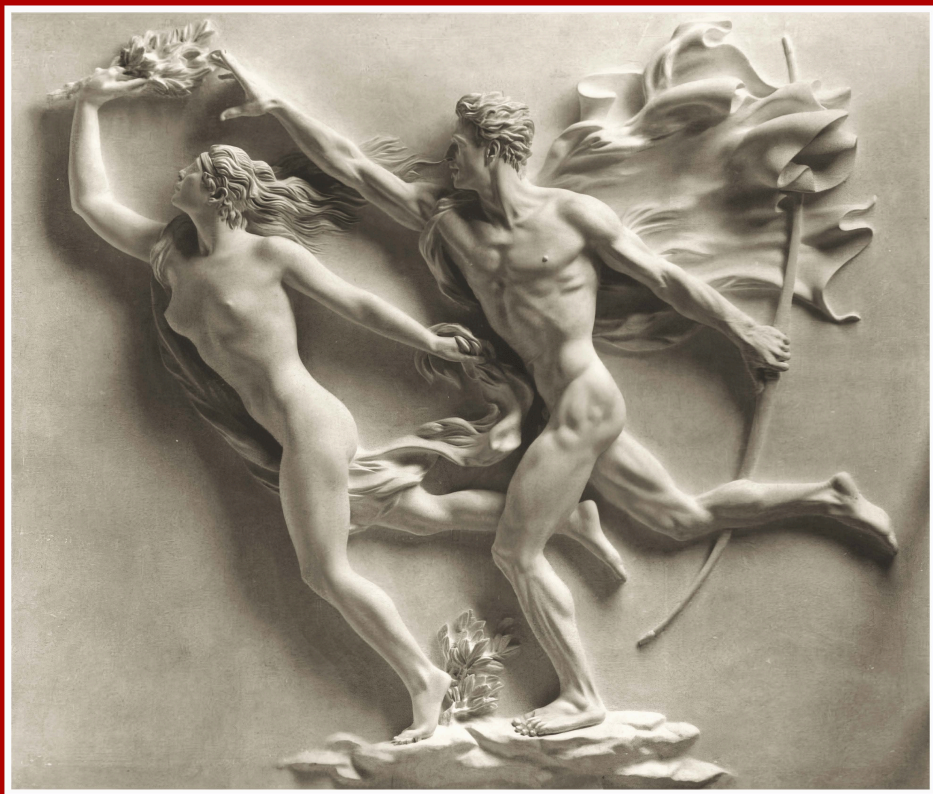


# BLOOD AND HONOR



ALFRED  
ROSENBERG



ALFRED  
ROSENBERG

BLOOD  
AND  
HONOR



*A. Rosenberg.*

Alfred Rosenberg

# Blood and Honor

A fight for German rebirth

Speeches and essays from 1919 - 1923



Jentralverlag der NSDAP., Franz Eher Nachf., Munich



TRADITION

## Table of Contents

|                       |    |
|-----------------------|----|
| Germany's Leader..... | II |
|-----------------------|----|

### Against the Old System

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Jewish Contemporary Issues.....               | 15 |
| The "Historicized".....                       | 23 |
| The Betrayal of the German Working Class..... | 31 |
| Reichsbanner and Jungdeutscher Orden.....     | 35 |
| The Rot of the Democratic Party.....          | 43 |
| Ten Years of Revolt.....                      | 47 |
| Silence in the storm.....                     | 52 |
| Center and Christian People's Service.....    | 54 |
| "So-called Balts".....                        | 65 |
| Stop the Murder Squad!.....                   | 68 |
| Mark equals Mark, Man equals Man.....         | 71 |
| The Criminals.....                            | 75 |
| The Protective Coloration.....                | 78 |
| The End of the Center.....                    | 82 |
| The End of the Parties .....                  | 86 |
| Memories of November 9, 1923.....             | 89 |

### For the New Empire

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Introduction to the NSDAP Program.....                 | 105 |
| National Socialism in World War .....                  | 114 |
| One Man.....   | 116 |
| The Idea of the Völkisch State.....                    | 118 |
| The "Völkischer Beobachter," On its Resurgence.....    | 120 |
| Soldier and Worker.....                                | 122 |
| National Socialism?.....                               | 124 |
| The Flag.....  | 127 |
| Unforgettable Days.....                                | 130 |
| Party Congress 1929.....                               | 132 |
| On the Essential Structure of National Socialism ..... | 134 |
| The Road Clear.....                                    | 159 |
| Idea and guide .....                                   | 161 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| To the Victory of 14, September.....                      | 164 |
| The Emergence of the German Nation-State .....            | 166 |
| The Meaning of March 21.....                              | 169 |
| Hitler, the Führer.....                                   | 173 |
| The German Nationhood.....                                | 176 |
| The National Socialist Revolution is Just Beginning!..... | 182 |
| Peasantry and Culture.....                                | 184 |

## Worldview and culture

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Humanity Dogma.....                              | 195 |
| Völkisch Art.....                                | 198 |
| To Present a Worldview.....                      | 201 |
| On the Artistic Circles of the Present.....      | 204 |
| The Theater.....                                 | 208 |
| Film.....  | 313 |
| Houston Stewart Chamberlain.....                 | 217 |
| Dietrich Eckart.....                             | 219 |
| Man and Woman.....                               | 220 |
| Beethoven.....                                   | 225 |
| Paul de Lagarde.....                             | 228 |
| Struggle Against Cultural Decline!.....          | 231 |
| Representatives of a Declining Spirituality..... | 235 |
| Blood, Soil, Personality.....                    | 241 |
| Revolution in the Visual Arts?.....              | 248 |
| In the Battle for German Science.....            | 252 |
| German Rebirth.....                              | 256 |

