' headed straight for disaster enticing their beloved people to follow them, as the rats followed the Pied Piper of Hamelin.

If we would look for the deeper grounds which made it possible to foist on the people this absurd notion of peacefully conquering the world through commercial penetration, and ask how it was possible to put forward the maintenance of world-peace as a national aim, we shall find that these grounds lay in the general morbid condition of German political thought.

The triumphant progress of technical science in Germany and the marvellous development of German industry and commerce led us to forget that a powerful State had been the necessary prerequisite of that success. On the contrary, certain circles even went so far as to give vent to the theory that the State owed its very existence to these phenomena;

that it was, above all, an economic institution and should be constituted in accordance with economic interests. Therefore, it was held, the State was dependent on the economic structure. This condition of things was locked upon and glorified as the soundest and most normal.

Now, the truth is that the State in itself has nothing whatsoever to do with a definite economic concept or a definite economic development. It does not arise from a compact made between contracting parties, within a certain delimited territory, for the purpose of serving economic ends. The State is a community of living beings who have kindred physical and spiritual natures, organized for the purpose of ensuring the conservation of their own kind and fulfilling those ends which Providence has assigned to that particular race or racial branch. Therein, and therein alone, lie the purpose and meaning of a State. Economic activity is one of the many auxiliary means which are necessary for the attainment of those aims. But economic activity is never the origin or purpose of a State, except where a State has, from the outset, been founded on a false and unnatural basis. This alone explains why a State as such does not necessarily need a certain delimited territory as a condition of its foundation. This condition becomes a necessary prerequisite only among those people who would provide and assure subsistence for their kinsfolk through their own industry, which means that they are ready to carry on the struggle for existence by means of their own work. People who can sneak their way, like parasites, into the bosom of other nations, and make others work for them on various pretences, can form a State without possessing any definite delimited territory. This is chiefly applicable to that parasitic race which, particularly at the present time, preys upon the honest portion of mankind; I mean the Jews.

The Jewish State has never been delimited in space. It has been spread all over the world, without any frontiers whatsoever, and has always been constituted from the membership of one race exclusively. That is why the Jews have always formed a State within the State. One of the most

ingenious tricks ever devised has been that of sailing the Jewish ship of state under the flag of religion and thus securing that tolerance which Aryans are always ready to grant to different religious faiths. The Mosaic Law is really nothing else than the doctrine of the preservation of the Jewish race and, therefore, includes all spheres of sociological, political and economic science which have a bearing on the main end in view.

The instinct for the preservation of one's own species is the primary cause that leads to the formation of human communities. Hence, the State is a racial organism, and not an economic organization. The difference between the two is so great as to be incomprehensible to our contemporary so-called statesmen. That is why they like to believe that the State can be built up on an economic basis, whereas the truth is that it has always resulted from the exercise of those qualities which are part of the will to preserve the species and the race. These qualities always exist and operate through the heroic virtues and have nothing to do with commercial egotism, for the conservation of the species always presupposes that the individual is ready to sacrifice himself. Such is the meaning of the poet's lines:

*Und setzet ihr nicht das Leben ein,
Nie wird euch das Leben gewonnen sein.
(And if you do not stake your life,
You will never win life for yourself.)*

The sacrifice of the individual existence is necessary in order to assure the conservation of the race. Hence it is that the most essential condition for the establishment and maintenance of a State is a certain feeling of solidarity, grounded in an identity of character and race and in a readiness to defend these at all costs. With people who live on their own territory this will result in a development of the heroic virtues; with a parasitic people it will develop into hypocrisy and perfidious cruelty, unless we admit that these characteristics are innate and that the varying political forms through which the parasitic race expresses itself are only

the outward manifestation of innate characteristics. At least in the beginning, the formation of a State can result only from a manifestation of the heroic qualities I have mentioned, and the people who fail in the struggle for existence, that is to say, those who become vassals and are thereby condemned to disappear entirely sooner or later, are those who do not display the heroic virtues in the struggle, or those who fall victims to the perfidy of the parasites. Even in this latter case the failure is not so much due to lack of intellectual powers, but rather to a lack of courage and determination, which attempts to disguise itself as 'humane' feeling.

The qualities which are employed for the foundation and preservation of a State have accordingly little or nothing to do with trade and industry, and this is conspicuously demonstrated by the fact that the inner strength of a State only very rarely coincides with what is called its economic expansion. On the contrary, there are numerous examples to show that a period of economic prosperity indicates the approaching decline of a State. If it were correct to attribute the foundation of human communities to economic forces, then the power of the State as such would be at its highest pitch during periods of economic prosperity, and not *vice versa*.

It is specially difficult to understand how the belief that the State is brought into being and preserved by economic forces could gain currency in a country which has given proof of the opposite in every phase of its history. The history of Prussia shows, with particular clarity and distinctness, that it is as a result of the moral virtues of the people and not of their economic circumstances, that a State is formed. It is only under the protection of those virtues that economic activities can be developed and the latter will continue to flourish until a time comes when the creative political capacity declines. Thereupon the economic structure will also break down, a phenomenon which is now happening in an alarming manner before our eyes. The material interests of mankind can prosper only in the shade of the heroic virtues;

he moment they become the primary considerations of life they wreck the basis of their own existence.

Whenever the political power of Germany was specially strong the economic situation also improved, but whenever economic interests alone occupied the foremost place in the life of the people, and thrust ideals into the background, the State collapsed and economic ruin soon followed.

If we consider the question of what those forces actually are which are necessary for the creation and preservation of a State, we can sum them up in the phrase, 'the capacity and readiness of the individual to sacrifice himself for the common weal. That these qualities have nothing at all to do with economics can be proved by referring to the simple fact that man does not sacrifice himself for material interests. In other words, he will die for an ideal, but not for a business. The marvellous gift of public psychology which the English possess was never better shown than in the way in which they presented their case in the World War. We were fighting for our bread; but the English declared that they were fighting for 'freedom,' and not even for their own freedom, but for the freedom of the small nations. German people laughed at that piece of effrontery and were angered by it, but in doing so they showed how political thought had declined among our so-called diplomats in Germany, even before the War. These diplomatists did not have the slightest notion of that force which makes men face death of their own free will and determination.

As long as the German people continued to believe that they were fighting for ideals in the War of 1914, they stood firm. As soon as they were told that they were fighting only for their daily bread they began to give up the struggle.

Our clever 'statesmen' were greatly amazed at this change of feeling. They never understood that as soon as man is called upon to struggle for purely material causes he will avoid death as best he can, for death and the enjoyment of the material fruits of a victory are quite incompatible concepts. The frailest woman will become a heroine when the life of

her own child is at stake, and only the will to save their race and native land or the State, which offers protection to their race, has, throughout the ages, been the urge which has forced men to face the weapons of their enemies.

The following may be proclaimed as a truth that always holds good:

A State has never arisen from commercial causes for the purpose of peacefully serving commercial ends. States have always arisen from the instinct to maintain the racial group, whether this instinct manifest itself in the heroic sphere or in the sphere of cunning and chicanery. In the first instance we have the Aryan States, based on the principle of work and cultural development; in the second, we have the Jewish parasitic colonies. As soon as economic interests begin to predominate over the racial and cultural instincts of a people or a State, these economic interests become the disintegrating cause that leads to subjugation and oppression.

The belief, which prevailed in Germany before the War, that the world could be opened up and even conquered for Germany through a system of peaceful commercial penetration and a colonial policy, was a typical symptom which indicated the decline of those real qualities whereby States are created and preserved, and indicated also the decline of that insight, will-power and practical determination which go with those qualities. The World War, with its consequences, was the natural outcome of that decline.

To anyone who had not thought over the matter deeply, this attitude of the German people—which was quite general—must have seemed an insoluble enigma. After all, Germany herself was a magnificent example of an empire that had been built up purely by a policy of power. Prussia, which was the generative cell of the German Reich, had been created by brilliant heroic deeds and not by a financial or commercial compact, and the Reich itself was but the magnificent recompense for a leadership that had been conducted on a policy of power and military valour.

How then did it happen that the political instincts of

this very same German people became so degenerate? It was not merely one isolated phenomenon which pointed to this decadence, but morbid symptoms which appeared in alarming numbers, now all over the body politic, or eating into the body of the nation, like a gangrenous ulcer. It seemed as if some all-pervading poisonous fluid had been injected by some mysterious hand into the bloodstream of this once heroic body, bringing about a creeping paralysis that affected the reason and the elementary instinct of self-preservation.

During the years 1912-1914 I used to ponder perpetually on those problems which related to the policy of the Triple Alliance and the economic policy then being pursued by the German Reich. Once again I came to the conclusion that the only explanation of this enigma lay in the operation of that force with which I had already become acquainted in Vienna, though from a different angle. The force to which I refer was the Marxist teaching and *Weltanschauung* and its organized action throughout the nation.

For the second time in my life I plunged deep into the study of that destructive teaching. This time, however, I was not urged to the study of the question by the impressions and influences of my daily environment, but directed rather by the observation of general phenomena in the political life of Germany. In delving again into the theoretical literature of this new world and endeavouring to get a clear view of the possible consequences of its teaching, I compared the theoretical principles of Marxism with the phenomena and happenings brought about by its activities in the political, cultural, and economic spheres.

For the first time in my life I now turned my attention to the efforts that were being made to subdue this universal pest.

I studied Bismarck's exceptional legislation, in its original concept, its operation and its results. Gradually I formed a basis for my own opinions, which has proved as solid as a rock, so that never since have I had to change my

attitude towards the general problem. I also made a further and more thorough analysis of the relations between Marxism and Jewry.

During my sojourn in Vienna I used to look upon Germany as an imperturbable colossus, but now serious doubts and misgivings often assailed me. In my own mind and in my conversation with my small circle of acquaintances I used to criticize Germany's foreign policy and the incredibly superficial way, according to my thinking, in which Marxism was dealt with, though it was then the most important problem in Germany. I could not understand how Germany could stumble blindfold into the midst of this peril, the effects of which would be momentous if the openly declared aims of Marxism could be put into practice. Even as early as that time I warned people around me, just as I am warning a wider audience now, against that soothing slogan of all indolent and cowardly natures: Nothing can happen to us. A similar mental contagion had already destroyed a mighty empire. Can Germany escape the operation of those laws to which all other human communities are subject?

In the years 1913 and 1914 I expressed my opinion for the first time in various circles, some of which are now supporters of the National Socialist Movement, that the problem of how the future of the German nation can be secured is the problem of how Marxism can be exterminated.

I considered the disastrous German policy of alliances as one of the consequences resulting from the disintegrating effects of the Marxist teaching, for the alarming feature was that this teaching was invisibly corrupting the foundations of a healthy political and economic outlook. Those who had been themselves contaminated frequently did not realize that their aims and actions sprang from this *Weltanschauung*, which they otherwise openly repudiated.

Long before then, the spiritual and moral decline of the German people had set in, though those who were affected by this morbid decadence were frequently unaware—as often happens—of the forces which were breaking up their very existence. Sometimes they tried to cure the disease by

'doctoring' the symptoms, which were taken as the cause, but since nobody recognized or wanted to recognize the real cause of the disease, this way of combating Marxism was no more effective than the application of some quack's ointment.

CHAPTER V

THE WORLD WAR

DURING THE BOISTEROUS YEARS OF MY YOUTH nothing used to damp my wild spirits so much as to think that I was born at a time when the world had manifestly decided not to erect any more temples of fame except in honour of business people and government officials. The tempest of historical achievements seemed to have permanently subsided, so much so, that the future appeared to be irrevocably delivered over to what was called peaceful competition between the nations. This simply meant a system of mutual exploitation by fraudulent means, the principle of resorting to the use of force in self-defence being formally excluded. Individual countries increasingly assumed the appearance of commercial undertakings, grabbing territory, clients and concessions from each other under any and every kind of pretext, and it was all carried out to the accompaniment of loud but innocuous shouting. This trend of affairs seemed destined to develop steadily and permanently. Having the support of public approbation, it seemed bound eventually to transform the world into a mammoth department store. In the vestibule of this emporium there would be rows of monumental busts which would confer immortality on those profiteers who had proved themselves the shrewdest at their trade and those administrative officials who had shown themselves the most innocuous. The salesmen could be represented by the English and the administrative functionaries by the Germans; whereas the Jews would have to sacrifice themselves and be content with the unprofitable calling of proprietorship, for

they are constantly avowing that they make no profits and are always being called upon to 'pay out.' Moreover, they have the advantage of being versed in foreign languages.

Why could I not have been born a hundred years ago, I used to ask myself, somewhere about the time of the Wars of Liberation when a man was still of some value even though he had no business? Thus I used to think it an ill-deserved stroke of bad luck that I had arrived too late on this terrestrial globe and I felt chagrined at the idea that my life would have to run its course along peaceful and orderly lines. As a boy I was anything but a pacifist and all attempts to make me so turned out futile.

Then the Boer War came, like a flash of lightning on the far horizon. Day after day, I used to gaze intently at the newspapers and I almost 'devoured' the telegrams and *communiqués*, overjoyed to think that I could witness that heroic struggle, even though from so great a distance.

When the Russo-Japanese War came, I was older and better able to judge for myself. For national reasons I then took the side of the Japanese in our discussions and I looked upon the defeat of the Russians as a blow to Austrian Slavism.

Many years had passed between that time and my arrival in Munich. I now realized that what I formerly believed to be a morbid decadence was only the lull before the storm. During my Vienna days, the Balkans were already in the grip of that sultry pause which presages the violent storm. Here and there, a flash of lightning could be seen occasionally, but it rapidly disappeared in sinister gloom. Then the Balkan War broke out, and with it, the first gusts of the coming tornado swept across a highly-strung Europe. In the supervening calm men felt the atmosphere oppressive with foreboding, so much so that the sense of an impending catastrophe became transformed into a feeling of impatient expectancy. They wished that Heaven would give free rein to the fate which could now no longer be curbed. Then the first great bolt of lightning struck the earth. The storm broke and the thunder of the

heavens intermingled with the roar of the cannons in the World War.

When the news came to Munich that the Archduke Franz Ferdinand had been murdered, I had been at home all day and did not learn the particulars of how it happened. At first I feared that the shots had been fired by some German-Austrian students who had been aroused to a state of furious indignation by the persistent pro-Slav activities of the heir to the Habsburg throne and therefore wished to liberate the German population from this internal enemy. It was quite easy to imagine what the result of such a mistake would have been. It would have brought on a new wave of persecution, the motives of which would have been 'justified' before the whole world, but soon afterwards I heard the names of the presumed assassins and learned also that they were known to be Serbs. I felt somewhat dumbfounded in face of the inexorable vengeance which Destiny had wrought. The greatest friend of the Slavs had fallen a victim to the bullets of Slav patriots. Anyone who was in a position to observe attentively the reactions between Austria and Serbia during those latter years must surely have realized that something had been set in motion which could no longer be checked.

It is unjust to the Austrian Government of that time to blame it now for the form and tenor of the ultimatum which was then presented. In a similar position and in similar circumstances, no other Power in the world would have acted otherwise. On her southern frontiers Austria had a relentless mortal foe who indulged in acts of provocation against the Dual Monarchy at intervals which were becoming more and more frequent. This persistent line of conduct would not have been relaxed until the arrival of the opportune moment for the destruction of the Empire. In Austria there was good reason to fear that, at the latest, this moment would come with the death of the old Emperor. Once that had taken place, it was quite possible that the Monarchy would not be able to offer any serious resistance. For some years past, the State had been so completely identified with

the personality of Franz Joseph that, in the eyes of the great mass of the people, the death of this venerable personification of the Empire would be tantamount to the death of the Empire itself. Indeed, it was one of the clever artifices of Slav policy to foster the impression that the Austrian State owed its very existence exclusively to the extraordinary and rare talents of that monarch. This kind of flattery was particularly welcome at the Hofburg, all the more so, because it had no relation whatever to the services actually rendered by the Emperor. No effort whatsoever was made to locate the carefully prepared sting which lay hidden in this glorifying praise. One fact which was entirely overlooked, perhaps intentionally, was that the more the Empire remained dependent on the so-called administrative talent of 'the wisest monarch of all times' the more catastrophic would be the situation when Death came to knock at the door and demand its tribute.

Was it possible even to imagine the Austrian Empire without its venerable ruler? Would not the tragedy which befell Maria Theresia be repeated at once?

It is unjust to governmental circles in Vienna to reproach them with having instigated a war which might have been prevented. The war was bound to come. Perhaps it might have been postponed for a year or two at the most, but it had always been the misfortune of German as well as of Austrian diplomats that they endeavoured to put off the inevitable day of reckoning, with the result, that they were finally compelled to deliver their blow at a most inopportune moment. There is every reason to believe that another attempt to preserve peace would only have served to postpone the war until an even more unpropitious moment.

Those who did not wish this war ought to have had the courage to take the consequences of the refusal upon themselves. Those consequences must necessarily have meant the sacrifice of Austria, and even then war would have come—not as a war in which all the nations were banded together against us, but in the form of a dismemberment of the Habsburg Monarchy. In that case we should

have had to decide whether we should come to the assistance of the Habsburgs or stand aside as spectators, with our arms folded, and thus allow fate to run its course.

Those who are loudest in their imprecations to-day and make a great parade of wisdom in judging the causes of the war are the very people whose activities were the most fatal factor in steering us into the war.

For several decades previously the German Social Democrats had been agitating in an underhand and knavish way for war against Russia, whereas the German Centre Party, with religious ends in view, had worked to make the Austrian State the chief centre and turning-point of German policy. The consequences of this folly had now to be borne. What came was bound to come and in no circumstances could it have been avoided. The fault of the German Government lay in the fact that, merely for the sake of preserving peace at all costs, they continued to miss the occasions that were favourable for action, got entangled in an alliance for the purpose of preserving the peace of the world, and thus finally became the victim of a world coalition which opposed the German effort for the maintenance of peace and was determined to bring about the World War.

Had the Austrian Government of that time formulated its ultimatum in less drastic terms, that would not have altered the situation at all, except inasmuch as they themselves might have become the victims of public indignation, for, in the eyes of the great masses, the ultimatum was too moderate and certainly not excessive or brutal. Those who would deny this to-day are either simpletons with feeble memories or else deliberate falsehood-mongers.

The war of 1914 was certainly not forced on the masses; it was even desired by the whole people. There was a desire to bring the general feeling of uncertainty to an end once and for all. And it is only in the light of this fact that we can understand how more than two million German men and youths voluntarily joined the colours, ready to shed the last drop of their blood for the cause.

For me those hours came as a deliverance from the

distress that had weighed upon me during the days of my youth. I am not ashamed to acknowledge to-day that I was carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment and that I sank down upon my knees and thanked Heaven out of the fullness of my heart for the favour of having been permitted to live in such a time.

The fight for freedom had broken out on a scale unparalleled in the history of the world. From the moment that Fate took the helm in hand, the conviction grew among the masses of the people that now it was not a question of deciding the destinies of Austria or Serbia, but that the very existence of the German nation itself was at stake.

For the last time, during many years of blindness, the people saw clearly into the future. Therefore, almost immediately after the gigantic struggle had begun, an excessive enthusiasm was replaced by a more earnest and more fitting undertone, because the exaltation of the popular spirit was not a mere passing frenzy. It was only too necessary that the gravity of the situation should be recognized. At that time, there was, generally speaking, not the slightest presentiment or conception of how long the war might last. People dreamed of the soldiers being home by Christmas and that then they would resume their daily work in peace.

Whatever mankind desires, that it will hope for and believe in. The overwhelming majority of the people had long since grown weary of the perpetual insecurity in the general condition of public affairs. Hence, it was only natural that no one believed that the Austro-Serbian conflict could be shelved. Therefore, they looked forward to a radical settlement of accounts. I also belonged to the millions that desired this.

The moment the news of the Sarajevo outrage reached Munich two ideas came into my mind: First, that war was absolutely inevitable and, second, that the Habsburg State would now be forced to honour its signature to the Alliance, for what I had feared most was that one day Germany herself, perhaps as a result of the Alliance, would become involved in a conflict the direct cause of which was not

Austria. In such a contingency, I feared that the Austrian State, for domestic political reasons, would find itself unable to decide in favour of its ally. The pro-Slav majority within the country would have immediately set to work to destroy any such intention and would rather have had the entire State go to rack and ruin than lend its ally the necessary assistance. But now this danger was removed. The old State was compelled to fight, whether it wished to do so or not.

My own attitude towards the conflict was equally simple and clear. I believed that it was not a case of Austria fighting to get satisfaction from Serbia, but rather a case of Germany fighting for her own existence—the German nation for its own ‘to be’ or ‘not to be,’ for its freedom and for its future. The work of Bismarck must now be carried on. Young Germany must show herself worthy of the blood shed by our fathers on so many heroic fields of battle, from Weissenburg to Sedan and Paris, and if this struggle should bring us victory, our people would again rank foremost among the great nations. Only then could the German Reich assert itself as the mighty champion of peace, without the necessity of restricting the daily bread of its children for the sake of maintaining that peace.

As a boy and as a young man, I often longed for the occasion to prove that my national enthusiasm was not mere vapouring. Hurraing sometimes seemed to me to be a kind of sin, since I had not yet by my own actions earned the right to do so. for, after all, who has the right to shout that triumphant cry if he has not won that right where there is no play-acting and where the hand of the goddess of Destiny puts the truth and sincerity of nations and men to her inexorable test? Just as millions of others, I felt a proud joy in being permitted to go through this test. I had so often sung *Deutschland über Alles* and so often roared ‘*Heil*’ that I now thought it a kind of retrospective grace that I was granted the right of appearing before the court of eternal justice to testify to the truth of those sentiments.

One thing was clear to me from the very beginning, namely, that in the event of war, which now seemed inevitable, my books would have to be thrown aside forthwith. I also realized that my place would have to be where the inner voice of conscience called me.

I had left Austria principally for political reasons. What, therefore, could be more natural than that I should put my political opinions into practice, now that the war had begun. I had no desire to fight for the Habsburg cause, but I was prepared to die at any time for my own kinsfolk and the Reich to which they really belonged.

On August 3rd, 1914, I presented an urgent petition to His Majesty, King Ludwig III, requesting to be allowed to serve in a Bavarian regiment. In those days the Chancellery had its hands full and, therefore, I was all the more pleased when a day later I received the answer to my request. I opened the document with trembling hands, and no words of mine could now describe the satisfaction I felt on reading that I was instructed to report to a Bavarian regiment. Within a few days I was wearing that uniform which I was not to doff again for nearly six years.

For me, as for every German, the most memorable period of my life now began. Face to face with that mighty struggle, all the past fell away into oblivion. With a wistful pride I look back on those days, especially because we are now approaching the tenth anniversary of that memorable happening. I recall those early weeks of war when a kind fortune permitted me to take my place in that heroic struggle among the nations.

As the scene unfolds itself before my mind, it seems like yesterday. I see myself among my young comrades on our first parade drill, and so on, until at last the day came on which we were to leave for the front.

In common with the others, I had one worry during those days. This was a fear that we might arrive too late for the fighting at the front. Time and again, that thought disturbed me and every announcement of a victorious

engagement left a fear that we might be too late, which increased as the news of further victories arrived.

At long last the day came when we left Munich on active service. For the first time in my life, I saw the Rhine, as we journeyed westwards to stand guard before that historic German river against its traditional and grasping enemy. As the first soft rays of the morning sun broke through the light mist and disclosed to us the Niederwald Statue, with one accord the whole troop-train broke into the strains of *Die Wacht am Rhein*. I then felt as if my heart would burst.

Then followed a damp, cold night in Flanders. We marched in silence throughout the night and as the morning sun came through the mist an iron greeting suddenly burst above our heads. Shrapnels exploded in our midst and spluttered on the damp ground, but before the smoke of the explosion disappeared, a wild 'Hurrah' was shouted from two hundred throats, in response to this first greeting of Death. Then began the whistling of bullets and the booming of cannon, the whining and droning of shells; with eyes straining feverishly, we pressed forward, quicker and quicker, until we finally came to close-quarter fighting, beyond the beet-fields and the meadows. Soon the strains of a song reached us from afar. Nearer and nearer, from company to company, it came, and while Death began to make havoc in our ranks, we passed the song on to those beside us: *Deutschland Deutschland über Alles, über Alles in der Welt!*

After four days in the trenches we came back. Even our step was no longer what it had been. Boys of seventeen now looked like grown-up men. The rank and file of the List Regiment had not been properly trained in the art of warfare, but they knew how to die like old soldiers.

That was the beginning, and thus we carried on from year to year. A feeling of horror replaced the romantic fighting spirit. Enthusiasm cooled down gradually and exuberant spirits were quelled by the fear of ever-present Death. A time came when there arose within each one of

us a conflict between the urge to self-preservation and the call of duty, and I had to go through that conflict too. As Death sought its prey everywhere and unrelentingly, a nameless something rebelled within the weak body and tried to introduce itself under the name of common sense; but in reality it was fear, which had taken on this cloak in order to impose itself on the individual. Then there began an inner persuading and warning difficult to withstand, and it was often only the last flicker of conscience which carried the day. But the more the voice which advised prudence increased its efforts, and the more clear and persuasive its appeal, the stronger did resistance become, until finally the internal strife was over and the call of duty was triumphant. As early as the winter of 1915-16 I had gone through that inner struggle. The will had asserted its incontestable mastery. Whereas in the early days I went into the fight with a cheer and a laugh, I was now habitually calm and resolute, and that frame of mind endured. Fate might now put me to the final test without my nerves or reason giving way. The young volunteer had become an old soldier.

This same transformation took place throughout the whole Army. Constant fighting had aged and toughened and hardened it, and what could not withstand it, had perforce to give way.

Only now was it possible to judge that Army. After two and three years of continuous fighting, after having been thrown into one battle after another, standing up stoutly against superior numbers and superior armament, suffering hunger and privation, the time had come when one could assess the value of that singular fighting force.

For a thousand years to come nobody will dare to speak of heroism without recalling the German Army of the World War, and then from the dim past will emerge the immortal vision of those solid ranks of steel helmets that never flinched and never faltered, and as long as Germans live they will be proud to remember that these men were sons of their forefathers.

I was then a soldier and did not wish to meddle in politics, the more so because the time was inopportune. I still believe that the most humble stable-boy of those days served his country better than the best of, let us say, the 'parliamentarians.' My hatred for those chatterers was never greater than in those days when all decent men who had anything to say said it point-blank in the enemy's face, or, failing this, kept their mouths shut and did their duty elsewhere. I despised those political fellows and if I had had my way I would have formed them into a Labour Battalion and given them the opportunity of babbling amongst themselves to their hearts' content, without offence or harm to decent people.

In those days I cared nothing for politics, but I could not help forming an opinion on certain phenomena which affected not only the whole nation, but also us soldiers in particular. There were two things which caused me the greatest anxiety at that time, and which I had come to regard as detrimental to our interests.

Shortly after our first series of victories a certain section of the press already began to throw cold water, drip by drip, on the enthusiasm of the public. At first this was not obvious to many people. It was done under the mask of good intentions and a spirit of anxious care. The public was told that big celebrations of victories were somewhat out of place and were not worthy of the dignity of a great nation. The fortitude and valour of German soldiers were accepted facts which did not necessarily call for outbursts of rejoicing. Furthermore, it was asked, what would foreign opinion have to say about these manifestations? Would not foreign opinion react more favourably to a quiet and sober form of celebration rather than to all this wild jubilation? Surely the time had come—so the press declared—for us Germans to remember that this war was not of our seeking and that hence there need be no feeling of shame in declaring our willingness to do our share towards effecting an understanding among the nations. For this reason it would not be wise to sully the radiant deeds of our Army

with unbecoming jubilation, for the rest of the world would not understand this. Furthermore, nothing is more appreciated than the modesty with which a true hero quietly and unassumingly carries on and forgets. Such was the gist of their warning.

Instead of catching these fellows by their long ears, dragging them to some ditch and looping a cord around their necks, so that the victorious enthusiasm of the nation should no longer offend their aesthetic sensibilities, a general press campaign was now allowed to go on against what was called 'unbecoming' and 'undignified' forms of victorious celebration.

No one seemed to have the faintest idea that when public enthusiasm is once damped, nothing can kindle it again when the necessity arises. This enthusiasm is an intoxication and must be kept up in that form. Without the support of this enthusiastic spirit, how would it be possible to endure in a struggle which, according to human standards, made overwhelming demands on the spiritual stamina of the nation?

I was only too well acquainted with the psychology of the broad masses, not to know, that in such cases a magnanimous aestheticism cannot fan the fire which is needed to keep the iron hot. In my eyes it was even a mistake not to have tried to raise the pitch of public enthusiasm still higher. Therefore, I could not at all understand why the contrary policy was adopted, that is to say, the policy of damping the public spirit.

Another thing which irritated me was the manner in which Marxism was regarded and accepted. I thought that all this proved how little they knew about the Marxist plague. It was believed in all seriousness that the abolition of party distinctions during the War had made Marxism a mild and moderate thing.

Here there was no question of party, but of a doctrine which was being expounded for the express purpose of leading humanity to its destruction. The purport of this doctrine was not understood, because nothing was said about

that side of the question in our Jew-ridden universities, and because our supercilious bureaucratic officials did not think it worth while to read upon a subject which had not been prescribed in their university course. This mighty revolutionary trend was simply ignored by those 'intellectuals' who did not deign to give it their attention. That is why State enterprise nearly always lags behind private enterprise. Of these gentry one can truly say that their maxim is: What we don't know won't bother us. In the August of 1914 every German worker was looked upon as a Marxist. That was a gross error. When that fateful day dawned, the German worker shook off the poisonous clutches of that plague; otherwise he would not have been so willing and ready to fight. Yet people were stupid enough to imagine that Marxism had now become 'national'—another apt illustration of the fact that those in authority had never taken the trouble to study the real tenor of the Marxist teaching. If they had done so, such foolish errors would not have been committed.

Marxism, whose final objective was, is, and will continue to be, the destruction of all non-Jewish national States, had to witness in those days of July 1914 how the German working-classes, which it had been ensnaring, were aroused by the national spirit and rapidly ranged themselves on the side of the Fatherland. Within a few days the deceptive smoke-screen of that infamous national betrayal had vanished into thin air and the Jewish bosses suddenly found themselves alone and deserted. It was as if not a vestige had been left of that folly and madness with which the masses of the German people had been inoculated for sixty years. That was indeed an evil day for the betrayers of German Labour. The moment, however, that the leaders realized the danger which threatened them they pulled the magic cap of deceit over their ears and, without being identified, pretended to participate in the national re-awakening.

The time seemed to have arrived for proceeding against the whole Jewish gang of public pests. Then it was that

action should have been taken regardless of any consequent whining or protestation. At one stroke, in the August of 1914, all the empty nonsense about international solidarity was knocked out of the heads of the German working-classes. A few weeks later, instead of this stupid talk sounding in their ears, they heard the noise of American-manufactured shrapnels, bursting above the heads of the marching columns, as a symbol of international comradeship. Now that the German worker had rediscovered the road back to his nation, it ought to have been the duty of any government, which had the welfare of the people at heart, to take this opportunity of mercilessly rooting out everything that was opposed to the national spirit.

While the flower of the nation's manhood was dying at the front, those at home could, at least, have exterminated this vermin. But, instead of doing so, His Majesty the Kaiser held out his hand to these hoary criminals, thus assuring them of his protection and allowing them to regain their mental composure.

Thus the viper could begin its work again. This time, certainly, more carefully than before, but all the more destructively. While honest people dreamt of reconciliation, these perjured criminals were making preparations for a revolution.

Naturally, I was distressed at the half-measures which were adopted at that time, but I never thought it possible that the final consequences could have been so disastrous.

What should have been done then? The ringleaders should have been thrown into gaol and tried, thus ridding the nation of them. Uncompromising military measures should have been adopted to root out the evil. Parties should have been abolished and the Reichstag brought to its senses at the point of the bayonet, if necessary. It would have been still better if the Reichstag had been dissolved immediately. If the Republic to-day dissolves parties when it wants to, there was in those days even more justification for applying such a measure, seeing that the very existence of the nation was at stake. Of course this suggestion would give rise

to the question, Is it possible to eradicate ideas by force of arms? Can a *Weltanschauung* be attacked by means of physical force?

At that time, I turned these questions over and over in my mind. By studying analogous cases, exemplified in history, particularly those which had arisen from religious circumstances, I came to the following fundamental conclusion. Ideals and ideologies, as well as movements grounded on a definite spiritual foundation, whether true or false, can never be broken by the use of force after a certain stage, except on one condition, namely, that this use of force is wielded in the service of a new ideal or *Weltanschauung* which burns with a new flame.

The application of force alone, without moral support based on a spiritual concept, can never bring about the destruction of an ideal or arrest the propagation of it, unless one is ready and able ruthlessly to exterminate to a man the last upholders of that ideal, and also to wipe out any tradition which it may tend to leave behind. Now, in the majority of cases, the result of such a course has been to exclude such a State, either temporarily or for ever, from the circle of States that are of political significance, but experience has also shown that such a sanguinary method of extirpation affects the better section of the population under the persecuting power. As a matter of fact, every persecution, which has no spiritual motives to support it, is morally unjust and raises opposition among the best elements of the population, so much so, that these are driven more and more to champion the ideas that are unjustly persecuted. With many individuals this arises from the sheer spirit of opposition to every attempt at suppressing spiritual things by brute force.

In this way, the number of convinced adherents of the persecuted doctrine increases as the persecution progresses. Hence, the total destruction of a new doctrine can be accomplished only by a vast plan of extermination; but this, in the final analysis, means the loss of some of the best blood in a nation or State, and that blood is subsequently

avenged, because such an internal and total clean-up brings about the collapse of the nation's strength. Such a procedure is always condemned to futility from the very start, if the attacked doctrine should happen to have spread beyond a small circle.

That is why, in this case, as with all other growths, the doctrine can be exterminated only in its earliest stages. As time goes on its powers of resistance increase, until at the approach of age it gives way to younger elements, but under another form and from other motives.

The fact remains that nearly all attempts to exterminate a doctrine, without having some spiritual basis of attack against it, and also to wipe out all the organizations it has created, have led in many cases to the very opposite being achieved, and that for the following reasons.

When sheer force is used to combat the spread of a doctrine, then that force must be employed systematically and persistently. This means that the chances of success in the suppression of a doctrine lie only in the persistent and uniform application of the methods chosen. The moment hesitation is shown, and periods of tolerance alternate with the application of force, the doctrine against which these measures are directed will not only recover strength, but every successive persecution will bring to its support new adherents who have been shocked by the oppressive methods employed. The old adherents will become more embittered and their allegiance will thereby be strengthened. Therefore, when force is employed, success is dependent on the consistent manner in which it is used. This persistence, however, is nothing less than the product of definite spiritual convictions. Every form of force that is not supported by a spiritual backing will always be indecisive and uncertain. Such a force lacks the stability that can be found only in a *Weltanschauung* which has devoted champions. Such a force is the expression of the energy and ruthless determination of the individual temporarily in power, and, therefore, it is dependent on the change of persons in whose hands it is employed and on their characters and capacities.

But there is something else to be said. Every *Weltanschauung*, whether religious or political (and it is sometimes difficult to say where the one ends and the other begins) fights not so much for the negative destruction of the opposing ideology, as for the positive realization of its own ideology. Thus its struggle consists in attack rather than in defence. It has the advantage of knowing where its objective lies, as this objective represents the realization of its own ideals. Inversely, it is difficult to say, when the negative aim for the destruction of a hostile doctrine is reached and secured. For this reason alone a *Weltanschauung* which is of an aggressive character is more definite in plan and more powerful and decisive in action than a *Weltanschauung* which takes up a merely defensive attitude. If force be used to combat a spiritual power, that force remains a defensive measure only so long as the wielders of it are not the champions and apostles of a new spiritual doctrine.

Summing up, we arrive at the conclusion that every attempt to combat a *Weltanschauung* by means of force will turn out futile in the end, if the struggle fails to take the form of an offensive for the establishment of an entirely new spiritual order of things. It is only in the struggle between two *Weltanschauungen* that physical force, consistently and ruthlessly applied, will eventually turn the scales in its own favour. It was in this, that the fight against Marxism had hitherto failed.

This was also the reason why Bismarck's socialist legislation failed, and was bound to fail in the long run, despite everything. It lacked the basis of a new *Weltanschauung* for whose development and extension the struggle might have been taken up. To say that the serving up of drivel about a so-called 'State authority' or 'law and order' was an adequate foundation for the spiritual driving force in a life-and-death struggle, is only what one would expect to hear from the wisecracks in high official positions.

It was because there were no adequate spiritual motives behind this offensive that Bismarck was compelled to hand

over the administration of his socialist legislative measures to the judgment and approval of those circles which were themselves the product of the Marxist teaching. Thus, when the Iron Chancellor surrendered the fate of his struggle against Marxism to the goodwill of the bourgeois Democracy, he was leaving the goat to take care of the garden. But this was only the logical result of failure to find a fundamentally new *Weltanschauung* which was diametrically opposed to Marxism and inspired by an ardent determination to sweep all before it. Thus the result of the Bismarckian campaign was a bitter disappointment.

Were conditions different during the World War, or at the beginning of it? Unfortunately, they were not.

The more I then pondered over the necessity for a change in the attitude of the executive government towards Social Democracy, as the incorporation of contemporary Marxism, the more I realized the want of a practical substitute for this doctrine. Supposing Social Democracy were overthrown, what had one to offer the masses in its stead? Not a single movement existed which promised any success in attracting vast numbers of workers, who would be now more or less without leaders, and in holding these workers in its spell. It is nonsensical to imagine that the international fanatic who has just severed his connection with a class party would forthwith join a bourgeois party or, in other words, another class organization, for, however unsatisfactory these various organizations may appear to be, it cannot be denied that bourgeois politicians look on the distinction between classes as a very important factor in social life, provided it does not turn out politically disadvantageous to them. If they deny this fact, they show themselves not only impudent but also mendacious.

Generally speaking, one should guard against considering the broad masses more stupid than they really are. In political matters it frequently happens that feeling is a better judge than intellect. The opinion that the stupid international attitude of the masses provides proof of the unreliability of this feeling, can be immediately and definitely

refuted by the simple fact that pacifist Democracy is no less fatuous, though it draws its supporters almost exclusively from bourgeois circles. As long as millions of citizens daily swallow what the Social Democratic press tells them, it ill becomes these gentlemen to joke at the expense of the 'Comrades,' for, in the long run, they all swallow the same hash, even though it be dished up with different spices. In both cases the cook is one and the same—the Jew.

One should be careful about contradicting established facts. It is an undeniable fact that the class question has nothing to do with questions concerning ideals, though that dope is administered at election time. Class arrogance among a large section of our people, as well as a prevailing tendency to look down on the manual labourer, are obvious facts and not the fancies of some day-dreamer. Nevertheless, it only illustrates the mentality of our so-called intellectual circles that they have not yet grasped the fact that circumstances, which are incapable of preventing the growth of such a plague as Marxism, are certainly not capable of restoring what has been lost.

The 'bourgeois' parties (as they choose to call themselves) will never again be able to win over and hold the proletarian masses in their train. That is because two worlds are opposed to one another here, in part, naturally, and in part, artificially, divided. Only one relationship is possible between these two camps, namely, open enmity. But in such a fight the younger will come off victorious, and that is Marxism.

In 1914 a fight against Social Democracy was indeed quite conceivable, but the lack of any practical substitute made it doubtful how long the fight could be kept up. In this respect there was a gaping void.

Long before the war I was of the same opinion, and that was the reason why I could not decide to join any of the parties then existing. During the World War my conviction was still further confirmed by the manifest impossibility of fighting Social Democracy in anything like a thorough way, because for that purpose there should have been a movement

that was something more than a mere 'parliamentary party, and there was none such.

I frequently discussed that want with my intimate comrades and it was then that I first conceived the idea of taking up political work later on. As I have often assured my friends, it was just this that induced me, after the war to become active as a public speaker, in addition to my professional work, and I am sure that this decision was arrived at after much earnest thought.

CHAPTER VI

WAR PROPAGANDA

IN WATCHING THE COURSE OF POLITICAL EVENTS I was always struck by the active part which propaganda played in them. I saw that it was an instrument which the Marxist Socialists knew how to handle in a masterly way and to put to good practical use. Thus I soon came to realize that the right use of propaganda was an art in itself, and that this art was practically unknown to our bourgeois parties. The Christian Socialist Party alone, especially in Lueger's time, showed a certain efficiency in the employment of this instrument and owed much of their success to it.

It was during the War, however, that we had the best chance of estimating the tremendous results which could be obtained by a propaganda system properly carried out. Here again, unfortunately, everything was left to the other side, the work done on our side being worse than insignificant. It was the total failure of the whole German system of information—a failure which was perfectly obvious to every soldier—that urged me to consider the problem of propaganda in a comprehensive way. I had ample opportunity to learn a practical lesson in this matter, for unfortunately it was only too well taught us by the enemy. The lack on our side was exploited by the enemy in such an efficient manner that one could say it showed itself as a real work of genius. In that propaganda carried on by the enemy I found admirable sources of instruction. The lesson to be learned from this had, unfortunately, no attraction for the geniuses on our own side. They were simply above all such things, too clever to accept any teaching and, in any case, they did not honestly wish to learn anything.

Had we any propaganda at all? Alas, I can reply only in the negative. All that was undertaken in this direction, was so utterly inadequate and misconceived from the very beginning, that not only did it prove useless, but at times harmful. In substance, it was insufficient. Psychologically, it was all wrong. Anybody who had carefully investigated the German propaganda must have formed that judgment of it. Our authorities did not seem to be clear even about the primary question as to whether propaganda is a means or an end.

Propaganda is a means and must, therefore, be judged in relation to the end it is intended to serve. It must be organized in such a way as to be capable of attaining its objective, and, as it is quite clear that the importance of the objective may vary from the standpoint of general necessity, the essential internal character of the propaganda must vary accordingly. The cause for which we fought during the War was the noblest and highest that man could strive for. We were fighting for the freedom and independence of our country, for the security of our future welfare and the honour of the nation. Despite all views to the contrary, this honour does actually exist, or rather it ought to exist, for a nation without honour will sooner or later lose its freedom and independence. This is in accordance with the ruling of a higher justice, for a generation of poltroons is not entitled to freedom. He who would be a cowardly slave cannot have honour; for such honour would soon become an object of general scorn.

Germany was waging war for her very existence. The purpose of her war propaganda should have been to strengthen the fighting spirit in that struggle and help her to victory.

But when nations are fighting for their existence on this earth, when the question of 'to be' or 'not to be' has to be answered, then all humane and aesthetic considerations must be set aside, for these ideals do not exist of themselves somewhere in the air, they are the product of man's creative imagination and will disappear when he disappears from the face of the earth. Nature knows nothing of them. Moreover,

they are characteristic of only a small number of nations, or rather of races, and their value depends on the measure in which they spring from the racial feeling of the latter. Humane and aesthetic ideals will disappear from the inhabited earth when those races disappear which have been their creators and champions.

All such ideals are only of secondary importance when a nation is struggling for its existence. They must be prevented from entering into the struggle the moment they threaten to weaken the stamina of the nation that is waging war. That is always the only visible effect whereby their place in the struggle is to be judged.

In regard to the part played by humane feeling, Moltke said that in time of war the essential thing is to get a decision as quickly as possible and that the most ruthless methods of fighting are, at the same time, the most humane. When people attempt to answer this reasoning by high-faluting talk about aesthetics, etc., only one answer can be given, namely, that the vital questions involved in the struggle of a nation for its existence must not be subordinated to any aesthetic considerations. The yoke of slavery is, and always will remain, the most unaesthetic experience that mankind can endure. Do the Schwabing decadents look upon Germany's lot to-day as 'aesthetic'? Of course, one does not discuss such a question with the Jews, because they are the modern inventors of this cultural perfume. Their very existence is an incarnate denial of the beauty of God's image in His creation.

Since these ideas of what is beautiful and humane have no place in warfare, they are not to be used as standards of war propaganda. During the war, propaganda was a means to an end, and this end was the German nation's struggle for existence. Propaganda, therefore, should have been regarded from the standpoint of its utility for that purpose. The most cruel weapons were then the most humane, provided they helped towards a speedier decision; and only those methods were good and beautiful which helped towards securing the dignity and freedom of the

nation. Such was the only possible attitude to adopt towards war propaganda in that life-and-death struggle.

If those in what are called positions of authority had realized this, there would have been no uncertainty about the form and employment of war propaganda as a weapon, for it is nothing but a weapon, and indeed a most terrifying weapon in the hands of those who know how to use it.

The second question of decisive importance is this: To whom should propaganda be made to appeal? To the educated intellectual classes? Or to the uneducated masses?

Propaganda must always address itself to the broad masses of the people. Propaganda is not meant for the intellectual classes, or what we call the intellectual classes to-day, which demand scientific enlightenment. Propaganda has as little to do with science as an advertisement poster has to do with art, as far as concerns the form in which it presents its message. The art of the advertisement poster consists in the ability of the designer to attract the attention of the crowd through the form and colours he chooses. The advertisement poster announcing an exhibition of art has no other aim than to convince the public of the importance of the exhibition. The better it does that, the better the art of the poster as such. Although its purpose is to impress upon the public the importance of the exhibition, the poster can never take the place of the artistic objects displayed in the exhibition hall. They are something entirely different. Therefore, those who wish to study art must study something that is quite different from the poster; indeed for that purpose they must do more than merely wander through the exhibition galleries. The student of art must carefully and thoroughly study each exhibition in order slowly to form a judicious opinion on it.

The situation is the same in regard to what we understand by the word 'propaganda.' The purpose of propaganda is not the scientific instruction of the individual but rather to attract public attention to certain facts, events, urgent needs, and so on, the importance of which can be brought home to the masses only by this means.

Here the art of propaganda consists in putting a matter so clearly and forcibly before the minds of the people as to create a general conviction regarding the reality of a certain fact, the necessity of certain things and the imperativeness of something that is essential. As this art is not an end in itself and because its purpose must be exactly that of the advertisement poster, to attract the attention of the masses and not by any means to dispense individual instructions to those who already have an educated opinion on things, or who wish to form such an opinion on grounds of objective study (because that is not the purpose of propaganda), it must appeal to the feelings of the public rather than to their reasoning powers.

All propaganda must be presented in a popular form and must fix its intellectual level so as not to be above the heads of the least intellectual of those at whom it is directed. Thus, the larger the public to which its appeal is directed, the lower its purely intellectual level will have to be. When it is a question of bringing a whole nation within the circle of its influence, as happens in the case of war propaganda, then too much attention cannot be paid to the necessity of avoiding a high level, which presupposes a relatively high degree of intelligence among the public.

The more modest the scientific level of this propaganda and the more it is addressed exclusively to public sentiment, the more decisive will be its success, which is the best test of the value of a piece of propaganda, and not the approbation of a small group of intellectuals or artistic people.

The art of propaganda consists precisely in being able to awaken the imagination of the public through an appeal to its feelings, in finding the appropriate psychological form that will arrest the attention and appeal to the hearts of the broad masses. That this is not understood by those among us whose wits are supposed to have been sharpened to the highest pitch, is only another proof of their vanity or mental inertia.

Once we have understood how necessary it is to concentrate the persuasive forces of propaganda on the broad

masses of the people, we can subscribe to the theory that it is a mistake to try to lend propaganda the many-sidedness of scientific instruction.

The redemptive powers of the masses are very restricted, and their power of understanding is slight. On the other hand, they quickly forget. Such being the case, all effective propaganda must be confined to a few bare essentials, and these must be expressed as far as possible in stereotyped formulas. These slogans should be persistently repeated until the very last individual has come to grasp the idea that has been put forward. If this principle be forgotten, and if an attempt be made to be abstract and general, the propaganda will turn out ineffective, for the public will not be able to digest or retain what is offered to them in this way. Therefore, the greater the scope of the message that has to be presented, the more necessary is it for propaganda to choose that plan of action which is psychologically the most efficient.

It was, for example, a fundamental mistake to ridicule the enemy, as the Austrian and German comic papers made a point of doing in their propaganda. The very principle here is a mistaken one, for, when they came face to face with the enemy, our soldiers gained quite a different impression. Therefore, the mistake had disastrous results. Once the German soldier realized what a tough enemy he had to fight, he felt that he had been deceived by the manufacturers of the information which had been given him. Therefore, instead of strengthening and stimulating his fighting spirit, this information had quite the contrary effect and, finally, he lost heart.

On the other hand, British and American war propaganda was psychologically efficient. By picturing the Germans to their own people as barbarians and Huns, they were preparing their soldiers for the horrors of war and safeguarding them against delusion. The most terrific weapons which those soldiers encountered in the field merely confirmed the information they had already received, and their belief in the truth of the assertions made by their respective governments was accordingly reinforced. Thus

their rage and hatred against the infamous foe was increased. The terrible havoc caused by the German weapons of war was only another illustration of the Hunnish brutality of those barbarians, whereas, on the side of the Entente, no time was left for the soldiers to meditate on the similar havoc of which their own weapons were capable. Thus the British soldier was never allowed to feel that the information which he received at home was untrue. Unfortunately, the opposite was the case with the Germans, who finally wound up by rejecting everything from home as pure swindle and humbug. This was possible because at home they thought that the work of propaganda could be entrusted to the first ass that came along, or even to someone who was fairly intelligent in other respects, and they had no conception of the fact that propaganda demands the most skilled brains that can be found.

Thus German war propaganda afforded us an incomparable example of how the work of 'enlightenment' should not be done and how such an example was the result of an entire failure to take into account any psychological considerations whatsoever.

From the enemy, however, a fund of valuable knowledge could be gained by those, who kept their eyes open, whose powers of preception had not yet become dimmed, and who during four-and-a-half years had to experience the perpetual flood of enemy propaganda.

The worst thing of all was that our people did not understand the very first condition which has to be fulfilled in every kind of propaganda, namely, a systematically one-sided attitude towards every problem that has to be dealt with. In this respect, so many errors were committed, even from the very beginning of the war, that it was justifiable to doubt whether so much folly could be attributed solely to the stupidity of people in higher quarters.

What, for example, should we say of a poster which purported to advertise some new brand of soap by insisting on the excellent qualities of the competitive brands? We should naturally shake our heads, and the same is true of

political advertisement. The aim of propaganda is not to try to pass judgment on conflicting rights, giving each its due, but exclusively to emphasize the right which we are asserting. Propaganda must not investigate the truth objectively and, in so far as it is favourable to the other side, present it according to the theoretical rules of justice, but it must present only that aspect of the truth which is favourable to its own side.

It was a fundamental mistake to discuss the question of who was responsible for the outbreak of the war and to declare that the sole responsibility could not be attributed to Germany. The sole responsibility should have been laid on the shoulders of the enemy, even had this not been strictly true, as indeed it was.

What was the consequence of these half-measures? The broad masses of the people are not made up of diplomats or professors of public jurisprudence nor simply of persons who are able to form reasoned judgment in given cases, but they are a vacillating crowd of human children who are constantly wavering between one idea and another. As soon as our own propaganda made the slightest suggestion that the enemy had a certain amount of justice on his side, then we laid down the basis on which the justice of our own cause could be questioned. The masses are not in a position to discern where the enemy's fault ends and where our own begins. In such a case, they become hesitant and distrustful, especially when the enemy does not make the same mistake, but heaps all the blame on his adversary. Could there be any clearer proof of this than the fact that finally our own people believed what was said by the enemy's propaganda, which was uniform and consistent in its assertions rather than in our own propaganda? This disbelief was, of course, increased by the mania for objectivity which afflicts our people. Everybody began to be careful about doing an injustice to the enemy, even at the cost of seriously injuring, and even ruining, his own people and State.

Naturally, the masses were not conscious of the fact that

those in authority had failed to study the subject from this angle.

The great majority of a nation is so feminine in its character and outlook that its thought and conduct are ruled by sentiment rather than by sober reasoning. This sentiment, however, is not complex, but simple and consistent. It is not highly differentiated, but has only the negative and positive notions of love and hatred, right and wrong, truth and falsehood. Its notions are never partly this and partly that. Those responsible for English propaganda, especially understood this in a marvellous degree and put what they understood into practice. They allowed no half-measures, which might have given rise to doubt.

Proof of how brilliantly they understood that the feeling of the masses is something primitive was shown in their policy of publishing tales of horror and outrages which fitted in with the real horrors of the time, thereby cleverly and ruthlessly preparing the ground for moral solidarity at the front, even in times of great defeats. Further, the way in which they pilloried the German enemy as solely responsible for the war—which was a brutal and absolute falsehood—and the way in which they proclaimed his guilt was excellently calculated to reach the masses, realizing that these are always extremist in their feeling. Thus it was that this atrocious lie was positively believed.

The effectiveness of this kind of propaganda is well illustrated by the fact that after four-and-a-half years, the enemy was not only still carrying on his propagandist work, but it was already undermining the stamina of our people at home.

That our propaganda did not achieve similar results is not to be wondered at, because it contained the germs of inefficiency by reason of its ambiguity, and because of the very nature of its contents one could not expect it to make the necessary impression on the masses. Only our feckless statesmen could have imagined that the enthusiasm which is necessary to kindle that spirit which leads men to die for their country could be nourished on pacifist 'slops' of this

kind, and so this product of ours was not only worthless but detrimental.

No matter what the amount of talent employed in the organization of propaganda, it will have no result if due account is not taken of one fundamental principle. Propaganda must be limited to a few simple themes and these must be presented again and again. Here, as in innumerable other cases, perseverance is the first and most important condition of success.

Particularly in the field of propaganda, placid aesthetes and blasé intellectuals should never be allowed to take the lead. The former would readily transform the impressive character of real propaganda into something suitable only for literary tea-parties. As to the second class of persons, one must always beware of this pest; for, in consequence of their insensibility to normal impressions, they are constantly seeking fresh thrills.

Such people grow sick and tired of everything. They always long for change and will always be incapable of putting themselves in the position of picturing the wants of their less callous fellow creatures in their immediate neighbourhood, let alone trying to understand them. The blasé intellectuals are always the first to criticize propaganda, or rather its message because this appears to them to be outmoded and trivial. They are always looking for something new, always yearning for change, and thus they become the mortal enemies of every effort that is made to influence the masses in an effective way. The moment the organization and message of a propaganda movement begins to be orientated according to their tastes, it becomes incoherent and scattered.

It is not the purpose of propaganda to provide a series of thrills with a view to pleasing these blasé gentry. Its chief function is to convince the masses, whose slowness of understanding needs to be given time in order that they may absorb information; and only constant repetition will finally succeed in imprinting an idea on the memory of the crowd.

Any variation must not alter the main theme of the propaganda, but must always emphasize the same point. The slogan must, of course, be illustrated in many ways and from several angles, but in the end the stress must always be laid on the slogan itself. In this way alone can propaganda be consistent and dynamic in its effects.

Only by following these general lines and sticking to them steadfastly, with uniform and concise emphasis, can final success be reached. Then we shall be rewarded by the surprising and almost incredible results that such a persistent policy secures. The success of any advertisement, whether of a business or a political nature, depends on the consistency and perseverance with which it is employed.

In this respect also, the propaganda organized by our enemies set us an excellent example. It confined itself to a few themes, which were meant exclusively for mass consumption, and it repeated these themes with untiring perseverance. Once these fundamental themes and the manner of placing them before the world were recognized as effective, they adhered to them without the slightest alteration for the whole duration of the war. At first, all of it appeared to be idiotic in its impudent assertiveness. Later on, it was looked upon as disturbing, but finally it was believed. Four-and-a-half years later, a revolution, the slogans of which were borrowed from enemy war-time propaganda, broke out in Germany.

In England they came to understand something else, namely, that the possibility of success in the use of this spiritual weapon consists in the mass employment of it, and that, when employed in this way, it brings full returns for the large expense incurred. In England propaganda was regarded as a weapon of the first order, whereas with us it represented the last hope of a livelihood for our unemployed politicians and a snug job for shirkers of the modest heroic type.

Taken all in all, its results were negative.

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION

IN 1915 THE ENEMY STARTED HIS PROPAGANDA among our soldiers. From 1916 onwards it steadily became more intensive, and at the beginning of 1918 it had swollen into a storm-flood. One could now judge the effects of this proselytizing movement step by step. Gradually, our soldiers began to think just in the way the enemy wished them to think. On the German side there was no counter-propaganda.

At that time, the army authorities, under our able and resolute Commander, were willing and ready to take up the fight in the propaganda domain also, but unfortunately, they did not have the necessary means of carrying that intention into effect. Moreover, the army authorities would have made a psychological mistake had they undertaken this task of mental training. To be effective, it had to come from the home front, for only thus could it be successful among men who for nearly four years now had been performing immortal deeds of heroism and undergoing all sorts of privations for the sake of that home. But what were the people at home doing? Was their failure to act due merely to lack of intelligence or bad faith?

In the summer of 1918, after the evacuation of the southern bank of the Marne, the German press adopted a policy which was so woefully inopportune, and even criminally stupid, that I used daily and with growing fury to ask myself the question, Is it really true that we have nobody who dares to put an end to this process of spiritual sabotage which is being carried on among our heroic troops?

What happened in France during those days of 1914,

when our armies invaded that country and were marching in triumph from one victory to another? What happened in Italy when the Italian armies collapsed on the Isonzo front? What happened in France again during the spring of 1918, when German divisions took the main French positions by storm and heavy long-distance artillery bombarded Paris?

How enemy propaganda whipped up the flagging courage of those troops who were retreating and fanned the fires of national enthusiasm among them! How their propaganda and their marvellous aptitude in the exercise of mass-influence reawakened the fighting spirit in that broken front and hammered into the heads of the soldiers a firm belief in final victory!

Meanwhile, what were our people doing in this sphere? Nothing, or even worse than nothing. Again and again I used to become enraged and indignant as I read the latest papers and realized the nature of the mass-murder they were committing through their influence on the minds of the people and the soldiers. More than once, I was tormented by the thought that, if Providence had put the conduct of German propaganda into my hands, instead of into the hands of those incompetent and even criminal ignoramuses and weaklings, the outcome of the struggle might have been different.

During those months, I felt for the first time that Fate was dealing adversely with me in keeping me on the fighting-front and in a position where any chance bullet from some nigger's rifle might finish me, whereas I could have done the Fatherland a real service in another sphere, for I was then presumptuous enough to believe that I would have been successful in managing the propaganda business. But I was unknown, one among eight millions. Hence, it was better for me to keep my mouth shut and do my duty as well as I could, in the position to which I had been assigned.

In the summer of 1915, the first enemy leaflets were dropped on our trenches. They all told more or less the same story, with some variations in the form of it. The story was that distress was steadily on the increase in

Germany; that the war would last indefinitely; that the prospect of victory for us was becoming fainter day by day; that the people at home were yearning for peace, but that 'militarism' and the Kaiser would not permit it; that the world—which knew this very well—was not waging war against the German people but only against the man who was exclusively responsible, the Kaiser; that until this enemy of world-peace was removed there could be no end to the conflict but that, when the war was over, the Liberal and democratic nations would receive the Germans as collaborators in the League for World Peace. This would be done the moment 'Prussian Militarism' had been finally destroyed.

To illustrate and substantiate all these statements, the leaflets very often contained 'Letters from Home,' the contents of which appeared to confirm the enemy's propaganda message.

Generally speaking, we only laughed at all these efforts. The leaflets were read, sent to base headquarters, then forgotten until a favourable wind once again blew a fresh consignment into the trenches. These were mostly dropped from aeroplanes which were used specially for that purpose.

One feature of this propaganda was very striking, namely, that in sections where Bavarian troops were stationed, every effort was made by the enemy propagandists to stir up feeling against the Prussians, assuring the soldiers that Prussia, and Prussia alone, was the guilty party, who was responsible for bringing on and continuing the war, and that there was no hostility whatsoever towards the Bavarians, but that there could be no possibility of coming to their assistance so long as they continued to serve Prussian militarism and helped to pull the 'Prussian chestnuts out of the fire.'

This persistent propaganda began to have a real influence on our soldiers in 1915. The feeling against Prussia grew quite noticeable among the Bavarian troops, but those in authority did nothing to counteract it. This was something more than a mere crime of omission, for sooner or later, not

only the Prussians were bound to have to atone severely for it, but the whole German nation, and consequently the Bavarians themselves also. In this direction the enemy propaganda began to achieve undoubted success from 1916 onwards.

In a similar way letters coming directly from home had long since been exercising their effect. There was now no further necessity for the enemy to broadcast such letters in leaflet form. The Government did nothing to counteract this influence from home except to issue a few supremely stupid 'warnings'. The whole front was drenched in this poison which thoughtless women at home sent out, without suspecting for a moment that the enemy's chances of final victory were thus being strengthened or that the sufferings of their own men at the front were thus being prolonged and rendered more severe. These stupid letters written by German women eventually cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of our men.

Thus in 1916 several distressing phenomena were already manifest. The whole front was complaining and 'grousing,' discontented over many things and often justifiably so. While they were hungry and yet patient, and their relatives at home were in distress, in other quarters there was feasting and revelry. Even at the front itself everything was not as it ought to have been in this respect.

Even in the early stages of the War the soldiers were sometimes prone to complain, but such criticism was of a domestic nature. The man who at one moment grouched and grumbled ceased his murmur after a few moments and went about his duty silently, as if this were a matter of course. The company which had given signs of discontent a moment earlier hung on now to its bit of trench, defending it tooth and nail, as if Germany's fate depended on those few hundred yards of mud and shell-holes. The glorious old Army was still at its post.

A sudden change in my own fortunes soon placed me in a position where I had first-hand experience of the sharp contrast between this old Army and the home front. At

the end of September 1916 my division was sent into the Battle of the Somme. For us, this was the first of a series of heavy engagements, and the impression created was that of a veritable inferno, rather than war. Through weeks of incessant artillery bombardment we stood firm, at times ceding a little ground but then taking it again, and never giving way. On October 7th, I was wounded, but had the luck to be able to get back to our lines and was then ordered to be sent by ambulance-train to Germany.

Two years had passed since I had left home, an almost endless period in such circumstances. I could hardly imagine what Germans looked like except in uniform. In the clearing hospital at Hermies I was startled when I suddenly heard the voice of a German woman who was acting as nursing sister and talking with one of the wounded men lying near me. To hear such a voice for the first time in two years!

The nearer our ambulance-train approached the German frontier, the more restless each one of us became. *En route* we recognized all those places through which we had passed two years before as young volunteers—Brussels, Louvain, Liège—and finally we thought we recognized the first German homestead, with its familiar high gables and picturesque window-shutters. Home!

In October 1914, our hearts had been afire with wild enthusiasm as we crossed this frontier. Now silence and profound emotion reigned supreme. Each one was happy to think that Fate had permitted him to see once again this land for the protection of which he had offered his life, and each one was almost ashamed to allow the other to see his eyes. Almost on the second anniversary of my departure for the front I entered the hospital at Beelitz, near Berlin.

What a change! From the mud of the Somme battlefields to the spotless white beds in this wonderful building! One hesitated at first before entering them. It was only by slow stages that one could grow accustomed to this new world again, but, unfortunately, there were certain other respects in which this new world was different.

The spirit of the Army at the front appeared to be out

of place here. For the first time I encountered something which up to then was unknown at the front, namely, boasting of one's own cowardice, for, though we certainly heard complaining and grouching at the front, this was never in the spirit of any agitation to insubordination and certainly not an attempt to glorify one's fear. Out there at the front a coward was a coward and nothing else, and the contempt which his weakness aroused in others was general, just as the real hero was admired all round. But here in hospital the spirit was quite different in some respects. Loud-mouthed agitators were busy here in heaping ridicule on the good soldier and painting the weak-kneed poltroon in glorious colours. A couple of miserable human specimens were the ringleaders in this process of defamation. One of them boasted of having intentionally injured his hand on barbed-wire entanglements in order to get sent to hospital. Although his wound was only a slight one, it appeared that he had been here for a very long time and would manage to remain here indefinitely, just as he had managed to get sent here in the ambulance-train through swindling. This pestilential specimen actually had the audacity to parade his knavery as the manifestation of a courage which was superior to that of the brave soldier who dies a hero's death. There were many who heard this talk in silence, but there were others who expressed their assent to what the fellow said.

Personally I was disgusted at the thought that a seditious agitator of this kind should be allowed to remain in such an institution. What could be done? The hospital authorities here must have known who and what he was, and actually they did know, but still they did nothing about it.

As soon as I was able to walk once again I obtained leave to visit Berlin.

Bitter want was in evidence everywhere. The metropolis, with its teeming millions, was suffering from hunger. Discontent was rife. The talk that was current in the various places of refreshment and in the hospices frequented by the soldiers was much the same as that in our hospital. The

impression gained was that these fellows purposely singled out such places in order to spread their views.

In Munich conditions were far worse. After my discharge from hospital I was sent to a reserve battalion there. I felt as if I were in some strange town. Anger, discontent, complaints met one's ears wherever one went. The morale of the men in the reserve battalion itself was indescribably bad. To a certain extent this was due to the infinitely maladroit manner in which the soldiers who had returned from the front were treated by the instructors who had never seen a day's active service and who, on that account, were partly incapable of adopting the proper attitude towards the old soldiers. Naturally those old soldiers displayed certain characteristics which had been developed from the experiences in the trenches. The officers of the reserve units could not understand these peculiarities, whereas the officer home from active service was at least in a position to understand them for himself. As a result he received more respect from the men than officers at the home headquarters. But, apart from all this, the general spirit was deplorable. The art of shirking was looked upon almost as a proof of superior intelligence, and devotion to duty was considered a sign of weakness or stupidity. The administrative offices were staffed by Jews. Almost every clerk was a Jew and every Jew was a clerk. I was amazed at this multitude of 'warriors', who belonged to the chosen race, and could not help comparing it with their slender numbers in the fighting lines.

In the business world the situation was even worse. Here the Jews had actually become 'indispensable.' Like leeches, they were slowly sucking the blood from the pores of the national body. By means of newly-floated war-companies an instrument had been discovered whereby all national trade was being throttled, so that no business could be carried on freely. Special emphasis was laid on the necessity for unhampered centralization. Hence, as early as 1916-17 practically all production was under the control of Jewish finance.

But against whom was the anger of the people directed? It was then, that I already saw the fateful day approaching which must finally bring the *débâcle*, unless timely preventive measures were taken.

While Jewry was busy despoiling the nation and tightening the screws of its despotism, the work of inciting the people against the Prussians was intensified and just as nothing was done at the front to put a stop to this venomous propaganda, so here at home no official steps were taken against it. Nobody seemed capable of understanding that the collapse of Prussia could never bring about the rise of Bavaria. On the contrary, the collapse of the one must necessarily drag the other down with it.

This kind of behaviour affected me very deeply. In it I could see only a clever Jewish trick for diverting public attention from themselves to others. While Prussians and Bavarians were squabbling, the Jews were taking away the sustenance of both from under their very noses. While Prussians were being abused in Bavaria, the Jews organized the revolution and with one stroke smashed both Prussia and Bavaria.

I could not tolerate this execrable squabbling among people of the same German stock and preferred to be at the front once again. Therefore, just after my arrival in Munich I reported myself for service again. At the beginning of March 1917 I rejoined my old regiment at the front.

Towards the end of 1917 it seemed as if we had got over the worst phases of moral depression at the front. After the Russian collapse the whole Army recovered its courage and hope, and all were gradually becoming more and more convinced that the struggle would end in our favour. We could sing once again. The ravens were ceasing to croak. Faith in the future of the Fatherland was once more in the ascendant.

The Italian collapse in the autumn of 1917 had a wonderful effect, for this victory proved that it was possible to break through another front besides the Russian. This inspiring thought now became dominant in the minds of

millions at the front and encouraged them to look forward with confidence to the spring of 1918. It was quite obvious that the enemy was in a state of depression. During this winter the front was somewhat quieter than usual, but that was the lull before the storm.

Just when preparations were being made to launch a final offensive which would bring this seemingly eternal struggle to an end, while endless columns of transports were bringing men and munitions to the front, and while the men were being trained for that final onslaught, then it was that the greatest act of treachery during the whole War was accomplished in Germany.

Germany must not win the war. At that moment when victory seemed ready to alight on the German standards, a conspiracy was arranged for the purpose of striking at the heart of the German spring offensive with one blow from the rear and thus making victory impossible. A general strike was organized in the munition factories.

If this conspiracy had achieved its purpose, the German front would have collapsed and the wishes of the *Vorwärts* (the organ of the Social Democratic Party) that this time victory should not rest with the German banners, would have been fulfilled. For want of munitions, the front would have been broken through within a few weeks, the offensive would have been effectively stopped and the Entente saved. Then international finance would assume control over Germany and the internal objective of the Marxist betrayal of the nations would be achieved. That objective was the destruction of the national economic system and the establishment of international capitalistic domination in its stead. This goal has really been reached, thanks to the stupid credulity of the one side and the unspeakable cowardice of the other.

The munitions strike, however, did not bring the final success that had been hoped for, namely, to starve the front of ammunition. It lasted too short a time for the lack of ammunition as such to bring disaster to the Army, as was originally planned. But the moral damage was much more terrible.

In the first place, what was the Army fighting for if the people at home did not wish it to be victorious? For whom then were those enormous sacrifices and privations being made and endured? Must the soldiers fight for victory while the home front went on strike against it? In the second place, what effect did this move have on the enemy?

In the winter of 1917-1918 dark clouds hovered in the firmament of the Entente. For nearly four years onslaught after onslaught had been made against the German giant, but had failed to bring him to the ground. He had to keep them at bay with one arm that held the defensive shield, because his other arm had to be free to wield the sword against his enemies, now in the East and now in the South. But at last these enemies were overcome and his rear was now free for the conflict in the West. Rivers of blood had been shed for the accomplishment of that task; but now the sword was free to combine in battle with the shield on the Western Front, and since the enemy had hitherto failed to break the German defence here, the Germans themselves had now to launch the attack. The enemy feared the attack and trembled for his victory.

In Paris and London conferences followed one another in unending succession. Even the enemy propaganda encountered difficulties. It was no longer so easy to demonstrate that the prospect of a German victory was hopeless. A prudent silence reigned at the front, even among the troops of the Entente. The insolence of their masters had suddenly subsided. A disturbing truth began to dawn on them. Their opinion of the German soldier had changed. Hitherto they were able to picture him as a kind of fool whose end would be destruction, but now they found themselves face to face with the soldier who had overcome their Russian ally. The policy of restricting the offensive to the East, which had been imposed on the German military authorities by the necessities of the situation, now seemed to the Entente a tactical stroke of genius. For three years these Germans had been battering away at the Russian front without any apparent success at first. Those fruitless efforts were almost

sneered at, for it was thought that in the long run the Russian giant would triumph through sheer force of numbers. Germany would be worn out through shedding so much blood, and facts appeared to confirm this hope.

Since the days of September 1914, when, for the first time, interminable columns of Russian prisoners of war had poured into Germany after the Battle of Tannenberg, it seemed as if the stream would never end, but that as soon as one army was defeated and routed, another took its place. The supply of soldiers which the gigantic empire placed at the disposal of the Czar seemed inexhaustible; new victims were always at hand for the holocaust of war. How long could Germany hold out in this competition? Would not the day finally have to come when, after the last victory which the Germans would achieve, there would still remain reserve armies in Russia to be mustered for the final battle? And what then? According to human standards, a Russian victory over Germany might be delayed, but it would have to come in the long run.

All the hopes that had been based on Russia were now lost. The ally who had sacrificed the most blood on the altar of their mutual interests had come to the end of his resources and lay prostrate before his unrelenting foe. A feeling of terror and dismay came over the Entente soldiers who had hitherto been buoyed up by blind faith. They feared the coming spring, for, seeing that they had hitherto failed to break the Germans when the latter could concentrate only part of their fighting strength on the Western Front, how could they count on victory now that the undivided forces of that amazing land of heroes appeared to be gathering for a massed attack in the West?

The shadow of the events which had taken place in South Tyrol and the spectre of General Cadorna's defeated armies, were reflected in the gloomy faces of the Entente troops in Flanders. Faith in victory gave way to fear of defeat to come.

Then, on those cold nights, when one almost heard the tread of the German armies advancing to the great assault,

and the decision was being awaited in fear and trembling, suddenly a lurid light was set aglow in Germany and sent its rays into the last shell-hole on the enemy's front. At the very moment when the German divisions were receiving their final orders for the great offensive, a general strike broke out in Germany.

At first the world was dumbfounded. Then the enemy propaganda began activities once again and pounced on this theme at the eleventh hour. All of a sudden, a means had come which could be utilized to revive the sinking confidence of the Entente soldiers. The probability of victory could now be presented as certain, and the anxious foreboding in regard to coming events could now be transformed into a feeling of resolute assurance. The regiments that had to bear the brunt of the greatest German onslaught in history could now be inspired with the conviction that the final decision in this War would not be won by the audacity of the German assault, but rather by the powers of endurance on the side of the defence. Let the Germans now have whatever victories they liked, the revolution and not the victorious Army was welcomed in the Fatherland.

British, French, and American newspapers began to spread this belief among their readers while a very ably-conducted propaganda encouraged the morale of their troops at the front.

'Germany facing Revolution! Allied victory inevitable!' That was the best medicine to set the staggering poilu and Tommy on their feet once again. Our rifles and machine-guns could now open fire once again; but instead of effecting a panic-stricken retreat, they were now met with a determined resistance that was full of confidence.

That was the result of the strike in the munition factories. Throughout the enemy countries faith in victory was thus revived and strengthened, and that paralysing feeling of despair which had hitherto made itself felt on the Allied front was banished. Consequently, the strike cost the lives of thousands of German soldiers, but the despicable

instigators of that dastardly strike were candidates for the highest public offices in the Germany of the Revolution.

At first it was apparently possible to overcome the repercussion of these events on the German soldiers, but on the enemy's side they had a lasting effect. Here the resistance had lost all the character of an army fighting for a hopeless cause. In its place, there was now a grim determination to struggle on to victory, for as far as it was possible to foresee, victory would now be assured, if the Western Front could hold out against the German offensive even for a few months. The Allied parliaments recognized the possibilities of a better future and voted huge sums of money for the continuation of the propaganda which was employed for the purpose of breaking up the internal unity of Germany.

I had the luck to be able to take part in the first two offensives and in the final offensive. These have left on me the most stupendous impressions of my life—stupendous, because now, for the last time, the struggle lost its defensive character and assumed the character of an offensive, just as in 1914. A sigh of relief went up from the German trenches and dug-outs, when finally, after three years of endurance in that inferno, the day for the settling of accounts had come. Once again the lusty cheering of victorious battalions was heard, as they hung the last crowns of the immortal laurel on the standards which they consecrated to Victory. Once again the strains of patriotic songs soared upwards to the heavens above the endless columns of marching troops, and for the last time the Lord smiled on his ungrateful children.

In the summer of 1918, a feeling of sultry oppression hung over the front. At home they were quarrelling. About what? We heard a great deal among various units at the front. The War was now a hopeless affair, and only the foolhardy could think of victory. It was not the people, but the capitalists and the monarchy who were interested in carrying on. Such were the ideas that came from home and were discussed at the front.

At first this gave rise to only a very slight reaction. What did universal suffrage matter to us? Is this what we had been fighting for throughout those four years? It was a dastardly piece of robbery thus to filch from the graves of our heroes the ideals for which they had fallen. It was not to the slogan, 'Long live universal suffrage,' that our troops in Flanders once faced certain death, but to the cry: '*Deutschland uber Alles in der Welt*!' — a small but by no means an unimportant difference. The majority of those who were shouting for this suffrage were absent when it came to fighting for it. All this political rabble were strangers to us at the front. During those days only a fraction of this parliamentary gentry were to be seen where honest Germans foregathered.

The old soldiers who had fought at the front had little liking for those new war aims of Messrs. Ebert, Scheidemann, Barth, Liebknecht and others. We could not understand why, all of a sudden, the shirkers should arrogate all executive powers to themselves, without having any regard to the Army.

From the very beginning, I had my own definite personal views. I intensely loathed the whole gang of miserable party politicians who had betrayed the people. I had long ago realized that the interests of the nation played only a very small part with this disreputable crew and that what counted with them was the possibility of filling their own empty pockets. My opinion was that those people thoroughly deserved to be hanged, because they were ready to sacrifice the peace and, if necessary, allow Germany to be defeated, just to serve their own ends. To consider their wishes would mean to sacrifice the interests of the working-classes for the benefit of a gang of thieves. To meet their wishes meant to agree to sacrifice Germany.

Such, too, was the opinion still held by the majority of the Army, but the reinforcements which came from home were fast becoming worse and worse—so much so that their arrival was a source of weakness rather than of strength to our fighting forces. The young recruits, in particular, were

for the most part useless. Sometimes it was hard to believe that they were sons of the same nation that sent its youth into the battles that were fought round Ypres.

In August and September the symptoms of moral disintegration increased more and more rapidly, although the enemy's offensive was not at all comparable to the frightfulness of our own former defensive battles. In comparison with this offensive, the battles fought on the Somme and in Flanders remained in our memories as the most terrible of all horrors.

At the end of September my division occupied, for the third time, those positions which we had once taken by storm as young volunteers. What a memory!

Here we had received our baptism of fire, in October and November 1914. With a burning love for the mother-country in their hearts and a song on their lips, our young regiment went into action as if going to a dance. The most precious blood was sacrificed freely here in the belief that it was shed to protect the freedom and independence of the Fatherland.

In July 1917, we set foot for the second time on what we regarded as sacred soil. Were not our best comrades at rest here, some of them little more than boys—the soldiers who had rushed into death for their country's sake, their eyes glowing with enthusiastic ardour?

The older ones among us, who had been with the regiment from the beginning, were deeply moved as we stood on this sacred spot where we had sworn 'Loyalty and duty unto death.' Three years ago the regiment had taken this position by storm; now it was called upon to defend it in a gruelling struggle.

With an artillery bombardment that lasted three weeks the British prepared for their great offensive in Flanders. There the spirit of the dead seemed to live again. The regiment dug itself into the mud, clung to its shell-holes and craters, neither flinching nor wavering, but growing smaller in numbers day by day. Finally the British launched their attack on July 31st, 1917.

We were relieved in the beginning of August. The regiment had dwindled down to a few companies, who staggered back, mud-encrusted, more like phantoms than human beings. Besides a few hundred yards of shell-holes, death was all that the British gained.

Now, in the autumn of 1918, we stood for the third time on the ground we had stormed in 1914. The village of Comines, which had formerly served us as base, was now within the fighting zone. Although little had changed in the surrounding district itself, the men had become different, somehow or other. They now talked politics. As everywhere else, the poison from home was having its effect here also. The fresh drafts proved a complete failure. They had come directly from home.

During the night of October 13th-14th the British opened an attack with gas on the front south of Ypres. They used mustard gas whose effect was unknown to us, at least from personal experience. I was destined to experience it that very night. On a hill south of Wervick, on the evening of October 13th, we were subjected for several hours to a heavy bombardment with gas-shells, which continued throughout the night with more or less even intensity. About midnight a number of us were put out of action, some for ever. Towards morning, I also began to feel pain. It increased with every quarter of an hour, and about seven o'clock my eyes were scorching as I staggered back and delivered the last dispatch I was destined to carry in this war. A few hours later my eyes were like glowing coals, and all was darkness around me.

I was sent into hospital at Pasewalk in Pomerania, and there it was that I was to hear of the Revolution.

For a long time there had been something in the air which was indefinable and oppressive. People were saying that something was bound to happen within the next few weeks, although I could not imagine what this meant. In the first instance I thought of a strike similar to the one which had taken place in the spring. Unfavourable rumours were constantly coming from the Navy, which was said to be in a

state of ferment, but this seemed to be a crazy notion put about by certain individuals, rather than something which concerned many people. It is true that at the hospital they were all talking about the end of the war and hoping that this was not far off, but nobody thought that the decision would come immediately. I was not able to read the newspapers.

In November, the general tension increased. Then one day disaster broke in upon us suddenly and without warning. Sailors came in motor-lorries and called on us to rise in revolt. A few Jews were the 'leaders' in that combat for the 'Liberty, Beauty, and Dignity' of our national existence. Not one of them had seen active service at the front. By way of a hospital for venereal diseases these three Orientals had been sent back home. Now they were hoisting their red rags here.

During the last few days I had begun to feel somewhat better. The burning pain in my eye-sockets had become less severe. Gradually, I was able to distinguish the general outlines of my immediate surroundings, and it was permissible to hope that I would at least recover my sight sufficiently to be able to take up some profession later on. That I would ever be able to draw or design again was naturally out of the question. Thus I was on the way to recovery when the frightful hour came.

My first thought was that this outbreak of high treason was only a local affair. I tried to spread this belief among my comrades. My Bavarian hospital-mates, in particular, were readily responsive. Their inclinations were anything but revolutionary. I could not imagine this madness breaking out in Munich, for it seemed to me that loyalty to the House of Wittelsbach was, after all, stronger than the will of a few Jews, and so I could not help believing that this was merely a revolt in the Navy and that it would be suppressed within the next few days.

The next few days brought with them the most terrible certainty. The rumours grew more and more persistent. I was told that what I had considered to be a local affair

was in reality a general revolution. In addition to this, from the front came the shameful news that they wished to capitulate! What! Was such a thing possible?

On November 10th the local pastor visited the hospital for the purpose of delivering a short address, and that was how we came to know the whole story.

I was in a fever of excitement as I listened to the address. The reverend old gentleman seemed to be trembling when he informed us that the House of Hohenzollern should no longer wear the Imperial Crown, that the Fatherland had become a 'Republic,' that we should pray to the Almighty not to withhold His blessing from the new order of things and not to abandon our people in the days to come. In delivering this message he could not do more than briefly express appreciation of the Royal House, its services to Pomerania, to Prussia, indeed to the whole of the German Fatherland, and at this point he broke down. A feeling of profound dismay fell on the people in that assembly, and I do not think there was a single eye that was not wet with tears. As for myself, I broke down completely when the old gentleman tried to resume his story by informing us that we must now end this long war, because the war was lost, he said, and we were at the mercy of the victor. The Fatherland would have to bear heavy burdens in the future. We were to accept the terms of the Armistice and trust to the magnanimity of our former enemies. It was impossible for me to stay and listen any longer. Darkness surrounded me as I staggered and stumbled back to my ward and buried my aching head between the blankets and pillow.

I had not cried since the day that I stood beside my mother's grave. Whenever Fate dealt cruelly with me in my young days the spirit of determination within me grew stronger and stronger. During all those long years of war, when Death claimed many a true friend and comrade from our ranks, to me it would have appeared sinful to have uttered a word of complaint. Did they not die for Germany? And, finally, almost in the last few days of that titanic struggle, when the waves of poison-gas enveloped me and

began to penetrate my eyes, the thought of becoming permanently blind unnerved me, but the voice of conscience cried out immediately, — 'You miserable fellow, would you start howling when there are thousands of others whose lot is a hundred times worse than yours?' And so I accepted my misfortune in silence, realizing that this was the only thing to be done and that personal suffering was nothing as compared with the misfortune of one's country.

All had been in vain. In vain all the sacrifices and privations, in vain the hunger and thirst for endless months, in vain those hours that we stuck to our posts though the fear of death gripped our souls, and in vain the deaths of two millions who fell in discharging their duty. Think of those hundreds of thousands who set out with hearts full of faith in their Fatherland, and never returned; ought not their graves to open, so that the spirits of those heroes bespattered with mud and blood might come home and take vengeance on those who had so despicably betrayed the greatest sacrifice which a man can make for his country? Was it for this that the soldiers died in August and September 1914, for this that the volunteer regiments followed their older comrades in the autumn of the same year? Was it for this that those boys of seventeen years of age were mingled with the earth of Flanders? Was this the reason for the sacrifice which German mothers made for their Fatherland when, with heavy hearts, they said good-bye to their sons, who never returned? Had all this been done in order to enable a gang of despicable criminals to lay hands on the Fatherland?

Was this, then, what the German soldier struggled for through sweltering heat and blinding snowstorm, enduring hunger and thirst and cold, fatigued from sleepless nights and endless marches? Was it for this that he lived through an inferno of artillery bombardments, lay gasping and choking during gas-attacks, neither flinching nor faltering, remembering only that it was his duty to defend the Fatherland against the enemy? Certainly those heroes also deserved the epitaph:

"Traveller, when you come to Germany, tell the mother-country that we lie here, true to the Fatherland and faithful unto death."

And at home? But—was this the only sacrifice that we had to consider? Was the Germany of the past a country of little worth? Did she not owe a certain duty to her own history? Were we still worthy to partake in the glory of the past? How could we justify this act to future generations?

What a gang of despicable and depraved criminals! The more I tried then to gain an insight into the terrible events that had happened, the more did I burn with rage and shame. What was all the pain I suffered in my eyes compared with this tragedy?

The following days were terrible to bear, and the nights still worse. I realized that all was lost. To depend on the mercy of the enemy was a precept which only fools or criminal liars could recommend. During those nights my hatred increased—hatred for the originators of this dastardly crime.

During the days which followed my own fate became clear to me. I was forced now to scoff at the thought of my personal future, which hitherto had been the cause of so much worry to me. Was it not ludicrous to think of building up anything on such a foundation? Finally, it also became clear to me that it was the inevitable that had happened, something which I had feared for a long time, though I really had not had the heart to believe it.

Emperor Wilhelm II was the first German Emperor to offer the hand of friendship to the Marxist leaders, not suspecting that they were scoundrels without any sense of honour. While they held the imperial hand in one of theirs, the other was already feeling for the dagger. There is no such thing as coming to an understanding with the Jews. It must be a hard-and-fast 'Either—Or.'

For my part I then decided that I would take up political work.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNING OF MY POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

TOWARDS THE END OF NOVEMBER I RETURNED to Munich. I went to the depot of my regiment, which was now in the hands of the Soldiers' Councils. As the whole business was repulsive to me, I decided to leave it as soon as I possibly could. With my faithful warcomrade, Schmiedt Ernst, I went to Traunstein and remained there until the camp was broken up. In March 1919, we were back again in Munich.

The situation there could not last as it was. It tended irresistibly to a further extension of the Revolution. Eisner's death served only to hasten this development and finally led to the dictatorship of the Councils, or, to put it more correctly, to a Jewish hegemony, which turned out to be transitory, but which was the original aim of those who had contrived the Revolution.

At that juncture innumerable plans took shape in my mind. I spent whole days pondering on the problem of what could be done, but unfortunately every project had to give way before the hard fact that I was quite unknown and therefore did not have even the first qualifications necessary for effective action. Later on I shall explain the reasons why I could not decide to join any of the parties then in existence.

As the new Revolution began to run its course, my activities drew down upon me the ill-will of the Central Council. In the early morning of April 27th, 1919, I was to have been arrested, but the three fellows who came to arrest me did not have the courage to face my rifle and withdrew empty-handed.

A few days after the liberation of Munich I was ordered to appear before the Inquiry Commission which had been set up by the 2nd Infantry Regiment for the purpose of investigating revolutionary activities. That was my first incursion into the more or less political field.

A few weeks later I received orders to attend a course of lectures which were being given to members of the Army. This course was meant to propagate certain fundamental principles on which the soldier could base his political ideas. For me the advantage of this organization was that it gave me a chance of meeting fellow-soldiers who were of the same way of thinking and with whom I could discuss the actual situation. We were all more or less firmly convinced that Germany could not be saved from imminent disaster by those who had participated in the November crime—that is to say, by the Centre and the Social Democrats, and also that the so-called Bourgeois-National group could not make good the damage that had been done, even if their intentions were of the best. Certain conditions necessary for the successful undertaking of such a task were not fulfilled. The years that followed have justified the opinions which we held at that time.