## Foreign Policy

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| United States of Europe?.....                     | 267 |
| "West" and "East".....                            | 270 |
| Against the Foreign Policy of the System.....     | 274 |
| Brüning's Disaster Policy.....                    | 282 |
| Crisis and Rebirth of Europe.....                 | 296 |
| The Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP.....       | 312 |
| The New Germany and the Treaty of Versailles..... | 314 |
| The Dying World Economic Conference.....          | 330 |
| The Racial Conditionality of Foreign Policy.....  | 333 |
| Interview Jules Sauerwekn - Alfred Rosenberg..... | 350 |
| For Germany's Global Standing.....                | 355 |



## Foreword

Born on January 12, 1893 in Nevak, Alfred Rosenberg, as a Baltic German, lived through all the hard sufferings of being a German abroad and - the Russian Revolution. In order to enlighten Germany about this and to help save it from communism, he went to Germany at the end of 1918, met Adolf Hitler in Munich through Dietrich Eckart and joined him in 1919. In 1921, he took over the "Völkischer Beobachter." In Coburg in 1922, at the Feldherrnhalle in 1923 he marched with the Führer. After November 9, 1923, he tried to keep the remnants of the movement together. When the Führer returned from Landsberg, Rosenberg again took charge of the "Völkischer Beobachter," which he subsequently expanded until it became Germany's largest newspaper after the victory. In 1924 he had founded the magazine "Der Weltkampf". In 1930, as the desire for an official magazine of the NSDAP grew stronger, he created the "Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte". In 1929, he founded the "Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur." In 1930 Rosenberg became a member of the Reichstag and representative of his parliamentary group for foreign policy issues. Since he had immersed himself more and more in the questions of foreign policy through travel and work, and had shown the new foundations from this field, he was appointed by Adolf Hitler in April 1933 as Chief of the Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP, and shortly thereafter as Reichsleiter.

Alfred Rosenberg is, in a sense, the father of National Socialist writing. Already in 1919/20 he had published several writings on Bolshevism, Freemasonry and the Jewish question and had made the fight against the supranational powers one of his main tasks. As a domestic political fighter we find him above all in his much too little noticed book "Dreißig Novemberköpfe" (Thirty November Heads), which appeared in 1927. His 1930 pamphlet "Der Sumpf" (The Swamp), one of the most valuable documents in the struggle against the cultural decay of the post-war years, was on a similar level. As early as 1922, he had published "The Nature, Principles and Aims of the NSDAP," the first writing of the movement! Later, he gave the movement two of its most fundamental writings in "Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Außenpolitik" and "Das Wesensgefüge des Nationalsozialismus".

His main work, however, is "Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts" (The Myth of the 20th Century), which had an enormous circulation, especially in 1933, and of which Hanns Johst wrote: "I often encounter the question of the foundations of National Socialism. Here is the work in which the stabilization of these foundations is anthaеically wrestled with."

It would not be in keeping with the simple nature of Alfred Rosenberg to make extended further enumerations of his achievements here. Male deeds speak for themselves in male times.

Here are just a few brief highlights of the work of this man who not only loves Kant's categorical imperative, but also lives it.

Some time ago Rosenberg was to speak in some city in Germany. The local group leader, himself an old militant of the movement, said in his introduction: Rosenberg's editorials in the "Völkischer Beobachter" while

During the ban on speeches against Adolf Hitler from 1925 to 1927, Rosenberg's only living connection to Munich at that time was his work. - The "NS.-Funk" wrote on the occasion of Rosenberg's appointment as head of the Foreign Policy Office: "Everything he touched was deepened by him, and so it was he who created the intellectual foundations of the National Socialist movement down to the smallest detail." - And finally, it seems to us like a symbol that on the edge of the dagger carried by every Hitler youth are engraved the words "blood and honor," - a term once coined by Alfred Rosenberg and later placed at the center of his "myth."

As these lines are being written, Adolf Hitler is in Munich. With him also Alfred Rosenberg. It is the 9th of November, 15 years have passed since the first, 10 years since the second black day of the German history of the last human age, and now in Munich the old fighters of the movement meet to commemorate together the victory and the dead. For the sake of these old fighters of the party and SA. this book has been compiled. Especially today, when for economic reasons writings of people who never stood in the economic struggle for the German rebirth shoot out of the earth in quantity, it was necessary to issue a book that can give a really genuine picture of the great struggle for Germany.

Due to the versatility of Alfred Rosenberg's talent, in which almost all events and problems of the time are reflected as in a prism, it was possible to select the essays and speeches so that they at the same time draw a picture of the personality of their author and the path of our movement in short outlines.

And so let this book be given to the public: to the old fighters of the movement as em memory, to the young and coming as a legacy of the early years of the struggle for Germany's rebirth.

Berlin, November 9, 1933.

Thilo von Trotha.

## Germany's Leader.

Alfred Rosenberg in the "Völkischer Beobachter"  
on the Führer's 34th birthday on April 20, 1923.

Adolf Hitler celebrates his 34th birthday. Far from any byzantinism, hundreds of thousands of people can thank him for what he has given them, for what he has already done for the whole nation.

In the midst of a disgraceful mental breakdown he appeared, without money and property, without a name, a simple soldier. But he felt the shame of his people and the iron will to wash it away. Only today can we appreciate what it meant to fight alone against a whole world, what faith and passion it took to set oneself the greatest, seemingly impossible goal without help.