In our small circle we discussed the project of forming a new party. The leading ideas which we then proposed were the same as those which were carried into effect afterwards, when the German Labour Party was founded. The name of the new movement which was to be founded should be such that, of itself, it would appeal to the masses of the people, for all our efforts would turn out vain and useless if this condition were lacking. That was the reason why we chose the name 'Social Revolutionary Party,' particularly because the social principles of our new organization were indeed revolutionary.

There was also a more fundamental reason. The attention which I had given to economic problems during my earlier years was more or less confined to considerations arising directly out of the social problem. Subsequently my outlook broadened as I came to study the German policy

of alliance. This policy was very largely the result of an erroneous valuation of the economic situation, together with a confused notion as to the basis on which the future subsistence of the German people could be guaranteed. All these ideas were based on the principle that capital is exclusively the product of labour and that, just like labour, it was subject to all the factors which can hinder or promote human activity. Hence, from the national standpoint, the significance of capital depended on the greatness, freedom and power of the State, that is to say, of the nation, and it is this dependence alone which leads capital to promote the interests of the State and the nation, from an instinct of self-preservation and for the sake of its own development. Consequently, the dependence of capital upon the independent and free State would force it to defend the nation's freedom, might, strength, etc.

According to such principles the duty of the State towards capital would be comparatively simple and clear. Its only object would be to make sure that capital remained subservient to the State and did not allocate to itself the right to dominate national interests. Thus the State could confine its activities within the two following limits: on the one side, to assure a vital and independent system of national economy and, on the other, to safeguard the social rights of the workers.

Previously, I did not recognize with adequate clearness the difference between that capital which is purely the product of creative labour, and the existence and nature of capital which is exclusively the result of financial speculation. Here I needed a stimulus to set my mind thinking in this direction, but that had hitherto been lacking. The requisite stimulus now came from one of the men who delivered lectures in the course I have already mentioned. This was Gottfried Feder.

For the first time in my life, I heard a discussion which dealt with the principles of stock-exchange capital and capital which was used for loan activities. After hearing the first lecture delivered by Feder, the idea immediately came

into my head that I had now found a way to establish one of the most essential prerequisites for the founding of a new party.

To my mind, Feder's merit consisted in the ruthless and trenchant way in which he described the speculative and political economic character of the capital used in stock-exchange and loan transactions, laying bare the fact that this capital is always dependent on the payment of interest. In fundamental questions his statements were so full of common sense that even those who criticized him did not deny that *au fond* his ideas were sound, but they doubted whether it were possible to put these ideas into practice. To me, this seemed the strongest point in Feder's teaching, though others considered it a weak point.

It is not the business of him who lays down a theoretical programme to explain the various ways in which something can be put into practice. His task is to deal with the problem as such; and he has, therefore, to look to the end rather than the means. The important question is whether an idea is fundamentally right or not. The question as to whether it may or may not be difficult to carry it out in practice is quite another matter. When a man, whose task it is to lay down the principles of a programme or policy, begins to busy himself with the question as to whether it is expedient and practical, instead of confining himself to a statement of the absolute truth, his work will cease to be a guiding star to those who are looking for light and guidance, and will become merely a recipe for everyday life. The man who lays down the programme of a movement must consider only the goal. It is for the political leader to point out the way in which that goal may be reached. The thought of the former will, therefore, be determined by those truths that are everlasting, whereas the activity of the latter must always be guided by taking practical account of the circumstances in which those truths have to be carried into effect.

The greatness of the one will depend on the absolute truth of his idea considered in the abstract; whereas that of the other will depend on whether or not he correctly

judges the given realities and how they may be utilized under the guidance of the truths established by the former. The test of greatness as applied to a political leader is the success of his plans and his enterprises, which means his ability to reach the goal for which he sets out; whereas the final goal set up by the political philosopher can never be reached, for human thought may grasp truths and visualize ends which it sees with crystal clarity, though such ends can never be completely attained, because human nature is weak and imperfect. The more an idea is correct in the abstract, and, the more comprehensive it therefore is, the smaller is the possibility of putting it into practice, at least as far as this depends on human beings. The significance of a political philosopher does not depend on the practical success of the plans he lays down, but rather on their absolute truth and the influence they exert on the progress of mankind. If it were otherwise, the founders of religions could not be considered as the greatest men who have ever lived, because their moral aims will never be completely or even approximately carried out in practice. Even that religion which is called the religion of brotherly love is actually no more than a faint reflex of the will of its sublime Founder, but its significance lies in the orientation which it endeavored to give to human civilization and human virtue and morals.

This very wide difference between the functions of a political philosopher and a practical political leader is the reason why the qualifications necessary for both functions are scarcely ever found combined in the same person. This applies especially to the so-called successful politician of the lesser kind, whose activity is indeed hardly more than that of practising the art of accomplishing the possible, as Bismarck modestly defined the art of politics in general. If such a politician resolutely avoids great ideas, his success will be all the easier to attain; it will be attained more expeditely, and will frequently be more tangible. By reason of this very fact, however, such success is doomed to futility and sometimes does not even survive the death of its author. Generally

speaking, the work of such politicians is without significance for the following generation, because their temporary success was based on the expediency of avoiding all really great decisive problems and ideas which would hold good for future generations likewise.

To pursue ideals which will still be of value and significance for the future is generally not a very profitable undertaking and he who follows such a course is only very rarely understood by the masses of the people, who find the price of beer and milk a more persuasive index of political values than far-sighted plans for the future, the realization of which can only take place later on and the advantages of which can be reaped only by posterity.

Because of a certain vanity, which is always one of the blood relations of unintelligence, the general run of politicians will always eschew those schemes for the future which are really difficult to put into practice; and they will avoid them in order that they may not lose the immediate favour of the mob. The importance and the success of such politicians belong exclusively to the present and will be of no consequence for the future, but that does not worry small-minded people who are quite content with momentary results.

The position of the constructive political philosopher is quite different. The importance of his work must always be judged from the standpoint of the future; and he is frequently described by the word *Weltfremder*, or dreamer. While the ability of the politician consists in mastering the art of the possible, the founder of a political system belongs to those who are said to please the gods only because they wish for and demand the impossible. They will always have to renounce contemporary fame, but if their ideas be immortal, posterity will acclaim them.

Within long spans of human progress it may occasionally happen that the practical politician and political philosopher are one. The more intimate this union is, the greater will be the obstacles which the activity of the politician will have to encounter. Such a man does not labour for the

purpose of satisfying demands that are obvious to every Philistine but he reaches out towards ends which can be understood only by the few. His life is torn asunder by hatred and love. The protest of his contemporaries, who do not understand the man, is in conflict with the recognition of posterity, for whom he also works.

The greater the work which a man does for the future, the less will he be appreciated by his contemporaries. His struggle will accordingly be the more severe, and his success the rarer. When, in the course of centuries, such a man appears and is blessed with success, then, towards the end of his days, he may have a faint prevision of his future fame. Such great men are only the Marathon runners of history; the laurels of contemporary fame are only for the brow of the dying hero.

The great protagonists are those who fight for their ideas and ideals despite the fact that they receive no recognition at the hands of their contemporaries. They are the men whose memories will be enshrined in the hearts of future generations. It seems then as if each individual felt it his duty to make retrospective atonement for the wrong which great men have suffered at the hands of their contemporaries. Their lives and their work are then studied with touching and grateful admiration. Especially in dark days of distress, such men have the power of healing broken hearts and of raising the despairing spirit of a people. To this group belong not only the genuinely great statesmen but all the great reformers as well. Besides Frederick the Great we have men such as Martin Luther and Richard Wagner.

When I heard Gottfried Feder's first lecture on 'The Abolition of the Thralldom of Interest,' I understood immediately that here was a truth of transcendental importance for the future of the German people. The absolute separation of stock-exchange capital from the economic life of the nation would make it possible to oppose the process of internationalization in German business, without at the same time attacking capital as such, for to do this would jeopardize the foundations of our national independence. I clearly saw

what was developing in Germany and I realized then that the stiffest fight we would have to wage would not be against an alien enemy, but against international capital. In Feder's speech I found an effective slogan for our coming struggle.

Here again, later events proved how correct was the impression we then had. The fools among our bourgeois politicians no longer mock at us on this score, for even those politicians now see—if they would speak the truth—that international stock-exchange capital was not only the chief instigating factor in bringing about the war, but that, now the war is over, it serves to turn the peace into a hell.

The struggle against international finance capital and loan capital has become one of the most important points in the programme on which the German nation has based its fight for economic freedom and independence.

Regarding the objections raised by so-called practical people, the following answer must suffice. All apprehension concerning the fearful economic consequences that would follow the abolition of the thralldom that results from interest-capital are ill-timed, for, in the first place, the economic principles hitherto followed have proved fatal to the interests of the German people. The attitude adopted when the question of preserving our national existence arose, vividly recalls similar advice once given by experts—the Bavarian Medical College, for example—on the question of introducing railroads. The fears expressed by that august body of experts were not realized. Those who travelled in the coaches of the new 'Steam-horse' did not suffer from vertigo. Those who looked on did not become ill and the hoardings which were to have been erected to conceal the new invention, were never put up. Only the blinkers which obscure the vision of the would-be 'experts' have remained, and this will always be so.

In the second place, the following must be borne in mind. Any idea may be a source of danger if it is looked upon as an end in itself, when in reality it is only the means

to an end. For me, and for all genuine National Socialists, there is only one slogan: People and Fatherland.

What we have to fight for is the necessary security for the existence and increase of our race and people, the subsistence of our children and the maintenance of our racial stock unmixed, the freedom and independence of the Fatherland, so that our people may be enabled to fulfil the mission assigned to it by the Creator.

All ideas and ideals, all teaching and all knowledge, must serve these ends. It is from this standpoint that everything must be examined and turned to practical use, or else discarded. Thus, a theory can never become a mere dead dogma, since everything must serve the purpose of guaranteeing our existence.

The conclusions arrived at by Gottfried Feder determined me to make a fundamental study of a question with which I had hitherto not been very familiar.

I began to study again and thus it was that I first came to understand perfectly what was the substance and purpose of the life-work of the Jew, Karl Marx. His *Capital* became intelligible to me for the first time, and in the light of it I now clearly understood the fight of the Social Democrats against national economics, a fight which was to prepare the ground for the hegemony of a real international and stock-exchange capital.

In another direction also, this course of lectures had important consequences for me. One day I put my name down as wishing to take part in the discussion. Another of the participants thought that he would break a lance for the Jews and entered into a lengthy defence of them. This aroused my opposition. An overwhelming number of those who attended the lecture course supported my views. The consequence of it all was that, a few days later, I was assigned to a regiment then stationed in Munich and given a position there as 'instruction officer.'

At that time the spirit of discipline was rather weak among the troops which were still suffering from the after-effects of the period when the Soldiers' Councils were in

control. Only gradually and carefully could a new spirit of military discipline and obedience be introduced in place of 'voluntary obedience,' a term which had been used to express the ideal of military discipline under Kurt Eisner's higgledy-piggledy regime. The soldiers had to be taught to think and feel in a national and patriotic way. In these two directions lay my future line of action.

I took up my work with the greatest zeal and devotion. Here I was presented with an opportunity of speaking before quite a large audience. I was now able to confirm what I had hitherto merely felt, namely, that I had a talent for public speaking. My voice had become so much better that I could be well understood, at least in all parts of the small hall where the soldiers assembled. No task could have been more pleasing to me than this one; for now, before being demobilized, I was in a position to render useful service to an institution which had become infinitely dear to my heart, namely, the Army.

I am able to state that my talks were successful. During the course of my lectures I have led back hundreds and even thousands of my fellow-countrymen to their people and their Fatherland. I 'nationalized' those troops and by so doing I helped to restore general discipline.

Here again I made the acquaintance of several comrades whose line of thought was similar to my own and who later became members of the first group out of which the new movement developed.

CHAPTER IX

THE GERMAN LABOUR PARTY

ONE DAY I RECEIVED AN ORDER FROM MY superior officer to investigate the nature of an association which was apparently political. It called itself 'The German Labour Party' and was soon to hold a meeting at which Gottfried Feder would speak. I was ordered to attend this meeting and report on the nature of the association.

The spirit of curiosity in which the army authorities then regarded political parties can be very well understood. The Revolution had granted the soldiers the right to take an active part in politics and it was particularly those with the smallest experience who had availed themselves of this privilege, but not until the Centre and the Social Democratic Parties were reluctantly forced to recognize that the sympathies of the soldiers had turned away from the revolutionary parties towards the national movement and the national reawakening, did they feel obliged to withdraw from the Army the right to vote, and to ban all political activity among the soldiers.

The fact that the Centre and Marxism had adopted this policy was instructive, because if they had not thus curtailed the 'rights of the citizen'—as they described the political rights of the soldiers after the Revolution—the government which had been established in November 1918 would have been overthrown within a few years and the dishonour and disgrace of the nation would not have been further prolonged. At that time the soldiers were on the point of ridding the nation of the vampires and fawners who served the cause of the Entente in the interior of the country, but the fact that the so-called 'national' parties voted enthusiastically for the doctrinaire policy of the criminals

who organized the revolution in November 1918 also helped to render the Army ineffectual as an instrument of national restoration, and thus showed once again what might be the outcome of the purely abstract notions imbibed by these most gullible people.

The minds of the bourgeois middle classes had become so fossilized that they sincerely believed the Army could once again become what it had previously been, namely, a rampart of German valour, while the Centre Party and the Marxists intended only to extract the poisonous tooth of nationalism, without which an army must always remain just a police force, but can never be in the position of a military organization capable of fighting against an outside enemy. This truth was sufficiently proved by subsequent events.

Or did our 'national' politicians believe, after all, that the development of our army could be other than national? This belief might be possible and could be explained by the fact that, during the war, they had been not soldiers, but merely talkers. In other words, they were parliamentarians, and, as such, they did not have the slightest idea of what was going on in the hearts of those men who remembered the greatness of their own past and also remembered that they had once been the first soldiers in the world.

I decided to attend the meeting of this party which had hitherto been entirely unknown to me. When I arrived that evening in the guest-room of the former *Sterneckerbräu*—which has now become a place of historical significance for us—I found some twenty or twenty-five persons present, most of them belonging to the lower classes.

The theme of Feder's lecture was already familiar to me, for I had heard it in the lecture course of which I have spoken. I could, therefore, concentrate my attention on the society itself.

The impression it made upon me was neither good nor bad. I felt that here was just another one of those many new societies which were being formed at that time. In those days everybody felt called upon to found a new party whenever he felt displeased with the course of events and

had lost confidence in all the parties already existing. Thus it was that new associations sprouted up all round, to disappear just as quickly, without exercising any effect or making any impression whatsoever. Generally speaking, the founders of such associations did not have the slightest idea of what it means to bring together a number of people for the foundation of a party or a movement. Therefore, these associations disappeared because of their woeful lack of anything like an adequate grasp of the essentials of the situation.

My opinion of the 'German Labour Party' was not very different after I had listened to their proceedings for about two hours. I was glad when Feder finally came to a close. I had observed enough and was just about to leave when it was announced that anybody who wished was free to take part in the discussion. Thereupon, I decided to remain, but the discussion seemed to proceed without anything of vital importance being mentioned, when suddenly a 'professor' commenced to speak. He began by throwing doubt on the accuracy of what Feder had said, and then, after Feder had replied very effectively, the professor suddenly took up his position on what he called 'the basis of facts,' but before this he recommended the young party most urgently to introduce the secession of Bavaria from Prussia as one of the leading points in its programme. In the most self-assured way, this man kept on insisting that German-Austria would join Bavaria and that the peace would then function much better. He made other similarly extravagant statements. At this juncture I felt bound to ask for permission to speak and to tell the learned gentleman what I thought. The result was that the honourable gentleman who had last spoken slipped out of the room, like a whipped cur, without uttering a sound. While I was speaking the audience listened with an expression of surprise on their faces. When I was just about to say good-night to the assembly and to leave, a man came after me quickly and introduced himself. I did not grasp the name correctly, but he placed in my hand a little

book which was obviously a political pamphlet, and asked me very earnestly to read it.

I was quite pleased, because, in this way, I could get to know about this association without having to attend its tiresome meetings. Moreover, this man, who had the appearance of a workman, made a good impression on me. Thereupon, I left the hall.

At that time, I was living in one of the barracks of the 2nd Infantry Regiment. I had a little room which still bore unmistakable traces of the Revolution. During the day I was mostly out, at the quarters of the Light Infantry Regiment No. 41, or else attending meetings or lectures, held at the quarters of some other unit. I spent only the night at the barracks where I lodged. Since I usually woke up about five o'clock every morning, I got into the habit of amusing myself with watching little mice which scampered about my small room. I used to place a few pieces of hard bread or crust on the floor and watch the funny little creatures playing around and enjoying themselves with these delicacies. I had suffered so many privations in my life that I well knew what hunger was and could only too well picture to myself the pleasure these little creatures were experiencing.

On the morning after the meeting I have mentioned, it happened that about five o'clock I lay fully awake in bed, watching the mice playing and vying with each other. As I was not able to go to sleep again, I suddenly remembered the pamphlet that one of the workers had given me at the meeting. It was a small pamphlet of which this worker was the author. In his little book he described how his mind had thrown off the shackles of the Marxist and trade-union phraseology, and how he had come back to the nationalist ideals. That was the reason why he had entitled his little book, *My Political Awakening*. The pamphlet secured my attention the moment I began to read, and I read it with interest to the end. The process here described was similar to that which I had experienced in my own case twelve years previously. Unconsciously, my own experiences began to stir again in my mind. During that day my thoughts

returned several times to what I had read, but I finally decided to give the matter no further attention. A week or so later, however, I received a postcard which informed me, to my astonishment, that I had been admitted to the German Labour Party. I was asked to answer this communication and to attend a meeting of the party committee on Wednesday next.

This manner of getting members rather amazed me, and I did not know whether to be angry or laugh at it. I had no intention of entering a party already in existence, but wanted to found one of my own. Such an invitation as I had now received, I looked upon as entirely out of the question for me. I was about to send a written reply when my curiosity got the better of me, and I decided to attend the gathering on the date assigned, so that I might expound my principles to these gentlemen in person.

Wednesday came. The tavern in which the meeting was to take place was the *Altes Rosenbad* in the Herronstrasse, into which apparently only an occasional guest wandered. This was not very surprising in the year 1919, when the bill of fare even at the larger restaurants was very modest and scanty and thus not very attractive to clients, but I had never before heard of this restaurant.

I went through the badly-lighted tap-room, where not a single guest was to be seen, and searched for the door which led to the side room, and there I found the 'meeting.' Under the dim light shed by a grimy gas-lamp, I could see four young people sitting around a table, one of them being the author of the pamphlet. He greeted me cordially and welcomed me as a new member of the German Labour Party. I was somewhat taken aback. On being informed that, actually, the 'Reich chairman' of the party had not yet come, I decided that I would keep back my own explanation for the time being. Finally the chairman appeared. He was the man who had been chairman at the meeting held in the *Sterneckerbräu*, when Feder had spoken.

My curiosity was stimulated anew and I sat waiting for what was going to happen. Now I got at least as far as

earning the names of the gentlemen present. The Reich chairman of the association was a certain Herr Harrer and the chairman for the Munich district was Anton Drexler.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read out and a vote of confidence in the secretary was passed. Then came the treasurer's report. The society possessed a total fund of seven marks and fifty pfennigs, whereupon the treasurer was assured that he had the confidence of the members. This was now inserted in the minutes. Then letters of reply, which had been drafted by the chairman, were read; first, to a letter received from Kiel, then to one from Düsseldorf and finally to one from Berlin. All three replies received the approval of all present. Then the incoming letters were read—one from Berlin, one from Düsseldorf and one from Kiel. The reception of these letters seemed to cause great satisfaction. This increasing bulk of correspondence was taken as the best and most obvious sign of the growing importance of the German Labour Party. And then? Well, there followed a long discussion of the replies which should be given to these newly received letters. It was all very awful. This was the worst kind of parish-pump clubbism. And was I supposed to become a member of such a club?

The question of new members was next discussed—that is to say, the question of catching me in the trap. I now began to ask questions. But I found that, apart from a few general principles, there was nothing—no programme, no pamphlet, nothing at all in print, no card of membership, not even a party stamp, nothing but obvious good faith and good intentions.

I no longer felt inclined to laugh; for what else was all this but a typical sign of the most complete perplexity and deepest despair concerning all other political parties, their programmes, views and activities? The feeling which had induced those few young people to join in what seemed such a ridiculous enterprise was nothing but the call of the inner voice which told them—though more intuitively than consciously—that the whole party system as it had hitherto

existed was not the kind of force that could restore the German nation or repair the damage that had been done to the German people by those who had hitherto controlled the internal affairs of the nation. I quickly read through the list of principles laid down by the party. These principles were stated on typewritten sheets. Here again I found evidence of the spirit of longing and searching, but no sign whatever of a knowledge of the conflict that had to be fought. I myself had experienced the feelings which inspired these people. It was the longing for a movement which should be more than a party, in the hitherto accepted meaning of that word.

When I returned to my room in the barracks that evening, I had formed a definite opinion on this association and I was facing the most difficult problem of my life. Should I join this party or refuse?

From the common-sense point of view, I felt I ought to refuse, but my feelings troubled me. The more I tried to prove to myself how senseless this club was, on the whole, the more did my feelings incline me to favour it. During the days which followed I was restless.

I began to consider all the pros and cons. I had long ago decided to take an active part in politics. The fact that I could do so only through a new movement was quite clear to me, but I had hitherto lacked the impulse to take concrete action. I am not one of those people who will begin something to-day just to give it up the next day for the sake of something new. That was the main reason which made it so difficult for me to decide to join something newly founded; for this must become the real fulfilment of everything I dreamt, or else it had better not be started at all. I knew that such a decision would bind me for ever and that there could be no turning back. For me there could be no idle dallying, but only a cause to be championed ardently. I had already an instinctive feeling against people who took up everything, but never carried anything through to the end. I loathed these Jacks-of-all-

trades, and considered the activities of such people to be worse than if they were to remain entirely quiescent.

Fate herself now seemed to point a finger that showed me the way. I should never have entered one of the big parties already in existence and shall explain my reasons for this later on. This ludicrous little formation with its handful of members, seemed to have the unique advantage of not yet being fossilized into an 'organization' and still offered a chance for real personal activity on the part of the individual. Here it might still be possible to do some effective work, and, as the movement was still small, one could all the more easily give it the required shape. Here it was still possible to determine the character of the movement, the aims to be achieved and the road to be taken, which would have been impossible in the case of any of the big parties already existing.

The longer I reflected on the problem, the more my conviction grew, that just such a small movement would best serve as an instrument to prepare the way for the national resurgence, but that this could never be done by the political parliamentary parties which were too firmly attached to obsolete ideas or had an interest in supporting the new regime. What had to be proclaimed here was a new *Weltanschauung* and not a new election cry.

It was, however, infinitely difficult to decide on putting the intention into practice. What were the qualifications which I could bring to the accomplishment of such a task?

The fact that I was poor and without resources would, in my opinion, be the easiest to bear, but the fact that I was utterly unknown raised a more difficult problem. I was only one of the millions whom chance allows to exist or to cease to exist, whom even their next-door neighbours will not consent to know. Another difficulty arose from the fact that I had not gone through the regular school curriculum.

The so-called 'intellectuals' still look down with infinite superciliousness on anyone who has not been through the prescribed schools and allowed them to pump the necessary

knowledge into him. The question, What can a man do? is never asked, but rather, what has he learned? 'Educated' people look upon any imbecile who is plastered with a number of academic certificates as being superior to the ablest young fellow who lacks these precious documents. I could therefore easily imagine how this 'educated' world would receive me and I was wrong only in so far as I then believed men to be for the most part better than they proved to be in the cold light of reality. Because of their being as they are, the few exceptions stand out all the more conspicuously. I learned more and more to distinguish between those who will always be at school and those who will one day come to know something.

After two days of careful brooding and reflection I became convinced that I must take the contemplated step. It was the most fateful decision of my life. No retreat was possible.

Thus I declared myself ready to accept the membership tendered me by the German Labour Party and received a provisional certificate of membership which bore the number seven.

CHAPTER X

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND REICH

THE DEPTH OF A FALL IS ALWAYS MEASURED BY THE difference between the level of the original position from which a body has fallen and that in which it now lies. The same holds good for nations and States. The matter of greatest importance here is the height of the original level, or rather the greatest height that had been attained before the descent began. Therefore, the original position is of paramount importance, and only the fall or collapse of that which is capable of rising above the general level, can impress the beholder. The collapse of the Second Reich was all the more bewildering for those who could ponder over it and feel the effect of it in their hearts, because the Reich had fallen from a height which can hardly be imagined in these days of misery and humiliation.

The Second Reich was founded in circumstances of such dazzling splendour that the whole nation had become entranced and exalted by it. Following an unparalleled series of victories, that Reich was handed over as the guerdon of immortal heroism to the children and grandchildren of the heroes. Whether they were fully conscious of it or not, does not matter, the Germans felt that this Reich, which did not owe its existence to the machinations of parliamentary factions, was superior to the great majority of States by reason of the nobler circumstances that had accompanied its establishment. When its foundations were laid, the accompanying music was not the chatter of parliamentary debates, but the thunder and clash of war along the battle-front that encircled Paris. It was thus that an act

of statesmanship was accomplished whereby the Germans, princes as well as people, established the future Reich and restored the symbol of the Imperial Crown. Bismarck's State was not founded on treason and assassination by deserters and shirkers, but by the regiments that had fought at the front. This unique birth and baptism of fire sufficed of themselves to surround the Second Reich with an aureole of historical splendour such as few of the older States could claim.

What a period of prosperity then began! A position of independence in regard to the outside world guaranteed the means of livelihood at home. The nation increased in numbers and in worldly wealth. The honour of the State and thereby the honour of the people as a whole were secured and protected by an Army which was the most striking proof of the difference between this new Reich and the old German Confederation.

The downfall of the Second Reich and the German nation has been so profound that everyone seems to have been dumbfounded and rendered incapable of feeling the significance of this downfall or reflecting on it. It seems as if people were utterly unable to picture in their minds the heights to which the Reich formerly attained, so visionary and unreal appears the greatness and splendour of those days in contrast to the misery of the present. Bearing this in mind, we can understand why and how people become so dazed when they try to look back to the sublime past that they forget to look for the symptoms of the great collapse which must certainly have been present in some form or other. Naturally this applies only to those for whom Germany was more than merely a place of abode and a source of livelihood. These are the only people who have been able to feel the present conditions as really catastrophic, whereas others have considered these conditions as the fulfilment of what they had looked forward to and hitherto silently wished.

The symptoms of future collapse were definitely to be perceived in those earlier days, although very few made any

attempt to deduce a practical lesson from their significance, but this is now a greater necessity than it ever was before, for just as bodily ailments can be cured only when their origin has been diagnosed, so also political disease can be treated only when it has been diagnosed. It is obvious, of course, that the external symptoms of any disease can be more readily detected than its internal causes, for these symptoms strike the eye more readily. This is also the reason why so many people recognize only external effects and mistake them for causes. Indeed, they will sometimes try to deny the existence of such causes, and that is why the majority of people among us recognize the German collapse only in the prevailing economic distress and the results that have followed therefrom. Almost everyone has to bear his share of this burden and that is why each one looks on the economic catastrophe as the cause of the present deplorable state of affairs. The broad masses of the people see little of the cultural, political, and moral background of this collapse. Many of them completely lack both the necessary feeling and the powers of understanding.

That the masses of the people should thus estimate the causes of Germany's downfall is quite understandable, but the fact that intelligent sections of the community regard the German collapse primarily as an economic catastrophe, and consequently think that a cure for it may be found in an economic solution, seems to me to be the reason why hitherto no improvement has been brought about. No improvement can be brought about until it is understood that economics play only a secondary rôle, while the main part is played by political, moral, and racial factors. Only when this is understood will it be possible to comprehend the causes of the present evils and consequently to find the ways and means of remedying them. Therefore, the question of why Germany really collapsed is one of the most urgent significance, especially for a political movement which aims at overcoming this disaster.

In scrutinizing the past with a view to discovering the causes of the German break-up, it is necessary to be careful

lest we may be unduly impressed by external results that readily strike the eye and thus ignore the less manifest causes of these results.

The most facile, and therefore the most generally accepted way of accounting for the present misfortune, is to say that it is the result of a lost war, and that this is the real cause of the present distress. Probably there are many who honestly believe in this absurd explanation, but there are many more in whose mouths it is a deliberate and conscious falsehood. This applies to all those who are now feeding at the government troughs, for the prophets of the Revolution again and again declared to the people that the result of the war would be immaterial to the great masses. On the contrary, they solemnly assured the public that it was high finance which was principally interested in a victorious outcome of this gigantic struggle between the nations, but that the German people and the German workers had no interest whatsoever therein. Indeed, the apostles of world conciliation habitually asserted that, far from any German downfall, the opposite was bound to take place—namely, the resurgence of the German people—once militarism had been crushed. Did not these self-same circles sing the praises of the Entente and did they not also lay the whole blame for the sanguinary struggle on Germany? Would they have succeeded in doing so, had they not put forward the theory that a military defeat would have no political consequences for the German people? Was not the whole Revolution dressed up in the pretty phrase that, since it would check the victorious advance of the German banners, the German people would thus be assured of its liberty both at home and abroad? Is not that so, you miserable, lying rascals?

That kind of impudence which is typical of the Jews was necessary in order to proclaim the defeat of the Army as the cause of the German collapse. Indeed the Berlin *Vorwärts*, that organ and mouthpiece of sedition, wrote on this occasion that the German nation should not be permitted

to bring home its banners in triumph. Yet our collapse is attributed to the military defeat.

Of course it would be out of the question to enter into an argument with these liars who deny one moment what they said the moment before. I should waste no further words on them were it not for the fact that there are many thoughtless people who repeat all this parrot-fashion, without being necessarily inspired by any evil motives. But the observations I am making here are also meant for our fighting followers, seeing that nowadays one's spoken words are often forgotten and their meaning distorted.

The assertion that the loss of the war was the cause of the German collapse can best be answered as follows:-

It is admittedly a fact that the loss of the war was of tragic importance for the future of our country, but that loss was not in itself a cause. It was rather the consequence of other causes. That a disastrous ending to this life-and-death conflict must have involved catastrophes in its train was clearly seen by everyone of insight who could think in a straightforward manner, but unfortunately there were also people whose powers of understanding seemed to fail them at that critical moment. There were other people who had first questioned that truth and then altogether denied it, and there were people who, after their secret desire had been fulfilled, were suddenly faced with the state of affairs, that resulted from their own collaboration. Such people are responsible for the collapse, and not the lost war, though they now want to attribute everything to this. As a matter of fact, the loss of the war was a result of their activities and not the result of bad leadership, as they would now like to maintain. Our enemies were not cowards. They also knew how to die. From the very first day of the war they outnumbered the German Army, and the arsenals and armament factories of the whole world were at their disposal for the replenishment of military equipment. Indeed, it is universally admitted that the German victories, which had been steadily won during four years of warfare against the whole world, were (apart, of course, from the heroism of the

troops, and the magnificent organization) solely due to the German military leadership. That organization and leadership of the German Army was the most mighty thing that the world has ever seen. Any shortcomings which became evident were humanly unavoidable. The collapse of that Army was not the cause of our present distress. It was itself the consequence of other faults, but this consequence in its turn ushered in a further collapse, which was more obvious.

That such was actually the case can be shown as follows: - Must a military defeat necessarily lead to such a complete overthrow of the State and the nation? Whenever has this been the result of an unfortunate, lost war? Are nations in fact ever ruined by a lost war and by that alone? The answer to this question can be briefly stated by referring to the fact that military defeats are the result of internal decay, cowardice, want of character, and are a retribution for such things. If such were not the case, then a military defeat would lead to a national resurgence and bring the nation to a higher pitch of effort. A military defeat is not the tombstone of national life. History affords innumerable examples to confirm the truth of that statement.

Unfortunately, Germany's military overthrow was not an undeserved catastrophe, but a well-merited punishment which was in the nature of an eternal retribution. This defeat was more than deserved by us, for it represented the greatest external phenomenon of decomposition among a series of internal phenomena, which, although they were visible, were not recognized by the majority of the people, who follow the tactics of the ostrich and see only what they want to see.

Let us examine the symptoms that were evident in Germany at the time that the German people accepted this defeat. Is it not true that in several circles the misfortunes of the Fatherland were even joyfully welcomed in the most shameful manner? Who could act in such a way without thereby meriting vengeance for his attitude? Were there not people who went even further and boasted that they had gone to the extent of weakening the front and causing

a collapse? Therefore, it was not the enemy who brought this disgrace upon us, but rather our own countrymen. If they suffered misfortune for it afterwards, was that misfortune undeserved? Was there ever a case in history where a people declared itself guilty of a war, and that even against its conscience and its better judgment?

No, and again no. In the manner in which the German nation reacted to its defeat we can see that the real cause of our collapse must be looked for elsewhere and not in the purely military loss of a few positions or the failure of an offensive, for if the front as such had given way and thus brought about a national disaster, then the German nation would have accepted the defeat in quite another spirit. It would have borne the subsequent misfortune with clenched teeth, or it would have been overwhelmed by sorrow. Regret and fury against an enemy into whose hands victory had been given by a chance event or the decree of Fate would have filled the hearts of the people, and in that case the nation, following the example of the Roman Senate, would have faced the defeated legions on their return and expressed their thanks for the sacrifices that had been made and would have urged them not to lose faith in the Reich. Even the capitulation would have been signed under the sway of calm reason, while the heart would have beaten in the hope of the coming *revanche*.

That is the reception that would have been given to a military defeat which had to be attributed only to the adverse decree of Fortune. There would have been neither joy-making nor dancing. Cowardice would not have been boasted of, and the defeat would not have been honoured. On returning from the front, the troops would not have been mocked at, and the colours would not have been dragged in the dust, but above all, that disgraceful state of affairs could never have arisen which induced a British officer, Colonel Repington, to declare with scorn, 'Every third German is a traitor!' No, in such a case this plague would never have assumed the proportions of a veritable flood, which,

for the past five years, has smothered every vestige of respect for the German nation in the outside world.

This shows only too clearly how false it is to say that the loss of the war was the cause of the German break-up. The military defeat was in itself but the consequence of a whole-series of morbid symptoms and their causes which had become active in the German nation before the war broke out. The collapse was the first catastrophic consequence, visible to all, of how traditions and national morale had been poisoned and how the instinct of self-preservation had degenerated. These were the preliminary causes which, for many years, had been undermining the foundations of the nation and the Reich.

It remained for the Jews, with their unqualified capacity for falsehood, and their fighting comrades, the Marxists, to impute responsibility for the downfall precisely to the man who alone had shown superhuman will-power and energy in his effort to prevent the catastrophe which he had foreseen and to save the nation from that hour of complete overthrow and shame. By placing responsibility for the loss of the World War on the shoulders of Ludendorff, they took away the weapon of moral right from the only adversary dangerous enough to be likely to succeed in bringing the betrayers of the Fatherland to justice. All this was inspired by the principle—which is quite true in itself—that in the big lie there is always a certain force of credibility; because the broad masses of a nation are always more easily corruptible in the deeper strata of their emotional nature than consciously or voluntarily bad, and thus in the primitive simplicity of their minds they more readily fall victims to the big lie than to the small lie, since they themselves often tell small lies in little matters, but would be ashamed to resort to large-scale falsehood. It would never come into their heads to fabricate colossal untruths, and they would not believe that others could have the impudence to distort the truth so infamously. Even though the facts which prove this to be so are put clearly before them, they will still doubt and waver and will continue to think that there may be some

other explanation, for the grossly impudent lie always leaves traces behind it, even after it has been nailed down—a fact which all expert liars in this world and all who conspire together in the art of lying know only too well and exploit in the basest manner.

From time immemorial, however, the Jews have known better than any others how falsehood and calumny can be exploited. Is not their very existence founded on one great lie, namely, that they are a religious community, whereas in reality they are a race? And what a race! One of the greatest thinkers that mankind has produced has branded the Jews for all time with a statement which is profoundly and exactly true. He called the Jew 'the great master of lies.' Those who do not realize the truth of that statement, or do not wish to believe it, will never be able to lend a hand in helping truth to prevail.

We may regard it as a great stroke of fortune for the German nation that its period of lingering suffering was so suddenly curtailed and transformed into such a terrible catastrophe, for if things had gone on as they were, the nation would, more slowly but more surely, have been ruined. The disease would have become chronic, whereas, in the acute form of the disaster, it at least showed itself clearly to the eyes of a considerable number of observers. It was not by accident that man conquered the black plague more easily than he has conquered tuberculosis. The first appeared in terrifying waves of death that shook the whole of mankind, the other advances insidiously; the first induced terror, the other gradual indifference. The result is, however, that men opposed the first with all the energy of which they were capable, whilst they try to arrest tuberculosis by feeble means. Thus man has mastered the black plague, while tuberculosis still gets the better of him.

The same applies to diseases in nations. As long as these diseases are not of a catastrophic character, the population will slowly accustom itself to them and later succumb. It is then a stroke of luck—although a bitter one—when Fate decides to interfere in this slow process

of decay and suddenly brings the victim face to face with the final stage of the disease. More often than not the result of a catastrophe is that a cure is at once undertaken and carried through with rigid determination, but even in such a case, the essential preliminary condition is always the recognition of the internal causes which have given rise to the disease in question.

The important question here is the differentiation of the root causes from the circumstances developing out of them. This becomes all the more difficult the longer the germs of disease remain in the national body and the longer they are allowed to become an integral part of that body. It may easily happen that, as time goes on, it will become so difficult to recognize certain definite virulent poisons as such that they are accepted as belonging to the national being, or they are merely tolerated as a necessary evil, so that drastic attempts to locate those alien germs are not held to be necessary.

During the long period of peace prior to the last war, certain evils were apparent here and there although, with one or two exceptions, very little effort was made to discover their origin. Here again, these exceptions were primarily those phenomena in the economic life of the nation which were more apparent to the individual rather than the evil conditions existing in a good many other spheres.

There were many signs of decay which ought to have been given serious thought. As far as economics were concerned, it may be said that the amazing increase of population in Germany before the war brought the question of providing daily bread into a more and more prominent position in all spheres of political and economic thought and action. Unfortunately, those responsible could not make up their minds to arrive at the only correct solution and preferred to reach their objective by cheaper methods. Repudiation of the idea of acquiring fresh territory and the substitution for it of the mad desire for the commercial conquest of the world was bound to lead eventually to unlimited and injurious industrialization.

The first and most fatal result brought about in this way was the weakening of the agricultural classes, whose decline was proportionate to the increase in the proletariat of the urban areas, until finally the equilibrium was completely upset.

The big barrier dividing rich and poor now became apparent. Luxury and poverty lived so close to each other that the consequences were bound to be deplorable. Want and frequent unemployment began to play havoc with the people and left discontent and embitterment behind them. The result of this was to divide the population into political classes. Discontent increased in spite of commercial prosperity. Matters finally reached that stage which brought about the general conviction that 'things cannot go on as they are,' although no one seemed able to visualize what was really going to happen.

These were typical and visible signs of the depths which the prevailing discontent had reached. Far worse than these, however, were other consequences which became apparent as a result of the industrialization of the nation.

In proportion to the extent that commerce assumed definite control of the State, money became more and more of a god whom all had to serve and before whom all had to bow. Heavenly deities became more and more old-fashioned and were laid away in the corners to make room for the worship of mammon. Thus began a period of utter degeneration which became especially pernicious because it set in at a time when the nation was more than ever in need of an exalted ideal, for a critical hour was threatening. Germany should have been prepared to protect with the sword her efforts to win her own daily bread in a peaceful way.

Unfortunately, the predominance of money received support and sanction in the very quarter which ought to have been opposed to it. His Majesty, the Kaiser, made a mistake when he raised representatives of the new financial world to the ranks of the nobility. Admittedly, it may be offered as an excuse that even Bismarck failed to realize the threatening danger in this respect. In practice, however, all ideal virtues

became secondary considerations to those of money, for it was clear that having once taken this road, the real old aristocracy would very soon rank second to the ennobled financiers.

Financial operations succeed more easily than war operations. Hence it was no longer any great attraction for a true hero or even a statesman to be brought into touch with some Jewish banker. Real merit was not interested in receiving cheap decorations and therefore declined them with thanks. But from the standpoint of good breeding such a development was deeply regrettable. The aristocracy began to lose more and more those racial qualities that were a condition of its very existence, with the result that, in many cases, the term 'plebeian' would have been more appropriate.

A serious state of economic disruption was being brought about by the slow elimination of the personal control of vested interests and the gradual transference of the whole economic structure into the hands of joint-stock companies. In this way labour became degraded into an object of speculation in the hands of unscrupulous exploiters. The de-personalization of property ownership increased on a vast scale. Financial exchange circles began to triumph and made slow but sure progress in assuming control of the whole of national life.

Before the war, the internationalization of the German economic structure had already begun by the roundabout way of share issues. It is true that a section of the German industrialists made determined attempts to avert the danger, but in the end they gave way before the united attacks of money-grabbing capitalism, which was assisted in this fight by its faithful henchman, the Marxist movement.

The persistent war against German 'heavy industries' was the visible start of the internationalization of German economic life as envisaged by the Marxists. This, however, could only be brought to a successful conclusion by the victory which Marxism was able to gain in the Revolution. As I write these words, success is attending the general attack on the German State Railways which are now to be

turned over to international capitalists. Thus 'International Social Democracy' has once again attained one of its main objectives.

The best evidence of how far this 'commercialization' of the German nation was able to progress, can be seen plainly in the fact that when the war was over, one of the leading captains of German industry and commerce gave it as his opinion that commerce as such was the only force which could put Germany on her feet again. This sort of nonsense was uttered just at the time when France was re-establishing public education on a humanitarian basis, thus doing away with the idea that national life was dependent on commerce rather than on ideal values. The statement which Stinnes broadcast to the world at that time caused incredible confusion. It was immediately taken up and has become the leading motto of all those humbugs and babblers—the statesmen whom Fate let loose on Germany after the Revolution.

One of the worst evidences of decadence in Germany before the war was the ever-increasing habit of doing things by halves. This was one of the consequences of the insecurity that was felt all round, and it is to be attributed also to a certain timidity which resulted from one cause or another. The latter malady was aggravated by the educational system.

German education in pre-war times had an extraordinary number of weak features. It was simply and exclusively limited to the production of pure knowledge and paid little attention to the development of practical ability. Still less attention was given to the development of individual character, in so far as this is ever possible, and hardly any attention at all was paid to the development of a sense of responsibility, to strengthening the will and the power of decision. The result of this method was not to turn out stalwart men, but rather docile creatures crammed with knowledge and to produce erudite people who had a passion for knowing everything. Before the war, we Germans were accepted and estimated accordingly. The German was liked

because good use could be made of him; but there was little esteem for him personally, on account of his weakness of character. For those who can read its significance aright, there is much instruction in the fact that among all nationalities Germans were the first to part with their national citizenship when they found themselves in a foreign country, and there is a world of meaning in the saying that was then prevalent, 'Hat in hand one can go through the whole country.'

This kind of social etiquette turned out disastrous when it prescribed the exclusive forms that had to be observed in the presence of His Majesty. These forms insisted that there should be no contradiction whatsoever, but that everything should be praised which His Majesty condescended to like.

It was just here that the frank expression of manly dignity, and not subservience, was most needed because the monarchy as an institution was bound to fall as a result of this subservience, for such it was. Servility in the presence of monarchs may be good enough for the professional lackey and place-hunter, in fact for all those decadent beings who feel more at their ease in close proximity to the throne than do honest citizens. These exceedingly 'humble' creatures, however, though they grovel before their lord and bread-giver, invariably put on airs of boundless superciliousness towards other mortals, which was particularly impudent when they posed as the only people who had the right to be called 'monarchists.' This was a gross piece of impertinence of which only despicable specimens among the newly-ennobled or yet-to-be-ennobled were capable.

These have always been just the people who have prepared the way for the downfall of the monarchy and the monarchical principle. It could not be otherwise, for when a man is prepared to stand up for a cause, come what may, he never grovels before its representative. A man who is serious about the maintenance and welfare of an institution will cling to it with might and main and will not be able to get over it, should that institution show certain faults and failings, and he will certainly not run around telling the

world about it, as certain false democratic 'friends of the monarchy have done; but he will approach His Majesty, the wearer of the crown himself, to warn him of the seriousness of the situation and persuade the monarch to act. Furthermore, he will not take up the standpoint that it must be left to His Majesty to act as the latter thinks fit, even though the course which he would take must plainly lead to disaster. The man I am thinking of will deem it his duty to protect the monarchy against the monarch himself, no matter what personal risk he may run in so doing. If the worth of the monarchical institution were dependent on the person of the monarch himself, then it would be the worst institution imaginable; for only in rare cases are kings found to be models of wisdom, understanding and integrity of character, though we might like to think otherwise. This fact is unpalatable to the professional knaves and lackeys, but all upright men, and they are the backbone of the nation, repudiate the nonsensical fiction that all monarchs are wise, etc. For such men history is history and truth is truth, even where monarchs are concerned. It is so seldom that a nation has the good luck to possess a great king who is at the same time a great man, that it ought to consider itself fortunate if malignant Fate has not reserved for it a still more terrible lot.

It is clear that the worth and significance of the monarchical principle cannot rest in the person of the monarch alone, unless Heaven decrees that the crown should be set on the head of a brilliant hero like Frederick the Great, or a sagacious man like Wilhelm I. This may happen once in several centuries, but hardly oftener than that. The ideal of the monarchy takes precedence over the person of the monarch, inasmuch as the meaning of the institution must lie in the institution itself. Thus, the monarch may be reckoned in the category of those whose duty it is to serve. He, too, is but a wheel in the machine and as such he is obliged to do his duty towards it. He has to adapt himself for the fulfilment of high aims and your true monarchist is not he who allows the wearer of the crown to commit crimes in its name, but he

who prevents this. If, therefore, there were no significance attached to the idea itself and everything merely centred around the 'sacred' person, then it would never be possible to depose a ruler who has shown himself to be an imbecile.

It is essential to insist upon this truth at the present time, because recently those phenomena which were in no small measure responsible for the collapse of the monarchy have appeared again. With a certain amount of naive impudence these persons once again talk about 'their King'—that is to say the man whom they shamefully deserted a few years ago, at a most critical hour. Those who refrain from participating in this chorus of lies are summarily classified as 'bad Germans.'

They who make the charge are the same class of quitters who, in 1918, took to their heels at the very sight of a red armlet, left their Kaiser in the lurch, hastily changed their rifles for walking-sticks, took to wearing neutral-coloured ties, and disappeared from the limelight camouflaged as peace-loving citizens. All of a sudden these champions of royalty were nowhere to be found at that time. Circumspectly, one by one, these 'servants and counsellors' of the Crown reappeared to resume their lip-service to royalty, but only after others had borne the brunt of the anti-royalist attack and suppressed the Revolution for them. Once again they are all there, wistfully eyeing the flesh-pots of Egypt and almost bursting with devotion for the royal cause. This will go on until the day comes when red badges are again in the ascendant. Then this whole ramshackle troupe of hangers-on of the old monarchy will scuttle off anew like mice from the cats. If monarchs were not themselves responsible for such things, one could not help sympathizing with them, but they must realize that with such champions, thrones may be lost, but never gained.

All this devotion was a mistake and was the result of our whole system of education, which in this case brought about a particularly severe retribution. Such lamentable trumpetry was kept up at the various courts, that the monarchy was slowly becoming undermined. When the whole structure finally did begin to totter, they vanished

from mortal ken. Naturally, grovellers and lick-spittles are never willing to die for their masters. That monarchs never realize this, and seldom really take the trouble to learn it, has always been their undoing.

One visible result of a wrong educational system was the fear of shouldering responsibility and the resultant weakness in dealing with obvious, vital problems of existence.

The starting-point of this epidemic was, however, in our parliamentary institution where the shirking of responsibility was particularly fostered. Unfortunately, the disease slowly spread to all branches of everyday life and particularly affected the sphere of public affairs. Responsibility was being shirked everywhere and this led to insufficient or half-hearted measures being taken, personal responsibility for each action being reduced to a minimum.

If we consider the attitude of various governments towards a whole series of really pernicious phenomena in public life, we shall at once recognize the fearful significance of this policy of half-measures and the lack of courage to assume responsibility. I shall single out only a few from the large number of instances known to me.

In journalistic circles it is a pleasing custom to speak of the press as a 'Great Power' within the State. As a matter of fact its importance is immense. One cannot easily over-estimate it, for the press continues the work of education even in adult life. Generally speaking, readers of the press can be classified in three groups:- First, those who believe everything they read; second, those who no longer believe anything; third, those who critically examine what they read and form their judgments accordingly.

Numerically, the first group is by far the largest, being composed of the broad masses of the people. Intellectually, it forms the simplest portion of the nation. It cannot be classified according to occupation, but only into grades of intelligence. Under this category come all those who have not been born to think for themselves or who have not learnt to do so and who, partly through incompetence and partly through ignorance, believe everything that is set

before them in print. To these we must add that type of lazy individual who, although capable of thinking for himself, out of sheer laziness gratefully absorbs everything that others have thought out, modestly believing this to have been thoroughly done. The influence which the press has on all these people who constitute the broad masses of a nation, is therefore enormous. But somehow they are not in a position, or are not willing, personally to sift what is being served up to them, so that their whole attitude towards daily problems is almost solely the result of extraneous influence. All this can be advantageous where public enlightenment is of a serious and truthful character, but great harm is done when scoundrels and liars take a hand at this work.

The second group is numerically smaller, being partly composed of those who were formerly in the first group and after a series of bitter disappointments are now prepared to believe nothing of what they see in print. They hate all newspapers. Either they do not read them at all or they become exceptionally annoyed at their contents, which they hold to be nothing but a conglomery of lies and mis-statements. These people are difficult to handle, for they will always be sceptical of the truth. Consequently, they are useless for any form of positive work.

The third group is easily the smallest, being composed of real intellectuals whom natural aptitude and education have taught to think for themselves and who in all things try to form their own judgments, while at the same time carefully sifting what they read. They will not read any newspaper without using their own intelligence to collaborate with that of the writer, and naturally this does not set writers an easy task. Journalists appreciate this type of reader only with a certain amount of reservation.

Hence the trash that newspapers are capable of serving up is of little danger—much less of importance—to the members of this third group of readers. In the majority of cases these readers have learnt to regard every journalist as fundamentally a rogue who sometimes speaks the truth. Most

unfortunately, the value of these readers lies in their intelligence, and not in their numerical strength—an unhappy state of affairs in a period where wisdom counts for nothing and majorities for everything. Nowadays, when the voting papers of the masses are the deciding factor, the decision lies in the hands of the numerically strongest group; that is to say the first group, the crowd of simpletons and the credulous.

It is an all-important interest of the State and a national duty to prevent these people from falling into the hands of false, ignorant or even evil-minded teachers. Therefore it is the duty of the State to supervise their education and prevent every form of offence in this respect. Particular attention should be paid to the press; for its influence on these people is by far the strongest and most penetrating of all, since its effect is not transitory but continual. Its immense significance lies in the uniform and persistent repetition of its teaching. Here, if anywhere, the State should never forget that all means should converge towards the same end. It must not be led astray by the will-o-the-wisp of so-called 'freedom of the press, or be talked into neglecting its duty, and withholding from the nation that which is good and which does good. With ruthless determination the State must keep control of this instrument of popular education and place it at the service of the State and the nation.

But what sort of pabulum was it that the German press served up for the consumption of its readers in pre-war days? Was it not the most virulent poison imaginable? Was not pacifism in its worst form inoculated into our people at a time when others were preparing slowly but surely to pounce upon Germany? Did not this self-same press of ours instil into the public mind even in peacetime a doubt as to the sovereign rights of the State itself, thereby already handicapping the State in choosing its means of defence? Was it not the German press that understood how to make all the nonsensical talk about 'Western Democracy' palatable to our people, until an exuberant public was eventually prepared to entrust its future to the League of Nations? Was not this press instrumental in

bringing about a state of moral degradation among our people? Were not morals and public decency made to look ridiculous and classed as out-of-date and banal, until finally our people also became 'modern'? By means of persistent attacks, did not the press keep on undermining the authority of the State, until one blow sufficed to bring this institution tottering to the ground? Did not the press oppose with all its might every move to give the State that which belongs to the State, and by means of constant criticism injure the reputation of the Army, sabotage general conscription and demand refusal of military credits, etc. — until the success of this campaign was assured?

The function of the so-called liberal press was to dig the grave for the German people and Reich. No mention need be made of the lying Marxist press. To it the spreading of falsehood is as much a vital necessity as hunting is to a cat. Its sole task is to break the national backbone of the people, thus preparing the nation to become the slaves of international finance and its masters, the Jews.

What measures did the State take to counteract this wholesale poisoning of the public mind? Absolutely none. The passing of a few paltry decrees, punishment meted out in a few cases of flagrant infamy, and there the matter ended. By this policy it was hoped to win the favour of this pest—by means of flattery, by a recognition of the 'value' of the press, its importance, its 'educative mission' and similar nonsense. The Jews acknowledged all this with a knowing smile and returned thanks.

The reason for this ignominious failure on the part of the State lay not so much in its refusal to realize the danger as in the out-and-out cowardly way of meeting the situation by the adoption of faulty and ineffective measures. No one had the courage to employ any energetic and radical methods. Everyone temporized in some way or other and instead of striking at its heart, only irritated the viper the more. The result was that not only did everything remain as it was, but the power of this institution, which should have been combated, grew greater from year to year.

The defence put up by the government in those days against a mainly Jew-controlled press that was slowly corrupting the nation, followed no definite line of action, it had no determination behind it and above all, no fixed objective whatsoever in view. This is where official understanding of the situation completely failed, not only in estimating the importance of the struggle, but in choosing the means and deciding on a definite plan. They merely tinkered with the problem. Occasionally when bitten, they imprisoned one or another journalistic viper for a few weeks or months, but the whole poisonous brood was allowed to carry on in peace.

It must be admitted that all this was partly the result of extraordinarily crafty tactics on the part of Jewry on the one hand, and obvious official stupidity or naïvety, on the other. The Jews were too clever to allow a simultaneous attack to be made on the whole of their press. One section functioned as cover for the other. While the Marxist newspaper, in the most despicable manner possible, reviled everything that was sacred, furiously attacked the State and government and incited certain classes of the community against each other, bourgeois-democratic papers, also in Jewish hands, succeeded in camouflaging themselves as model examples of objectivity. They studiously avoided harsh language, knowing well that blockheads are capable of judging only by external appearances and are never able to penetrate to the real depth and meaning of anything. They measure the worth of an object by its exterior and not by its contents. This form of human frailty was carefully studied and understood by the press.

By this class of blockheads the *Frankfurter Zeitung* would be acknowledged as the essence of respectability. It always carefully avoided calling a spade a spade. It deprecated the use of every form of physical force and persistently appealed to the nobility of fighting with 'intellectual' weapons. This method of fighting was, curiously enough, most popular with the least intellectual classes. That is one of the results of our defective education which

deprives young people of their natural instincts, pumps into them a certain amount of knowledge without, however, being able to give them real insight, since this requires not only diligence and goodwill, but innate understanding. This final insight at which man must aim is the understanding of causes which are instinctive and fundamental.

Let me explain: Man must not fall into the error of thinking that he was ever meant to become lord and master of Nature. A lop-sided education has helped to encourage that illusion. Man must realize that a fundamental law of necessity reigns throughout the whole realm of Nature and that his existence is subject to the law of eternal struggle and strife. He will then feel that there cannot be a separate law for mankind in a universe in which planets and suns follow their orbits, where moons and planets trace their destined paths, where the strong are always the masters of the weak and where the latter must obey or be destroyed. Man must also submit to the eternal principles of this supreme wisdom. He may try to understand them but he can never free himself from their sway.

It is just for our intellectual *demi-monde* that the Jew writes those papers which he calls his 'intellectual' press. For them the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and *Berliner Tageblatt* are written, the tone being adapted to them, and it is over these people that such papers have an influence. While studiously avoiding all forms of expression that might strike the reader as crude, the poison is injected from other vials into the hearts of the clientèle. The effervescent tone and the fine phraseology lull the reader into believing that a love for knowledge and moral principle is the sole driving force that determines the policy of such papers, whereas in reality these features represent a cunning way of disarming any opposition that might be directed against the press.

Some make a parade of respectability and the imbecile public is all the more ready to believe them since the others indulge only in moderate ravings which never amount to abuse of the 'freedom of the press' (as this system of feeding the public on lies and poisoning the public mind is called).

Hence, the authorities are very slow indeed to take any steps against these journalistic bandits for fear of immediately alienating the sympathy of the so-called respectable press—a fear that is only too well founded, for the moment any attempt is made to proceed against any member of the gutter press all the others rush to its assistance at once, not indeed to support its policy, but simply and solely to defend the principles of freedom of the press and liberty of public opinion. This outcry will succeed in intimidating the most stalwart, for it comes from the mouth of what is called decent journalism.

In this way the poison was allowed to enter the national bloodstream and infect public life, without the government taking any effectual measures to master the course of the disease. The ridiculous half-measures that were taken were in themselves an indication of the process of disintegration that was already threatening to break up the Reich, for an institution practically surrenders its existence when it is no longer determined to defend itself with all the weapons at its command. Every half-measure is the outward expression of an internal process of decay which must lead to an external collapse sooner or later.

I believe that our present generation would easily master this danger, if it were led aright, for it has gone through certain experiences which must have strengthened the nerves of all those who were not broken by them. Certainly in days to come the Jews will raise a tremendous cry in their newspapers once a hand is laid on their favourite nest, once a move is made to put an end to this scandalous press and once this instrument which moulds public opinion is brought under State control and no longer left in the hands of aliens and enemies of the people. I am certain that this will be easier for us than it was for our fathers. The scream of the twelve-inch shell is more penetrating than the hiss of a thousand Jewish newspaper vipers. Therefore, let them go on with their hissing.

A further example of the weak and hesitating way in which vital national problems were dealt with in pre-war

Germany is the following. Hand-in-hand with the political and moral process of infecting the nation, an equally virulent process of infection had for many years been attacking the health of the nation. In large cities particularly, syphilis steadily increased and tuberculosis kept pace with it in reaping its harvest of death in almost every part of the country. Although in both cases the effect on the nation was alarming, it seemed as if nobody were in a position to undertake any decisive measures against these scourges.

In the case of syphilis especially, the attitude of the State and the public authorities was one of absolute capitulation. To combat this state of affairs measures more sweeping than those actually adopted should have been enforced. The discovery of a remedy which was of a questionable nature and the excellent way in which it was placed on the market were of little assistance in fighting such a scourge. Here again the only course to adopt is to attack the causes rather than the symptoms of the disease, but in this case, the primary cause is to be found in the manner in which love has been prostituted. Even though this did not directly bring about the fearful disease itself, the nation must still suffer serious damage thereby, for the moral havoc resulting from this prostitution would be sufficient to bring about the destruction of the nation, slowly but surely. This Judaizing of our spiritual life and mammonizing of our natural instinct for procreation will sooner or later work havoc with our whole posterity. Instead of strong, healthy children, the product of natural feelings, we shall see miserable specimens of humanity resulting from economic calculation, for economic considerations are becoming more and more the foundation and the sole preliminary condition of marriage while love looks for an outlet elsewhere.

Here as elsewhere, one may defy Nature for a certain period of time, but sooner or later she will take her inevitable revenge, and when man realizes this truth, it is often too late.

Our own nobility furnishes an example of the devastating consequences that result from a persistent refusal to recognize the primary conditions necessary for normal wedlock. Here

we are face to face with the results of procreation which is, on the one hand, determined by social pressure and, on the other, by financial considerations. The one leads to inherited debility, and the other to adulteration of the blood-strain; for all the Jewish daughters of the department store proprietors are looked upon as eligible mates to co-operate in propagating his lordship's stock, and the stock certainly looks it. All this leads to absolute degeneration. Nowadays our bourgeoisie is making efforts to follow in the same path. Theirs will be a similar fate.

These unpleasant truths are hastily and nonchalantly brushed aside, as if by so doing the real state of affairs could also be abolished, but it cannot be denied that the population of our great towns and cities is tending more and more to avail itself of prostitution in the exercise of its amorous instincts and is thus becoming more and more contaminated by the scourge of venereal disease. On the one hand, the visible effects of this mass-infection can be observed in our lunatic asylums and, on the other hand, alas! among the children. These are the doleful and tragic products of the steadily increasing scourge that is poisoning our sexual life. Their sufferings are the visible results of parental vice.

There are many ways of becoming resigned to this unpleasant and terrible fact. Many people go about seeing nothing or, to be more correct, not wanting to see anything. This is by far the simplest and cheapest attitude to adopt. Others cover themselves in the sacred mantle of prudery, as ridiculous as it is false. They describe the whole condition of affairs as sinful and are profoundly indignant when brought face to face with a victim. They close their eyes to this godless scourge in pious horror and pray to the Almighty that He—if possible after their own death—may rain down fire and brimstone as on Sodom and Gomorrah and so once again make a lasting example of this shameless section of humanity. Finally, there are those who are well aware of the terrible results which this scourge will inevitably bring about, but they merely shrug their shoulders, fully

convinced of their inability to undertake anything against this peril. Hence, matters are allowed to take their course.

Undoubtedly all this is very convenient and simple, only the fact must not be overlooked that this convenient way of approaching things can have fatal consequences for our national life. The excuse that other nations are not faring any better does not alter the fact of our own deterioration, except that the feeling of sympathy for other stricken nations makes our own suffering easier to bear. But the important question that arises here is, Which nations will be the first to take the initiative in mastering this scourge, and which nations will succumb to it? This will be the final upshot of the whole situation. This will be an acid test of racial value. The race that fails to come through the test will simply die out and its place will be taken by the healthier and stronger races, which will be able to endure greater hardships. As this problem primarily concerns posterity, it belongs to that category of which it is said with terrible justification that the sins of the fathers are visited on their offspring unto the tenth generation. This is a consequence which follows on an infringement of the laws of blood and race. The sin against blood and race is the hereditary sin in this world and it brings disaster on every nation that commits it.

The attitude towards this one vital problem in pre-war Germany was most regrettable. What measures were adopted to arrest the infection of our youth in the large cities? What was done to put an end to the contamination and mammonization of sexual life among us? What was done to fight the resultant spreading of syphilis throughout the whole of our people? The reply to this question can best be illustrated by showing what should have been done.

Instead of tackling this problem in a haphazard way, the authorities should have realized that the happiness or unhappiness of future generations depended on its solution and indeed that the nation's entire future may, perhaps needs must, depend thereon. To have admitted this would have demanded that active measures be carried out in a ruthless

manner. The primary condition would have been that the enlightened attention of the whole country should be concentrated on this terrible danger, so that every individual would realize the importance of fighting against it. It would be futile to impose obligations of a definite character which are often difficult to bear and expect them to become generally effective, unless the public were thoroughly instructed in the necessity of imposing and accepting such obligations. This demands a widespread and systematic method of enlightenment, and all other daily problems that might distract public attention from this great central problem should be relegated to the background.

In every case where there are exigencies or tasks that seem impossible to deal with successfully, public opinion must be concentrated on the one problem, under the conviction that the solution of this problem alone is a matter of life or death. Only in this way can public interest be aroused to such a pitch as will urge people to combine in a great voluntary effort and achieve important results.

This fundamental truth applies also to the individual, provided he is desirous of attaining some great end. He must always concentrate his efforts on one definitely limited stage of his progress which has to be completed before the next step be attempted. Those who do not endeavour to realize their aims step by step, and who do not concentrate their energy on reaching the individual stages, will never attain the final objective. At some stage or other they will falter and fail. This systematic way of approaching an objective is an art in itself and always calls for the expenditure of every ounce of energy in order to conquer step after step of the road.

Therefore, the most essential preliminary condition necessary for an attack on such a difficult stage of the human road is that the authorities should succeed in convincing the masses that the immediate objective which is now being fought for is the only one that deserves to be considered and the only one on which everything depends. The broad masses are never able to see clearly the whole stretch of the road

lying in front of them, without becoming tired and thus losing faith in their ability to complete the task. To a certain extent they will keep the objective in mind, but they are only able to survey the whole road in small stages, as in the case of the traveller who knows where his journey is going to end, but who masters the endless stretch far better by attacking it in stages. Only in this way can he keep up his determination and reach the final objective.

It is in this way, with the assistance of every form of propaganda, that the problem of fighting venereal disease should be placed before the public—not as a task for the nation but as *the* main task. Every possible means should be employed to bring the truth about this scourge home to the minds of the people, until the whole nation has been convinced that everything depends on the solution of this problem: that is to say, a healthy future or national decay.

Only after such preparatory measures have been taken—if necessary, spread over a period of many years—will public attention and public resolution be fully aroused, and only then can serious and definite measures be undertaken without the risk of these not being fully understood or of the authorities being suddenly faced with a slackening of the public will. It must be made clear to all that a serious fight against this scourge calls for vast sacrifices and an enormous amount of work.

To wage war against syphilis means fighting against prostitution, against prejudice, against old-established customs, against current fashion, public opinion, and, last but not least, against false prudery in certain circles.

The first preliminary condition to be fulfilled, before the State can claim a moral right to fight against all these things, is that the young generation should be afforded facilities for contracting early marriages. Late marriages have the sanction of a custom which, from whatever angle we view it, is, and will remain, a disgrace to humanity, an institution which ill befits a creature who is wont to regard himself as having been fashioned in God's image.

Prostitution is a disgrace to humanity and cannot be

removed simply by academic or charitable methods. Its restriction and final extermination presupposes the removal of a whole series of contributory circumstances. The first remedy must always be to establish such conditions as will make early marriages possible, especially for young men—for women are, after all, only the passive factor.

An illustration of the extent to which people nowadays are labouring under a delusion, is afforded by the fact that not infrequently one hears mothers in so-called 'better' circles openly expressing their satisfaction at having found as a husband for their daughter, a man who has already sown his wild oats, etc. As there is usually so little shortage of men of this type, the poor girl finds no difficulty in getting a mate of this description, and the children of this marriage are a visible result of such supposedly sensible unions.

When one realizes, apart from this, that every possible effort is being made to hinder the process of procreation and that Nature is being wilfully cheated of her rights, there remains really only one question: Why is such an institution as marriage still in existence, and what are its functions? Is it really nothing better than prostitution? Does our duty to posterity no longer play any part? Or do people not realize the nature of the curse they are inflicting on themselves and their offspring by such criminally foolish neglect of one of the primary laws of Nature? This is how civilized nations degenerate and gradually perish.

Marriage is not an end in itself but must serve the greater end, which is that of increasing and maintaining the human species and the race. This is its only meaning and purpose.

This being admitted, then it is clear that the institution of marriage must be judged by the manner in which its allotted function is fulfilled. Therefore, early marriages should be the rule, because thus the young couple will still have that pristine force which is the fountain-head of a healthy posterity with unimpaired powers of resistance. Of course early marriages cannot be made the rule unless a whole series of social measures are first introduced without which early marriage cannot even be thought of. In other

words, a solution of this question, which seems a small problem in itself, cannot be brought about without adopting radical measures to alter the social background. The importance of such measures ought to be studied and properly estimated, especially at a time when the so-called 'social' Republic has shown itself unable to solve the housing problem and has thus made it impossible for innumerable couples to get married. That sort of policy prepares the way for the further advance of prostitution.

Another reason why early marriages are impossible is our nonsensical method of regulating the scale of salaries, which pays far too little attention to the problem of family support. Prostitution, therefore, can only be really seriously tackled if, by means of a radical social reform, early marriage is made easier than hitherto. This is the first preliminary necessity for the solution of this problem.

Secondly, a whole series of false notions must be eradicated from our system of bringing up and educating children, a thing which hitherto no one seems to have worried about. In our present educational system a balance will have to be established, first and foremost, between mental instruction and physical training.

What is known as the *Gymnasium* to-day is a positive insult to the Greek institution. Our system of education entirely loses sight of the fact that, in the long run, a healthy mind can exist only in a healthy body. This statement applies with few exceptions, particularly to the broad masses of the nation.

In the pre-war Germany there was a time when no one took the trouble to think over this truth. Training of the body was criminally neglected, the one-sided training of the mind being regarded as a sufficient guarantee for the nation's greatness. This mistake was destined to show its effects sooner than had been anticipated. It is not pure chance that the Bolshevist teaching flourishes in those regions whose degenerate population has been brought to the verge of starvation, as, for example, in the case of Central Germany, Saxony, and the Ruhr. In all these districts there is

a marked absence of any serious resistance, even by the so-called intellectual classes, against this Jewish contagion, and the simple reason is that the intellectual classes are themselves physically degenerate, not through privation, but through education. The exclusive intellectualism of the education in vogue among our upper classes makes them unfit for life's struggle in an epoch in which physical force, and not intellect, is the dominating factor. Thus, they are neither capable of maintaining themselves, nor of making their way in life. In nearly every case physical disability is the forerunner of personal cowardice.

The extravagant emphasis laid on purely intellectual education and the consequent neglect of physical training must necessarily lead to sexual thoughts in early youth. Those boys whose constitutions have been trained and hardened by sports and gymnastics are less prone to sexual indulgence than those stay-at-homes who have been fed exclusively with mental pabulum. Sound methods of education cannot, however, afford to disregard this and we must not forget that what a healthy young man demands from a woman will differ from the demands of a weakling who has been prematurely corrupted.

Thus in every branch of our education the day's curriculum must be arranged so as to occupy a boy's free time in profitable development of his physical powers. He has no right in those years to loaf about, becoming a nuisance in public streets and in cinemas; but when his day's work is done he ought to harden his young body so that his strength may not be found wanting when the occasion arises. To prepare for this and to carry it out should be the function of our educational system and not exclusively to cram him with knowledge. Our school system must also rid itself of the notion that the training of the body is a task that should be left to the individual himself. There is no such thing as freedom to sin against posterity and thus against the race.

The fight against pollution of the mind must be waged simultaneously with the training of the body. To-day the

whole of our public life may be compared to a hot-house for the forced growth of sexual notions and excitements. A glance at the bill-of-fare provided by our cinemas, play-houses and theatres, suffices to prove that this is not the right food, especially for our young people. Hoardings and advertisement kiosks combine to attract the public in the most vulgar manner. Anyone who has not altogether lost contact with adolescent yearnings will realize that all this must have very grave consequences. This seductive and sensuous atmosphere puts into the heads of our youth notions of which, at their age, they ought still to be ignorant. Unfortunately, the results of this kind of education can best be seen in our contemporary youth who are prematurely grown up and, therefore, old before their time. The courts of law throw from time to time a distressing light on the spiritual life of our fourteen and fifteen-year-old-children. Who, therefore, will be surprised to learn that venereal disease claims its victims at this age? And is it not a frightful scandal to see the number of young men physically weak and intellectually ruined, who have been introduced to the mysteries of marriage by the whores of the big cities?

Those who want seriously to combat prostitution must first of all assist in removing the spiritual conditions on which it thrives. They will have to clean up the moral pollution of our city 'culture' fearlessly and without regard for the outcry that will follow. If we do not drag our youth out of the morass of their present environment they will be engulfed by it. Those people who do not want to see these things are deliberately encouraging them and are guilty of spreading the effects of prostitution to the future, for the future belongs to our younger generation. This process of cleansing our 'Kultur' will have to be applied in practically all spheres. The stage, art, literature, the cinema, the press and advertisement posters, all must have the stains of pollution removed and be used in the service of a national and cultural ideal. The life of the people must be freed from the asphyxiating perfume of our modern eroticism and also from every unmanly and prudish form of insincerity.

In all these things the aim and the method must be determined by thoughtful consideration for the preservation of our national well-being in body and soul. The right to personal freedom comes second in importance to the duty of preserving the race.

Only after such measures have been put into practice can a medical campaign against this scourge begin with some hope of success. But here again half-measures will be valueless. Far-reaching and important decisions will have to be made. It would be doing things by halves if incurables were given the opportunity of infecting one healthy person after another. This would be practising that kind of humanitarianism which allows hundreds to perish in order to prevent the suffering of one individual. The demand that it should be made impossible for defective people to continue to propagate defective offspring is a demand that is based on most reasonable grounds, and its proper fulfilment is the most humane task that mankind has to face. Unhappy and undeserved suffering will be prevented in millions of cases, with the result that there will be a gradual improvement in national health. A determined decision to act in this manner will at the same time provide an obstacle against the further spread of venereal disease. It would then be a case, where necessary, of mercilessly isolating all incurables—perhaps a barbaric measure for those unfortunates—but a blessing for the present generation and for posterity. The temporary pain thus experienced in this century can, and will, save thousands of future generations from suffering.

The fight against syphilis and its pace-maker, prostitution, is one of the gigantic tasks of mankind; gigantic, because it is not merely a case of solving a single problem, but of the removal of a whole series of evils which are the contributory causes of this scourge. Disease of the body in this case is merely the result of a diseased condition of the moral, social, and racial instincts.

If, for reasons of indolence or cowardice, this fight is not fought to a finish, we may imagine what conditions

will be like five centuries hence. Little of God's image will be left in human nature, except to mock the Creator.

What has been done in Germany to counteract this scourge? If we think calmly over the answer we shall find it distressing. It is true that in governmental circles the terrible and injurious effects of this disease were well known, but the counter-measures which were officially adopted were ineffective and a hopeless failure. They tinkered with cures for the symptoms, wholly regardless of the cause of the disease. Prostitutes were medically examined and controlled as far as possible, and when signs of infection were apparent they were sent to hospital. When outwardly cured, they were once more let loose on humanity.

It is true that 'protective legislation' was introduced which made sexual intercourse a punishable offence for all those not completely cured, or for those suffering from venereal disease. This legislation was correct in theory, but in practice, it failed completely. In the first place, in the majority of cases women will decline to appear in court as witnesses against men who have robbed them of their health. Women would be exposed far more than men to uncharitable remarks in such cases, and one can imagine what their position would be if they had been infected by their own husbands. Should women in that case bring a charge? Or what should they do?

In the case of the man there is the additional fact that he is frequently unfortunate enough to run up against this danger when he is under the influence of alcohol. His condition makes it impossible for him to assess the qualities of his 'amorous beauty,' a fact which is well known to every diseased prostitute and makes her single out men in this 'ideal' condition for preference. The result is that the unfortunate man is not able to recollect later on who his compassionate benefactress was, which is not surprising in cities like Berlin and Munich. Many such cases are visitors from the provinces who, held helpless and enthralled by the magic charm of city life, become an easy prey for prostitutes.

Finally, who is able to say whether he has been infected or not? Are there not innumerable cases on record

where an apparently cured person has a relapse and does untold harm without knowing it?

Therefore, in practice, the results of these legislative measures are negative. The same applies to the control of prostitution, and, finally, even medical treatment and cure are to-day still unsafe and doubtful. One thing only is certain, the scourge has spread further and further in spite of all precautionary measures, and this alone suffices definitely to prove and substantiate their inefficacy.

Everything else that was undertaken was just as ineffectual as it was absurd. The spiritual prostitution of the people was neither arrested nor was anything whatsoever undertaken in this direction.

Those, however, who do not regard this subject as a serious one would do well to examine the statistical data of the spread of this disease, study its growth in the last century and contemplate the possibilities of its further development. The ordinary observer, unless he were particularly stupid, would experience a cold shudder if the position were made clear to him.

The half-hearted and wavering attitude adopted in pre-war Germany towards this iniquitous condition can assuredly be taken as a visible sign of national decay. When the courage to fight for one's own health is no longer in evidence, then the right to live in this world of struggle also ceases, for the world belongs to the strong and not to the faint-hearted.

One of the visible signs of decay in the old Reich was the slow decline of the general cultural level. But by 'culture' I do not mean that which we nowadays style as civilization, which, on the contrary, may rather be regarded as inimical to genuine culture.

At the end of the last century a new element began to make its appearance in our world. It was an element which had been hitherto absolutely unknown and foreign to us. In former times there had certainly been offences against good taste, but these were mostly departures from the orthodox canons of art, in which posterity could recognize

a certain historical value, rather than the products of not merely artistic but even mental degeneration bordering on the futile. Here, in the cultural sphere, the signs of the coming political collapse first became manifest.

The Bolshevization of art is the only cultural form of life and the only spiritual manifestation of which Bolshevism is capable.

Anyone to whom this statement may appear strange need only take a glance at those lucky States which have become Bolshevized, and, to his horror, he will there recognize those morbid monstrosities which have been produced by insane and degenerate people. All those artistic aberrations which, since the beginning of the present century, have been classified under the names cubism and dadaism, are manifestations of art which have come to be officially recognized by the State itself. This phenomenon made its appearance even during the short-lived period of the Soviet Republic in Bavaria. At that time one might easily have recognized how all the official posters, propaganda pictures and newspapers, etc., showed signs not only of political, but also of cultural decadence.

About sixty years ago a political collapse such as we are experiencing to-day would have been just as inconceivable as the cultural decline which has been manifested in cubist and futurist pictures ever since 1900. Sixty years ago an exhibition of so-called dadaist 'experiences' would have been an absolutely preposterous idea. The organizers of such an exhibition would then have been certified fit for the lunatic asylum, whereas to-day they are appointed presidents of art societies. At that time such an epidemic would never have been allowed to spread. Public opinion would not have tolerated it, and the government would not have remained silent, for it is the duty of a government to save the people from being driven into such intellectual madness. Intellectual madness would have resulted from a development that followed the acceptance of this kind of art: It would have marked one of the worst changes in human history, for it would have meant that a retrogressive process

had begun to take place in the human brain, the final stages of which would have been unthinkable.

If we study the course of our cultural life during the last twenty-five years we shall be astonished to note how far we have already gone in this process of retrogression. Everywhere we find the presence of those germs which give rise to protuberant growths that must sooner or later bring about the ruin of our culture. Here we find undoubted symptoms of slow corruption, and woe to the nations that are no longer able to bring that morbid process to a halt!

In almost all the various fields of German art and culture these morbid phenomena may be observed. Here everything seems to have passed the culminating point of its excellence and to have entered the curve of a hasty decline. At the beginning of the century the theatres seemed already degenerate and ceased to be cultural factors, except the Court theatres, which opposed the prostitution of the national art. Apart from these, and a few other praiseworthy exceptions, the plays produced on the stage were of such a nature that people would have benefited by not visiting them at all. A sad symptom of internal decay was manifested in the fact that it was impossible to allow adolescents to frequent most of these so-called 'centres of art,' a brazen admission that this was so, being the notice exhibited at the entrance-doors: Adults only.

Let it be borne in mind that these precautions had to be taken in regard to institutions whose main purpose should have been to promote the education of the youth and not merely to provide amusement for sophisticated adults. What would the great dramatists of other times have said of such measures and above all, of the conditions which made these measures necessary? How exasperated Schiller would have been, and how Goethe would have turned away in disgust!

But what are Schiller, Goethe and Shakespeare when confronted with the heroes of our modern German literature? Old, frowsy, out-moded and finished, for it was typical of this epoch that not only were its own products bad, but that it reviled everything that had been really great in the past.

This is a phenomenon that is very characteristic of such epochs. The more vile and miserable the men and products of an epoch, the more they will hate and denigrate the ideal achievements of former generations. What these people would like best would be to destroy completely every vestige of the past, in order to do away with that sole standard of comparison which prevents their own daubs from being looked upon as art. Therefore the more lamentable and wretched the products of each new era, the more it will try to obliterate all the memorials of the past. Any real innovation that is for the benefit of mankind can always face comparison with the best of what has gone before, and frequently even serves to reveal the true value of the latter. There is no fear that modern productions of real value will look pale and worthless beside the monuments of the past. What is contributed to the general treasury of human culture often fulfils a part that is necessary in order to keep the memory of old achievements alive, because this memory alone is the standard whereby our own works are properly appreciated. Only those who have nothing of value to give to the world, but pretend that they have much to bestow, will oppose everything that already exists and would have it destroyed at all costs.

This holds good not only for new phenomena in the cultural domain, but also in politics. The more inferior new revolutionary movements are, the more will they try to denigrate the old forms. Here again the desire to palm off their shoddy products as great and original achievements leads them into a blind hatred against everything which belongs to the past and which is superior to their own work. As long as the historical memory of Frederick the Great, for instance, still lives, Friedrich Ebert can arouse only a problematic admiration. The relation of the hero of Sans-Souci to the former publican of Bremen may be compared to that of the sun to the moon, for the moon can shine only after the direct rays of the sun have left the earth. Thus we can readily understand why it is that all the new moons in human history have hated the fixed stars. In the field of

politics, if Fate should happen temporarily to place the ruling power in the hands of these nonentities, they are not only eager to defile and revile the past, but at the same time they will use any means to evade criticism of their own acts. The Law for the Protection of the Republic, which the new German State enacted, may be taken as an example illustrating this truth.

One has good reason to be suspicious in regard to any new idea, or any doctrine or philosophy, any political or economic movement, which tries to deny everything that the past has produced or to represent it as inferior and worthless. Such an antipathy is usually due to a sense of inferiority or to malicious intention. Any new movement which is really beneficial to human progress will always have to begin its constructive work at the level at which the last stones of the structure have been laid. It need not blush to utilize those truths which have already been established, for all human culture, as well as man himself, is only the result of one long line of development, where each generation has contributed its share in the building of the whole structure. The meaning and purpose of revolutions cannot be to tear down the whole building, but to take away what has not been well fitted into it or is unsuitable, and to fill in the gap thus caused, after which the main construction of the building will be carried on.

Only thus will it be possible to talk of human progress, for otherwise the world would never be free of chaos, since each generation would feel entitled to reject the past, and to destroy all the work of the past, as the necessary preliminary to any new work of its own.

The saddest feature of the condition in which our whole civilization found itself before the War was the fact that it was not only barren of any creative force to produce its own works of art and civilization but that it hated, defiled and tried to efface the memory of the superior works produced in the past. About the end of the last century people were less interested in producing new significant works of their own—particularly in the fields of dramatic art and litera-

ture—than in defaming the best works of the past and in presenting them as inferior and antiquated. As if this period of disgraceful decadence was capable of accomplishing anything! The efforts made to conceal the past from the eyes of the present afforded clear evidence of the fact that these apostles of the future acted from an evil intent. These symptoms should have made it clear to all that it was not a question of new, though wrong, cultural ideas, but of a process which was undermining the very foundations of civilization. It threw the artistic feeling which had hitherto been quite sane into utter confusion, thus spiritually preparing the way for political Bolshevism. If the creative spirit of the Periclean age be manifested in the Parthenon, then the Bolshevist era is manifested by a cubist mask.

In this connection attention must be drawn once again to the want of courage displayed by one section of our people, namely, by those who, in virtue of their education and position, ought to have felt themselves obliged to take up a firm stand against this outrage against our culture, but they refrained from offering serious resistance and surrendered to what they considered the inevitable. This inaction of theirs was due, however, to sheer funk lest the apostles of Bolshevist art might raise a rumpus; for those apostles always violently attacked everyone who was not ready to recognize them as the choice spirits of artistic creation, and they tried to strangle all opposition by saying that it was the product of Philistine and backwater minds. People trembled in fear lest they might be accused by these yahoos and swindlers of lacking artistic appreciation, as if it would have been a disgrace not to be able to understand and appreciate the effusions of those mental degenerates or cunning rogues. Those cultural disciples, however, had a very simple way of presenting their own effusions as works of the highest quality. They offered incomprehensible and manifestly crazy productions to their amazed contemporaries as what they called 'an inner experience.' Thus they forestalled all adverse criticism, at very little cost indeed. Of course,

nobody ever doubted that there could have been inner experiences like that; but some doubt ought to have arisen as to whether or not there was any justification for exhibiting these hallucinations of psychopaths or criminals to the sane portion of human society. The works produced by a Moritz von Schwind or a Böcklin were also the fruits of an inner experience, but these were the experiences of divinely gifted artists and not of buffoons.

This situation afforded a good opportunity of studying the miserable cowardliness of our so-called intellectuals who shirked the duty of offering serious resistance to the poisoning of the sound instincts of our people. They left it to the people themselves to formulate their own attitude towards this impudent nonsense. Lest they might be considered as understanding nothing of art, they accepted every caricature of art, until they finally lost the power of judging what was really good or bad. Taken all in all, there were superabundant symptoms to show that a diseased epoch had begun.

Still another critical symptom has to be considered. In the course of the nineteenth century our towns and cities began more and more to lose their character as centres of civilization and became more and more centres of habitation. In our great modern cities the proletariat does not show much attachment to the place where it lives. This feeling results from the fact that their dwelling-place is nothing but an accidental abode, and is also partly due to the frequent change of residence which is forced upon them by social conditions. There is no time for the growth of any attachment to the town in which they live. Another reason lies in the cultural barrenness and superficiality of our modern cities. At the time of the German Wars of Liberation our German towns and cities were not only small in number, but also very modest in size. The few that could really be called great cities were mostly the residential cities of princes; as such they had almost always a definite cultural value and also a definite cultural aspect. Those few towns which had more than fifty thousand inhabitants were, in

comparison with modern cities of the same size, rich in scientific and artistic treasures. At the time when Munich had a population of not more than sixty thousand souls it was already well on the way to becoming one of the first centres of German art. Nowadays almost every industrial town has a population at least as large as that, without having anything of real value to call its own. They are agglomerations of tenement houses and congested dwelling-houses, and nothing else. It would be a miracle if anybody should grow sentimentally attached to such a meaningless place. Nobody can grow attached to a place which offers only just as much, or as little, as any other place would offer, which has no character of its own and where obviously pains have been taken to avoid everything that might have any resemblance to an artistic appearance.

But this is not all. Even the great cities become more barren of real works of art the more they increase in population. They assume more and more a neutral atmosphere and present the same aspect, though on a larger scale, as the wretched little factory towns. Everything that our modern age has contributed to the cultural aspect of our great cities is absolutely deficient. All our towns are living on the glory and the treasures of the past. If we take away from the Munich of to-day everything that was created under Ludwig I, we should be horror-stricken to see how meagre has been the output of important artistic creations since that time. One might say much the same of Berlin and most of our other great towns.

The following is the essential thing to be noticed. Our great modern cities have no outstanding monuments that dominate the general aspect of the city and could be pointed to as the symbols of a whole epoch, yet almost every ancient town had a monument erected to its glory. It was not in private dwellings that the characteristic art of ancient cities was displayed, but in the public monuments which were not meant to have a transitory interest but an enduring one. This was because they did not represent the wealth of some individual citizen but the greatness and

importance of the community. It was under this inspiration that those monuments arose which bound the individual inhabitants to their own town in a manner that is often almost incomprehensible to us to-day. What struck the eye of the individual citizen was not a number of mediocre private buildings, but imposing structures that belonged to the whole community. In contradistinction to these, private dwellings were of only very secondary importance indeed.

When we compare the size of those ancient public buildings with that of the private dwellings belonging to the same epoch, then we can understand the great importance which was attached to the principle that those works which reflected and affected the life of the community should take precedence of all others.