Whoever has had the opportunity to follow Adolf Hitler's work shows how he became more mature, greater and more ravishing from month to month. His fire spread from him to his listeners, planting a strong faith in their hearts again after the collapse of all previous ideas. Hordes of despairing men were once again sanding for their lives, and men who were looking for a leader of the German people were looking more and more expectantly to the man in Munich.

The mysterious interaction between leader and followers developed, which has become so characteristic of the German freedom movement today: that all seeking and striving for national honor,

The desire for a new idea of the state from the heart of many thousands is completely embodied in one personality.

This very fact was criticized and interpreted as a weakness of the movement. But: the Seven Years' War would never have been fought, if the two big eyes of Frederick the Only had not watched over Prussia. The empire of 1870/71 would not have come about without the iron will of Bismarck. Germany's liberation will also be carried out only by very few.

And the guiding, life-bringing current will, in the end, also come only from one heart.

In whose breast this beats, we all know. But we can already say today that the name Hitler has taken on a mystical sound not only for us. Under this name the German people will one day be divided into chaff and wheat. This name already goes as a symbol through the whole world. It is hated and loved, like everything great.

Germany's honor, social justice, the freedom of the whole German people are the leitmotifs of the man who will one day, after unavoidable hard struggles, carve out the völkisch Germany. This faith lives in us National Socialists and will not be shaken by anything. It should also increase the strength of our leader, because the struggle is desperate and can only be carried out with the ultimate willingness to make sacrifices.

To Adolf Hitler we all offer our congratulations and believe that the coming Germany will repay him the thanks he deserves.

Times are getting sharp, stand by your leader, German men and women! But the victory will be ours, because at the head of the German will to live stands - one man.

# Against the Old System

An age has now died, and it has not passed away in the weather glow of really great battles, but it has faded away, rotten, resisting, and after this coalescence the new German life strides over the past.

Alfred Rosenberg in the "Völkischer Beobachter"





## Jewish Contemporary Issues.

From "Aus gut Deutsch," October 23, 1919.

Even if through all centuries the essence of the Jewish spirit has remained unchanged, how different cultural currents in the midst of the peoples of Europe have exerted some influence from the manner of its expressions. Dr. Artur Ruppin, in his work "The Jews of the Present", has made an exceedingly correct confession which exposes the core of the whole dispute about the nature of the impact of the Jewish spirit. He says: "Jewish Orthodoxy was from the beginning much less religion than a fighting organization clothed in religious garb for the preservation of the Jewish people." It is from this point of view that every Jewish association is to be viewed.

Even if Talmudic Judaism was as solid an edifice as any other, the course of time had forced some of its components out of its structure. These detached members have now founded fighting organizations of a different kind, or have been able to transform other associations into shock troops of the Jewish world power for their own purposes, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Freemasons, the International, the Anglo Jewish Association, Liberal Judaism and Zionism.

The first associations have been discussed in many places in this magazine, but here a few words about liberal Judaism. It was formed in order to reunite those who were unfaithful to Talmudic Judaism under a different religious flag. In order to give greater authority to the efforts, it was presented as a renewal

of the old prophetic reform attempts him. The initially small community now stands as an organization spread all over Germany. The emphasis of this association, however, is now less in the term liberal than in the term Judaism.

One of the present-day spiritual leaders of this movement is Rabbi Dr. Caesar Seligmann of Frankfurt am Main. On the occasion of a planned all-Jewish German congress he wrote in the magazine "Liberales Judentum" (No. 5 and 6): "But if you join together at the congress, beware of appearing without the pathos of a great confession. With a mere denial of Zionism with the declaration that you are not Nationaljuden, but Germans as a nation, you cannot make a Jewish congress. The declaration of belief in the German nation at a Jewish congress smacks too much of loyalty and is a piece and remnant of the old Schutzjudentum. It looks confusingly similar to the pseudo-liberalism of past times, which Gabriel Niesser castigates with such bitter words, and which sacrificed religious values for political gain, which reformed not out of inner, religious necessities, but for the sake of the external position in the state. Against such ghetto Jewry every scorn and anger of Zionism is justified. It cannot and must not be the task of a Jewish Konkress to assure Germany of its loyalty. Besides - he who assures too much seems to be least sure of his cause."

These words are quite clear. Nothing worse for Dr. Seligmann than to pledge allegiance to Germany. At least it is honest and therefore more pleasant to read than the publications of the German citizens of Jewish faith.

On October 13, the Association of Liberal Jews of Munich held a closed meeting to deliberate on the measures to be taken for the coming "unavoidable crump" against anti-Semitism. Dr. Seligmann and Attorney Stern, the Secretary General of Liberal Jewry, had been asked to report.

Dr. Seligmann gave a very beautiful speech, comparing Judaism with the castle from "The Singer's Curse", which looks so proud and lofty over the land to the blue sea and is surrounded by fragrant flowers and gardens. The castle of granite ashlar is the house built by the fathers, as we see it embodied before us in the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruch, with its firm foundations, its "wonderful moral teachings", its "humanity, loyalty and sense of duty", "sense of obligation", its preaching of the "brotherhood of man and reconciliation of nations". The river, however, on which the castle had stood, had changed its course and was flowing straight under the foundations. Now it would be necessary either to leave everything as it was and, in the worst case, to be buried under the ruins, to move out, or to dismantle and build a new house from the existing material. The first wants Orthodoxy, the second the assimilationists, who are not to be despised enough and who, according to Seligmann, have "crawled to the cross or to the crescent moon," the last the liberal Jews want, because it is the most expedient. This was followed by a few speeches about the revival of the "golden prophet's crown and the purple prophet's mantle". One wanted to grant the speaker gladly everything good, but the horse's foot did not stay away and made a hypocrisy out of the beautiful words. For, said the rabbi, if the Jews would unite, then the old word would become truth, which says that once the time

**L Blood and honor**

would come, when the best men of all nations would cling to the skirts of the Jews and ask him, "Lead us!"