Among the broken arches and vast spaces that are covered with ruins from the ancient world the colossal monuments which still arouse our wonder have not been left to us from the commercial palaces of those days but from the temples of the gods and the public edifices that belonged to the State. The community itself was the owner of those great edifices. Even in the pomp of Rome during the decadence it was not the villas and palaces of the citizens that occupied the most prominent place, but rather the temples and the baths, the stadia, the circuses, the aqueducts, the basilicas, etc., which belonged to the State and therefore to the people as a whole.

In medieval Germany also, the same principle held good, although the artistic outlook was quite different. In ancient times the theme that found its expression in the Acropolis or the Pantheon was now clothed in the form of the Gothic Cathedral. In the medieval cities these monumental structures towered gigantically above the swarm of smaller buildings, with their framework walls of wood and brick, and they remain the dominant feature of these cities even to our own day, although they are becoming more and more obscured by the tenement houses. They determine the character and appearance of the locality. Cathedrals, city-halls, corn-exchanges, forts, are the outward expression

of an idea which has its counterpart only in the ancient world.

The dimensions and quality of our public buildings to-day are in deplorable contrast to the edifices that represent private interests. If a similar fate should befall Berlin as befell Rome, future generations might gaze upon the ruins of some Jewish department stores or joint-stock hotels and think that these were the characteristic expressions of the culture of our time. In Berlin itself, compare the shameful disproportion between the buildings which belong to the Reich and those which have been erected for the accommodation of trade and finance.

The funds that are voted for public buildings are in most cases inadequate and really ridiculous. They are not built as structures that were meant to last, but mostly for the purpose of answering the need of the moment. No higher idea influenced those who commissioned such buildings. At the time the Berlin Schloss was built, it had quite a different significance to that which the new library has for our time, seeing that one battleship alone represents an expenditure of about sixty million marks, whereas less than half that sum was allotted for the building of the Reichstag, the most imposing structure erected for the Reich, which should have been built to last for ages. Yet, in deciding the question of internal decoration, the august House voted against the use of stone and ordered that the walls should be covered with stucco. For once, however, the parliamentarians made an appropriate decision on that occasion, for wooden heads would be out of place between stone walls.

The community as such is not the dominant characteristic of our contemporary cities, and therefore it is not to be wondered at if the community does not find itself architecturally represented. Thus we must eventually arrive at a veritable civic desert which will finally be reflected in the total indifference of the individual citizen towards his own city.

This is also a sign of our cultural decay and general break-up. Our era is entirely preoccupied with petty mater-

ialistic considerations, or rather it is entirely preoccupied with the question of money. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at if, with the worship of such an idol, the sense of heroism should entirely disappear, but the present is only reaping what the past had sown.

All these symptoms which preceded the final collapse of the Second Reich must be attributed to the lack of a definite and uniformly accepted *Weltanschauung* and the general uncertainty of outlook consequent on that lack. This uncertainty showed itself when the great questions of the time had to be considered one after another and a decisive policy adopted towards them. This lack is also accountable for the habit of doing everything by halves, beginning with the educational system, the shilly-shallying, the reluctance to undertake responsibility and, finally, the cowardly tolerance of evils that were even admitted to be destructive. Visionary humanitarianism became the fashion. By weakly submitting to these aberrations and sparing the feelings of the individual, the future of millions of human beings was sacrificed.

An examination of the religious situation before the War shows that the general process of disruption had extended to this sphere also. A great part of the nation itself had, for a long time past, ceased to have any convictions of a uniform and practical character in their ideological outlook on life. In this matter the point of primary importance was by no means the number of people who renounced their church membership, but rather the widespread indifference. While the two Christian denominations maintained missions in Asia and Africa, for the purpose of securing new adherents to the faith, these same denominations were losing millions and millions of their adherents at home in Europe. These former adherents either gave up religion wholly as a directive force in their lives, or they adopted their own interpretation of it. The consequences of this were specially felt in the moral life of the country. In parenthesis it may be remarked that the progress made by the missions in spreading the Christian faith abroad was very modest in comparison with the spread of Mohammedanism.

It must be noted, too, that the attack on the dogmatic principles underlying ecclesiastical teaching increased steadily in violence, and yet this human world of ours would be inconceivable without the practical existence of a religious belief. The great masses of a nation are not composed of philosophers. For the masses of the people especially, faith is absolutely the only basis of a moral *Weltanschauung*. The various substitutes that have been offered have not shown any results that might warrant us in thinking that they might usefully replace the existing denominations, but if religious teaching and religious faith are to be accepted by the broad masses as active forces in their lives, then the absolute authority of the doctrines of faith must be the foundation of all reality. There may be a few hundreds of thousands of superior men who can live wisely and intelligently without depending on the general standards that prevail in everyday life, but the millions of others cannot do so. Now, the place which general custom fills in everyday life, corresponds to that of general laws in the State and dogma in religion. The purely spiritual idea is of itself a changeable thing that may be subjected to endless interpretations. It is only through dogma that it is given a precise and concrete form without which it could not become a living faith. Otherwise, the spiritual idea would never become anything more than a mere metaphysical concept, or rather a philosophical opinion. Accordingly, the attack on dogma is comparable to an attack on the general laws on which the State is founded, and so this attack would finally lead to complete political anarchy if it were successful, just as the attack on religion would lead to a worthless religious nihilism.

The political leader should not estimate the worth of a religion by taking some of its shortcomings into account, but should ask himself whether there be any practical substitute which is obviously better. Until such a substitute is available only fools and criminals would think of abolishing the existing religion.

Undoubtedly, no small amount of blame for the present unsatisfactory religious situation must be attributed to those

who have encumbered the ideal of religion with purely material accessories and have thus given rise to an utterly futile conflict between religion and science. In this conflict, victory will nearly always be on the side of science, although after a bitter struggle, while religion will suffer heavily in the eyes of those who cannot penetrate beneath mere superficial learning.

The greatest damage of all has come from the practice of abusing religious conviction in order to further political aims. Most severe measures should be adopted against these miserable swindlers who look on religion merely as a means that can be exploited to serve political interests, or rather commercial ends. The impudent and loud-mouthed liars who do this make their profession of faith before the whole world in stentorian tones so that all poor mortals may hear—not that they are ready to die for it if necessary, but rather that they may live all the better. They are ready to sell their faith for any political *quid pro quo*. For ten parliamentary mandates they would ally themselves with the Marxists, who are the mortal foes of all religion, and for a seat in the Cabinet they would go the length of wedlock with the devil, if the latter had not still retained some traces of decency which would lead him to refuse.

If religious life in pre-war Germany had a disagreeable savour in the mouths of many people, this was because Christianity had been lowered to base uses by political parties that called themselves Christian and because of the shameful way in which they tried to identify the Catholic Faith with a political party. This substitution was fatal. It procured some worthless parliamentary mandates for the party in question, but the Church suffered damage thereby. The consequences of that situation had to be borne by the whole nation, for the laxity that resulted in religious life set in at a juncture when everything was beginning to lose stability and vacillate, and the traditional foundations of custom and of morality were threatening to fall asunder.

Yet all those cracks and clefts in the social organism

might not have been dangerous if no grave burdens had been laid upon it; but they became disastrous when the internal solidarity of the nation was the most important factor in withstanding the storm of big events.

In the political field also, observant eyes might have noticed certain faults in the Reich which foretold disaster unless some alteration and correction took place in time. The lack of orientation in German policy, both domestic and foreign, was obvious to everyone who was not purposely blind. The best thing that could be said about the practice of making compromises is that it seemed outwardly to be in harmony with Bismarck's saying that politics is the art of accomplishing the possible, but Bismarck was a slightly different man from the Chancellors who followed him. This difference allowed the former to apply that formula to the very essence of his policy, while in the mouths of the others, it took on an utterly different significance. When he uttered that phrase, Bismarck meant to say that in order to attain a definite political end all possible means should be employed, or at least that all possibilities should be investigated, but his successors saw in that phrase only a solemn declaration that one is not necessarily bound to have political principles or any definite political aims at all. The political leaders of the Reich at that time had no far-seeing policy. Here again, the necessary foundation was lacking, namely, a definite *Weltanschauung*, and those leaders also lacked that clear insight into the laws of political evolution which is a necessary quality in political leadership.

Many people who took a gloomy view of things at that time condemned the lack of ideas and lack of orientation which were evident in directing the policy of the Reich. They recognized the inner weakness and futility of this policy, but such people played only a secondary rôle in politics. Those who had the government of the country in their hands were quite as indifferent to principles of civil wisdom laid down by thinkers like Houston Stewart Chamberlain as are our political leaders to-day. These people are too stupid to think for themselves, and they have too

much self-conceit to take from others the instruction which they need. Oxenstierna gave expression to a truth which has lasted since time immemorial, when he said that the world is governed by only a particle of wisdom, and it can be said of practically every higher government official that he represents but a tiny atom of this particle. Since Germany became a Republic even this modicum is wanting and that is why they had to promulgate the Law for the Defence of the Republic, which prohibits the holding of such views or the expression of them. It was fortunate for Oxenstierna that he lived at that time and not in this wise Republic of our day.

Even before the war that institution which should have represented the strength of the Reich—the parliament, the Reichstag—was widely recognized as its weakest feature. Cowardliness and fear of shouldering responsibilities were associated together there to perfection.

One of the silliest notions that one hears expressed to-day is that in Germany the parliamentary system has proved a failure since the Revolution. This might easily be taken to imply that the case was different before the Revolution, but in reality the parliamentary system can never function except to the detriment of the country, and it functioned thus in those days when people saw nothing or did not wish to see anything. The German downfall is to be attributed in no small degree to this system, but that the catastrophe did not take place sooner is not to the credit of the Reichstag, but rather to those who opposed the influence of this institution which, during peace time, was digging the grave of the German Nation and the German Reich.

From the immense mass of devastating evils that were due either directly or indirectly to the Reichstag, I shall select the one most intimately typical of this institution which was the most irresponsible of all time. The evil I speak of was seen in the appalling shilly-shally and weakness in conducting the internal and external affairs of the Reich. It was attributable in the first place to the action of the

Reichstag and was one of the principal causes of the political collapse.

Everything subject to the influence of this parliament was done by halves, no matter from what aspect you may regard it.

The foreign policy of the Reich in the matter of alliances was an example of shilly-shally. They wished to maintain peace, but in doing so, they steered straight for war.

Their Polish policy was also carried out by half-measures. It acted as an irritant, but achieved no positive results. It resulted neither in a German triumph nor a Polish conciliation, and it made enemies of the Russians.

They tried to solve the Alsace-Lorraine question through half-measures. Instead of crushing the head of the French hydra once and for all with the mailed fist and granting Alsace-Lorraine equal rights with the other German states, they did neither the one nor the other. Anyhow, it was impossible for them to do otherwise, for they had among their ranks the greatest traitors to the country, such as Herr Wetterlé of the Centre Party.

But still the country might have been able to bear with all this provided the half-measure policy had not victimized that force on which, as the last resort the existence of the Reich depended, namely, the Army.

The crime committed by the so-called German Reichstag in this regard was sufficient of itself to draw down upon it the curses of the German nation for all time. On the most miserable of pretexts these parliamentary party-henchmen filched from the hands of the nation and threw away, the weapons which were needed to maintain its existence and thereby defend the liberty and independence of our people. If the graves on the plains of Flanders were to open to-day the blood-stained accusers would arise, hundreds of thousands of our best German youth who, thanks to those conscienceless parliamentary criminals were delivered, badly trained or only half-trained, into the arms of Death. Those youths and other millions of the killed and mutilated were lost to the Fatherland simply and solely in order that a few

hundred deceivers of the people might carry out their political manoeuvres and their exactions, or even continue to recite their doctrinaire theories.

By means of the Marxist and democratic press, the Jews spread the colossal falsehood about 'German militarism' throughout the world and tried to inculcate Germany by every possible means, while at the same time the Marxist and democratic parties refused to assent to the measures that were necessary for the adequate training of our national defence forces. The appalling crime thus committed by these persons ought to have been obvious to everybody who foresaw that in case of war the whole nation would have to be called to arms and that, because of the mean huckstering of these noble 'representatives of the people,' as they called themselves, millions of Germans would have to face the enemy ill-equipped and insufficiently trained. But, even apart from the consequences of the crude and brutal lack of conscience which these parliamentary rascals displayed, it was quite clear that the lack of properly trained soldiers at the beginning of a war would most probably lead to the loss of the said war; and this probability was confirmed in a most terrible way during the course of the World War.

Therefore, the German people lost the struggle for the freedom and independence of their country because of the half-hearted and defective policy employed during times of peace in the organization and training of the defensive strength of the nation.

The number of recruits trained for the land forces was too small, but the same half-heartedness was shown in regard to the Navy and made this weapon of national self-preservation more or less ineffective. Unfortunately, even the naval authorities themselves were contaminated with this spirit of half-heartedness. The tendency to build the ship on the stocks somewhat smaller than that just launched by the British showed little foresight and less genius. A fleet which cannot be brought to the same numerical strength as that of the probable enemy ought to compensate for this inferiority by the superior fighting power of the individual

ship. It is the weight of the fighting power that counts and not any sort of traditional quality. As a matter of fact, modern technical development is so advanced and so well proportioned among the various civilized States that it must be looked on as practically impossible for one Power to build vessels which would have a superior fighting quality to that of the vessels of equal size built by the other Powers. It is even less feasible to build vessels of smaller displacement which will be superior in action to those of larger displacement.

As a matter of fact, the smaller proportions of the German vessels could be maintained only at the expense of speed and armament. The phrase used to justify this policy was in itself evidence of the lack of logical thinking on the part of the naval authorities who were in charge of these matters in times of peace. They declared that the German guns were definitely superior to the British, so that the German 28 cm. gun was just as effective as the British 30.5 cm. gun.

But that was just why they should have adopted the policy of building 30.5 cm. guns also; for it ought to have been their object not to achieve equality, but superiority, in fighting strength. If that were not so, then it would have been superfluous to equip the land forces with 42 cm. mortars, since the German 21 cm. mortar was far superior to any high-angle guns which the French possessed at that time and consequently the fortresses could probably have been taken by means of 30.5 cm. mortars. The army authorities calculated correctly, the naval authorities unfortunately failed to do so. If they were willing to forego superiority of armaments as well as of speed, this was because of the fundamentally false 'principle of risk' which they adopted. The naval authorities, even in times of peace, renounced the principle of attack and thus had to follow a defensive policy from the very beginning of the war, but by this attitude they renounced also the chances of final success, which can be achieved only by taking the offensive.

A vessel of slower speed and weaker armament will

be crippled and battered by an adversary that is faster and stronger at a distance which gives the latter an advantage. A large number of cruisers have been through bitter experiences of this kind. How wrong the ideas prevalent among the naval authorities in times of peace were, was proved during the war. They were compelled to modify the armament of the old vessels and to equip the new ones with better armament whenever there was a chance to do so. If the German vessels in the Battle of Jutland had been of equal size, the same armament and the same speed as the British, the British Fleet would have gone down under the tempest of German 38 cm. shells, which hit their mark more accurately and were more effective.

Japan had followed a different kind of naval policy. There, as a matter of principle, care was taken to create with every single new vessel a fighting force that would be superior to that of the eventual adversaries, but because of this policy, it was afterwards possible to use the fleet for the offensive.

While the army authorities refused to adopt such fundamentally erroneous principles, the Navy—which unfortunately had more representatives in parliament—succumbed to the spirit that ruled there. The Navy was not organized on a strong basis, and it was later used in an unsystematic and irresolute way. The immortal glory which the Navy won, in spite of these drawbacks, must be entirely credited to the good work, the efficiency and incomparable heroism of officers and crews. If its former commanders-in-chief had been inspired with a like degree of genius, all the sacrifices would not have been in vain.

It was probably the very parliamentary skill displayed by the chief of the Navy during the years of peace which later became the cause of the fatal collapse, since parliamentary considerations had begun to play a more important rôle in the construction of the Navy than fighting considerations. The irresolution, the weakness and the failure to adopt a logically consistent policy, which is typical of the parliamentary system, contaminated the naval authorities.

As I have already emphasized, the military authorities did not allow themselves to be led astray by such fundamentally erroneous ideas. Ludendorff, who was then a colonel on the General Staff, led a desperate struggle against the criminal vacillations with which the Reichstag treated the most vital problems of the nation, and in most cases voted against them. If the fight which this officer then waged remained unsuccessful, this must be ascribed to the parliament and partly also to the wretched and weak attitude of the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg. Yet those who are responsible for Germany's collapse do not hesitate now to lay the blame on the shoulders of the one man who took a firm stand against the neglectful manner in which the interests of the nation were managed, but one falsehood more or less makes no difference to these born tricksters.

Anybody who thinks of all the sacrifices which this nation has had to bear, as a result of the criminal neglect of those irresponsible individuals; anybody who thinks of the number of those who died or were maimed unnecessarily; anybody who thinks of the deplorable shame and dishonour which has been heaped upon us and of the illimitable distress into which our people are now plunged—anybody who realizes that all this had to happen in order to prepare the way to a seat in parliament for some unscrupulous place-hunters and pushers, will understand that such hirelings can be called by no other name than that of rascal and criminal, for otherwise those words would have no meaning. In comparison with traitors who betrayed the nation's trust, every other kind of twister may be looked upon as an honourable man.

It was a peculiar feature of the situation that all the real faults of the old Germany were exposed to the public gaze only when the inner solidarity of the nation could be injured by doing so. Then indeed unpleasant truths were openly proclaimed in the ears of the broad masses, while many other things were at other times shamefully hushed up or their existence simply denied, especially at times when an open discussion of such problems might have led to an

improvement. The higher government authorities knew little or nothing of the nature and use of propaganda in such matters. Only the Jew knew that by an able and persistent use of propaganda, heaven itself can be presented to the people as if it were hell and, *vice versa*, the most miserable kind of life can be presented as if it were paradise. The Jew knew this and acted accordingly, but the German, or rather his government, did not have the slightest suspicion of it. During the war, the heaviest of penalties had to be paid for that ignorance.

Over against the innumerable drawbacks which I have mentioned here and which affected German life before the war there were many outstanding features on the positive side. If we take an impartial survey, we must admit that most of our drawbacks were in great measure prevalent also in other countries and among the other nations, and very often in a worse form than with us whereas among us there were many real advantages which the others did not have.

Chief among Germany's advantages was the fact that, of all the European nations, the German nation was almost the only one which had made a great effort to preserve the national character of its economic structure and for this reason was less subject than other countries to the power of international finance, though indeed there were many untoward symptoms in this regard also, and yet this advantage was a perilous one and turned out later to be one of the chief causes of the World War.

Even if we disregard this advantage of national independence in economic matters, there were certain other positive features of our social and political life which were of outstanding excellence. These features were represented by three institutions which were constant sources of regeneration. In their respective spheres they were models of perfection and efficiency.

The first of these was the constitution as such and the manner in which it had been developed in Germany in modern times. Of course we must except those monarchs who, as human beings, were subject to the failings which

afflict this world and its children. If we were not so tolerant in these matters, then the case of the present generation would be hopeless, for if we take into consideration the personal capabilities and character of the representative figures in our present regime, it would be difficult to imagine a more modest level of intelligence and moral character. If we measure the 'value' of the German Revolution by the personal worth and calibre of the individuals whom this revolution has presented to the German people since November 1918, then we may feel ashamed indeed in thinking of the judgment which posterity will pass on these individuals, when the Law for the Protection of the Republic can no longer silence public opinion. Coming generations will surely decide that the intelligence and integrity of our new German leaders were in inverse ratio to their boasting and their vices.

It must be admitted that the monarchy had become alien in spirit to many citizens and especially to the broad masses. This resulted from the fact that the monarchs were not always surrounded by, let us say, the highest intellect and certainly not always by persons of the most upright character. Unfortunately, many of them preferred flatterers to honest-spoken men and hence received their 'information' from the former. This was a source of grave danger at a time when the world was passing through a period in which many of the old conditions were changing and when this change was affecting even the traditions of the Court.

The average man or woman could not have felt any particular enthusiasm when, for example, at the close of the century, a princess in uniform and on horseback had the soldiers file past her on parade. Those high circles had apparently no idea of the impression which such a parade made on the minds of ordinary people, else such unfortunate occurrences would not have taken place. The sentimental humanitarianism—not always very sincere—which was professed in those high circles was often more repulsive than attractive. When, for instance, the Princess X condescended to taste the products of a soup-kitchen and

found them excellent, as usual, such a gesture might have made an excellent impression in times long past, but on this occasion it had the opposite effect to that which was intended for, even if we take it for granted that Her Highness did not have the slightest idea that, on the day she sampled it, the food was not quite the same as on other days, it sufficed that the people knew it. Even the best of intentions thus became an object of ridicule or a cause of exasperation.

Descriptions of the proverbial frugality practised by the monarch, — his much too early rise in the morning and the drudgery he had to go through all day long until late at night, and especially the constantly expressed fears lest he might become undernourished—all this gave rise to ominous remarks on the part of the people. Nobody was keen to know what and how much the monarch ate or drank. Nobody grudged him a full meal, or the necessary amount of sleep. Everybody was pleased when the monarch, as a man and a personality, brought honour on his family and his country and fulfilled his duties as a sovereign. All the legends which were circulated about him helped little and did much damage.

These and such things, however, are mere bagatelles. What was much worse was the feeling, which spread throughout large sections of the nation, that the affairs of the individual were being taken care of from above and that he did not need to bother himself with them. As long as the government was really good, or at least moved by goodwill, no serious objections could be raised, but the country was destined to disaster when the old government, which had at least striven for the best, was replaced by a new regime which was not of the same quality. Then the docile obedience and infantile credulity which formerly offered no resistance was bound to be one of the most fatal evils that can be imagined.

In contrast to these and other defects there were, however, certain qualities which undoubtedly had a positive effect.

First of all, the monarchical form of government guarantees stability in the direction of public affairs and safeguards

public offices from the speculative turmoil of ambitious politicians. Furthermore, the venerable tradition which this institution possesses, arouses a feeling which gives it weight and authority. Beyond this there is the fact that the whole corps of officials, and the Army in particular, are raised above the level of political party obligations, and still another positive feature was that the supreme rulership of the State was embodied in the monarch, as an individual person, who could serve as the symbol of responsibility which a monarch has to bear more seriously than any anonymous parliamentary majority. Indeed, the proverbial honesty and integrity of the German administration must be attributed chiefly to this fact. Finally, the monarchy fulfilled a high cultural function among the German people, which made amends for many of its defects. The German residential cities have remained, even in our time, centres of that artistic spirit which now threatens to disappear and is becoming more and more materialistic. The German princes gave a great deal of excellent and practical encouragement to art and science, especially during the nineteenth century. Our present age certainly has nothing of equal worth.

During that process of disintegration which was slowly extending throughout the social order, the most positive factor was the Army. This was the strongest source of education which the German people possessed. For that reason all the hatred of our enemies was directed against this defender of our national self-preservation and our liberty. The strongest testimony in favour of this unique institution is the fact that it was derided, hated and fought against, but also feared, by worthless elements all round. The fact that the international profiteers who gathered at Versailles, further to exploit and plunder the nations, directed their enmity specially against the old German Army, proved once again that it deserved to be regarded as the institution which protected the liberties of our people against the forces of the International Stock Exchange. If the Army had not been there to sound the alarm and stand on guard, the aims of the Versailles

representatives would have been carried out much sooner. There is only one word to express what the German people owes to this Army—everything!

It was the Army that still kept a sense of responsibility alive among the people when this quality had become very rare and when the habit of shirking every kind of responsibility was steadily spreading. This habit had grown up under the evil influences of parliament, which was itself the very model of irresponsibility. The Army trained the people to personal courage at a time when the virtue of timidity threatened to become an epidemic and when the spirit of sacrificing one's personal interests for the good of the community was considered as something that amounted almost to weak-mindedness. At a time when only those were estimated as intelligent who knew how to safeguard and promote their own egotistic interests, the Army was the school through which individual Germans were taught not to seek the salvation of their nation in the false ideology of international fraternization between negroes, Germans, Chinese, French and English, etc., but in the strength and unity of their own national being.

The Army developed the individual's powers of resolute decision, and this at a time when a spirit of indecision and scepticism governed human conduct. At a time when the wiseacres were everywhere setting the fashion, it needed courage to uphold the principle that any command is better than none. This one principle represents a robust and sound style of thought, of which not a trace would have been left in the other branches of life, if the Army had not furnished a constant source of this fundamental strength. A sufficient proof of this may be found in the appalling lack of decision which our present government authorities display. They cannot shake off their mental and moral lethargy and decide on some definite line of action, except when they are forced to sign some new dictate for the exploitation of the German people. In that case they decline all responsibility, while at the same time they sign everything which the other side places before them, and they sign with the readiness

of an official stenographer. Their conduct is here explicable, on the ground, that, in this case, they are not under the necessity of coming to a decision, for the decision is dictated to them.

The Army imbued its members with a spirit of idealism and developed their readiness to sacrifice themselves for their country and its honour, while greed and materialism dominated in all the other branches of life. The Army united a people which was split up into classes, and in this respect had only one defect, which was the one-year term of voluntary military service, a privilege granted to those who had passed through the higher grade schools. It was a defect, because the principle of absolute equality was thereby violated, and those who had a better education were thus placed outside the cadres to which the rest of their comrades belonged. The reverse would have been better. Since our upper classes were really ignorant of what was going on in the body corporate of the nation and were becoming more and more estranged from the life of the people, the Army would have accomplished a very beneficial mission if it had refused to discriminate in favour of the so-called intellectuals, especially within its own ranks. It was a mistake that this was not done, but can we in this world of ours find any institution that has not at least one defect? And in the Army, the good features were so absolutely predominant that the few defects it had, were far below the average that generally arises from human weakness.

The greatest merit of the Army of the old Reich was that, at a time when the person of the individual counted for nothing and the majority was everything, it placed individual personal values above majority values. By insisting on its faith in personality, the Army opposed that typically Jewish and democratic apotheosis of the power of numbers. The Army trained what at that time was most sorely needed, namely, real men. During a period when men were falling a prey to effeminacy and laxity, three hundred and fifty thousand vigorously trained young men went forth from the ranks of the Army each year. In the course of

their two years training they had lost the softness of their young days and had developed bodies as tough as steel. The young man who had been taught obedience for two years was now fitted to command. The trained soldier could be recognized even by his walk.

This was the great school of the German nation, and it was not without reason that it drew upon its head all the bitter hatred of those who wanted the Reich to be weak and defenceless, because they were jealous of its greatness and were themselves possessed by a spirit of rapacity and greed. The rest of the world recognized a fact which many Germans did not wish to see, either because they were blind to facts or because, out of malice, they did not wish to see it. This fact was that the German Army was the most powerful weapon for the defence and freedom of the German nation and the best guarantee for the livelihood of its citizens.

There was a third institution of positive worth, which has to be considered apart from the monarchy and the Army. This was the unrivalled civil service in the old Germany.

German administration was better organized and better carried out than the administration of other countries. There may have been objections to the bureaucratic routine of the officials, but from this point of view, the state of affairs was similar if not worse in the other countries. The other States did not have the wonderful solidarity which this organization possessed in Germany, nor were their civil servants of that same high level of scrupulous honesty. It is certainly better to be a trifle over-bureaucratic, honest and loyal than to be over-sophisticated, modern and of an inferior type of character and, as often happens to-day, ignorant and inefficient. If it be insinuated to-day that the German administration of the pre-war period may have been excellent so far as bureaucratic technique went, but that from the practical business point of view it was incompetent, I can only give the following reply, What other country in the world possessed a better-organized and administered business enterprise than the German State Railways, for instance? It was left to the Revolution to

destroy this model organization, until the time was ripe for it to be taken out of the hands of the nation and 'nationalized,' in the sense which the founders of the Republic had given to that word, namely, making it subservient to the International Stock Exchange capitalists, who were the wire-pullers of the German Revolution.

The most outstanding trait in the civil service and the whole body of the civil administration was its independence of the vicissitudes of government, the political mentality of which could exercise no influence on the attitude of the German State officials. Since the Revolution, this situation has been completely changed. Efficiency and capability have been replaced by the test of party adherence; and independence of character and initiative are no longer appreciated as positive qualities in a public official. They rather tell against him.

The wonderful might and power of the old Reich was based on the monarchical form of government, the Army and the civil service. On these three foundations rested that great strength which is now entirely lacking, namely, the authority of the State, for the authority of the State cannot be based on the babbling that goes on in parliament or in the provincial diets, upon laws made to protect the State, or upon sentences passed by the lawcourts to frighten those who have had the hardihood to deny the authority of the State, but only on the general confidence which the management and administration of the community establishes among the people. This confidence is, in its turn, nothing else than the result of an unshakable inner conviction that the government and administration of a country is inspired by disinterested and honest goodwill and of the feeling that the spirit of the law is in complete harmony with the moral convictions of the people. In the long run, systems of government are not maintained by terrorism but by the belief of the people in the merits and sincerity of those who are there to administer and promote public interests.

Though it is true that in the period preceding the war certain grave evils tended to infect and corrode the inner

strength of the nation, it must be remembered that the other States suffered even more than Germany from these drawbacks, and yet those other States did not fail and break down when the time of crisis came. If we remember further that those defects in pre-war Germany were outweighed by great positive qualities, we shall have to look elsewhere for the real cause of the collapse, and it did lie elsewhere.

The ultimate and most profound reason of the German downfall is to be found in the fact that the racial problem was ignored and that its importance in the historical development of nations was not grasped, for the events that take place in the life of nations are not due to chance but are the natural results of the effort to conserve and multiply the species and the race; even though men may not be able consciously to picture in their minds the profound motives of their conduct.

CHAPTER XI

NATION AND RACE

THERE ARE CERTAIN TRUTHS WHICH ARE SO obvious that the general run of people disregard them. People are so blind to some of the simplest facts in everyday life that they are highly surprised when somebody calls attention to what everybody ought to know. Examples of the Columbus egg are around us in hundreds of thousands, but Columbuses are rare.

Walking about in the garden of Nature, most men have the self-conceit to think that they know everything, yet almost all are blind to one of the outstanding principles that Nature employs in her work. This principle may be called the inner isolation which characterizes each and every living species on this earth.

Even a superficial glance is sufficient to show that all the innumerable forms in which the life-urge of Nature manifests itself are subject to a fundamental law—one may call it an iron law of Nature—which compels the various species to keep within the definite limits of their own life-forms when propagating and multiplying their kind. Each animal mates only with one of its own species. The titmouse cohabits only with the titmouse, the finch with the finch, the stork with the stork, the field-mouse with the field-mouse, the house-mouse with the house-mouse, the wolf with the she-wolf, etc.

Deviations from this law take place only in exceptional circumstances. This happens especially under the compulsion of captivity, or when some other obstacle makes procreative intercourse impossible between individuals of the same

species. Nature abhors such irregular intercourse with all her might; and her protest is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that the hybrid is either sterile, or the fecundity of its descendants is limited. In most cases hybrids and their progeny are denied the ordinary powers of resistance to disease or the natural means of defence against attack.

Such a dispensation of Nature is quite logical. Every crossing of two breeds which are not of equal standing results in a product which holds an intermediate place between the levels of the two parents. This means that the offspring will indeed be superior to that parent which belongs to a biologically lower order of beings, but not so high as the superior parent. For this reason, it must eventually succumb in any struggle against the higher species. Such mating contradicts the will of Nature towards the selective improvement of life in general. The favourable preliminary to this improvement is not to mate individuals of higher and lower orders of being, but rather to allow the complete triumph of the higher order. The stronger must dominate and not mate with the weaker, which would signify the sacrifice of its own higher nature. Only the born weakling can look upon this principle as cruel, and if he does so, it is merely because he is of a feebler nature and narrower mind for if such a law did not direct the process of evolution then the higher development of organic life would not be conceivable at all.

This urge for the maintenance of the unmixed breed, which is a phenomenon that prevails throughout the whole of the natural world, results not only in the sharply defined outward distinction between one species and another, but also in the internal similarity of characteristic qualities which are peculiar to each breed or species. The fox remains always a fox, the goose remains a goose, and the tiger will retain the character of a tiger. The only difference that can exist within the species is in the various degrees of structural strength and active power, in the intelligence, efficiency, endurance, etc., with which the individual specimens are endowed. It would be impossible to find a fox

which has a kindly and protective disposition towards geese, just as no cat exists which has a friendly disposition towards mice.

That is why the struggle between the various species does not arise from a feeling of mutual antipathy, but rather from hunger and love. In both cases Nature looks on calmly and is even pleased with what happens. The struggle for daily livelihood leaves behind in the ruck everything that is weak, diseased or wavering; while the fight of the male to possess the female gives to the strongest the right, or at least the possibility, to propagate its kind. This struggle is a means of furthering the health and powers of resistance of the species, thus it is one of the causes underlying the process of development towards a higher grade of being.

If this were otherwise the progressive process would cease, and even retrogression might set in. Since the inferior always outnumber the superior, the former would always increase more rapidly if they possessed the same capacity for survival and for the procreation of their kind, and the final consequence would be that the best in quality would be forced to recede into the background. Therefore, a corrective measure must intervene in favour of the better quality. Nature supplies this by establishing rigorous conditions of life, to which the weaker will have to submit and will thereby be numerically restricted, but even that portion which survives cannot multiply indiscriminately, for here a new and rigorous selection takes place, according to strength and health.

If Nature does not wish that weaker individuals should mate with stronger, she wishes even less that a superior race should intermingle with an inferior one, because in such a case all her efforts, throughout hundreds of thousands of years, to establish an evolutionary higher stage of being, may be rendered futile.

History furnishes us with innumerable instances that prove this law. It shows, with startling clarity, that whenever Aryans have mingled their blood with that of an inferior race, the result has been the downfall of the people

who were the champions of a higher culture. In North America, where the population is prevalently Teutonic, and where those elements intermingled with the inferior race only to a very small degree, we have a quality of mankind and a civilization which are different from those of Central and South America. In these latter countries the immigrants—who belonged mainly to the Latin races—mated with the aborigines, sometimes to a very large extent indeed. In this case, we have a clear and decisive example of the effect produced by the mixture of races. In North America the Teutonic element, which has kept its racial stock pure and did not mix it with any other racial stock, has come to dominate the American Continent and will remain master of it as long as that element does not fall a victim to the habit of adulterating its blood.

In short, the results of miscegenation are always the following: -

(a) The level of the superior race becomes lowered.

(b) Physical and mental degeneration sets in, thus leading slowly but steadily towards a progressive drying up of the vital sap.

The act which brings about such a development is a sin against the will of the Eternal Creator, and as a sin this act will be avenged. Man's effort to build up something that contradicts the iron logic of Nature brings him into conflict with those principles to which he himself exclusively owes his own existence. By acting against the laws of Nature he prepares the way that leads to his ruin.

Here we meet with the insolent objection, which is Jewish in its inspiration and is typical of the modern pacifist, that "Man can overcome Nature."

There are millions who repeat by rote that piece of Jewish babble and end up by imagining that somehow they themselves are the conquerors of Nature. Yet their only weapon is a mere idea, and a very preposterous idea into the bargain, because if one accepted it, then it would be impossible to form a conception of the world.

The real truth is, that not only has man failed to over-

come Nature in any sphere whatsoever, but that at best he has merely succeeded in getting hold of and lifting a tiny corner of the enormous veil which she has spread over her eternal mysteries and secrets. He never invents anything; all he can do is to discover something. He does not master Nature, but has only come to be master of those living beings who have not gained the knowledge he has arrived at by penetrating into some of Nature's laws and mysteries. Apart from all this, an idea can never subject to its own sway those conditions which are necessary for the existence and development of mankind, for the idea itself has come only from man. Without man there would be no human idea in this world. The idea as such is, therefore, always dependent on the existence of man and is consequently dependent on those laws which furnish the conditions of his existence.

Not only that. Certain ideas are even confined to certain people. This holds true with regard to those ideas, in particular, which have not their roots in objective scientific truth, but in the world of feeling. In other words, to use a phrase which is current to-day and which well and clearly expresses this truth: They reflect an inner experience. All such ideas, which have nothing to do with cold logic as such, but represent mere manifestations of feeling, such as ethical and moral conceptions, etc., are inextricably bound up with man's existence. It is to the creative powers of man's imagination that such ideas owe their existence.

For this very reason, a necessary condition for the preservation of such ideas is the existence of certain races and certain types of men. For example, anyone who sincerely wishes the pacifist idea to prevail in this world ought to do all he is capable of doing to help the Germans conquer the world, for in case the reverse should happen, it may easily be that the last pacifist would disappear with the last German. I say this because, unfortunately, scarcely any other people in the world has ever fallen a prey to this nonsensical and illogical idea to the same degree as our own. Whether

you like it or not, you must make up your mind to wage wars in order to pave the way for pacifism. This was in fact the plan of Woodrow Wilson, the American world-redeemer (at least so our visionaries believed) and that was all that was required.

The pacifist-humanitarian idea may indeed become an excellent one when the most superior type of manhood will have succeeded in subjugating the world to such an extent that this type is then sole master of the earth. This idea could have an injurious effect only in the measure in which its application became difficult and finally impossible. So, first of all, the fight, and then pacifism. If it were otherwise, it would mean that mankind has already passed the zenith of its development, and accordingly, the end would not be the supremacy of some moral ideal, but degeneration into barbarism and consequent chaos. People may laugh at this statement, but our planet moved through space for millions of years, uninhabited by men, and at some future date may easily begin to do so again, if men should forget that wherever they have reached a superior level of existence, it was not as a result of following the ideas of crazy visionaries but by acknowledging and rigorously observing the iron laws of Nature.

All that we admire in the world to-day, its science and its art, its technical developments and discoveries, are the products of the creative activities of a few peoples, and it may be true that their first beginnings must be attributed to one race. The existence of civilization is wholly dependent on such peoples. Should they perish, all that makes this earth beautiful will descend with them into the grave.

However great, for example, be the influence which the soil exerts on men, this influence will always vary according to the race on which it produces its effect. Dearth of soil may stimulate one race to the most strenuous efforts and highest achievements; while, for another race, the poverty of the soil may be the cause of misery, and finally of undernourishment, with all its consequences. The innate characteristics of a people are always the factor which determines the nature

of the effect that outer circumstances have upon it. What reduces one race to starvation stimulates another to harder work.

All the great civilizations of the past became decadent because the originally creative race died out, as a result of contamination of the blood.

The most profound cause of such a decline is to be found in the fact that the people ignored the principle that all culture depends on men, and not the reverse. In other words, in order to preserve a certain culture, the type of manhood that creates such a culture must be preserved, but such a preservation goes hand in hand with the inexorable law that it is the strongest and the best who must triumph and that they have the right to endure.

He who would live must fight. He who does not wish to fight in this world, where permanent struggle is the law of life, has not the right to exist.

Such a saying may sound hard, but, after all, that is how the matter really stands. Yet far harder is the lot of him who believes that he can overcome Nature, and thus in reality insults her. Distress, misery, and disease, are her rejoinders.

Whoever ignores or despises the laws of race really deprives himself of the happiness to which he believes he can attain, for he places an obstacle in the victorious path of the superior race and, by so doing, he interferes with a prerequisite condition of all human progress. Loaded with the burden of human sentiment, he falls back to the level of a helpless animal.

It would be futile to attempt to discuss the question as to what race or races were the original champions of human culture and were thereby the real founders of all that we understand by the word 'humanity.' It is much simpler to deal with this question in so far as it relates to the present time. Here the answer is simple and clear. Every manifestation of human culture, every product of art, science and technical skill, which we see before our eyes to-day, is almost exclusively the product of the Aryan creative power.

This very fact fully justifies the conclusion that it was the Aryan alone who founded a superior type of humanity; therefore he represents the archetype of what we understand by the term: MAN. He is the Prometheus of mankind, from whose shining brow the divine spark of genius has at all times flashed forth, always kindling anew that fire which, in the form of knowledge, illuminated the dark night by drawing aside the veil of mystery and thus showing man how to rise and become master over all the other beings on the earth. Should he be forced to disappear, a profound darkness will descend on the earth: within a few thousand years human culture will vanish and the world will become a desert.

If we divide mankind into three categories—founders of culture, champions of culture, and destroyers of culture—the Aryan alone can be considered as representing the first category. It was he who laid the groundwork and erected the walls of every great structure in human culture. Only the shape and colour of such structures are to be attributed to the individual characteristics of the various nations. It is the Aryan who has furnished the great building-stones and plans for the edifices of all human progress; only the way in which these plans have been executed is to be attributed to the traits of each individual race. Within a few decades the whole of Eastern Asia, for instance, appropriated a culture and called this culture its own, whereas the basis of that culture was the Greek mind and Teutonic technical skill as we know it. Only the external form—at least to a certain degree—shows the traits of an Asiatic inspiration. It is not true, as some believe, that Japan adds European technology to a culture of her own. The truth rather is that European science and technology are just decked out with the peculiar characteristics of Japanese civilization. The foundations of actual life in Japan to-day are not those of the native Japanese culture, although this characterizes the external features of the country, which features strike the eye of European observers on account of their fundamental difference from our own; but

the real foundations of contemporary Japanese life are the enormous scientific and technical achievements of Europe and America, that is to say, of Aryan peoples. Only by adopting these achievements as the foundations of their own progress can the various nations of the Orient take a place in contemporary world progress. The scientific and technical achievements of Europe and America provide the basis on which the struggle for daily livelihood is carried on in the Orient. They provide the necessary arms and instruments for this struggle, and only the outer forms of these instruments have become gradually adapted to Japanese ways of life.

If, from to-day onwards, the Aryan influence on Japan were to cease, and if we suppose that Europe and America were to collapse, then the present progress of Japan in science and technique might still last for a short duration; but within a few decades the inspiration would dry up, and native Japanese character would triumph, while the present civilization would become fossilized and fall back into the sleep from which it was aroused about seventy years ago, by the impact of Aryan culture. We may, therefore, draw the conclusion that, just as the present Japanese development has been due to Aryan influence, so in the immemorial past an outside influence and an outside culture brought into existence the Japanese culture of that day. This opinion is very strongly supported by the fact that the ancient civilization of Japan actually became fossilized and petrified. Such a process can take place only if a people loses the racial cell which had originally been creative, or if the outside influence should be withdrawn after having awakened and maintained the first cultural developments in that region. If it be shown that a people owes the fundamental elements of its culture to foreign races, assimilating and elaborating such elements, and if subsequently that culture becomes fossilized whenever the external influence ceases then such a race may be called the champion, but never the creator, of a culture.

If we subject the different peoples to a strict test from this standpoint, we shall find that scarcely any one of them

has originally created a culture, but almost all have been merely the recipients of a culture created elsewhere.

This development may be depicted as always happening somewhat in the following way. Aryan tribes, often almost ridiculously small in number, subjugated foreign peoples and, stimulated by the conditions of life which their new country offered them (fertility, the nature of the climate, etc.), and profiting also by the abundance of manual labour furnished them by the inferior race, they developed intellectual and organizing faculties which had hitherto been dormant in themselves. Within the course of a few thousand years, or even centuries, they gave life to cultures whose characteristics completely corresponded to the character of the founders, though modified by adaptation to the peculiarities of the soil and the characteristics of the subjugated people. But finally the conquering race offended against the principles which they had first observed, namely, the preservation of their racial stock unmixed, and began to intermingle with the subjugated people. Thus they put an end to their own separate existence, for the original sin committed in Paradise has always been followed by the expulsion of the guilty parties.

After a thousand years or more the last visible traces of those former masters may then be found in a lighter tint of the skin which the Aryan blood had bequeathed to the subjugated race, and in a fossilized culture of which those Aryans had been the original creators; for, just as the blood of the conqueror, who was a conqueror not only in body but also in spirit, became submerged in the blood of the subject race, so the substance disappeared from which the torch of human culture and progress was kindled. In so far as the blood of the former ruling race has left a light nuance of colour in the blood of its descendants, as a token and a memory, the night of cultural life is rendered less dim and dark by a mild light radiated from the products of those who were the bearers of the original fire. Their radiance shines across the barbarism to which the subjected race has reverted and might often lead the superficial observer to believe that he sees before him an image of the present

race, when he is really looking into a mirror, wherein only the past is reflected.

It may happen that in the course of their history such a people will come into contact a second time, and even oftener, with the original founders of their culture and may not even remember that distant association. Instinctively, the remnants of blood left from that old ruling race will be drawn towards this new phenomenon, and what had formerly been possible only under compulsion, can now be successfully achieved in a voluntary way. A new cultural wave flows in and lasts until the blood of those who brought it becomes once again adulterated by intermixture with the originally conquered race.

It will be the task of those who set themselves to write a universal history of civilization, to investigate history from this point of view instead of allowing themselves to be smothered under the mass of external data, as is only too often the case with our present historical science.

This short sketch of the changes that take place among those races that are only the depositories of a culture, also furnishes a picture of the development, the activity and the disappearance of those who are the true founders of culture on this earth, namely the Aryans themselves.

Just as in our daily life the so-called man of genius needs a particular occasion, and sometimes needs a special stimulus to bring his genius to light, so too, in the life of the peoples the race that has genius in it needs the occasion and stimulus to give that genius expression. In the monotony and routine of everyday life even persons of significance seem just like the others and do not rise beyond the average level of their fellow-men, but as soon as such men find themselves in a special situation which disconcerts and unbalances the others, the humble person of apparently common qualities reveals traits of genius, often to the amazement of those who have hitherto known him in the petty round of everyday life. That is the reason why a prophet is seldom honoured in his own country. War offers an excellent occasion for observing this phenomenon. In times of distress,

when the others despair, apparently harmless boys suddenly spring up and become heroes full of determination, undaunted in the presence of Death and manifesting wonderful powers of calm reflection in such circumstances. If such an hour of trial did not come, nobody would have thought that the soul of a hero lurked in the body of that beardless youth. A special impulse is almost always necessary to bring a man of genius into the foreground. The sledge-hammer of Fate, which strikes down the one so easily, suddenly finds the counter-impact of steel when it strikes at the other, and, after the common shell of everyday life is broken, the core that lay hidden is displayed to the eyes of an astonished world. This surrounding world then grows perverse and will not believe that what had seemed so like itself is really of that different quality so suddenly displayed. This is a process which is repeated probably every time a man of outstanding significance appears.

Though an inventor, for example, does not establish his fame until the very day on which he completes his invention, it would be a mistake to believe that the creative genius did not become alive in him until that moment. From the very hour of his birth the spark of genius is alive within the man who has been endowed with the real creative faculty. True genius is an innate quality. It can never be the result of education or training.

As I have stated already, this holds good not merely of the individual, but also of the race. Those peoples who manifest creative ability in certain periods of their history have always been fundamentally creative. It belongs to their very nature, even though this fact may escape the eyes of the superficial observer. Here also, recognition from outside is only the consequence of practical achievement. Since the rest of the world is incapable of recognizing genius as such, it can only see the visible manifestations of genius in the form of inventions, discoveries, buildings, painting, etc., but even here a long time passes before recognition is given. Just as the individual person who has been endowed with the gift of genius, or at least talent of a very high order, cannot develop

that gift to the full, until he comes under the urge of special circumstances, so in the life of the nations their creative capacities and powers frequently have to wait until certain conditions stimulate them to action.

The most obvious example of this truth is furnished by that race which has been, and still is, the champion of human progress; I mean the Aryan race. As soon as Fate brings them face to face with special circumstances their powers begin to develop progressively and to be manifested in tangible form. The characteristic cultures which they create in such circumstances are almost always conditioned by the soil, the climate and the people they subjugate. The last factor—that of the character of the people—is the most decisive one. The more primitive the technical condition under which the civilizing process takes place, the more necessary is the existence of manual labour which can be organized and employed so as to take the place of mechanical power. Had it not been possible for them to employ members of the inferior race which they conquered, the Aryans would never have been in a position to take the first steps on the road which led them to their culture of a later era; just as, without the help of certain suitable animals, which they were able to tame, they would never have come to the invention of mechanical power, which has subsequently enabled them to do without these animals. The remark that the Moor, having done his duty, could now go, can, unfortunately, be applied more or less universally. For thousands of years the horse has been the faithful servant of man and has helped him to lay the foundations of human progress; but now, motor power has rendered the horse superfluous. In a few years' time the use of the horse will cease entirely; and yet without its collaboration man could scarcely have reached the stage of development at which he now is.

For the establishment of superior types of civilization the members of inferior races formed one of the most essential prerequisites. They alone could supply the lack of mechanical means, without which no progress is possible.

It is certain that the first stages of human civilization were not based so much on the use of tame animals as on the employment of human beings who were members of an inferior race.

Only after subjugated races were employed as slaves was a similar fate allotted to animals, and not *vice versa*, as some people would have us believe. At first it was the conquered enemy who had to draw the plough and only afterwards did the ox and horse take his place. Nobody but puling pacifists can consider this fact a sign of human degradation. Such people fail to recognize that this evolution had to take place in order that man might reach that degree of civilization which these apostles now exploit in an attempt to make the world pay attention to their rigmarole.

The progress of mankind may be compared to the process of ascending an infinite ladder. One does not reach the higher level without first having climbed the lower rungs. The Aryan, therefore, had to take that road which his sense of reality pointed out to him, and not that of which the modern pacifist dreams. The path of reality is, however, difficult and hard to tread; yet it is the only one which finally leads to the goal where the others envisage mankind in their dreams. The real truth is that those dreamers help to lead man away from his goal rather than towards it.

It was not by mere chance that the first forms of civilization arose where the Aryan came into contact with inferior races, subjugated them and forced them to obey his command. The members of the inferior race became the first mechanical tools in the service of a growing civilization.

Thereby the way was clearly indicated which the Aryan had to follow. As a conqueror, he subjugated inferior races and turned their physical powers into organized channels under his own leadership, forcing them to follow his will and purpose. By imposing on them a useful, though hard, manner of employing their powers, he not only spared the ives of those whom he had conquered, but probably made their lives easier than they had been in the former state of so-called 'freedom.' While he ruthlessly maintained his

position as their master, he not only remained master, but he also preserved and advanced civilization, for this depended exclusively on his inborn abilities and, therefore, on the preservation of the Aryan race as such. As soon, however, as his subjects began to rise and approach the level of their conqueror, a phase of which ascension was probably the use of his language, the barriers that had distinguished master from servant broke down. The Aryan neglected to maintain his own racial stock unmixed and thereby lost the right to live in the paradise which he himself had created. He became submerged in the racial mixture and gradually lost his cultural creativeness, until he finally grew, not only mentally but also physically, more like the aborigines whom he had subjected, rather than his own ancestors. For some time he could continue to live on the capital of that culture which still remained; but a condition of fossilization soon set in and he sank into oblivion.

That is how cultures and empires decline and yield their places to new structures.

The adulteration of the blood and racial deterioration conditioned thereby are the only causes that account for the decline of ancient civilizations, for it is never by war that nations are ruined, but by the loss of their powers of resistance, which are exclusively a characteristic of pure racial blood. In this world everything that is not of sound racial stock is like chaff. Every historical event in the world is nothing more nor less than a manifestation of the instinct of racial self-preservation, whether for weal or woe.

The question as to the basic reasons for the predominant importance of Aryanism can be answered by pointing out that it is not so much that the Aryans are endowed with a stronger instinct for self-preservation, but rather that this manifests itself in a way which is peculiar to themselves. Considered from the subjective standpoint, the will to live is, of course, equally strong all round and only the forms in which it is expressed are different. Among the most primitive organisms the instinct for self-preservation does not extend beyond the care of the individual ego. Egotism, as we call

this passion, is so predominant that it includes even the time element, which means that the present moment is deemed the most important and that nothing is left to the future. The animal lives only for itself, searching for food only when it feels hunger, and fighting only for the preservation of its own life. As long as the instinct for self-preservation manifests itself exclusively in such a way, there is no basis for the establishment of a community, not even the most primitive form of all, that is to say, the family. The community formed by the male with the female, where it goes beyond the mere conditions of mating, calls for the extension of the instinct of self-preservation, since the readiness to fight for one's own ego has to be extended also to the mate. The male sometimes provides food for the female, but in most cases both parents provide food for the offspring. Almost always they are ready to protect and defend each other, so that here we find the first, though infinitely simple, manifestation of the spirit of sacrifice. As soon as this spirit extends beyond the narrow limits of the family, we have the conditions under which a larger community and finally even States can be formed.

The lowest species of human beings give evidence of this quality only to a very small degree, so that often they do not go beyond the foundation of the family. With an increasing readiness to place their immediate personal interests in the background, the capacity for organizing more extensive communities develops.

The readiness to sacrifice one's personal work and, if necessary, even one's life, for others shows its most highly developed form in the Aryan race. The greatness of the Aryan is not based on his intellectual powers, but rather on his willingness to devote all his faculties to the service of the community. Here the instinct for self-preservation has reached its noblest form, for the Aryan willingly subordinates his own ego to the common weal and, when necessity calls, he will even sacrifice his own life for the community.

The constructive powers of the Aryan and that peculiar ability he has for the building up of a culture are not

grounded in his intellectual gifts alone. If that were so, he might only be destructive and could never have the ability to organize; for the essence of organizing activity consists in the readiness of the individual to renounce his own personal opinions and interests and to lay both at the service of the human group. By serving the common weal he receives his reward in return; he does not, for example, work directly for himself but makes his productive work a part of the activity of the group to which he belongs, not only for his own benefit but for the general welfare. The spirit underlying this attitude is expressed by the word, **WORK** which to him does not at all signify a means of earning one's daily livelihood but rather a productive activity which cannot clash with the interests of the community. Whenever human activity is directed exclusively to the service of the instinct for self-preservation, regardless of the general weal, it is called theft, usury, robbery, burglary, and so on.

This mental attitude, which forces self-interest to recede into the background in favour of the common weal, is the first prerequisite for any kind of really human civilization. It is out of this spirit alone that great human achievements have sprung, for which the original doers have scarcely ever received any recompense, but which turn out to be the source of abundant benefit for their descendants. It is this spirit alone which can explain why it so often happens that people can endure a harsh but honest existence which offers them no return for their toil except a poor and modest livelihood, but such a livelihood helps to consolidate the foundations on which the community exists. Every worker, every peasant, every inventor, every government official, etc., who works without ever achieving fortune or prosperity for himself, is a representative of this sublime ideal, even though he may never become conscious of the profound meaning of his own activity.

Everything that may be said of that kind of work which is the fundamental condition for providing food and the basic means of human progress is true even in a higher sense of work that is done for the protection of man and his

civilization. The renunciation of one's own life for the sake of the community is the crowning significance of the idea of all sacrifice. In this way only is it possible to protect what has been built up by man and to ensure that this will not be destroyed by the hand of man or of Nature.

In the German language we have a word which admirably expresses the significance underlying all work. It is *Pflichterfüllung* (fulfilment of duty), which means the service of the common weal before the consideration of one's own interests. The fundamental spirit out of which this kind of activity springs is the reverse of 'egotism, and we call it 'idealism. By this we mean to signify the willingness of the individual to make sacrifices for the community and his fellow-men.

It is of the utmost importance to insist again and again that idealism is not merely a superfluous manifestation of sentiment, but rather something which has been, is and always will be, a necessary precondition of human civilization; it is to this that the very conception 'human' owes its origin. To this kind of mentality the Aryan owes his position in the world, and the world is indebted to the Aryan mind for having developed the concept of 'mankind,' for it was out of this spirit alone that the creative force grew, which in a unique way, combined robust muscular power with a first-class intellect, and thus created the monuments of human civilization.

Were it not for idealism, all the faculties of the intellect, even the most brilliant, would be nothing but intellect itself, a mere external phenomenon without inner value, and never a creative force.

Since true idealism, however, is essentially the subordination of the interests and life of the individual to the interests and life of the community, and since this subordination in turn represents the prerequisite condition for every form of organization, this idealism accords in its innermost essence with the final purpose of Nature. This idealism alone makes men voluntarily acknowledge, that strength and power are entitled to take the lead and makes them a constituent

particle of that order out of which the whole universe is shaped and formed.

Without being conscious of it, the purest idealism is always associated with the most profound knowledge. How true this is and how little genuine idealism has to do with fantastic self-dramatization will become clear the moment we ask an unspoilt child, a healthy boy, for example, to give his opinion. The very same boy who listens to the rantings of an 'idealistic' pacifist without understanding them, and even rejects them, would readily sacrifice his young life for the ideal of his people.

Unconsciously, his instinct will submit to the knowledge that the preservation of the species, even at the cost of the individual life, is a primal necessity and he will protest against the fantasies of pacifist ranters, who are in reality nothing better than cowardly, though camouflaged, egotists, who contradict the laws of human development. It is an essential aspect of human evolution that the individual should be imbued with the spirit of sacrifice in favour of the common weal that he should not be influenced by the morbid notions of those who pretend to know better than Nature and who have the impudence to criticize her decrees.

It is just at those junctures when the idealistic attitude threatens to disappear that we notice a weakening of this force which is a necessary constituent in the founding and maintenance of the community and is therefore a necessary condition of civilization. As soon as the spirit of egotism begins to prevail among a people, then the bonds of the social order break, and man, by seeking his own personal happiness, tumbles out of heaven and falls into hell.

Posterity will not remember those who pursued only their own individual interests, but it will praise those heroes who renounced their own happiness.

The Jew offers the most striking contrast to the Aryan. There is probably no other people in the world which has so developed the instinct of self-preservation as the so-called 'chosen' race. The best proof of this statement is to be found in the simple fact that this race still exists. Where is

another people to be found that in the course of the last two thousand years has undergone so few changes in mental outlook and character as the Jewish people? And yet what other people has played such a constant part in the great revolutions? Even after having passed through the most gigantic catastrophes that have overwhelmed mankind, the Jews remain the same as ever. What an infinitely tenacious will to live, to preserve one's kind, is demonstrated by that fact!

The intellectual faculties of the Jew have been trained throughout thousands of years. To-day the Jew is looked upon as specially 'clever' and in a certain sense, he has been so throughout the ages. His intellectual powers, however, are not the result of an inner evolution but have rather been shaped by the object lessons which he has received from others. The human spirit cannot climb upwards without taking successive steps. For every step upwards it needs the foundation of what has been constructed before, namely, the past, which, in the comprehensive sense here employed, can have been laid only by a general civilization. All thinking originates only to a very small degree in personal experience. The largest part is based on the accumulated experiences of the past. The general level of civilization provides the individual, who, in most cases, is not consciously aware of the fact, with such an abundance of preliminary knowledge, that with this equipment he can more easily take further steps on the road of progress. The boy of to-day, for example, grows up among such an overwhelming mass of technical achievement, which has accumulated during the last century, that he takes for granted many things which, a hundred years ago, were still mysteries even to the greatest minds of those times. Yet these things that are now so much a matter of course are of enormous importance to those who would understand the progress we have made in certain spheres and would carry that progress a step farther. If a man of genius belonging to the 'twenties of the last century were to rise from his grave to-day, he would find it more difficult to understand our present age than the

contemporary boy of fifteen years of age who may even have only an average intelligence. The man of genius, thus come back from the past, would need to provide himself with an extraordinary amount of preliminary information which our contemporary youth receives automatically, so to speak, during the time it is growing up among the products of our modern civilization

Since the Jew—for reasons that I shall deal with immediately—never had a civilization of his own, he has always been furnished by others with a basis for his intellectual work. His intellect has always been developed by the use of those cultural achievements which he has found ready to hand around him. The process has never been the reverse.

Although among the Jews the instinct of self-preservation has not been weaker, but much stronger than among other peoples, and although the impression may easily be created that the intellectual powers of the Jew are at least equal to those of other races, the Jews completely lack the most essential prerequisite of a cultural people, namely, the idealistic spirit. With the Jewish people the spirit of self-sacrifice does not extend beyond the simple instinct of individual preservation. In their case, the feeling of racial solidarity which they apparently manifest, is nothing but a very primitive gregarious instinct, similar to that which may be found among other organisms in this world. It is a remarkable fact that this herd instinct brings individuals together for mutual protection, only as long as there is a common danger which makes mutual assistance expedient or inevitable. The same pack of wolves which, a moment ago, joined together in a common attack on their victim will dissolve into individual wolves as soon as their hunger has been satisfied. This is also true of horses, which unite to defend themselves against any aggressor, but separate the moment the danger is over.

It is much the same with the Jew. His spirit of sacrifice is only apparent. It manifests itself only as long as the existence of the individual makes this a matter of absolute

necessity, but as soon as the common foe is conquered, the danger which threatened the individual Jew overcome and the prey secured, then the apparent harmony disappears and the original conditions obtain again. Jews act in concord only when a common danger threatens them or a common prey attracts them. Where these two motives no longer exist, then the most brutal egotism appears and these people, who had previously lived together in unity will turn into a swarm of rats that fight bitterly against each other.

If the Jews were the only people in the world they would be wallowing in filth and mire and would exploit one another and try to exterminate one another in a bitter struggle, except in so far as their utter lack of the ideal of sacrifice, which shows itself in their cowardly spirit, would prevent this struggle from developing. It would, therefore, be a complete mistake to interpret the mutual help, which the Jews render one another when they have to fight—or, to put it more accurately, to exploit—their fellow-beings, as the expression of a certain idealistic spirit of sacrifice.

Here again, the Jew merely follows the call of his individual egotism. That is why the Jewish State, which ought to be a vital organization to serve the purpose of preserving or increasing the race, has absolutely no territorial boundaries, for the territorial delimitation of a State always demands a certain idealism of spirit on the part of the race which forms that State, and especially a proper acceptance of the idea of work. A State which is territorially delimited cannot be established or maintained, unless the general attitude towards work is a positive one. If this attitude is lacking, then the necessary basis of a civilization is also lacking. That is why the Jewish people, despite the intellectual powers with which they are apparently endowed, have not a culture, certainly not a culture of their own. The culture which the Jew enjoys to-day is the product of the work of others and this product is debased in the hands of the Jew.

In order to form a correct judgment of the place which the Jew holds in relation to the whole problem of human civilization, we must bear in mind the essential fact that there

never has been any Jewish art, and consequently that nothing of this kind exists to-day. We must realize that, especially in the two royal domains of art, namely, architecture and music, the Jew has done no original creative work. When the Jew comes to producing something in the field of art he merely 'borrows' from something already in existence, or simply steals the intellectual work of others. The Jew essentially lacks the qualities which are characteristic of those creative races that are the founders of civilization.

To what extent the Jew appropriates the civilization built up by others—or to speak more accurately, corrupts it,—is indicated by the fact that he cultivates chiefly the art which calls for the smallest amount of original invention, namely, the dramatic art, and even here, he is nothing better than a kind of juggler or, perhaps more correctly, a kind of monkey imitator, for in this domain also he lacks the creative *élan* which is necessary for the production of all really great work. Even here, therefore, he is not a creative genius, but rather a superficial imitator who, in spite of all his retouching and tricks, cannot disguise the fact that there is no inner vitality in the shape he gives his products. At this juncture, the Jewish press comes in and renders friendly assistance by shouting hosannas over the head of even the most ordinary bungler of a Jew, until the rest of the world is persuaded into thinking that the object of so much praise must really be an artist, whereas in reality, he may be nothing more than a low-class mimic.

The Jews have not the creative ability which is necessary for the founding of a civilization, for in them there is not, and never has been, that spirit of idealism which is an absolutely necessary element in the higher development of mankind. Therefore, the Jewish intellect will never be constructive, but always destructive. At best, it may serve as a stimulus in rare cases, but only in the limited meaning of the poet's lines, "The Power which always wills the bad, and always works the good" (*Kraft, die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft*). It is not through him, but in spite of him, that mankind makes progress.

Since the Jew has never had a State which was based on territorial delimitations and therefore never a civilization of his own, the idea arose that here we were dealing with a people who had to be considered as nomads. That is a great and mischievous mistake. The true nomad does actually possess a definite delimited territory where he lives. It is merely that he does not cultivate it, as the settled farmer does, but that he lives on the products of his herds with which he wanders over his domain. The natural reason for this mode of existence is to be found in the fact that the soil is not fertile and that it does not give the steady produce which makes a fixed abode possible. Outside of this natural cause, however, there is a more profound cause, namely, that no mechanical civilization is at hand to make up for the natural poverty of the region in question. There are territories where the Aryan can establish fixed settlements by means of the technical skill which he has developed in the course of more than a thousand years, even though these territories would otherwise have to be abandoned, unless the Aryan were willing to wander about them in nomadic fashion, but age-long tradition of settled residence have made the nomadic life unbearable for him. We ought to remember that during the first period of American colonization, numerous Aryans earned their daily livelihood as trappers, hunters, etc., frequently wandering about in large groups with their women and children, their mode of existence very much resembling that of ordinary nomads. The moment, however, that they grew more numerous and were able to accumulate larger resources, they cleared the land and drove out the aborigines, at the same time establishing settlements which rapidly increased all over the country.

The Aryan himself was probably at first a nomad and became a settler in the course of the ages, but yet he was never of the Jewish kind. The Jew is not a nomad, for the nomad has already a definite attitude towards the concept of 'work,' and this attitude served as the basis of a later cultural development when the necessary intellectual conditions existed. There is a certain amount of idealism in the general

attitude of the nomad, even though it is rather primitive. His whole character may, therefore, be foreign to Aryan feeling, but it will never be repulsive. Not even the slightest trace of idealism exists, however, in the Jewish character. The Jew has never been a nomad, but always a parasite, battenning on the substance of others. If he occasionally abandoned regions where he had hitherto lived, he did not do it voluntarily. He did it because, from time to time, he was driven out by people who were tired of having their hospitality abused by such guests. Jewish self-expansion is a parasitic phenomenon, since the Jew is always looking for pastures new for his race.

But this has nothing to do with nomadic life as such, because the Jew does not ever think of leaving a territory which he has once occupied. He sticks where he is with such tenacity that he can hardly be driven out even by superior physical force. He expands into new territories only when certain conditions for his existence are provided therein; but even then—unlike the nomad—he will not change his former abode. He is, and remains, a parasite, a sponser who like a pernicious bacillus spreads over wider and wider areas according as some favourable area attracts him. The effect produced by his presence is also like that of the vampire, for wherever he establishes himself the people who grant him hospitality are bound to be bled to death sooner or later.

Thus the Jew has at all times lived in States that have belonged to other races, and within the organization of those States, he has formed a State of his own, which is, however, hidden behind the mask of a 'religious community, as long as external circumstances do not make it advisable for this community to declare its true nature. As soon as the Jew feels himself sufficiently established in his position to be able to hold it without a disguise, he lifts the mask and suddenly appears in the character which so many did not formerly believe or wish to see, namely, that of the Jew.

The life which the Jew lives as a parasite thriving on the

substance of other nations and States has resulted in developing that specific character which Schopenhauer once described when he spoke of the Jew as 'the great master of lies.' The kind of existence which he leads, forces the Jew to the systematic use of falsehood, just as naturally as the inhabitants of northern climates are forced to wear warm clothes.

He can live among other nations and States only as long as he succeeds in persuading them that the Jews are not a distinct people, but the representatives of a religious faith who thus constitute a 'religious community, though this is of a peculiar character. As a matter of fact, however, this is the first of his great falsehoods.

He is obliged to conceal his own particular character and mode of life, in order that he may be allowed to continue his existence as a parasite among the nations. The greater the intelligence of the individual Jew, the better will he succeed in deceiving others. His success in this line may even go so far that the people who grant him hospitality are led to believe that the Jew among them is a genuine Frenchman, for instance, or Englishman or German or Italian, who just happens to belong to a religious denomination which is different from that prevailing in these countries. Especially in circles concerned with the executive administration of the State, where the officials generally have only a minimum of historical sense, the Jew is able to impose his infamous deception with comparative ease. In these circles, independent thinking is considered a sin against the sacred rules according to which official promotion takes place. It is, therefore, not surprising that even to-day in the Bavarian government offices, for example, there is not the slightest suspicion that the Jews form a distinct nation in themselves and are not merely the adherents of a 'confession,' though one glance at the press which belongs to the Jews ought to furnish sufficient evidence to the contrary even for those who possess only the smallest degree of intelligence. The *Jewish Echo*, however, is not an official gazette and therefore not authoritative in the eyes of these government potentates.

The Jews have always been a people of a definite racial character and never merely the adherents of a religion. At a very early date, urged on by the desire to make their way in the world, they began to cast about for a means whereby they might distract such attention as might prove inconvenient for them. What could be more effective and at the same time above suspicion, than to borrow and utilize the idea of the religious community? Here also everything is copied, or rather stolen, for the Jew could not possess any religious institution which had developed out of his own consciousness, seeing that he lacks every kind of idealism which means that belief in a life beyond this terrestrial existence is foreign to him. In the Aryan mind no religion can ever be imagined unless it embodies the conviction that life in some form or other will continue after death. As a matter of fact, the Talmud is not a book that lays down principles according to which the individual should prepare for the life to come. It only furnishes rules for a practical and convenient life in this world.

The religious teaching of the Jews is principally a collection of instructions for maintaining the Jewish blood pure and for regulating intercourse between Jew and Jew and between Jews and the rest of the world, that is to say non-Jews. The Jewish religious teaching is not concerned with moral problems. It is concerned rather with economic problems, and very petty ones at that. In regard to the moral value of the religious teaching of the Jews there exist, and always have existed, exhaustive studies (not from the Jewish side, for whatever the Jews have written on this question has naturally always been of a tendentious character), which show up the kind of religion that the Jews have in a light which makes it look very uncanny to the Aryan mind. The Jew himself is the best example of the kind of product which this religious training evolves. His life is of this world only and his mentality is as foreign to the true spirit of Christianity, as his character was foreign to the great Founder of this new creed two thousand years ago. The Founder of Christianity made no secret of His estima-

tion of the Jewish people; when He found it necessary, He drove those enemies of the human race out of the Temple of God, because then, as always, they used religion as a means of advancing their commercial interests. At that time Christ was nailed to the Cross for his attitude towards the Jews, whereas our modern Christians enter into party politics, and when elections are being held they debase themselves to beg for Jewish votes. They even enter into political intrigues with the atheistic Jewish parties against the interests of their own Christian nation.

On this first and fundamental lie, the purpose of which is to make people believe that 'Jewry is not a people, but a religion, other lies are subsequently based. One of these further lies concerns, for example, the language spoken by the Jew. For him language is not an instrument for the expression of his inner thoughts, but rather a means of cloaking them. When talking French his thoughts are Jewish, and when writing German rhymes he only gives expression to the character of his own race.

As long as the Jew has not succeeded in mastering other peoples, he is forced to speak their language whether he likes it or not, but the moment that the world became the slave of the Jew, it would have to learn some universal language (Esperanto, for example), so that by this means the Jew could dominate it the more easily.

How much the whole existence of this people is based on a permanent falsehood is proved in a unique way by 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,' which are so violently repudiated by the Jews. With groans and moans, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* repeats again and again that these are forgeries. This alone is evidence in favour of their authenticity. What many Jews unconsciously wish to do is here clearly set forth. It is not necessary to ask out of what Jewish brain these revelations sprang, but what is of vital interest is, that they disclose, with an almost terrifying precision, the mentality and methods of action characteristic of the Jewish people and these writings expound, in all their various aspects, the final aims towards which the Jews are

striving. The study of real happenings, however, is the best way of judging the authenticity of these documents. If the historical developments, which have taken place within the last century, be studied in the light of this book, we shall understand why the Jewish press incessantly repudiates and denounces it, for the Jewish peril will be stamped out the moment the general public comes into possession of that book and understands it.

In order to get to know the Jew properly, it is necessary to study the road which he has been following among the other peoples during the last few centuries. One example will suffice to make this clear. Since his career has been the same throughout the ages—just as the people at whose expense he has lived have remained the same—it will be best for the purpose of making the requisite analysis, to mark his progress by stages. For the sake of simplicity, we shall indicate these stages by letters of the alphabet.

The first Jews came into what was then called Germania during the period of the Roman invasion, and, as usual, they came as merchants. During the turmoil caused by the great migrations of the German tribes the Jews seem to have disappeared. We may, therefore, consider the period when the Germans formed the first political communities as the beginning of that process whereby Central and Northern Europe were again, and this time permanently, Judaized. A development then began which has always been the same or similar, wherever and whenever Jews came into contact with Aryan peoples.

(a) As soon as the first permanent settlements had been established, the Jew was suddenly 'there.' He arrived as a merchant and, in the beginning, did not trouble to disguise his nationality. He still remained openly a Jew, partly it may be, because his appearance betrayed the racial difference between him and the people of the country in which he dwelt, or because he knew too little of the language. It may also be that people of other races refused to mix with him, so that he could not very well adopt any other pose

than that of a foreign merchant. Because of his subtlety and cunning and the lack of experience on the part of the people whose guest he became, it was not to his disadvantage openly to retain his Jewish character. This may even have been advantageous to him, for the foreigner was received kindly.

(b) Slowly but steadily, he began to take part in the economic life around him, not as a producer, however, but only as a middleman. His commercial cunning, acquired through thousands of years of negotiation as an intermediary, made him superior in this field to the Aryans, who were still quite ingenuous and indeed clumsy, and whose honesty was unlimited, so that after a short time commerce seemed destined to become a Jewish monopoly. The Jew began by lending out money and, as usual, at a usurious rate of interest. It was he who first introduced the payment of interest on borrowed money. The danger which this innovation involved was not at first recognized; indeed, the innovation was welcomed, because it offered momentary advantages.

(c) At this stage the Jew had become firmly settled; that is to say, he inhabited special sections of the cities and towns and had his own quarter in the market-towns. Thus he gradually came to form a State within the State. He came to look upon the commercial domain and all monetary transactions, as a privilege belonging exclusively to himself, and exploited it ruthlessly.

(d) At this stage finance and trade had become his complete monopoly. Finally, his usurious rate of interest aroused opposition, and the increasing impudence which the Jew began to manifest all round stirred up popular indignation, while his display of wealth gave rise to popular envy. The cup of his iniquity became full to the brim when he included landed property among his commercial wares and degraded the land to the level of a market commodity. Since he himself never cultivated the soil but considered it as an object to be exploited, allowing the peasant to remain on the land, but only on condition that he submitted to the

most heartless exactions of his new master, public antipathy against the Jew steadily increased and finally turned into open animosity. His extortionate tyranny became so unbearable that people rebelled against his control and used physical violence against him. They began to scrutinize this foreigner somewhat more closely and then began to discover the repulsive traits and characteristics inherent in him, until finally the gulf between the Jews and their hosts could no longer be bridged.

In times of distress a wave of public anger has usually arisen against the Jew; the masses have taken the law into their own hands; they have seized Jewish property and ruined the Jew in their urge to protect themselves against what they consider to be a scourge of God. Having come to know the Jew intimately in the course of centuries, they looked upon his presence among them as a public danger comparable only to the plague.

(e) Then the Jew began to reveal his true character. He paid court to governments, with servile flattery, used his money to ingratiate himself further and thus regularly secured for himself once again the privilege of exploiting his victims. Although public wrath flared up against this eternal profiteer and drove him out, after a few years he reappeared in those same places and carried on as before. No persecution could force him to give up his trade of exploiting other people and no amount of harrying succeeded in driving him out permanently. He always returned after a short time and it was always the old story with him.

In an effort to prevent at least the worst from happening, laws were passed which debarred the Jew from obtaining possession of land.

(f) In proportion as the powers of kings and princes increased, the Jew sidled up to them. He begged for 'charters' and 'privileges' which those gentlemen who were generally in financial straits, gladly granted if they received adequate payment in return. However high the price he has to pay, the Jew will succeed in getting it back within a few years with interest and even with compound interest thanks

to the privilege he has acquired. He is a real leech who clings to the body of his unfortunate victims and cannot be removed, so that when the princes found themselves in need once again they took the blood from his swollen veins with their own hands.

This game was repeated unendingly. In the case of those who were called the 'German princes,' the part they played was quite as contemptible as that played by the Jew. They were a real scourge to their people. Their compeers may be found in some of the government ministers of our time.

It was due to the German princes that the German nation could not succeed in definitely freeing itself from the Jewish peril. Unfortunately, the situation did not change at a later period. The princes finally received the reward which they had a thousand-fold deserved for all the crimes committed by them against their own people. They had allied themselves with Satan and later on they discovered that they were in Satan's power.

(g) By permitting themselves to be entangled in the toils of the Jew, the princes prepared their own downfall. The position which they held among their people was slowly but steadily undermined, not only by their continued failure to guard the interests of their subjects, but by their positive exploitation of them. The Jew calculated exactly the time when the downfall of the princes was approaching and did his best to hasten it. He intensified their financial difficulties by hindering them in the exercise of their duty towards their people, by encouraging them, through the most servile flattery, to indulge in vicious habits, whereby he made himself more and more indispensable to them. His astuteness, or rather, his utter unscrupulousness in money affairs enabled him to exact fresh payments from the princes' subjects, to squeeze the money out of them and then have it spent as quickly as possible. Every Court had its 'Court Jew,' as this plague was called, who tortured the innocent victims until they were driven to despair, while at the same time he provided the means which the princes squandered on their own pleasures.

It is not to be wondered at that these ornaments of the human race became the recipients of official honours and were even admitted to the ranks of the hereditary nobility, thus contributing not only to expose that social institution to ridicule, but also to contaminate it from the inside.

Naturally, the Jew could now exploit the position which he had attained and advance even more rapidly than before.

Finally, he only needed to be baptized in order to become entitled to all the rights and privileges which belonged to the children of the nation on which he preyed. This was an excellent stroke of business for him, and he often availed himself of it, to the great joy of the Church, which was proud of having gained a new child in the Faith, and also to the joy of Israel, which was happy at seeing the trick pulled off successfully.

(h) At this stage a transformation began to take place in the world of Jewry. Up to now they had been Jews, that is to say, they had not hitherto set any great value on pretending to be something else, and anyhow, the distinctive characteristics which separated them from other races could not be easily overcome. Even as late as the time of Frederick the Great nobody looked upon the Jews as other than a 'foreign' people, and Goethe rose up in revolt against the failure legally to prohibit marriage between Christians and Jews. Goethe was certainly no reactionary and no time-server; through him there spoke the voice of the blood and the voice of reason. Notwithstanding the disgraceful happenings taking place in Court circles, the people recognized instinctively that the Jew was the foreign body in their own flesh and their attitude towards him was dictated by recognition of that fact.

But a change was now destined to take place. In the course of more than a thousand years the Jew had learned to master the language of his hosts so thoroughly that he considered he might now lay less stress on his Jewish character and emphasize his 'Germanism' more. Though it must have appeared ridiculous and absurd at first sight, he was impudent enough to call himself a 'Teuton,' which

in this case, meant a German. In that way began one of the most infamous impositions that can be imagined. The Jew did not possess the slightest traces of the German character. He had only acquired the art of twisting the German language to his own uses, and that in a disgusting way, without having assimilated any other feature of the German character. Therefore, his command of the language was the sole ground on which he could pretend to be a German. It is not, however, by the tie of language, but exclusively by the tie of blood that the members of a race are bound together, and the Jew himself knows this better than any other, seeing that he attaches so little importance to the preservation of his own language while at the same time he strives his utmost to keep his blood free from intermixture with that of other races. A man may acquire and use a new language without much trouble, but it is only his old ideas that he expresses through the new language; his inner nature is not modified thereby. The best proof of this is furnished by the Jew himself. He may speak a thousand tongues and yet his Jewish nature will always remain one and the same. His distinguishing characteristics were the same when, as a grain-merchant, he spoke the Latin language at Ostia two thousand years ago, as they are to-day when he tries to sell adulterated flour with the aid of his German gibberish. He is always the same Jew. That so simple a fact is not recognized by the average head-clerk in a German government department, or by an officer in the police force, is also self-evident and obvious, since it would be difficult to find another class of people who are so lacking in instinct and intelligence as the civil servants employed by our modern German state authorities.

The reason why, at the stage I am dealing with, the Jew so suddenly decided to transform himself into a German is not difficult to discover. He felt the power of the princes slowly crumbling and therefore looked about to find a new social plank on which he might stand. Furthermore, his financial domination in all the spheres of economic life had become so great that he felt he could no longer sustain that

enormous structure, or extend his influence, unless he were admitted to the full enjoyment of the 'rights of citizenship.' He aimed at both, preservation and expansion; for the higher he could climb, the more alluring became the prospect of reaching the old goal, which was promised to him in ancient times, namely world domination to which he now looked forward with feverish eyes, as he thought he saw it within his grasp. Therefore, all his efforts were now directed to becoming a fully-fledged citizen, endowed with all civil and political rights.

That was the reason for his emancipation from the ghetto.

(i) Thus the Court Jew slowly developed into the democratic Jew, but naturally, he still remained associated with persons in higher quarters, and he even attempted to push his way further into the inner circles of the ruling set. At the same time some other representatives of his race were currying favour with the people. If we remember the crimes the Jew had committed against the masses of the people in the course of so many centuries, how repeatedly and ruthlessly he had exploited them and how he had sucked the very marrow of their substance, and when we further remember how they gradually came to hate him and finally considered him as a public scourge—then we can well understand how difficult the Jew must have found this final transformation; indeed, it must have taxed all his powers to be able to present himself as 'the friend of humanity' to the poor victims whom he had bled white.

Therefore, the Jew began by making public amends for the crimes which he had committed against the people in the past. He started his metamorphosis by first appearing as the 'benefactor' of humanity. Since his new philanthropic policy had a very concrete aim in view, he could not very well apply to himself the biblical counsel, not to allow his left hand to know what his right hand was doing. He felt obliged to let as many people as possible know how deeply the sufferings of the masses grieved him and to what excesses of personal sacrifice he was ready to go in order to

help them. With this manifestation of innate modesty, so typical of the Jew, he trumpeted his virtues to the world until finally the world actually began to believe him. Those who refused to share this belief were considered to be doing him an injustice. Thus, after a little while he began to twist things round, so as to make it appear that it was he who had always been wronged, and not *vice versa*. There were actually some particularly foolish people who could not help pitying this poor unfortunate creature of a Jew.

Attention may be called to the fact that, in spite of his proclaimed readiness to make personal sacrifices, the Jew never becomes poor thereby. He has a happy knack of always making both ends meet. Occasionally, his benevolence might be compared to the manure which is not spread over the field merely out of kindness, but rather with a view to future produce. Anyhow, after a comparatively short period of time, the world was given to know that the Jew had become a general benefactor and philanthropist. What a unique transformation!

What is looked upon as more or less natural when done by other people, here became an object of astonishment, and even sometimes of admiration, because it was considered so unusual in a Jew. That is why he has received more credit for his acts of benevolence than ordinary mortals. And something more! The Jew became liberal all of a sudden and began to talk enthusiastically of how human progress must be encouraged. Gradually he assumed the air of being the herald of a new age.

Yet, at the same time, he continued to undermine the groundwork of that economic system which is of most benefit to the people. He bought up stock in the various national undertakings and thus pushed his influence into the circle of national production, making this latter an object of buying and selling on the Stock Exchange, or rather what might be called a pawn in a financial game of chess, thus ruining the only basis on which personal proprietorship is possible. Only with the entrance of the Jew did that feeling of estrangement between employers and employees

begin which led at a later date to the political class-struggle.

Finally, the Jew gained an increasing influence in all economic undertakings by means of his predominance on the Stock Exchange. He secured, if not the ownership, at least the control of the working capacity of the nation.

In order to strengthen his political position, he directed his efforts towards removing the barrier of racial and civic discrimination which had hitherto hindered his advance at every turn. With characteristic tenacity he championed the cause of religious tolerance for this purpose, and in the freemason organization, which had fallen completely into his hands, he found a magnificent weapon which helped him to achieve his ends. Government circles, as well as the higher sections of the political and commercial bourgeoisie, fell a prey to his plans through his manipulation of the masonic net, though they themselves did not even suspect what was happening.

Only the people as such, or rather the masses which were just becoming conscious of their own power and were beginning to use it in the fight for their rights and liberties, had hitherto escaped the grip of the Jew. At least, his influence had not yet penetrated to the deeper and wider sections of the people. This was unsatisfactory to him. The most important phase of his policy was therefore to secure control over the people. The Jew realized that in his efforts to reach the position of public despot he would need a 'pace-maker,' and he thought he could find a pace-maker if he could whip-in sufficiently large sections of the bourgeoisie. but the freemasons failed to catch the glove-manufacturers and the linen-weavers in the frail meshes of their net, and so it became necessary to find a grosser and withal a more effective means. Thus another weapon beside that of freemasonry had to be secured. This was the press. The Jew exercised all his skill and tenacity in getting hold of it. By means of the press he began gradually to control public life in its entirety. He began to drive it along the road which he had chosen for the purpose of reaching his own ends, for he was now in a position to create and direct

that force which, under the name of 'public opinion' is better known to-day than it was some decades ago.

Simultaneously, the Jew gave himself the air of thirsting after knowledge. He lauded every phase of progress, particularly those phases which led to the ruin of others, for he judges all progress and development from the standpoint of the advantages which these bring to his own people. When it brings him no such advantages, he is the deadly enemy of enlightenment and hates all culture which is real culture as such. All the knowledge which he acquires in the schools of others is exploited by him exclusively in the service of his own race.

He now guarded his Jewish 'nationality' more jealously than ever before. Though bubbling over with talk of enlightenment, 'progress,' 'liberty,' 'humanity,' etc., his first care was to preserve the racial integrity of his own people. He occasionally bestowed one of his female offspring on an influential Christian, but the racial stock of his male descendants was always preserved unmixed on principle. He poisoned the blood of others, but preserved his own blood unadulterated. The Jew scarcely ever married a Christian girl, but the Christian took a Jewess to wife. The mongrels that were the issue of this latter union always took after the Jewish side. Thus a part of the higher nobility in particular became completely degenerate. The Jew was well aware of this fact and systematically used this means of disarming the intellectual leaders of the opposite race. To mask his tactics and fool his victims, he talked of the equality of all men, no matter what their race or colour, and the simpletons began to believe him.

Since his whole nature still retained too much that was alien for the broad masses of the people to allow themselves to be caught in his snare, he used the press to put before the public a picture of himself which was entirely untrue to life, but well designed to serve his purpose. In the comic papers special efforts were made to represent the Jews as an inoffensive little race which, like all others had its peculiarities. The comic papers presented the Jews as fun-

damentally goodhearted and honourable in spite of their manners, which might seem a bit strange. An attempt was generally made to make them appear insignificant, rather than dangerous.

During this phase of his progress the chief goal of the Jew was the victory of democracy, or rather the supreme hegemony of the parliamentary system, which embodied his concept of democracy. This institution harmonized best with his purpose, for thus the personal element was eliminated and in its place we had the dunderheaded majority, inefficiency and, last but by no means least, cowardice.

The final result must necessarily have been the overthrow of the monarchy, which had to come sooner or later.

(j) A tremendous economic development transformed the social structure of the nation. As the small handicrafts gradually disappeared, the manual worker was robbed of the chance of earning his bread independently, and sank to the level of the proletariat. In his stead came the factory worker, whose essential characteristic is that he is seldom in a position to support himself independently in later life. In the true sense of the word, he is 'disinherited.' His old age is a misery to him and can hardly be called a life at all.