So the crux of the matter was pretty much out in the open here, too. During the break, everyone was invited by a gentleman walking around to join the association for "cheap money". In the ensuing debate, the second speaker proudly reported that liberal Judaism had brought back many flacks into the fold, developed the idea of youth organizations, and concluded by asserting with emphasis that Jewish liberalism was not one worldview among others, but the worldview par excellence. But what the board secretly decided to do in order to fight against anti-Semitism, it unfortunately did not reveal to the public.

We thus see liberal Jewry confronting Germanism in just as united and organized a manner throughout Germany, only in a different form, as the other Jewish fighting organizations.

Voltaire said that the Jews, filled with the most indomitable hatred against all nations, were "groveling in misfortune and insolent in prosperity". This word, patching on all Jewish history, is perfectly true today. "It cannot suffice in the long run for the national self-confidence of the Jews to be everywhere only a minority," says Lohen (Reust), who is otherwise steadfastly International where German politics are concerned (*Die politische Bedeutung des Zionismus*). David Trietsch sees in the large share of the Jews in the revolution an "irrepressible spiritual force, which would become much more prominent if the ingrained prejudice of the crowd did not keep the Jew from free political activity." So all the Jewry so far is still far too little. On the ver-

håltnisfe in Russia, the same gentleman is very proud: "If the development of post-Czarist Russia so far may be an aberrant one, the observer will not be able to close his mind to the realization that without the Jewish minds that have made themselves available to the revolution, the chaos would be much worse. In Russia the Jewish leaders have come to the helm on the basis of a superior crust of thought, and thanks to the ability to see a way TO, while the best among the rest have not yet by any means overcome the confusion of the overthrow" (Palestine and the Jews).

These few voices are still relatively mild, but they are authoritative insofar as they come from members of the "German Committee for the Promotion of Jewish Settlement in Palestine". On the other hand, the paper, the "Jüdische Rundschau", is striking a note that cannot be ignored.

First, it is stated that Zionism is born "from the spirit of the idea" and has nothing in common with German nationalism, which sees its ideal in "submarines, gas shells, etc.". The vituperation of the overthrown negation is recast in No. 70 as a pamphlet against Germany in general. Germany was to blame for the unfortunate conditions of the Jews in Poland. "The same German administration which, when it invaded Poland, praised itself to the Jews as a liberator, later abandoned them completely to the Poles politically, did everything to prevent the national unification of the Jews and, by quite evil interference in their internal affairs, encouraged all efforts at disintegration in Polish Jewry, and exploited and ruined them economically in a way that stands unparalleled in history." "The German officials, by their unscrupulous greed for booty, have so shaken all moral concepts there that even the most extensive

reparation would not be sufficient to restore the prestige of the German name among Polish Jews." "In the Rhineland the most German of the Germans are selling the future of Germany every day and every hour. For the police, however, it is naturally more convenient to arrest the few Galician and Polish Jews who, not least thanks to the insane regulations of the Demobilization Office, which all social politicians consider downright unbelievable, are forced, so to speak, to seek their acquisition in the surreptitious trade..." The Jews immigrating from the East would be directed to agriculture, mining operations, etc., with good success. "Whatever the war, which did not spring from a Jewish spirit, may have made of some of the poor hounded masses, allow us to say," the article concludes, "that today more than ever Germany has reason not to lock its doors against the morality, the piety, the attachment to the infinite, which still live in this Eastern Jewry."

So the German has stolen from the Jew, corroded his sense of morality, the most German is the very greatest racketeer, the poor Jew is forced into surreptitious trade, whether he likes it or not, the German has to expect morality and piety of outlook on life from the Jew of the East....

Let us listen further. In No. 72, occasionally on the question of migration, the mood is set for an all-Jewish congress; then it is said: "The people shall be called upon to decide on their migration and oorsetz to it the organs in which they place their trust. And the questions that determine the Jewish emigration shall be solved exclusively according to the interests of the Jewish people. If the people are behind the solution, the Jews also have the power and influence to

If all means are concentrated, our political possibilities, our financial influence, our intellectual, moral and economic abilities, if everything is brought to a common denominator and everything is made to serve a purpose, then we can not only open doors to immigration that are closed today, we can also close doors to emigration that are opened with too inviting a gesture. It is not enough to look for countries that accept Jews. It must also be ensured that it does not become a mockery to expel Jews."

Finally, it is emphasized that there can only be a unified Jewish world policy, because otherwise "the thrust of the Jewish will" would be broken.

Again we see the cynical mockery coming out undisguised: the Jews in Germany speak as if there were no longer any German Reich to be reckoned with in any way, "exclusively" Jewish interests are decisive, if someone wished to accelerate the emigration of the chosen people, the Jews would see to it that this impudent intervention in Jewish affairs would cease as soon as possible. For months now the Jewish newspapers have been full of complaints about the Jewish pogroms in Poland, the Ukraine, Galicia and Hungary. Horror stories are told: innocent Jews are chased from their homes and farms, murdered under terrible tortures, women and little girls are violated, killed, thrown into water closets <!) etc. The number of victims in Ukraine is said to be 35 OW.