In earlier times a similar situation had been created, which had imperatively demanded a solution and for which a solution was found. Side by side with the peasant and the artisan, a new class had gradually developed, namely, that of officials and employees, especially those employed in the various services of the State. They also were a 'disinherited' class, in the true sense of the word, but the State found a remedy for this unhealthy situation by taking upon itself the duty of providing for the State official who was not in a position to make provision for his old age. Thus the system of pensions and retiring allowances was introduced. Private enterprises slowly followed this example in increasing numbers, so that to-day every permanent non-manual worker receives a pension in his later years, if the firm which he has served is one that has reached or exceeded a certain limit of size. It was only by virtue of

the assurance given to State officials, that they would be cared for in their old age, that such a high degree of unselfish devotion to duty was developed, which in pre-war times was one of the distinguishing characteristics of German officials.

Thus a whole class which had no personal property was saved from destitution by an intelligent system of provision, and found a place in the social structure of the national community.

The problem has once again arisen for the State and the nation, but this time it is more comprehensive. When the new industries sprang up and developed, millions of people left the countryside and the villages to take up employment in the big factories. The conditions under which this new class found itself forced to live were worse than miserable. The more or less mechanical transformation of the methods of work hitherto in vogue among the artisans and peasants did not fit in well with the habits or mentality of this new working-class. The way in which the peasants and artisans had formerly worked had nothing comparable to the intensive labour of the new factory-worker. In the old trades, time did not play a highly important role, but it became an essential element in the new industrial system. The formal taking over of the old working hours by the mammoth industrial enterprises had fatal results. The actual amount of work hitherto accomplished within a certain time was comparatively small, because the modern methods of intensive production were then unknown. Therefore, although under the older system a working day of fourteen or even fifteen hours was not unendurable, now it was beyond the limits of human endurance, because under the new system every minute was utilized to the extreme. This absurd transference of the old working hours to the new industrial system proved fatal in two directions. Firstly, it ruined the health of the workers; secondly, it destroyed their faith in a superior law of justice. Finally, on the one hand, a miserable wage was received and, on the other, the employer held a much more lucrative position than before.

In the open country there could be no social problem, because the master and the farm-hand were doing the same kind of work and doing it together. They ate their food in common, and sometimes even out of the same dish. But this, too, was altered. The division created between employer and employee seems now to have extended to all branches of life. How far this Judaizing process has been allowed to take effect among our people is illustrated by the fact that manual labour not only receives practically no recognition, but is even considered degrading. That is not a natural German attitude. It is due to the introduction of a foreign element into our lives, and that foreign element is the Jewish spirit, one of the effects of which has been to transform the high esteem in which our handicrafts were once held into a certain contempt for all manual labour.

Thus a new social class has grown up which stands in low esteem, and the day must come when we shall have to face the question of whether the nation will be able to make this class an integral part of the social community, or whether the difference of status now existing will become a permanent gulf separating this class from the others.

One thing, however, is certain, namely, that this class does not include the worst elements of the community in its ranks, on the contrary, it includes the most energetic elements of the nation. The sophistication which is the result of a so-called civilization has not yet exercised its disintegrating and degenerating influence on this class. The broad masses of this new lower class, consisting of the manual labourers, have not yet fallen a prey to the morbid weakness of pacifism. They are still robust and, if necessary, they can be brutal.

While our bourgeois middle class paid no attention at all to this momentous problem and indifferently allowed events to take their course, the Jew realized the manifold possibilities which the situation offered him for the future. While, on the one hand, he organized capitalistic methods of exploitation to the highest possible degree, he curried favour with the victims of his policy and his power and in

a short while became the leader of their struggle against himself. 'Against himself' is here only a figurative way of speaking; for this 'great master of lies' knows how to appear in the guise of the innocent and throw the guilt on others. Since he had the impudence to take a personal lead among the masses, they never for a moment suspected that they were falling a prey to one of the most infamous deceptions ever practised. Yet that is what it actually was.

The moment this new class had arisen out of the general economic situation and taken shape as a definite body in the social order, the Jew clearly saw where he would find the necessary pace-maker for his own progressive march. At first he had used the bourgeois class as a battering-ram against the feudal order, and now he used the worker against the bourgeois world. Just as he succeeded in obtaining civic rights by intrigues carried on under the protection of the bourgeois class, he now hoped that by joining in the struggle which the workers were waging for their own existence, he would be able to obtain the mastery he desired.

When that moment arrives, the only objective the workers will have to fight for will be the future of the Jewish people. Without knowing it, the worker is placing himself at the service of the very power against which he believes he is fighting. Apparently he is being made to fight against capital and thus he is all the more easily brought to fight for capitalistic interests. Outcries are systematically raised against international capital, but in reality it is against the national economic structure that these slogans are directed. The idea is to demolish this structure and on its ruins triumphantly erect the structure of the International Stock Exchange.

The method of procedure of the Jew was as follows: He kowtowed to the worker, hypocritically pretended to feel pity for him and his lot, and even to be indignant at the misery and poverty which he had to endure. That is the way in which the Jew endeavoured to gain the confidence of the working class. He showed himself eager to study

their various hardships, whether real or imaginary, and strove to awaken a yearning on the part of the workers to change the conditions under which they lived. The Jew artfully enkindled that innate yearning for social justice which is a typical Aryan characteristic. Once that yearning became alive, it was transformed into hatred against those in more fortunate circumstances of life. The next stage was to give a precise ideological aspect to the struggle for the elimination of social wrongs, and thus the Marxist doctrine was invented.

By presenting this doctrine as part and parcel of a just revindication of social rights, the Jew propagated it all the more effectively, but at the same time he provoked the opposition of decent people who refused to admit these demands which, because of the form and pseudo-philosophical trimmings in which they were presented, seemed fundamentally unjust and unrealizable, for, under the cloak of purely social concepts there were hidden aims which were of a Satanic character. These aims are even openly expounded with the clarity of unlimited impudence. This Marxist doctrine is an indivisible mixture of human reason and human absurdity, but the combination is arranged in such a way that only the absurd part of it could ever be put into practice, never the reasonable part. By categorically repudiating the personal worth of the individual and also of the nation and its racial constitution, this doctrine destroys the fundamental basis of all civilization, for civilization depends essentially on these very factors. Such is the true essence of the Marxist *Weltanschauung*, in so far as the word *Weltanschauung* can be applied at all to these phantoms arising from a criminal brain. The destruction of the concept of personality and of race removes the chief obstacle which barred the way to domination of the social body by its inferior elements, which are the Jews.

The very absurdity of the economic and political theories of Marxism gives the doctrine its peculiar significance. Because of its pseudo-logic, intelligent people refuse to support it, while all those who are less accustomed to use

their intellectual faculties, or who have only a rudimentary notion of economic principles, join the Marxist cause wholeheartedly. The intelligence behind the movement—for even this movement needs intelligence if it is to subsist—is supplied by the Jews themselves, as a 'sacrifice' on their part.

Thus arose a movement which was composed exclusively of manual workers under the leadership of Jews. To all external appearances, this movement strives to ameliorate the conditions under which the workers live, but in reality its aim is to enslave and thereby annihilate the non-Jewish peoples.

The propaganda which the freemasons had carried on among the so-called intelligentsia, whereby their pacifist teaching paralysed the instinct for national self-preservation, was now extended to the broad masses of the workers and the bourgeoisie by means of the press, which was almost everywhere in Jewish hands. To those two instruments of disintegration, a third and still more ruthless one was added, namely, the organization of brute force. In massed columns of attack Marxism was intended to complete the work of attrition which the two weapons formerly employed had brought to the verge of fulfilment.

The combined activity of all these forces has been marvellously managed, and it will not be surprising if it turns out that those institutions which have always appeared as the organs of the more or less traditional authority of the State should now fall before the Marxist attack. With very few exceptions, the Jew has found the most complacent promoters of his work of destruction among the higher, and even the highest, government officials. An attitude of sneaking servility towards 'superiors' and supercilious arrogance towards 'inferiors' are the characteristics of this class of people, as well as an appalling stupidity which is exceeded only by its amazing self-conceit. These qualities are of the greatest utility to the Jew in his dealings with our authorities and consequently he appreciates them.

If I were to sketch roughly the actual struggle which is now beginning I should describe it somewhat thus: —

Not satisfied with the economic conquest of the world, but demanding that it must also come under his political control, the Jew subdivides the organized Marxist power into two parts, which correspond to the ultimate objectives that are to be fought for in this struggle which is carried on under his direction. To outward appearance, these seem to be two independent movements, but in reality they constitute an indivisible unity. The two divisions are the political movement and the trade-union movement.

The trade-union movement has to gather in the recruits. It offers assistance and protection to the workers in the hard struggle which they have to wage for the bare means of existence, a struggle which has been occasioned by the greediness and narrow-mindedness of many of the industrialists. Unless the workers are ready to surrender all claims to an existence which the mere dignity of human nature itself demands, and unless they are ready to submit their fate to the will of employers who, in many cases, have no sense of human responsibility and are utterly callous to human wants, then the worker must necessarily take matters into his own hands, seeing that the organized social community—that is to say, the State—pays no attention to his needs.

The so-called national-minded bourgeoisie, blinded by its own material interests, opposes this life-and-death struggle of the workers and places the most difficult obstacles in their way. Not only does this bourgeoisie hinder all efforts to bring in legislation which would shorten the inhumanly long hours of work, prohibit child-labour, grant security and protection to women and improve the hygienic conditions in the workshops and the dwellings of the working class, but while it is engaged in so doing, the shrewd Jew takes the cause of the oppressed into his own hands. He gradually becomes the leader of the trade-union movement, which is an easy task for him, because he does not genuinely intend to find remedies for the social wrong; he pursues only one objective, namely, to gather and consolidate a body of followers who will act under his command as an armed

weapon in the economic war for the destruction of national economic independence. For, while a sound social policy has to aim at a double objective, that of securing a decent standard of public health and welfare on the one hand, and that of safeguarding the independence of the economic life of the nation, on the other, the Jew does not take these two aims into account at all. The destruction of both is one of his main objects. He would ruin, rather than safeguard, the independence of the national economic system. Therefore, as the leader of the trade-union movement he has no scruples about putting forward demands which not only go beyond the declared purpose of the movement, but could not be carried into effect without ruining the national economic structure. On the other hand, he has no interest in seeing a healthy and sturdy population develop; he would be more content to see the people degenerate into an unthinking herd which could be reduced to total subjection. Because these are his final objectives, he can afford to put forward the most absurd claims. He knows very well that these claims can never be realized and that, therefore, nothing in the actual state of affairs can be altered by them, but that the most they can do is to arouse the spirit of unrest among the masses. That is exactly the purpose which he wishes such propaganda to serve and not a real and honest improvement of the social status of the worker.

The Jews will, therefore, remain the unquestioned leaders of the trade-union movement as long as no far-reaching campaign is undertaken for the enlightenment of the masses, in order that they may be better enabled to understand the causes of their misery. The same end might be achieved if the government authorities were to get rid of the Jew and his work, for as long as the masses remain as ill-informed as they actually are to-day, and as long as the State remains as indifferent to their lot as it now is, the masses will follow whatever leaders make them the most extravagant promises in regard to economic matters. The Jew is a past-master in this art and his activities are not hampered by moral considerations of any kind.

Naturally, it takes him only a short time to defeat all his competitors in this field and drive them from the scene of action. In accordance with the general brutality and rapacity of his nature, he turns the trade-union movement into an organization for the exercise of physical violence. The resistance and antipathy of those whose insight has hitherto saved them from swallowing the Jewish bait, have been broken down by terrorism. The success of that kind of activity is enormous. Actually, the Jew is using the trade-union, which could be a blessing to the nation, as a weapon with which to destroy the foundations of the national economic structure.

Side by side with this, the political organization advances. It operates hand-in-hand with the trade-union movement, inasmuch as the latter prepares the masses for the political organization and even forces them into it. This is also the source that provides the money which the political organization needs to keep its enormous apparatus in action. The trade-union organization is the organ of control for the political activity of its members and whips in the masses for all great political demonstrations. In the end, it ceases to struggle for economic interests but places its chief weapon, refusal to continue work (which takes the form of a general strike) at the disposal of the political movement.

In a press, the reading matter of which is adapted to the level of the most ignorant readers, the political and trade-union organizations are provided with an instrument which prepares the lowest stratum of the nation for a campaign of ruthless destruction. It is not considered part of the purpose of this press to inspire its readers with ideals which might help them to lift their minds above the sordid conditions of their daily lives, but, on the contrary, it panders to their lowest instincts. Among the lazy-minded and self-seeking sections of the masses this kind of speculation turns out lucrative.

It is this press, above all, which carries on a fanatical campaign of calumny, strives to tear down everything that might be considered a mainstay of national independence.

cultural standing and economic self-sufficiency. It aims its attacks especially against all men of character who refuse to fall into line with the Jewish efforts to obtain control over the State, or who appear dangerous to the Jews merely because of their superior intelligence. In order to incur the enmity of the Jew it is not necessary to show any open hostility towards him; it is sufficient if a man is considered capable of opposing the Jew at some time in the future, or of using his abilities and character to enhance the power and position of a nation which the Jew considers hostile to himself.

The Jew's instinct, which never fails where these problems have to be dealt with, readily discerns the true mentality of those whom he meets in everyday life and those who are not of a kindred spirit may be sure of being listed among his enemies. Since the Jew is not the object of aggression, but himself the aggressor, he considers as his enemies not only those who attack him, but also those who may be capable of resisting him. The means which he employs to break people of this kind who show themselves decent and upright, is no honourable conflict, but falsehood and calumny. He will stop at nothing. His utterly low-down conduct is so appalling that one really cannot be surprised if, in the imagination of our people, Satan, as the incarnation of all evil, assumes the form and features of the Jew.

The ignorance of the broad masses as regards the inner character of the Jew, and the lack of instinct and insight displayed by our upper classes, are among the reasons which explain how it is that so many people fall an easy prey to the systematic campaign of falsehood which the Jew carries on.

While the upper classes, with their innate cowardliness, turn away from anyone whom the Jew thus attacks with lies and calumny, the common people are credulous of everything, whether because of their ignorance or their simple-mindedness. Government authorities wrap themselves in a cloak of silence, but more frequently they persecute the

victims of Jewish attacks in order to stop the campaign in the Jewish press. To the fatuous mind of the government official, such a line of conduct appears to be in line with the policy of upholding the authority of the State and preserving public order. Gradually, the Marxist weapon in the hands of the Jew becomes a constant bogey to decent people and weighs upon them like a kind of nightmare. People begin to quail before this fearful foe and thereby become his victims.

(k) The domination of the Jew in the State seems now so fully assured that not only can he afford to call himself a Jew once again, but he even acknowledges freely and openly his ideas on racial and political questions. A section of the Jews avows itself quite openly as an alien people, but even here there is another falsehood. When the Zionists try to make the rest of the world believe that the new national consciousness of the Jews will be satisfied by the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, the Jews thereby adopt another means to dupe the simple-minded Aryan. They have not the slightest intention of building up a Jewish State in Palestine so as to live in it. What they are really aiming at is to establish a central organization for their international swindling and cheating. As a sovereign State, this cannot be controlled by any of the other States. Therefore, it can serve as a refuge for swindlers who have been found out, and at the same time, a high school for the training of other swindlers.

As a sign of their growing confidence and sense of security, a certain section of them openly and impudently proclaims its Jewish nationality, while another section hypocritically pretends to be German, French or English, as the case may be. Their blatant behaviour in their relations with other people shows how clearly they envisage their day of triumph in the near future.

The black-haired Jewish youth lies in wait for hours on end, satanically glaring at and spying on the unsuspecting girl whom he plans to seduce, adulterating her blood and removing her from the bosom of her own people. The Jew uses every possible means to undermine the racial foundations

of a people to be subjugated. In his systematic efforts to ruin girls and women he strives to break down the last barriers of racial discrimination. The Jews were responsible for bringing negroes into the Rhineland, with the ultimate idea of bastardizing the white race which they hate, and thus lowering its cultural and political level so that the Jew might dominate. As long as a people remains racially pure and race-conscious, it can never be overcome by the Jew. Never in this world can the Jew become master of any people except a bastardized people. That is why the Jew systematically endeavours to lower the racial quality of a people by permanently adulterating the blood of the individuals who make up that people.

In the field of politics he now begins to replace the idea of democracy by that of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the masses organized under the Marxist banners he has found a weapon which makes it possible for him to discard democracy, so as to subjugate and rule the nations in a dictatorial fashion by the aid of brute force. He works systematically in order to bring about this revolution by two methods, the economic and the political.

Aided by international influences, he forms a ring of enemies around those nations which have proved themselves too sturdy for him, in withstanding attacks from within. He tries to force them into war and then, if it should be necessary to his plans, he will unfurl the banners of revolt even while the troops are actually fighting at the front.

Economically, he brings about the destruction of the State by a systematic method of sabotaging social enterprises until these become so costly that they are taken out of the hands of the State and submitted to the control of Jewish finance. Politically, he works to withdraw from the State its means of subsistence, inasmuch as he undermines the foundations of national resistance and defence, destroys the confidence which the people have in their government, reviles the past and its history and drags everything really great into the gutter.

Culturally, his activity consists in poisoning art, literature

and the theatre, holding the expression of natural sentiment up to scorn, overturning all concepts of the sublime and beautiful, the worthy and the good, finally dragging the people down to the level of his own low mentality.

Of religion he makes a mockery. Morality and decency are described as antiquated prejudices and thus a systematic attack is made for the purpose of undermining those last foundations on which the national being must rest if the nation is to struggle for its existence in this world.

(1) Now begins the great and final revolution. As soon as the Jew is in possession of political power he drops all pretence. Out of the democratic Jew, the Jew of the people, arises the Jew thirsting for blood, the tyrant of the peoples. In the course of a few years he endeavours to exterminate all those who represent the national intelligentzia, and by thus depriving the peoples of their natural intellectual leaders he prepares them for their fate as slaves under a lasting despotism.

Russia furnishes the most terrible example of such slavery. In that country the Jew killed or starved thirty millions of the people in a bout of savage fanaticism and resorted to the employment of inhuman torture. He did this so that a gang of Jewish would-be literati and financial bandits should dominate over a great people. The final consequence is not merely that the people lose all their freedom under the domination of the Jews, but that in the end, these parasites themselves disappear. The death of the victim is followed sooner or later by that of the vampire.

If we review all the causes which contributed to bring about the downfall of the German people we shall find that the most profound and decisive cause lies in lack of insight into the racial problem and especially in failure to recognize the Jewish menace.

It would have been easy enough to endure the defeats suffered on the battlefields in August 1918. They were nothing as compared with the military victories which our nation had achieved. Our downfall was not the result of those defeats; we were overthrown by that force which had

prepared those defeats by systematically operating for several decades to destroy those political instincts and that moral stamina which alone enable a people to struggle for its existence and thereby secure the right to exist.

By neglecting the problem of preserving the racial foundations of our national life, the old Reich abrogated the sole right which entitles a people to live on this planet. Nations that make mongrels of their people or allow their people to be turned into mongrels, sin against the Will of Eternal Providence, and thus their overthrow at the hands of a stronger opponent cannot be looked upon as a wrong but, on the contrary, as a restoration of justice. If a people refuses to guard and uphold the qualities with which it has been endowed by Nature and which have their roots in the racial blood, then such a people has no right to complain over the loss of its earthly existence.

Everything on this earth can be changed for the better. Every defeat may be made the foundation of a future victory. Every lost war may be the cause of a later resurgence. Every form of distress can give a new impetus to human energy, and from oppression those forces can develop which bring about a re-birth of the national soul --provided always that the racial blood is kept pure.

The loss of racial purity will wreck inner happiness for ever. It degrades men for all time to come, and the physical and moral consequences can never be wiped out. If this unique problem be studied and compared with the other problems of life we shall easily recognize how small is their importance in comparison with this. They are all limited in time, but the problem of the maintenance or loss of the purity of the racial blood will last as long as man himself exists. All the symptoms of decline which manifested themselves in pre-war times can be traced back to the racial problem.

Whether one is dealing with questions of general law, of monstrous wrongs in economic life, of phenomena which point to a cultural decline or political degeneration whether it be a question of defects in the school-system or of the evil influence which the press exerts over the adult population

—in every case these phenomena are caused by a lack of consideration for the interests of the race to which one's own nation belongs, or by failure to recognize the danger that comes from allowing a foreign race to exist within the national body.

That is why all attempts at reform, all institutions for social relief, all political striving, all economic progress and all apparent increase in the general stock of knowledge, were doomed to be unproductive of any significant results. The nation, as well as the organization which enables it to exist, namely, the State, were not developing in inner strength and stability but were, on the contrary, visibly losing their vitality. The false brilliance of the Second Reich could not disguise its inner weakness, and every attempt to invigorate it anew failed, because the main and most important problem was left out of consideration.

It would be a mistake to think that the followers of the various political parties which tried to doctor the condition of the German people, or even all their leaders, were bad in themselves or meant wrong. Their activity was doomed to fail, merely because, at best, they saw nothing but the symptoms of our general malady and they tried to doctor the symptoms while they overlooked the real cause of the disease. If one makes a methodical study of the lines along which the old Reich developed, one cannot help seeing, after a careful political analysis, that a process of inner degeneration had already set in, even at the time when the united Reich was established and the German nation was enjoying prosperity. The general situation was declining, in spite of apparent political success and in spite of increasing economic wealth. At the Reichstag elections the growing number of Marxist votes indicated that the internal breakdown and the political collapse were rapidly approaching. All the victories of the so-called bourgeois parties were fruitless, not only because they could not prevent the numerical increase in the growing mass of Marxist votes, even when the bourgeois parties triumphed at the polls, but mainly because they themselves were already infected with

the germs of decay. Though quite unaware of it, the bourgeois world was infected from within with the deadly virus of Marxist ideas. The fact that they sometimes openly resisted was to be attributed to rivalry between ambitious political leaders, rather than to any opposition on principle between adversaries who were determined to fight one another to the bitter end. During all those years only one protagonist was fighting with steadfast perseverance. This was the Jew. The star of David steadily ascended, as the will to national self-preservation declined.

Therefore, it was not a nation filled with the determination to attack, which rushed to the battlefields in August 1914, but it was rather the manifestation of the last flickering instinct of national self-preservation in the face of the progress of the paralysis with which the pacifist and Marxist doctrine threatened our people. Even in those days when the fate of the nation hung in the balance, the internal enemy was not recognized and therefore all efforts to resist the external enemy were bound to be in vain. Providence did not grant the reward to the victorious sword, but followed the eternal law of retributive justice. A profound recognition of all this was the source of those principles and tendencies which inspire our new Movement. We were convinced that only by recognizing such truths could we stop the national decline in Germany and lay a granite foundation on which the State could again be built up, a State which would not be a piece of mechanism alien to our people, constituted for economic needs and interests, but an organism created from the soul of the people themselves.

A GERMANIC STATE OF THE GERMAN NATION

CHAPTER XII

THE FIRST STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMAN LABOUR PARTY

HERE AT THE CLOSE OF THIS VOLUME I SHALL describe the first stage in the progress of our Movement and shall give a brief account of the problems we had to deal with during that period. In doing this I have no intention of expounding the ideals which we have set up as the goal of our Movement, for these ideals are so momentous in their significance that an exposition of them will need a whole volume. Therefore, I shall devote the second volume of this book to a detailed survey of the principles which form the programme of our Movement and I shall attempt to draw a picture of what we mean by the word 'State.' When I say 'we', in this connection, I mean to include all those hundreds of thousands who have fundamentally the same longing, though in the individual cases they cannot find adequate words to describe the vision that hovers before their eyes. It is a characteristic feature of all great reforms that, in the beginning, there is only one single protagonist to come forward on behalf of several million people. The final goal of a great reformation has often been the object of profound longing on the part of hundreds of thousands for centuries past, until finally one among them comes forward as a herald to announce the will of that multitude and become the champion of the old desire, which he now sets about triumphantly realizing in the form of a new ideal.

The fact that millions of our people yearn for a radical change in our present conditions is proved by the profound discontent which exists among them. This feeling is

manifested in a thousand ways. Some express it in their discouragement and despair; others show it in resentment, anger and indignation. In some this profound discontent calls forth an attitude of indifference, while it urges others to violent manifestations of wrath. Another indication of this feeling may be seen, on the one hand, in the attitude of those who abstain from voting at elections and, on the other in the large numbers of those who side with the fanatical extremists of the left wing.

It was to the latter that our young Movement had to appeal first of all. It was not to be an organization for contented and satisfied people, but was meant to gather in all those who were suffering from profound anxiety and could find no peace, those who were unhappy and discontented. It was not meant to float on the surface of national life, but rather to push its roots deep down among the people.

Looked at from the purely political point of view, the situation in 1918 was as follows: - A nation had been torn asunder. One part, which was by far the smaller of the two, comprised the intellectual classes of the nation, from which all those employed in physical labour were excluded. On the surface, these intellectual classes appeared to be national-minded, but that word meant nothing to them except a very vague and feeble concept of the duty to defend what they called the interests of the State, which in turn seemed identical with those of the dynastic regime. This class tried to defend its ideas and realize its aims by carrying on the fight with the aid of intellectual weapons, which, insufficient and superficial enough in the face of the brutal methods adopted by the adversary, were, of their very nature, bound to fail. With one violent blow the class which had hitherto governed was now struck down; it trembled with fear and accepted every humiliation imposed on it by the merciless victor.

Over against this class stood the broad masses of manual labourers who were organized in movements with a more or less radically Marxist tendency. These organized

masses were firmly determined to break any kind of intellectual resistance by the use of brute force. They had no nationalist tendencies whatsoever and deliberately repudiated the idea of advancing the interests of the nation as such. On the contrary, they promoted the interests of the foreign oppressor. Numerically, this class embraced the majority of the population and, what is more important, included all those elements of the nation without whose collaboration a national resurgence was not only a practical impossibility, but was even inconceivable. Even in 1918 one thing had to be clearly recognized, namely, that no resurgence of the German nation could take place until we had first re-established our national strength in relation to the outside world. For this purpose arms were not the preliminary necessity, though our bourgeois 'statesmen' always blathered about it being so; what was wanted was will-power. At one time the German people had more than sufficient armaments, and yet that did not suffice for the defence of its liberty, because it lacked that energy which springs from the instinct of national self-preservation and the will to hold one's own. The best armament is only dead and worthless material as long as the spirit is wanting which makes men willing and determined to avail themselves of such weapons. Germany was rendered defenceless, not because she lacked arms, but because she lacked the will to keep her arms for the further preservation of her people.

To-day our left-wing politicians, in particular, are constantly insisting that their craven-hearted and obsequious, but in reality treacherous, foreign policy necessarily results from the disarmament of Germany. To all that kind of talk the answer ought to be, 'No, the contrary is the truth. Your action in delivering up the arms was dictated by your anti-national and criminal policy of abandoning the interests of the nation. Now you try to make people believe that your miserable whining is fundamentally due to the fact that you have no arms. Just like everything else in your conduct, this is a lie and a falsification of the true facts.'

The politicians of the right deserve exactly the same

reproach. It was through their miserable cowardice that those ruffians of Jews who came into power in 1918 were able to rob the nation of its arms. The conservative politicians have neither right nor reason on their side when they cite disarmament as the cause which compelled them to adopt a policy of prudence (that is to say, of cowardice). The truth is that disarmament is the result of their pusillanimity.

Therefore, the problem of restoring Germany's power is not a question of how we can manufacture arms, but rather a question of how we can foster that spirit which enables a people to bear arms. Once this spirit prevails among a people, then it will find a thousand ways, each of which leads to the acquisition of arms. A coward will not fire even a single shot when attacked, though he may be armed with ten pistols; to him they are of less value than a blackthorn in the hands of a man of courage.

The problem of re-establishing the political power of our nation is first of all a problem of restoring the instinct of national self-preservation, if for no other reason than that every preparatory step in foreign policy and every weighing-up by foreign Powers of the military value of a State has been proved by experience to be grounded not on the total amount of armaments such a State may possess, but rather on the moral capacity for resistance which such a State has, or is believed to have. The question whether or not a nation be desirable as an ally is determined not so much by the inert mass of arms which it has at hand, but by the obvious presence of an enthusiastic will to national self-preservation and a heroic courage which will fight to the last breath, for an alliance is not made between arms but between men.

The British nation will, therefore, be considered as the most valuable ally in the world as long as it can be counted upon to show that brutality and tenacity in its government, as well as in the spirit of the broad masses, which enables it to carry on till victory any struggle upon which it once enters, no matter how long such a struggle may last, no

matter how great the sacrifice that may be necessary and no matter what the means that have to be employed—and all this even though the actual military equipment at hand may be utterly inadequate as compared with that of other nations.

Once it is understood that the restoration of Germany is a question of reawakening the will to political self-preservation we shall see quite clearly that it will not be enough to win over those elements that are already national-minded, but that the deliberately anti-national masses must be converted to believe in the national ideals.

A young movement that aims at re-establishing a German State with full sovereign powers will therefore have to make the task of winning over the broad masses a special objective of its plan of campaign. Our so-called 'national bourgeoisie' are so lamentably supine, generally speaking, and their national spirit appears so feckless, that we may feel sure they will offer no serious resistance against a vigorous national foreign or domestic policy. Even though the narrow-minded German bourgeoisie should keep up a passive resistance when the hour of deliverance is at hand, as they did in Bismarck's time, we shall never have to fear any active resistance on their part, because of their acknowledged and proverbial cowardice.

It is quite different with the masses of our population, who are imbued with ideas of internationalism. Through the primitive roughness of their natures, they are disposed to accept the idea of violence, while at the same time their Jewish leaders are more brutal and ruthless. They will crush any attempt at a German revival, just as they smashed the German Army by striking at it from the rear. Above all, these organized masses will use their numerical majority in this parliamentary State, not only to hinder any national foreign policy, but also to prevent Germany from restoring her prestige abroad and so establishing her desirability as an ally, for it is not we ourselves alone who are aware of the handicap that results from the existence of fifteen million Marxists, democrats, pacifists and followers of the Centre

in our midst; foreign nations also recognize this internal burden which we have to bear and take it into their calculations when estimating the value of a possible alliance with us. Nobody would wish to form an alliance with a State where the active portion of the population is at least passively opposed to any resolute foreign policy.

The situation is made still worse by reason of the fact that the leaders of those parties which were responsible for the betrayal of the nation are ready to oppose any and every attempt at a revival, simply because they want to retain the positions they now hold. According to the laws that govern human history, it is inconceivable that the German people could resume the place they formerly held without retaliating on those who were both cause and occasion of the collapse that involved the ruin of our State. Before the judgment-seat of posterity November 1918 will not be regarded as a simple rebellion but as high treason against the country.

Therefore, it is not possible to think of re-establishing German sovereignty and political independence without at the same time reconstructing a united front within the nation.

Looked at from the standpoint of practical ways and means, it seems absurd to think of liberating Germany from foreign bondage as long as the masses of the people are not willing to support such an ideal of freedom. Considering this problem from the purely military point of view, everybody, and in particular every officer, will agree that a war cannot be waged against an outside enemy by battalions of students; but that, together with the brains of the nation, the physical strength of the nation is also necessary. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the nation would be robbed of irreplaceable assets, if the national defence were composed only of the intellectual circles, as they are called. The young German intellectuals who joined the volunteer regiments and fell on the battlefields of Flanders in the autumn of 1914 were bitterly missed later on. They were the most valuable treasure which the nation possessed

and their loss could not be made good in the course of the war. It is not only the struggle itself which could not be waged if the working classes of the nation did not join the storm battalions, but the necessary technical preparations could not be made without a united will and a common front within the nation itself. Our nation which has to exist disarmed under the thousand eyes appointed by the Versailles Peace Treaty, cannot make any technical preparations for the recovery of its freedom and human independence, until the whole army of spies employed within the country is cut down to those few whose inborn baseness would lead them to betray anything and everything for the proverbial thirty pieces of silver. We can deal with such people, but the millions, who are opposed to the national revival, simply because of their political opinions, constitute an insurmountable obstacle. At least, the obstacle will remain insurmountable, as long as the cause of their opposition, which is international Marxism, is not overcome and its teachings banished from both their hearts and minds.

From whatever point of view we may examine the possibility of recovering our independence as a State and as a nation, whether we consider the problem from the standpoint of technical rearmament or from that of the actual struggle itself, the necessary prerequisite always remains the same. This prerequisite is that the broad masses of the people must first be won over to accept the principle of our national independence.

If we do not regain our external freedom, every step forward in domestic reform will be at best an augmentation of our productive powers for the benefit of those nations that look upon us as a colony to be exploited. The surplus produced by any so-called economic revival would only go into the hands of our international supervisors, and any social betterment would at best increase our output, to the advantage of those persons. No cultural progress can be made by the German nation, because such progress is too much bound up with the political independence and dignity of a people.

Since, therefore, we can find a satisfactory solution for the problem of Germany's future only by winning over the broad masses of our people for the support of the national idea, this must be considered the highest and most important task to be accomplished by a movement which does not strive merely to satisfy the needs of the moment, but considers itself bound to examine in the light of future results everything it decides to do or to refrain from doing.

As early as 1919 we were convinced that to make the masses national-minded would have to constitute the first and paramount aim of the new movement. From the tactical standpoint, this decision brought with it a certain number of obligations.

(1) No social sacrifice could be considered too great in this effort to win over the masses for the national revival.

Whatever economic concessions are granted to-day to employees are negligible when compared with the benefit to be reaped by the whole nation if such concessions contribute to bring back the masses of the people once more to an appreciation of their own nationality. Nothing but meanness and short-sightedness, which are characteristics that are unfortunately only too prevalent among our employers, could prevent people from recognizing that in the long run no economic improvement and therefore no rise in profits are possible unless the internal '*völkisch*' solidarity of our nation be restored.

If the German trade-unions had defended the interests of the working-classes uncompromisingly during the War; if, even during the War, they had used the weapon of the strike to force the industrialists (who were greedy for higher dividends) to grant the demands of the workers for whom the unions acted; if at the same time they had stood up as good Germans for the defence of the nation as stoutly as for their own claims, and if they had given as unstintingly to their country that which was their country's due—then the War would never have been lost. How ludicrously insignificant would all, and even the greatest, economic

concessions have been as compared with the tremendous importance of such a victory!

For a movement which would restore the German worker to the German people it is, therefore, absolutely necessary to understand clearly that economic sacrifices must be considered ne~~ce~~ssible in such cases, provided, of course, that they do not go the length of endangering the independence and stability of the national economic system.

(2) The education of the masses along national lines can be carried out only indirectly, by improving social conditions, for only by such a process can the economic conditions be created which enable everybody to share in the cultural life of the nation.

(3) The making of the broad masses national-minded can never be achieved by half-measures—that is to say, by feebly insisting on what is called the objective side of the question—but only by a ruthless and fanatically one-sided insistence on the aim which must be achieved. This means that a people cannot be made 'national' in the sense of that word as accepted by our bourgeois class to-day—that is to say, nationalism with many reservations—but 'national' in the vehement and extreme sense. Poison can be overcome only by a counter-poison and only the supine bourgeois mind could think that the Kingdom of Heaven can be attained by a compromise.

The broad masses of a nation are not made up of professors and diplomats. Since these masses have but little acquaintance with abstract ideas, their reactions lie more in the domain of the feelings, which determine their positive or their negative attitude as the case may be. They are susceptible only to a manifestation of strength which comes definitely either from the positive or the negative side, but they are never susceptible to any half-hearted attitude that wavers between one pole and the other. The emotional grounds of their attitude furnish the reason for their extraordinary stability. It is always more difficult to fight successfully against faith than against knowledge. Love is less subject to change than respect. Hatred is more lasting

than mere aversion. None of the tremendous revolutions which this world has witnessed, have been brought about by a scientific revelation, which has moved the masses, but always by an ardour which has inspired them and often by a kind of hysteria which has urged them to action.

Whoever wishes to win over the masses must find the key that will open the door to their hearts. It is not objectivity, which is weakness, but determination and strength.

(4) The soul of the masses can be won only if those who lead the movement are determined not merely to carry through the positive struggle for their own aims, but are also determined to destroy the enemy that opposes them.

When they see an uncompromising onslaught against an adversary, the people have at all times taken this as a proof that right is on the side of the aggressor; but if the aggressor should go only half-way and fail to push home his success by driving his opponent entirely from the scene of action, the people will look upon this as a sign that the aggressor is uncertain of the justice of his own cause and that his half-way policy may even be an acknowledgment that his cause is unjust.

The masses are but a part of Nature herself. Their feeling is such that they cannot understand mutual handshakings between men who are declared enemies. Their wish is to see the stronger side win and the weaker wiped out, or subjected unconditionally to the will of the stronger.

It is possible to succeed in making the masses national-minded, only if, positive though the struggle to win the soul of the people may be, those who spread the international poison among them are exterminated.

(5) All the great problems of our time are problems of the moment and are only the results of certain definite causes, and among all these there is only one that has a profoundly causal significance. This is the problem of preserving the pure racial stock among the people. Human vigour or decline depends on the blood. Nations that are not aware of the importance of their racial stock, or which

neglect to preserve it, are like men who would try to educate the pug-dog to do the work of the greyhound, not understanding that neither the speed of the greyhound nor the imitative faculties of the poodle are inborn qualities which cannot be drilled into the one or the other by any form of training. A people that fails to preserve the purity of its racial blood thereby destroys the unity of the soul of the nation in all its manifestations. A disintegrated national character is the inevitable consequence of a process of disintegration in the blood, and the change which takes place in the spiritual and creative faculties of a people is only an outcome of the change that has modified its racial substance.

If we are to free the German people from all those non-characteristic failings and traits we must first get rid of alien causes of these traits and failings.

The German nation will never revive unless the racial problem, and with it, the Jewish question, is taken into account and dealt with. The racial problem furnishes the key, not only to the understanding of human history, but also to the understanding of every kind of human culture.

(6) By incorporating in the national community the broad masses of our people (who are now in the international camp) we do not mean to renounce the principle that the interests of the various trades and professions must be safeguarded. Divergent interests in the various branches of labour and in the trades and professions are not the same as a division between the various classes, but rather a natural feature inherent in our economic life. Vocational grouping does not clash in the least with the idea of a national community, for it means national unity in regard to all those problems that affect the life of the nation as such.

To incorporate in the national community, or in the State, a stratum of the people which has now formed a social class, the standing of the upper classes must not be lowered, but that of the lower classes must be raised. The class which carries through this process is never the upper class, but rather the lower one which is fighting for equality

of rights. The bourgeoisie of to-day was not incorporated in the State through measures enacted by the feudal nobility, but only through its own energy and leaders who had sprung from its own ranks.

The German worker cannot be raised from his present status and incorporated in the German folk-community by means of goody-goody meetings where people talk about the brotherhood of the people, but rather by a systematic improvement in the social and cultural life of the worker, until the yawning gulf between him and the other classes can be bridged. A movement which has this for its aim must try to recruit its followers mainly from the ranks of the working class. It must include members of the intellectual classes only in so far as such members have rightly understood, and accepted without reserve, the ideal towards which the movement is striving. This process of transformation and reunion cannot be completed within ten or twenty years; it will take several generations, as the history of such movements has shown.

The most difficult obstacle to the inclusion of our contemporary worker in the national folk-community does not consist so much in the fact that he fights for the interests of his fellow-workers, but rather in the influence of his international leaders and their anti-national and non-patriotic attitude which he has accepted. If they were inspired by the principle of devotion to the nation in all that concerns its political and social welfare, the trade-unions would make those millions of workers most valuable members of the national community, irrespective of their own individual struggle on behalf of economic interests.

A movement which sincerely endeavours to bring the German worker back into his folk-community, and rescue him from the folly of internationalism, must wage a vigorous campaign against certain notions that are prevalent among the industrialists. One of these notions is that according to the concept of the folk-community, the employee is obliged to surrender all his economic rights to the employer and, further, that the workers would come into conflict with the

folk-community, if they should attempt to defend their own justified and vital interests. Those who try to propagate such a notion are deliberate liars. The folk-community imposes obligations not only on the one side, but also on the other.

A worker certainly does something which is contrary to the spirit of the folk-community, if he acts entirely on his own initiative and puts forward exaggerated demands, without taking the common weal or the maintenance of the national economic structure into consideration. But an industrialist also acts against the spirit of the folk-community, if he adopts inhuman methods of exploitation and misuses the working capacity of the nation and, by sweating the workers, amasses millions for himself. He has no right to call himself 'national' and no right to talk of a folk-community, for he is only an unscrupulous egotist who sows the seeds of social discontent and provokes future conflicts which are bound to prove injurious to the interests of the country.

The reservoir from which the young movement has to draw its members will be first of all the working classes. These classes must be delivered from the clutches of the international mania. Their social distress must be eliminated. They must be raised above their present cultural level, which is deplorable, and transformed into a resolute and valuable factor in the folk-community, inspired by national ideas and national sentiment.

If, among those intellectual circles that are nationalist in their outlook, men can be found who genuinely love their people and look forward eagerly to the future of Germany, and at the same time have a sound grasp of the importance of a struggle, whose aim is to win over the soul of the masses, such men will be cordially welcomed in the ranks of the movement, because they can serve as a valuable intellectual support in the work that is to be done. But this movement can never aim at recruiting its membership from the unthinking herd of bourgeois voters. If it did so the movement would be burdened with a mass of people whose

whole mentality would only help to paralyse the efforts of the campaign to win over the broad masses. In theory it may be very fine to say that the broad masses ought to be influenced by a combined leadership of the upper and lower social strata within the framework of the one movement; but notwithstanding all this, the fact remains that, though it may be possible to exercise a psychological influence on the bourgeois classes and to arouse some enthusiasm or even awaken some understanding among them by public demonstrations, it is impossible to eliminate those characteristics, or rather faults, which have grown and developed in the course of centuries. The difference between the cultural levels of the two groups and between their respective attitudes towards economic questions is still so great that it would turn out a hindrance to the movement the moment the first enthusiasm aroused by demonstrations calmed down.

Finally, it is not part of our programme to transform the nationalist camp itself, but rather to win over those who are anti-national in their outlook. It is this point of view which must finally determine the tactics of the whole movement.

(7) This one-sided, but, consequently, clear and definite attitude must be manifested in the propaganda of the movement; and, on the other hand, this clarity is absolutely necessary in order to make the propaganda itself effective.

If propaganda is to be of service to the movement it must be addressed to one side alone; for if it should vary the direction of its appeal it will not be understood in the one camp and may be rejected by the other as obvious and uninteresting, for the intellectual background of the two camps that come into question is very different.

Even the manner in which something is presented and the tone in which particular details are emphasized cannot have the same effect on those two strata that belong respectively to the opposite extremes of the social structure. If the propaganda should refrain from using primitive forms of expression, it will not appeal to the sentiment of the masses. If, on the other hand, it conforms to the crude sentiments of the masses in its words and gestures, the

intellectual circles will be averse to it because of its crudity and vulgarity. Among a hundred men who call themselves orators, there are scarcely ten who are capable of speaking with effect to an audience of street-sweepers, mechanics, navvies, etc., to-day and of expounding the same subject with equal effect to-morrow to an audience of university professors and students. Among a thousand public speakers there may be only one who can address a mixed audience of mechanics and professors in the same hall in such a way that his statements can be fully comprehended by each group while, at the same time, he effectively influences both to such an extent that they are carried away by a common enthusiasm. It must always be remembered that in most cases even the most beautiful idea embodied in a sublime theory can be brought home to the public only by men of middling ability. The thing that matters here is not the vision of the man of genius who created the great ideal but rather what his apostles tell the broad masses, how they do this and with what degree of success.

Social Democracy and the whole Marxist movement were particularly qualified to attract the great masses of the nation, because of the uniformity of the public to which they addressed their appeal. The more limited and narrow their ideas and arguments, the easier it was for the masses to grasp and assimilate them, for those ideas and arguments were well adapted to a low level of intelligence.

These considerations led the new movement to adopt the following clear and simple line of policy. In its message as well as in its forms of expression the propaganda had to be kept on a level with the intelligence of the masses, and its value had to be measured only by the actual success it achieved.

At a public meeting where the great masses are gathered together the best speaker is not he whose way of approaching a subject is most akin to the spirit of those intellectuals who may happen to be present, but the speaker who knows how to win the hearts of the masses. An educated man who is present and who finds fault with an address because he

considers it to be on an intellectual plane that is too low, though he himself has witnessed its effect on the lower intellectual groups whose adherence has to be won, only shows himself completely incapable of rightly judging the situation and thereby proves that he can be of no use in the new movement. Only those intellectuals can be of use to a movement who understand its mission and its aims so well that they have learned to judge the methods of propaganda exclusively by the success obtained and never by the impression which those methods make on them personally. Propaganda is not meant to serve as an entertainment for those people who already have a nationalist outlook; its purpose is to win the adhesion of those who have hitherto been hostile to the nation, but who are, nevertheless, of our own blood and race.

In general, those considerations of which I have given a brief summary in the chapter on 'War Propaganda' became the guiding rules and principles which determined the kind of propaganda we were to adopt in our campaign and the method by which we were to carry it out. The success that has been obtained proves that our decision was right.

(8) The ends which any political reform movement sets out to attain can never be reached by trying to educate the public or influence those in power, but only by getting political power into its hands. It is not only the right, but the duty, of the protagonists of any world-shattering ideal to secure control of such means as will enable them to realize that ideal. In this world success is the standard whereby we can decide whether such an undertaking was right or wrong, and by the word 'success' in this connection I do not mean such a success as the mere acquisition of power in 1918, but the beneficial results of such an acquisition of power. A *coup d'état* cannot, therefore, be considered successful if, as many empty-headed critics in Germany now believe, the revolutionaries succeeded in seizing control of the State, but only if, in comparison with the state of affairs under the old regime, the lot of the nation has been improved when the aims and intentions on which the revolution was based have

been put into practice. This certainly does not apply to the German Revolution, as the *coup* was called, which was effected by a gang of bandits in the autumn of 1918.

But if the acquisition of political power be a requisite preliminary for the practical realization of the ideals that inspire a reform movement, then any movement which aims at reform must, from the very first day of its activity, be considered by its leaders as a movement of the masses and not as a literary tea-club or an association of Philistines who meet to play ninepins.

(9) The nature and internal organization of the new movement make it anti-parliamentarian. That is to say, it rejects in general, and in its own structure, the principle according to which decisions are to be taken on the vote of the majority and according to which the leader is only the executor of the will and opinion of others. The movement lays down the principle that, in the smallest, as well as in the greatest, problems, one person must have absolute authority and bear all responsibility.

In the movement the practical consequences of this principle are as follows:—The president of a local group is appointed by the head of the group immediately above his in authority. He is then the responsible leader of his group. All the committees are subject to his authority and not he to theirs. There is no such thing as committees that vote, but only committees that work. This work is allotted by the responsible leader, who is the president of the group. The same principle applies to the higher organizations—the *Bezirk* (district), the *Kreis* (urban circuit) and the *Gau* (the region). In each case the president is appointed from above and is invested with full authority and executive power. Only the leader of the whole party is elected, at the general meeting of the members, but he is the sole leader of the movement. All the committees are responsible to him, but he is not responsible to the committees. His decision is final, but he bears the whole responsibility for it. The members of the movement are entitled to call him to account by means of a new election, or to remove him from office.

if he has violated the principles of the movement or has not served its interests adequately. He is then replaced by a more capable man, who is invested with the same authority and obliged to bear the same responsibility. One of the highest duties of the movement is to make this principle valid not only within its own ranks, but also for the whole State.

The man who becomes leader is invested with supreme and unlimited authority, but he also has to bear the final and heaviest responsibility. The man who has not the courage to shoulder responsibility for his actions is not fitted to be a leader. Only a man of heroic mould can have the vocation for such a task. Human progress and human culture are not founded by the multitude. They are exclusively the work of personal genius and personal efficiency. To cultivate these and give them their due, is one of the conditions necessary for the regaining of the prestige and power of our nation. Because of this principle, the movement must necessarily be anti-parliamentarian, and if it takes part in a parliamentary institution it must be only for the purpose of destroying this institution from within; in other words, we wish to do away with an institution which we must look upon as one of the gravest symptoms of human decline.

(10) The movement steadfastly refuses to take up any stand in regard to problems which are either outside of its sphere of political work or seem to have no fundamental importance for it. It does not aim at bringing about a religious reformation, but rather a political reorganization of our people. It looks upon the two religious denominations as equally valuable mainstays for the existence of our people, and therefore it makes war on all those parties which would degrade the foundation on which the religious and moral stability of our people is based, by exploiting it in the service of party interests.

Finally, the movement does not aim at re-establishing any one form of State or trying to destroy another, but rather at making those fundamental principles prevail without

which no republic and no monarchy can exist for any length of time. The movement does not consider its mission to be the establishment of a monarchy or the preservation of the Republic but rather the creation of a Germanic State.

The problem of the external form of this State, that is to say, its final shape, is not of fundamental importance. It is a problem which must be solved in the light of what seems practical and opportune. Once a nation has understood and appreciated the great problems that affect its inner existence, the question of formalities will never lead to internal conflict.

(11) The problem of the inner organization of the movement is not one of principle, but of expediency.

The best kind of organization is not that which places a large intermediary apparatus between the leadership of the movement and the individual followers but rather that which functions with the smallest possible intermediary apparatus, for it is the task of such an organization to transmit a certain idea, which originated in the brain of one individual, to a multitude of people and to supervise the manner in which this idea is being put into practice.

From any and every point of view, therefore, the organization is only a necessary evil. At best it is only a means to an end, at the worst, an end in itself.

Since the world produces more mechanically-minded beings than idealists, it will always be easier to develop the form of an organization than its substance, that is to say, the ideals which it is meant to serve.

The march of any ideal which strives towards practical fulfilment, and in particular those ideals which are of a reformatory character, may be roughly sketched as follows: A creative idea takes shape in the mind of somebody who thereupon feels himself called upon to transmit this idea to the world. He propounds his faith to others and thereby gradually gains a certain number of followers. This direct and personal way of promulgating one's ideas among one's contemporaries is the most natural and the best, but as the movement develops and secures a large number of followers

it gradually becomes impossible for the original founder of the doctrine on which the movement is based, to carry on his propaganda personally among his many followers and at the same time to guide the course of the movement.

According as the community of followers increases, direct communication between the head and the individual followers becomes impossible. This intercourse must then take place through an intermediary apparatus introduced into the framework of the movement. Thus ideal conditions of intercommunication cease, and organization has to be introduced as a necessary evil. Small subsidiary groups come into existence, as in the political movement, for example, where the local groups represent the germ-cells out of which the organization develops later. But such subdivisions must not be introduced into the movement until the authority of the spiritual founder, and of the school he has created, are accepted without reservation. Otherwise the movement would run the risk of becoming split up by divergent doctrines. In this connection too much emphasis cannot be laid on the importance of having one geographic centre as the chief seat of the movement. Only the existence of such a seat, or centre, around which a magic spell such as that of Mecca or Rome is woven, can supply a movement with that permanent driving force which has its source in the internal unity of the movement, and the recognition of one head as representing this unity.

When the first germ-cells of the organization are being formed, care must always be taken not only to insist on the importance of the place where the idea originated, but to invest it with a sublime significance. The creative, moral and practical significance of the place whence the movement went forth and from which it is governed must be stressed in the same measure in which the original cells of the movement become so numerous that they have to be regrouped into larger units in the structure of the organization.

When the number of individual followers becomes so large that direct personal contact with the head of the movement is out of the question, we have to form those first

local groups. As these groups multiply it becomes necessary to establish higher cadres in which the local groups are organized. Examples of such cadres in the political organization are those of the region (*Gau*) and the district (*Bezirk*). Though it may be easy enough to maintain the original central authority over the lowest groups, it is much more difficult to do so in relation to the higher units of organization which have now developed. Yet we must succeed in doing so, for this is an indispensable condition if the unity of the movement is to be guaranteed and its ideal realized. Finally, when those larger intermediary organizations have to be combined in new and still higher units, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain the absolute supremacy of the original seat of the movement and its school of thought.

Consequently, the mechanical forms of an organization must only be introduced if, and in so far as, the spiritual authority and the ideas of the central seat of the organization are shown to be firmly established. In the case of a political structure, this authority can frequently be guaranteed only by the exercise of power.

Having taken all these considerations into account, the following principles were laid down for the inner structure of the movement:-

(a) That at the beginning all activity should be concentrated in one town: namely, Munich. That a group of absolutely reliable followers should be trained and a school founded which would subsequently help to propagate the ideal of the Movement. That the necessary authority for later should be established by gaining many and visible successes in this particular place. To secure name and fame for the Movement and its leader it was necessary, not only to give, in this one town, a striking example to shatter the belief that the Marxist doctrine was invincible but also to show that a counter-doctrine was possible.

(b) That local groups should not be established before the supremacy of the central authority in Munich was definitely established and acknowledged.

(c) That District, Regional, and Provincial groups should be formed not only after the need for them had become evident, but after the supremacy of the central authority has been satisfactorily guaranteed.

Further, that the creation of subordinate units should depend on whether or not persons could be found who were qualified to undertake the leadership thereof.

Here there are two alternatives: -

(a) That the movement should have the necessary funds to attract and train intelligent people who would be capable of becoming leaders. The personnel thus obtained could then be systematically employed according as the tactical situation and the necessity for efficiency demanded.

This solution is the easier and the more expeditious, but it necessitates large financial resources, for this group of leaders can work for the Movement only if they are paid a salary.

(b) Because the Movement, owing to lack of funds, is not in a position to employ paid officials it must begin by depending on voluntary helpers. Naturally this solution is slower and more difficult.

It means that the leaders of the Movement have to allow large districts to remain uncanvassed, unless in these respective districts a member comes forward who is capable and willing to place himself at the service of the central authority for the purpose of organizing and directing the Movement in the region concerned. It may happen that in extensive regions no such leader can be found, but that at the same time in other regions two or three or even more persons appear whose capabilities are almost on a level. The difficulty which this situation involves is very great and can be overcome only with the passage of time.

The necessary condition for the establishment of any branch of the organization must always be that a person can be found who is capable of fulfilling the functions of a leader. Just as the army and all its various units of organization are useless if there are no officers, so any political organization is worthless, if it has not the right kind of

leaders. If an inspiring personality who has the gift of leadership cannot be found for the organization and direction of a local group it is better for the Movement to refrain from establishing such a group, than to run the risk of failure after the group has been founded.

A necessary qualification for leadership is the possession, not only of will-power, but of efficiency, and will-power and energy must be considered as more important than the intellect of a genius. The most valuable association of qualities is a combination of talent, determination and perseverance.

(12) The future of a movement is determined by the devotion, and even intolerance, with which its members fight for their cause. They must feel convinced that their cause alone is just, and they must carry it through to success, as against other similar organizations in the same field. It is quite erroneous to believe that the strength of a movement must increase if it be combined with other movements of a similar kind. Any expansion resulting from such a combination will of course mean an increase in external development, which superficial observers might consider to be also an increase of power; but in reality the movement thus admits outside elements which will subsequently weaken its constitutional vigour.

Though it may be said that one movement is identical in character with another, in reality no such identity exists. If it did exist, then in practice there would not be two movements but only one. No matter what the difference may be, even if it consist only in the measure in which the capabilities of the one set of leaders differ from those of the other it is still there. It is against the natural law of all development to couple dissimilar organisms, for the law is that the stronger must overcome the weaker and, through the struggle necessary for such a conquest, increase the constitutional vigour and effective strength of the victor. By amalgamating political organizations that are approximately alike, certain immediate advantages may be gained, but advantages thus gained are bound in the long run to become the cause of

internal weaknesses which will make their appearance later on.

A movement can become great only if the unhampered development of its internal strength be safeguarded and steadfastly augmented, until victory over all rivals is secured.

One may safely say that the strength of a movement and its right to existence can be developed only as long as it remains true to the principle that struggle is a necessary condition of its progress and that it has exceeded the maximum limit of its strength at that moment in which complete victory is within its grasp. Therefore, a movement must not strive to obtain successes that will be only immediate and transitory, but it must show a spirit of uncompromising perseverance in carrying on a long struggle which will secure for it a long period of inner growth. All those movements which owe their expansion to a so-called combination of similar organisms, which means that their external strength is due to a policy of compromise, are like plants whose growth is forced in a hothouse. They shoot up rapidly, but they lack that inner strength which enables the natural plant to grow into a tree that will withstand the storms of centuries.

The greatness of every powerful organization which embodies a creative ideal lies in the spirit of religious devotion and intolerance with which it stands out against all others, because it has an ardent faith in its own cause. If an ideal is right in itself and, furnished with the fighting weapons I have mentioned, wages war on this earth, then it is invincible and persecution will only add to its internal strength. The greatness of Christianity did not arise from attempts to make compromises with those philosophical opinions of the ancient world which had some resemblance to its own doctrine, but in the unrelenting and fanatical proclamation and defence of its own teaching. The apparent advance that a movement makes by associating itself with other movements will be easily reached and surpassed by the steady increase of strength which a doctrine and its organization acquires if it remains independent and fights its own cause alone.

(13) The movement ought to educate its adherents on the principle that struggle must not be considered a necessary evil, but as something desirable in itself. Therefore, they must not be afraid of the hostility which their adversaries manifest towards them, but they must take it as a necessary condition on which their own right to existence is based. They must not try to avoid being hated by those who are the enemies of our people and our *Weltanschauung*, but must welcome such hatred. Lies and calumnies are part of the method which the enemy employs to express his hatred. The man who is not opposed, vilified and slandered in the Jewish press is not a staunch German and not a true National Socialist. The best standard whereby the sincerity of his convictions, his character and strength of will can be measured is the hostility which his name arouses among the mortal enemies of our people.

The followers of the Movement, and indeed the whole nation, must be reminded again and again of the fact that, through the medium of his newspapers, the Jew is always spreading falsehood and that if he tells the truth on certain occasions, it is only for the purpose of masking some greater deception, which turns the apparent truth into a deliberate falsehood. The Jew is past master in the art of lying. Falsehood and duplicity are the weapons with which he fights. Every calumny and falsehood published by the Jews are honourable scars borne by our comrades. He whom they decry most is nearest to our hearts and he whom they mortally hate is our best friend. If a comrade of ours opens a Jewish newspaper in the morning and does not find himself vilified there, then he has wasted the previous day, for, if he had achieved something, he would be persecuted, slandered, derided, and abused. Those who effectively combat this mortal enemy of our people, who is at the same time the enemy of all Aryan peoples and all culture, can only expect to arouse opposition on the part of this race and become the object of its slanderous attacks.

When these truths become part of the flesh and blood

as it were, of our members, then the Movement will be unshakable and invincible.

(14) The Movement must use every possible means to cultivate respect for the individual personality. It must never forget that all human values are based on personal values, and that every ideal and achievement is the fruit of the creative power of one man. We must never forget that admiration for everything that is great, is not only a tribute to one creative personality, but that all those who feel such admiration become thereby united under one covenant.

Nothing can take the place of the individual, especially if the individual embodies in himself not the mechanical element, but the element of cultural creative ability. No pupil can take the place of the master in completing a great picture which he has left unfinished; and just in the same way no substitute can take the place of the great poet or thinker, the great statesman or the great general, for their activity lies in the realm of artistic creative ability which can never be mechanically acquired, because it is an innate and divine gift.

The greatest revolutions and the greatest achievements of this world, its greatest cultural works and the immortal creations of great statesmen, are inseparably bound up with one name which stands as a symbol for them in each respective case. Failure to pay tribute to one of those great spirits signifies a neglect of that enormous source of power which lies in the remembrance of all great men and women.

The Jew is well aware of this. He, whose great men have always been great only in their efforts to destroy mankind and its civilization, takes good care that they are worshipped as idols. The Jew tries to belittle the respect in which nations hold their own great men and women. He stigmatizes this respect as 'the cult of personality.' As soon as a nation has so far lost its courage as to submit to this impudent defamation on the part of the Jew, it renounces the most important source of its own inner strength. This inner force cannot arise from a policy of pandering to the masses, but only from the worship of men of genius, with its uplifting and ennobling influence.

When men's hearts are breaking and their souls are plunged in the depths of despair, their great forbears turn their eyes towards them from the dim shadows of the past—those forbears who knew how to triumph over anxiety and affliction, mental servitude and physical bondage—and extend their eternal hands in a gesture of encouragement to despairing souls. Woe to the nation that is ashamed to clasp those hands!

During the initial phase of our Movement our greatest handicap was the fact that none of us were known and that our names meant nothing, a fact which then seemed to some of us to make the chances of final success problematical. Our most difficult task then was to make our members firmly believe that there was a tremendous future in store for the Movement and to maintain this belief as a living faith, for at that time only six, seven or eight persons came to listen to any of our speakers.

Consider that only six or seven poor devils who were entirely unknown came together to found a movement which should succeed in doing what the great mass-parties had failed to do, namely, to reconstruct a German Reich, having even greater power and glory than before. We should have been very pleased if we had been attacked or even ridiculed, but the most depressing fact was that nobody paid any attention to us whatsoever. This utter lack of interest in us caused me great mental distress at that time.

When I entered the circle of these men there was not yet any question of a party or a movement. I have already described the impression which was made on me when I first came into contact with that small organization. Subsequently, I had time and opportunity, to study the impossible form of this so-called party. The picture was indeed depressing and discouraging. It was a party only in name and absolutely devoid of significance. The committee consisted of all the party members. Somehow or other, it seemed just the kind of thing we were about to fight against—a miniature parliament. The voting system was employed. When the members of the great parliaments cried until they were

hoarse, at least they shouted over problems of importance, but here this small circle engaged in interminable discussions as to the form in which they might answer the letters which they were delighted to have received. Needless to say, the public knew nothing of all this. In Munich nobody knew of the existence of such a party, not even by name, except our own few members and their small circle of acquaintances.

Every Wednesday, what was called a committee meeting was held in one of the cafés, and a debate was arranged for one evening each week. In the beginning all the members of the 'movement' were also members of the committee; therefore the same persons always turned up at both meetings. The first step that had to be taken was to extend the narrow limits of this small circle and get new members, but, above all, it was necessary to utilize all the means at our command for the purpose of making the movement known.

We chose the following methods. We attempted to hold a 'meeting' every month, and later, every fortnight. Some of the invitations were typewritten, and some were written by hand. For the first few meetings we distributed them in the streets and delivered them personally at certain houses. Each one canvassed among his own acquaintances and tried to persuade some of them to attend our meetings. The result was lamentable.

I still remember how I personally once delivered eighty of these invitations and how we waited in the evening for the crowds to come. After waiting in vain for a whole hour the 'chairman' finally had to open the 'meeting.' Again there were only seven persons present, the old familiar seven.

We then changed our methods. We had the invitations typewritten and multigraphed at a Munich stationer's shop. The result was that a few more people attended our next meeting. The number increased gradually from eleven to thirteen, to seventeen, to twenty-three and finally to thirty-four. We collected some money within our own circle, each poor soul giving a small contribution, and in that way we raised sufficient funds to be able to advertise one of our

meetings in the *Münchener Beobachter*, which was then an independent paper.

This time we had an astonishing success. We had chosen the Munich *Hofbräuhaus-Keller* (which must not be confounded with the Munich *Hofbräuhaus-Festsaal*) as our meeting-place. It was a small hall and would accommodate scarcely more than one hundred and thirty persons. To me, however, the hall seemed enormous, and we were all trembling lest this tremendous edifice would remain partly empty on the night of the meeting.

At seven o'clock one hundred and eleven persons were present, and the meeting was opened. A Munich professor delivered the principal address, and I spoke after him. That was my first appearance in the rôle of public orator. The whole thing seemed a very daring adventure to Herr Harrer, who was then chairman of the Party. He was a very decent fellow, but he had an *a priori* conviction that, though I might have quite a number of good qualities, I certainly did not have a talent for public speaking. Even later he could not be persuaded to change his opinion. Things turned out differently. Twenty minutes had been allotted to me for my speech on this occasion, which might be looked upon as our first public meeting. I spoke for thirty minutes, and what I always had felt deep down in my heart, without being able to put it to the test, was here proved to be true; I could make a good speech. At the end of the thirty minutes, it was quite clear that all the people in the little hall had been profoundly impressed. The enthusiasm aroused among them found its first expression in the fact that my appeal to those present brought us donations which amounted to three hundred marks. That was a great relief to us. Our finances were at that time so meagre that we could not afford to have our party programme, or even leaflets, printed. Now we possessed at least the nucleus of a fund from which we could meet the most urgent and necessary expenses.

The success of this first larger meeting was also

important from another point of view. I had already begun to introduce some young and fresh members into the committee. During the long period of my military service I had come to know a large number of good comrades whom I was now able to persuade to join our Party. All of them were energetic and disciplined young men who, through their years of military service, had been imbued with the conviction that nothing is impossible and that where there's a will there's a way.

The need for this fresh blood became evident to me after a few weeks of collaboration with the new members. Herr Harrer, who was then chairman of the Party, was a journalist by profession, and as such, he was a well-educated man, but as leader of the Party he had one very serious handicap—he could not speak to the crowd. Though he did his work conscientiously, it lacked the necessary driving force, probably for the reason that he had no oratorical gifts whatsoever. Herr Drexler, at that time chairman of the Munich local group, was a simple working man. He, too, was not of any great importance as a speaker. Moreover, he was not a soldier. He had never done military service, even during the War, so that he, who was feeble and diffident by nature, had missed the only school which can transform diffident and weakly natures into real men. Therefore neither of those two men were of the stuff that would have enabled them to have an ardent and indomitable faith in the ultimate triumph of the Movement and to brush aside, with obstinate force and, if necessary, with brutal ruthlessness, all obstacles that stood in the path of the new ideal. Such a task could be carried out only by men who had been trained, body and soul, in those military virtues which make a man, so to speak, agile as a greyhound, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel.

At that time I was still a soldier. Physically and mentally I had the polish of six years of service, so that in the beginning this circle must have looked on me as quite a stranger. In common with my army comrades, I had forgotten such phrases as, "That can't be done," or "That

is not possible," or "We ought not to take such a risk; it is too dangerous."

The whole undertaking was, of its very nature, dangerous. At that time there were many parts of Germany where it would have been absolutely impossible openly to invite people to a national meeting that dared to make a direct appeal to the masses. Those who attended such meetings were usually dispersed and driven away with broken heads. It certainly did not call for any great qualities to be able to do things in that way. The largest so-called bourgeois mass meetings were accustomed to dissolve, and those in attendance would scuttle away like rabbits frightened by a dog, as soon as a dozen communists appeared on the scene. The Reds used to pay little attention to those bourgeois organizations where only babblers talked. They recognized the inner triviality of such associations much better than the members themselves and therefore felt that they need not be afraid of them. On the other hand, however, they were all the more determined to use every possible means of annihilating, once and for all, any movement that appeared to them to be dangerous. The most effective means which they always employed in such cases were terrorism and brute force.

The Marxist leaders, whose business consisted in deceiving and misleading the public, naturally hated most of all a movement whose declared aim was to win over those masses which had hitherto been exclusively at the service of international Marxism in the Jewish and Stock Exchange parties. The mere title, 'German Labour Party,' irritated them. It could easily be foreseen that at the first opportune moment we should have to face the opposition of the Marxist despots who were still intoxicated with their triumph in 1918.

People in the small circle of our own Movement at that time showed a certain amount of anxiety at the prospect of such a conflict. They wanted to refrain as much as possible from coming out into the open, because they feared that they might be attacked and beaten. In their minds they saw our first public meetings broken up and feared that the Movement

might thus be ruined for ever. I found it difficult to defend my own opinion, which was, that the conflict should not be evaded, but that it should be faced openly and that we should be armed with those weapons which are the only protection against brute force. Terrorism cannot be overcome by the weapons of the mind, but only by counter-terror. The success of our first public meeting strengthened my own position. The members felt encouraged to arrange for a second meeting on a somewhat larger scale.

Some time in October 1919 the second larger meeting took place in the *Eberlbräukeller*. The theme of our speeches was 'Brest-Litovsk and Versailles. There were four speakers. I spoke for almost an hour, and my success was even more striking than at our first meeting. The number of people who attended had increased to over one hundred and thirty. An attempt to disturb the proceedings was immediately frustrated by my comrades. The would-be disturbers were thrown down the stairs, with bruised heads.

A fortnight later, another meeting took place in the same hall. The number in attendance had now increased to more than one hundred and seventy, which meant that the room was fairly well filled. I spoke again, and once more the success obtained was greater than at the previous meeting.

Then I proposed that a larger hall should be found. After looking around for some time we discovered one at the other end of the town, in the *Deutsches Reich* in the *Dachauer Strasse*. The first meeting at this new rendezvous had a smaller attendance than the previous meeting. There were just about one hundred and forty present. The members of the committee began to be discouraged, and those who had always been sceptical were now convinced that this falling-off in the attendance was due to the fact that we were holding the meetings at too short intervals. There were lively discussions, in which I upheld my own opinion that a city of seven hundred thousand inhabitants ought to be able not only to stand one meeting every fortnight, but ten meetings every week. I held that we should not be discouraged by one set-back, that the tactics

we had chosen were correct, and that sooner or later success would be ours if we only continued with determined perseverance to push forward on our road. This whole winter of 1919-20 was one continual struggle to strengthen confidence in our ability to carry the Movement on to success and to intensify this confidence, until it became a burning faith that could move mountains.

Our next meeting in the same hall proved the truth of my contention. Our audience had increased to more than two hundred. The publicity effect and the financial success were splendid. I immediately urged that a further meeting should be held. It took place in less than a fortnight, and there were more than two hundred and seventy people present. Two weeks later, we invited our followers and their friends for the seventh time, to attend our meeting. The same hall was scarcely large enough for the number that came. They amounted to more than four hundred.

During this phase the young Movement developed its inner form. Sometimes we had more or less heated discussions within our small circle. On various sides—it was then just the same as it is to-day—objections were made against the idea of calling the young Movement a party. I have always considered such criticism as a demonstration of practical incapability and narrow-mindedness on the part of the critic. Such objections have always been raised by men who cannot differentiate between external appearances and inner strength, but try to judge a movement by the high-sounding character of the name attached to it and to this end they ransack the vocabulary of our ancestors, with unfortunate results.

At that time it was very difficult to make the people understand that every movement is a party as long as it has not realized its ideals and thus achieved its purpose. It is a party no matter by what name it chooses to call itself.

Any person who tries to carry into practice an original idea whose realization would be for the benefit of his fellow-men will first have to look for disciples who are ready to fight for the ends he has in view. Even if these aims were

merely to destroy the existing party system, and thereby to put a stop to the process of disintegration, then all those who come forward as protagonists and apostles of such an ideal are a party in themselves as long as their final goal is not reached. It is only hair-splitting and playing with words if these antiquated '*völkisch*' theorists, whose practical success is in inverse ratio to their wisdom, presume to think they can change the character of a movement, which is at the same time a party, by merely changing its name.

If there is anything which is non-*völkisch* it is this messing about with old Germanic expressions, in particular, which neither suit the present time nor conjure up a definite picture. This habit of borrowing words from the dead past tends to mislead the people into thinking that the external trappings of its vocabulary are the important feature of a movement. It is a mischievous habit; but it is very prevalent nowadays. At that time, and subsequently, I had to warn followers repeatedly against these wandering '*völkisch*' scholars who never accomplished anything positive or practical, except to cultivate their own superabundant self-conceit. The new Movement must guard against an influx of people whose only recommendation is their own statement that they have been fighting for these same ideals for the last thirty or forty years.

Now, if somebody has fought for forty years to carry into effect what he calls an ideal, and if these alleged efforts not only show no positive results, but have not even been able to hinder the success of the opposing party, then the story of those forty years of futile effort furnishes sufficient proof for the incompetence of such a protagonist. People of that kind are specially dangerous because they do not want to participate in the movement as ordinary members. They talk rather of the leading positions which, in view of their past work and also of their intended activities in the future, are the only positions they are fitted to fill, but woe to a young movement if the conduct of it should fall into the hands of such people. A business man who has been in charge of a great firm for forty years and who has completely ruined it

through mismanagement is not the kind of person one would recommend as the founder of a new firm, nor would a 'völkisch'-minded Methuselah who, for the space of forty years, has been preaching a great ideal, until it has lost all meaning and vitality, be a suitable leader of a fresh young movement. Furthermore, only a very small percentage of such people join a new movement with the intention of serving its ends unselfishly and helping in the spread of its principles. In most cases they come because they think that, under the aegis of the movement, it will be possible for them to promulgate their old ideas, to the misfortune of their new listeners. Anyhow, nobody ever seems able to make out what exactly these ideas are

It is typical of such persons that they rant about ancient Teutonic heroes in the dim and distant ages, stone axes, battle-spears and shields, whereas in reality they themselves are the woofullest poltroons imaginable, for those very same people who brandish Teutonic tin swords that have been fashioned carefully according to ancient models and wear padded bear-skins, with the horns of oxen mounted over their bearded faces, proclaim that all contemporary conflicts must be decided by the weapons of the mind alone, and skedaddle at the very sight of a communist cudgel. Posterity will have little occasion to write a new epic on these heroic gladiators.

I have seen too much of that kind of person not to feel a profound contempt for their miserable play-acting. To the masses of the nation they are just an object of ridicule; but the Jew finds it to his own interest to treat these 'völkisch' comedians with respect and to prefer them to real men who are fighting to establish a German State. Yet such people are extremely proud of themselves. Notwithstanding their complete fecklessness, which is an established fact, they pretend to know everything better than other people; so much so, that they make themselves a veritable nuisance to all sincere and honest patriots, to whom not only the heroism of the past is worthy of

honour, but who also feel bound to leave examples of their own work for the inspiration of the coming generation.

Among these people there are some whose conduct can be explained by their innate stupidity and incompetence; but there are others who have a definite ulterior purpose in view. Often it is difficult to distinguish between the two classes. The impression which I often get, especially of those so-called religious reformers whose creed is grounded on ancient Germanic customs, is that they are the missionaries and protégés of those forces which do not wish to see a national revival taking place in Germany. All their activities tend to turn the attention of the people away from the necessity of fighting together for a common cause against the common enemy, namely, the Jew. Moreover, that kind of preaching induces the people to use up their energies, not in fighting for the common cause, but in absurd and ruinous religious controversies within their own ranks. These are definite grounds that make it absolutely necessary for the movement to be dominated by a strong central force which is embodied in the authoritative leadership. In this way alone is it possible to counteract the activity of such fatal elements, and that is just the reason why these 'völkisch' Ahasueruses are vigorously hostile to any movement whose members are firmly united under one leader and one discipline. Those people of whom I have spoken hate such a movement because it is capable of putting a stop to their mischief.

It was not without good reason that when we laid down a clearly defined programme for the new movement we excluded the word *völkisch* from it. The concept underlying the term *völkisch* cannot serve as the basis of a movement, because it is too indefinite and general in its application. Therefore, if somebody calls himself *völkisch* this cannot be taken as a sign of party membership.

Because this concept is practically indefinable it gives rise to various interpretations and thus people can use it all the more easily as a sort of personal recommendation. Whenever such a vague concept, which is subject to so

many interpretations, is admitted into a political movement it tends to break up the disciplined solidarity of the fighting forces. No such solidarity can be maintained if each individual member is allowed to define for himself what he believes and what he is willing to do.

One feels it a disgrace when one notices the kind of people who trot about nowadays with the 'völkisch' symbol stuck in their buttonholes, and at the same time realizes how many people have various ideas of their own as to the significance of that symbol. A well-known professor in Bavaria, a famous combatant who fights only with the weapons of the mind and who boasts of having laid siege to Berlin (with the weapons of the mind, of course), believes that the word *völkisch* is synonymous with 'monarchical.' But this learned authority has hitherto neglected to explain how our German monarchs of the past can be identified with what we generally mean by the word *völkisch* to-day. I am afraid he will find himself at a loss, if he is asked to give a precise answer, for it would be very difficult indeed to imagine anything less *völkisch* than were most of those German monarchical states. Had they been otherwise they would not have disappeared; or if they were *völkisch* then the fact of their downfall would have to be taken as evidence that the *völkische Weltanschauung* is false.

Everybody interprets this concept in his own way, but such multifarious opinions cannot be adopted as the basis of a militant political movement. I need not call attention to the absolute lack of worldly wisdom, and especially failure to understand the soul of the nation, which is displayed by these 'völkisch' John-the-Baptists of the twentieth century. Sufficient attention has been called to these people by the ridicule which the left-wing parties have heaped on them. They allow them to babble on and sneer at them.

I do not set much value on the friendship of people who do not succeed in getting themselves disliked by their enemies. Therefore, we considered the friendship of such

people as not only worthless, but even dangerous to our young Movement. That was the principal reason why we first called ourselves a *Party*. We hoped that by giving ourselves such a name we might scare away a whole host of *völkisch* dreamers, and that was also the reason why we named our Party, *The National Socialist German Labour Party*.

The first term, *Party*, kept away all those dreamers who live in the past and all lovers of bombastic nomenclature, as well as those who went around beating the big drum for the *völkisch* idea. The full name of the Party kept away all those heroes whose weapon is the sword of the spirit and all those whining poltroons who take refuge behind their so-called 'intelligence', as if it were a kind of shield.

It was only to be expected that this latter class would launch a massed attack against us after our Movement had started; but, of course, it was only a pen-and-ink attack, for the goose-quill is the only weapon which these *völkisch* heroes wield. We had declared one of our principles thus, 'We shall meet violence with violence in our own defence.' Naturally, that principle disturbed the equanimity of the knights of the pen. They reproached us bitterly not only for what they called our crude worship of the cudgel, but also because, according to them, we had no intellectual forces on our side. These charlatans did not think for a moment that a Demosthenes could be reduced to silence at a mass meeting by fifty idiots who had come there to shout him down and use their fists against his supporters. The innate cowardice of the pen-and-ink charlatan prevents him from exposing himself to such a danger, for he always works in 'peace and quiet' and never dares to make a noise or come forward in public.

Even to-day I must warn the members of our young Movement in the strongest possible terms to guard against the danger of falling into the snare of those who claim to work in 'peace and quiet,' for they are not only a white-livered lot, but are also and always will be ignorant do-nothings. A man who is aware of certain happenings and

knows that a certain danger threatens, and at the same time sees a certain remedy which can be employed against it, is in duty bound not to work in 'peace and quiet,' but to come into the open and publicly fight for the destruction of the evil and the acceptance of his own remedy. If he does not do so, then he is neglecting his duty and shows that he is weak in character and that he fails to act either because of his timidity, his indolence or his incompetence. Most of those who work in 'peace and quiet,' generally pretend to know God knows what. Not one of them is capable of any real achievement, but they keep on trying to fool the world with their antics. Though quite indolent, they try to create the impression that their peaceful, quiet work keeps them very busy. To put it briefly, they are sheer swindlers, political jobbers who feel chagrined by the honest work which others are doing. When you find one of these *völkisch* moths talking of the value of 'peace and quiet,' you may be sure that you are dealing with a fellow who does no productive work at all, but steals from others the fruits of their honest labour.

In addition to all this one ought to note the arrogance and conceited impudence with which these obscurantist idlers try to tear to pieces the work of other people, criticizing it with an air of superiority, and thus playing into the hands of the mortal enemy of our people.

Even the simplest follower who has the courage to stand on the table in some beer-hall where his enemies are gathered, and manfully and openly defend his position against them achieves a thousand times more than these slinking hypocrites. He will convert at least one or two people to believe in the movement. We can examine his work and test its effectiveness by its actual results, but those cowardly swindlers, who praise their own work done in 'peace and quiet' and shelter under the cloak of anonymity, are just worthless drones, in the truest sense of the term, and are utterly useless for the purpose of our national reconstruction.

At the beginning of 1920 I put forward the idea of holding our first mass meeting. On this proposal there were

differences of opinion amongst us. Some leading members of our Party thought that the time was not ripe for such a meeting and that the result might be detrimental. The press of the Left had begun to take notice of us and we were lucky enough to be able gradually to arouse their wrath. We had begun to appear at other meetings and to ask questions or contradict the speakers, with the natural result, that we were shouted down forthwith, but still we thereby gained something. People began to know of our existence and the better they understood us, the stronger became their aversion and their enmity. Therefore we might expect that a large contingent of our 'friends' from the Red camp would attend our first mass meeting.

I fully realized that there was a great probability that our meeting would be broken up, but we had to face the fight, if not now, then some months later. It was up to us from the very first to immortalize the Movement by defending it in a spirit of blind faith and ruthless determination. I was well acquainted with the mentality of all those who belonged to the Red camp and I knew quite well that if we opposed them tooth and nail not only would we make an impression on them, but we might even win new followers for ourselves. Therefore, I felt that we must be prepared to offer such resistance.

Herr Harrer was then chairman of our Party. He did not see eye to eye with me as to the opportune time for our first mass meeting. Accordingly, he felt himself obliged as an upright and honest man to resign from the leadership of the Movement. Herr Anton Drexler took his place. I kept the work of organizing the propaganda in my own hands and carried it out uncompromisingly.

We decided on February 24th, 1920, as the date for the first great popular meeting to be held under the auspices of this Movement which was hitherto unknown. I made all the preparatory arrangements personally. They did not take very long. The whole apparatus of our organization was such that we were able to make rapid decisions. Within the space of twenty-four hours, we had to be able to arrange

mass meetings at which our attitude on current problems was made known. The holding of these meetings was announced by means of posters and leaflets, the contents of which was in accordance with the principles which I have already laid down in dealing with propaganda in general. They were produced in a form which would appeal to the crowd. They concentrated on a few points which were repeated again and again. The text was concise and definite, an absolutely dogmatic form of expression being used. We distributed these posters and leaflets with a dogged energy and then we patiently waited for the effect they would produce. For our principal colour we chose red, as it has an exciting effect on the eye and was calculated to arouse the attention of our opponents and irritate them. Thus they would have to take notice of us whether they liked it or not and would not forget us.

During the period which followed, the close bond of union between the Marxists and the Centre party (in Bavaria as elsewhere) was clearly revealed by the strenuous efforts made by the Bavarian People's Party, which was omnipotent here to counteract the effect which our placards were having on the 'Red' masses. If the police could find no other grounds for prohibiting the display of our placards, then they might claim that we were disturbing the traffic in the streets, and thus the so-called German National People's Party calmed the anxieties of their 'Red' allies by completely prohibiting those placards which proclaimed a message that was bringing back to the bosom of their own people hundreds of thousands of workers who had been misled by international agitators and worked up against their own nation. These placards bear witness to the bitterness of the struggle in which the young Movement was then engaged. Future generations will find in these placards documentary evidence of our determination and the justice of our own cause, and they will also prove how the so-called national officials took arbitrary action to strangle a movement that did not please them, because it was making the broad

masses of the people national-minded and winning them back to their own racial stock.

These placards will also help to refute the theory that there was then a national government in Bavaria and they will afford documentary confirmation of the fact that if Bavaria remained national-minded during the years 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923, this was not due to a national government, but was because the national spirit gradually gained a deeper hold on the people and the government was forced to follow public feeling. The government authorities themselves did everything in their power to hamper this process of recovery and make it impossible, but in this connection two officials must be mentioned as outstanding exceptions.

Ernst Pöhner was Chief of Police at the time. He had a loyal counsellor in Dr. Frick, who was his chief executive officer. These were the only men among the higher officials who had the courage to place the interests of their country before their own interests in holding on to their jobs. Of those in responsible positions, Ernst Pöhner was the only one who did not pay court to the mob, but felt that his duty was towards the nation as such and was ready to risk and sacrifice everything, even his personal livelihood, to help in the restoration of the German people, whom he dearly loved. For that reason he was a bitter thorn in the side of the venal group of government officials. It was not the interests of the nation or the necessity of a national revival that inspired or directed their conduct. They simply truckled to the wishes of the government, as their employer, but they had no thought whatsoever for the national welfare for which they were responsible.

Above all, Pöhner was one of those people who, in contradistinction to the majority of our so-called defenders of the authority of the State, did not fear to incur the enmity of the traitors to the country and the nation, but rather courted it as mark of honour. For such men the hatred of the Jews and Marxists, and the lies and calumnies they spread concerning them, was their only source of happiness

in the midst of the national misery. Pöhner was a man of absolute honesty, classic simplicity and German straight forwardness for whom the saying "Better dead than a slave" is not an empty phrase, but the essence of his being.

In my opinion, he and his collaborator, Dr. Frick, were the only men then holding positions in Bavaria who have the right to be considered as having taken an active part in the creation of a national Bavaria.

Before holding our first great mass meeting it was necessary not only to have our propaganda material ready, but also to have the main items of our programme printed. In the second volume of this book I shall give a detailed account of the guiding principles which we then followed in drawing up our programme. Here I will only say that the programme was arranged not merely to set forth the form and scope of the young Movement, but also with an eye to making it understood by the broad masses. The so-called intellectual circles made jokes and sneered at it and then tried to criticize it, but the effect of our programme proved that the ideas which we then held were right.

During those years I saw dozens of new movements arise and disappear without leaving a trace behind. Only one movement has survived; it is the National Socialist German Labour Party. To-day I am more convinced than ever before that, though they may combat us and try to paralyse our Movement, and though pettifogging party ministers may forbid us the right of free speech, they cannot prevent the triumph of our ideals. When the present system of state administration and even the names of the political parties that represent it will be forgotten, the programmatic basis of the National Socialist Movement will supply the groundwork on which the future State will be built.

The meetings which we held before January 1920 had enabled us to collect the financial means that were necessary to have our first pamphlets and posters and our programme printed.

I shall bring the first part of this book to a close by referring to our first great mass meeting, because that

meeting marked the occasion on which the Party shed its fetters as a small association and exercised for the first time a definite influence on public opinion which is the most powerful factor of our age. At that time my chief anxiety was that we might not fill the hall and that we might have to face empty benches. I myself was firmly convinced that if only the people would come, this day would turn out a great success for the young movement so that it was with a feeling of tense excitement that I waited impatiently for the evening to come.

It had been announced that the meeting would begin at 7.30 p. m. A quarter of an hour before the opening time I entered the *Festsaal* of the *Hofbräuhaus* in the *Platzl* in Munich and my heart nearly burst with joy. The great hall—for at that time it seemed very big to me—was filled to overflowing. Nearly two thousand persons were present, and, above all, those people had come whom we had always wished to reach. More than half the audience consisted of persons who seemed to be communists or independents. Our first great demonstration was destined, in their view, to come to an abrupt end. But they were mistaken. When the first speaker had finished I got up to speak. After a few minutes I was met with a hailstorm of interruptions, and violent encounters broke out in the body of the hall. A handful of my loyal war-comrades and some other followers grappled with the disturbers and gradually restored a semblance of order. I was able to continue my speech. After half an hour the applause began to drown the interruptions and the cat-calls. Then I turned to the question of our programme, which I proceeded to elucidate for the first time. Then interruptions gradually ceased and applause took their place. When I finally came to explain the twenty-five points and laid them, point by point, before the masses gathered there and asked them to pass their own judgment on each point, one after another was accepted with increasing enthusiasm. When the last point was reached I had before me a hall full of people united by a new conviction, a new faith and a new resolve.

Nearly four hours had passed when the hall began to clear. As the masses streamed towards the exits, crammed shoulder to shoulder, shoving and pushing. I knew that a Movement was now set afoot among the German people which would never pass into oblivion.

A fire had been kindled from whose glowing heat the sword would be fashioned which would restore freedom to the German Siegfried and bring back life to the German nation.

Beside the revival which I then foresaw, I also felt that the goddess of Vengeance was now getting ready to redress the wrongs of November 9th 1918. The hall was emptied. The Movement was on the march.