The Polish newspapers and politicians now know quite different things to tell. For example, a great Jewish pogrom was supposed to have taken place in Krakow, for which a lamentation ran through all the Jewish newspapers. On the Polish

But now, at the first National Assembly, the deputy Brüll told: "If I had not been a witness to the events in Krakow, I would indeed have believed that a pogrom had taken place there. Now, however, I must state that pogroms did indeed take place in Krakow, not against the Jewish population, but against the Polish population. All the wounded are Polish soldiers, because the Jewish Bolsheviks did not allow them to disarm the gangs that created the disturbance. They arrested a certain Goldberg, who had Czech and German passports, an organized gang it was, which had the task, on the one hand, to instigate Bolshevik unrest in Poland and, on the other hand, to desecrate the name of Poland in Paris. In Mechow, Jews murdered a Pole and desecrated his body. Yet no one speaks against this murder, but in Krakow not a single Jew perished and people are already shouting that there was a pogrom there."

Thus, accusation and accusation faced each other. In order to clear up all this bickering, Hirsch Morgentau was put at the head of the investigating commission. The American Jew now toured the whole country, but could not mend the Poles' witnesses as much as the Jews hoped, and so his reports were quite neutral. About it cries of indignation of the whole Jewry and the consequence was that a sharper man, Mr. Samuel from London will again examine all complaints.

Again an old phenomenon repeats itself. Whenever the Jewish extermination becomes too much for any people and there are some riots, terrible news about Jewish slaughters appear in all the newspapers of the world, which are completely made up out of thin air. A classic example of this is the situation in Romania in the second half of last year.



Hundreds. Unhindered by any restriction on entry, the Jews had literally flooded this country. Through usury of the worst kind and through spirited liquor trade, the ignorant and harmless people had fallen into complete dependence. All attempts to lawfully and vigorously curb Jewish unscrupulousness failed because of the objection of the Great Powers, under the influence of Lilmnaa iLr^aliw. In a letter to Charles of Romania, the latter's father calls the Jewish affairs a noli ins complains about the power of the money Judaism, however, means devotedly that one can do against it nothing.

When some Romanian authorities intervened more vigorously against Jewish traders, when the people began to become restless, the Jewish press began to cry out, and a flood of tall tales appeared on the patient paper. For example, a dispatch from a Jewish banker to the American consul (1876) stated that thousands of Jews in one town had been robbed of their possessions and had to leave the country. An investigation found that some fraudulent Jews had moved in, with three being beaten up. Jews from Vasliu asked all the consulates for help, because the Romanians had inhumanly chased the entire Jewish community there, 740 people, out of their homes in the middle of winter. The investigation revealed (in the presence of a Jewish deputy) that 25 Jews had engaged in illegal trade and kept unlicensed liquor stores, that their drinks had been confiscated, and that the 25 Jews had been expelled from the village. That was all. - Another time the inhabitants of Jassy were very surprised to see in the "Monde Illustre" a large drawing about a Jewish pogrom there. The matter turned out, like many others, to be a

a Jewish attempt to interest French public opinion in the poor Jews. The complaints of the "Neue Freie Presse" (May 1877) about infamous Jew-baiting and a large number of other lies were just as made up out of thin air. For years there were cries about persecutions of Jews, while only two Jews were slain, and even these by two Turks, when they were expelled to Turkey; religious motives, about which then as now there is still a clamor, were never the cause of any unrest; in the 20 years (1859-1879) the "Jew-baiting" consisted in the confiscation of a number of clandestine branntwhembuden and in the expulsion of their owners. (See Verar: RoamÄnis et les ^uiks. Bucharest 1903, pp. 150-160.)

The Jewish newspapers are now calling on all "honest men" to take a stand against the "pogrom agitation" that is allegedly being fomented by the anti-Semites in Germany as well. How about that now? - All the leading anti-Semitic papers have unequivocally asserted that they abhor any pogrom. But they have demanded just as unequivocally that in this hour of national destiny for the German people German men should be at the head. Instead, not a day passes without a new Jewish personality being appointed to influential posts. All demands not to push themselves forward, to control their lust for power, have slipped off on the Jew like water on a rubber coat, all German cries of despair threaten to fall flat. Again it is as in former times. There the Jews sat as finance ministers and tax tenants at court, all cries for usury seen from the sides of the people and the estates were paralyzed by Jewish money.

If one approaches the whole campaign of historical events concerning the Jews and their relationship to the other peoples without the worn-out dogma of a tear-stained sensibility, then one thing could already be established from the outset: if the results in the behavior of all peoples towards the one Jewish people are the same, then this can, in the main at least, only be due to the character of the one Jewish people. For the individualities of the history concerning the Jews are different, the personality of the Jew, on the other hand, is the uniform and unchangeable factor, increased by strict wet breeding.

Many historians, brought out of their historical equilibrium by inhumanities actually committed against the Jews, too easily see a judgment in the purely human condemnation; this crooked position, which does all honor to man, but places the historian lower, must be seen in order to be able to understand history in its deeper necessities through the sentimentalities. If one has done this, and if one uses mainly representations friendly to the Jews, at least not a priori anti-Semitic, so as not to cloud one's glasses from the other side, then we are confronted with an actually strikingly similar curve of Jewish life, Jewish activity and Jewish suffering in all countries of the world: everywhere they are exempted first without reservation, everywhere we see the Jews from the outset purposefully separating themselves physically as well as spiritually from the native population, everywhere they are eagerly endeavoring to acquire the favor of the princes, and advancing the money acquired by zealous trade and usury to them for undertakings, to assure themselves of their protection, and thus to cheat themselves out of privileges of all kinds.

Again, the anti-Jewish movements, which sometimes seized a whole country, then appeared among all peoples, at first flaring up in a few places, and discharging themselves in terrible rage. The occasions for the great persecutions of the Jews have been various. But if anywhere historical observation must pay attention to the social structure in order to uncover not occasions but reasons for the occurrence of shocking events, this is especially the case when considering the Jewish question in all countries. It is true that political and cultural, but especially ecclesiastical conditions have been of importance, they sometimes came to the fore, as for example at the time of the Inquisition, but they are only the more recognizable factors! Questions of economic nature always went hand in hand. Just as the Jewish question is of the greatest importance today in many respects, so it rests anchored in the social position of the Jews in the world today. Without the immense riches at their disposal, it would not be possible to direct the politics of the world and to make statesmen of all countries emerge as puppets of the Jewish will; it would not be possible to lower the poison of flattening, of discord with their own nature into the hearts of Europeans and to keep the spirits in a mood favorable to Judaism, if it were not for the almighty gold, managed according to plan, dinging its abettors in all countries. But as it is today, where the oppressive bank capital holds all peoples in its interest, so was the situation, though on a smaller scale, in Spain and in France, in Germany and in many other states. Everywhere the Jew was the interest lord of the princes, of the clergy, of the people; and the persecutions of the Jews, this may be oorweggenomen here, are mainly an attempt undertaken again and again anew, the yoke of the

The work of the German anti-Semites shall be to meet this cruel necessity, which will inevitably occur when the Jewish gluttony reaches an unsurpassable climax in the domination of German society. The work of the German anti-Semites should be to provide a legal way out of this cruel necessity, which will necessarily occur when Jewish insatiability has reached an unsurpassable climax in the domination of the German people, by demanding that the Jews be removed by law from all state offices. At worst, a popular referendum would have to decide on this. If, however, this, too, is thwarted and prevented, then there will occur what has been repeated with inescapable consistency throughout the centuries: a persecution of the Jews. If all admonishing voices for the protection of the Christian and German being are exhausted to the best of our knowledge and ability, then an uprising against a foreign rule is no longer a hateful pogrom, but a sign that the soul of a people has not yet rotted away. "What disturbs your inner being you must not suffer," says Goethe; Christ drove the changeling Jews out of the temple with the Geihel. The German, too, will have to defend the best of what he has, what his spirit and his history have handed down to him as an asset to be administered, with the Geihel, if necessary. The German Reich must become Germany again after a long, long time and not a playground of unleashed Jewish lust for power.

## The "Historicized".

"Volkischer Beobachter", May 6, 1926. These statements have a special appeal today in view of the work on the reform of the Reich.

At the moment, the battle between centralism and federalism has flared up anew. The Bavarian, as yet unpublished proposal for an amendment of the Reich Constitution in the "federalist sense" and the response of the Reich government are supposedly to be published. As is well known, the so-called Bavarian People's Party, in its fight against a German centralist principle, operates with the phrase that one must not "smash what has historically become". This way of looking at things contains truth and falsehood. It is false insofar as the Bavarian People's Party understands by "what has historically become", which it wants to protect, only the state of Bavaria, in which it does not want to recognize any changes of a state nature. In exchange, however, it strives to smash what has "historically become" in Prussia, for example, if possible, and to strengthen the dissolving elements, of whatever kind, in Prussia. Hence the support of the German-Hanoverians, the Silesian autonomists, the flirting with certain separatist efforts in the West.

Basically, to the call that one should not destroy what has become historical, it must be said: such a standpoint, taken in principle, would mean that its representative is aware of his inner incapacity; that he is convinced that he himself does not carry any history-forming power. For a man or a popular movement that is genuine and strong is itself history and power, therefore also shapes history. The so-called

What has "historically become" is often nothing but a calcified scheme which is still held up to the people as an idol by the beneficiaries of the ruling state. Thus, for example, today's federal states are not somehow organically bound, but have been glued together purely as dynastically-politically determined areas of power.

It is clear to every National Socialist that neither the Marxist unitarianism nor the Vayerian-Voltspartei federalism represent something that has to be respected as "historically developed". What is historically formed is the wet, the people, the tribe and, as a result, a certain cultural unity of individual territories, supplemented by circumstances economically linked to the characteristics of the country. It is not a matter of preserving the forms of yesterday, but of concentrating the strength of the blood and the strength of the will, both of the individual personality and of all German tribes, on a united, strong, great Germany. If we declare today that neither the form of the republic nor the form of the monarchy must lead us to a fundamental struggle, this also applies to the dispute between federalism and centralism. A centrally tightly governed Germany would have the sympathy of all Germans on its side, if the central office were really perfectly nationally and socially directed; but a unitarianism of today, abused by Marxist and liberalist politicians, will only increase the ill-will throughout Germany. A federalism of Germany in the sense of Bismarck would be sympathetic to some; a "federalism" in the sense of the so-called Bavarian People's Party would be no Germany at all. We have only respect for the basic substance of race, people and state, but for accidental dynastic traditions we must not feel such respect that we argue about them as about eternal values.

The dynasties have given Germany a motley appearance, and this annihilation of the smallest rivalries is the only plus in our time. There is no reason for a national-socialist Germany to maintain the large number of thrones or state presidents and prime ministers forever, quite apart from the fact that the thousands of useless parliamentarians burden the state budget of every country in a purposeless way.

The coming man who will one day shape the new Germany will adhere neither to unitarist nor to federalist dogmatics, but will do everything that seems expedient in order to lead the German people and the German state outwardly as a united, strong body uniformly governed according to the German sense and to leave it inwardly all cultural peculiarities founded on tribalism. He will quite naturally find the organic solution between federalism and unitarism; but this solution will not be in the line of Herr Severing, nor in the line of the so-called Bavarian People's Party.



## The Betrayal of the German Working Class.

"Der Meuterkamps," December 1926, In this essay, socialist Alfred Rosenberg makes his strongest statement.

After 1871, the patriarchal state began to crumble, money and machines became more and more masters, bankers and Industrieritter displaced the general and the diplomat. A tremendous misery crept through coal mines and iron works . . . A grumbling against this state of affairs began in Germany from two sides: on the part of the Prussian sword nobility and on the part of the exploited masses of millions. The first opposition was incapable of real indignation because it was bound by inhibitions of a traditional kind. It criticized the actions of the state and the monarch, but was loyal to the monarchy itself; moreover, it fought for the rights of the past, and this robbed it of any energy for the future. The other opposition, however, had nothing to lose but everything to gain. Those who were dissatisfied not only with industrialization, but with everything that had been, gathered in the Social Democracy. Literary figures, artists, critics, henchmen of the highest circles, who wanted to throw off the burden of an oppressive life-chematismuZ, but also people who wanted to work for the suffering people with the dedication of their whole personality. And with touching devotion millions followed those who posed as leaders. They sacrificed their last money, sacrificed their health, sank under the misery of the strike, fell under the shots of the military.

And today, the descendants of those same millions face the staggering but undeniable fact that the tremendous sacrifices of their fathers and mothers and their own decades of devotion have been in vain.

The honest and big-hearted people from the May period of Social Democracy have long since died; rich lawyers, East Jewish editors, common big-shots and muzzlers of all kinds have taken their place. At the moment when at last the long-awaited "victory all along the line" came, the hollow Marxist "state of the future" collapsed, and what today calls itself a social-democratic workers' leader is nothing but a hyena of the battlefield on which lie millions of workers' corpses and millions of rascals plundered by them.

By chance, Lily Braun's "Memoirs of a Socialist" recently came into my hands; I read this book again after long years and was as shocked as the first time. An inwardly striving person, thirsting for freedom, feels only too much the narrowness of certain aristocratic journeys, bumps painfully at every attempt of an independent movement; unsatisfied in his longing for women and full of deepest sympathy with seen misery, he breaks with his circle of life. The passion of denial drives him to social democracy, and step by step, probably unconsciously to the author, one can follow how an inwardly rich, plastic man becomes more and more meager and flat. The woman full of poetry and religious fervor surrenders to the American moral tracts, swears by Darwinism and English Enlightenment. The woman who had followed the great Germans with so much love, to whom Germany had been a prerequisite of her life, became a follower of the International, armed the Phra

The soul of the rich man, who is still trying with all his strength to serve the recognized cause, in spite of failures and rejections, is now a stencil. Thus a rich soul becomes a template, a template that still makes an honest effort, serves the recognized cause with all its strength, despite failures and rejections, - but nevertheless a paralyzing breath seizes the reader, as it were, when the author begins to speak as a Marxist. Lily Braun is an impressive example of the fact that even good will does not improve a thing that is contrary to people and life. On the contrary: through the magnanimity and the sacrificial courage of the noble, the fundamentally ignoble becomes even stronger, because it reduces the power of organic resistance. What do you think Lily Braun and those similar to her thought when Marxism finally triumphed in 1918? Did they become aware of the great deception of their lives, that they had helped to decompose a good, albeit old, form and to overthrow its bearer in order to make it possible for those miserable figures to rule who today have openly turned Social Democracy into the pimp of the people-exploiting high finance? Have they understood that by destroying the German People's Army they have shamefully betrayed the freedom of the German worker?

They will never admit this, not even those who once strengthened the struggle of social democracy with the best of intentions; for this confession would be tantamount to self-destruction.

The hammer had declared war on the sword and allied itself with the moneybag.

This was already the case around 1890, when the leaders of the workers and multimillionaires of that time sent the girls employed by them "on the street" in order not to pay higher salaries. That was already then

### 3 Blood and honor

so when LÖB Sonnemann of the "Frankfurter Zeitung" sent August Bebel Wern to prison and was the first to shake his hand when the latter left the prison.... But the millions did not notice. They let themselves be sicced on "the Junkers", on "the state", while the upper comrades drank fraternity with the big shareholders. Thus the unsuspecting, sacrificing millions broke the German sword in the midst of the German struggle for life and tore their sense of fatherland from their hearts in the name of a non-existent international class solidarity. Thus the moneybags won.

Perhaps it all had to come this way, perhaps the German people had to suffer this bitter illness in order to be led out of the right path of self-redemption.

For only today the time is ripe for the great state synthesis of the 20th century; the synthesis of nationalism and socialism. Nationalism, purified from the profit interests of the heartless economic policies of socialism, purified from the delusion of the international and the suicidal class struggle. No longer an alliance between hammer and moneybag, but an alliance between hammer, head and sword. The symbol of this alliance is the swastika. Its victory will once bring that for which forty years ago good forces - in false front - began to stir.

But today the slogan is fight. Fight the Marxist world plague and the betrayal of the working class, fight the traitors of the entire nation!

## Reichsbanner and Jurrndeutscher Orden

"Völkischer Beobachter," November 25, 26, 28, 1926.

The national idea is similar to the Christian one. In former times, it was identified with the emperor and the king. After the revolt, the "only true guardians" of this idea pounced on the heritage: "Deutsch- nationale" and "Deutsche Volkspartei" emerged. - Black-white-red was the slogan. Millions believed in it, including the national military associations. The "big ones" of these national parties saw their coffers threatened; no deal could yet be made with victorious Marxism, so they supported the Wehrverbände. But times were changing: high finance, supported by its Marxist guard, set itself up as master and threatened "national" industry and agriculture with refusal of credit. The latter still kicked a little, but then either the big masters' necks were wringed or a banker was put in their place, until then Silverberg's Dresden speech declared the readiness of "national" industry to make peace with high finance and manism.

The consequence of this business acumen of "our" economy was that a part of the national defense units was now more and more put on dry land. Their "leaders", of course, grasped the situation rather quickly and shouted "Into the state!" "Stresemann's policy is the right one!" But what do those hundreds of thousands say to this who have worn their skins to market over the years against Manism and Spartacism? A great bitterness must have seized these people. For

This cry, "Into the state", meant the collapse of the leaders in whom these hundreds of thousands had trusted until then. This cry of distress was the proof that the leaders had worked without plan and without ideas: organized and for what? In order to feed the whole then to the policy Rathmau ° Erzberger - Stresemann! That is at least the success. The national thought, however, has been abused and compromised by these rulers just as the Christian thought was abused and compromised by the Center and its party.

If we now hear of decompositions in some federations, whose leaders want to enter the barmatocracy in order to "positively cooperate," the blame for this lies solely with those unimaginative and instinctive people whom they have tolerated as "leaders" up to now. What Marxist propaganda had not been able to do, the leaders of the "nationals" did themselves. The consequence is a renewed mental demoralization of the best German men, so they are spared nothing, nothing at all: they must pose the question of nationhood and state all over again and examine who has fought uninterruptedly and unerringly these years.

Beside this bankruptcy of a political lack of ideas of the "national" parties and associations, however, still another quite different danger arises: that thanks to a new-established propaganda, nation, nationality is equated - the November democracy!

For years the Reichsbanner and Marxism have not left a good hair on the national idea, have insulted and defiled all German unions, have attacked and murdered their members. Now, when their "leaders" want to "enter" the state, the Reichsbanner and Marrism are making an effort, after

and after the "national thought" with itself emführen ... One has one's experiences. When in August 1914 the rulers stood alone and the government of the Reich had missed all good moments to render these rulers harmless forever, the Social Democracy also became national. It approved war credits and wrote war resolutions, but only against anti-Semitic Russia. Until the worries came and the need; then the Marxist water rats crawled out of hiding and with one accord gnawed the supporting beams of the German House. November 9, 1918 saw the rulers triumphant and victorious "all along the line" over the people. The catcalls came when the high finance taught the Marxist wizards to dance to their flute. Thus a great rage grew in the German people, it could not be discharged because the November parties were supported by the stock exchange capital and its foreign allies. So they banned the NSDAP, disarmed residents' militias, sent out wanted posters against one Albert Leo Schlageter.... in order to then raise the Reichsbanner with enormous financial means.

Unfortunately, good German men who did not like the old state and who joined this "non-partisan" organization out of this rejection alone also joined this Reichsbanner. There were many former front-line soldiers among them who were not at all willing to fight for the International alone.

Now the Marxist leadership performed the same trick it had used in August 1914: on the one hand, it ensured - in beautiful harmony with the blacks - that the only dangerous man who had given the national idea its genuine, new, trustworthy imprint, Adolf Hitler, could not speak. In defiance of the laws, he was banned from speaking after

the other ... On the other hand, the word "German people" was introduced.

At the Reichsbannertag in Nuremberg (September 1926) the first chairman of the SPD. stood before the "comrades" and declared, "We carry the word fatherland not only on our lips." This man did not prevent that beside him as Second Chairman saw comrade Crispian, who, according to his own confession, knows no fatherland Germany. But for the thousands in Nuremberg, these words of Comrade Wels were refreshment; they went home saying: Our Wels and his friends are quite good German men, we have just heard it....

The Reichsbanner-Zeitung is also changing its course and is already publishing memoirs from the World War, campaign experiences, etc., from which it is also evident that the parties that betrayed the German front- oldate in a planned manner are today courting his favor in order to make him forget this betrayal. It must not be forgotten, however, that the friends of the November Democrats in Bern were under the command of the Paris press headquarters; that they and their "Freie Zeitung" were paid for, among others, by the Jewish-American stock-marketeer Otto Hermann Kahn; that the desertion propaganda was carried out by means of black-red-gold brochures and leaflets, i.e. under those colors which today the Reichsbanner has made its own. It must not be forgotten that all the promises of the Center, of the Mariots, of democracy about Derständigungsfrieden, social justice, freedom, proletarian solidarity, etc., were lies. have been lies. Violent peace, the worst kind of draining of the people, corruption, racketeering, oppression of non-Marxist Germans, this was and is the true face of the November Democracy, which was and still is being led by the Stock Exchange and the Communist Party.



The Reichsbanner is called upon to protect these rights, which are held from the outside.

Then there is one last thing. Not only we and the honest communists see that democracy is rotting alive, even the November greats realize that. They realize that the attempt to mislead broad circles of the people by a "national" direction would perhaps not be able to stop its fall. They know what awaits them from the National Socialist side. From the communist side, despite some sympathies among the leaders, they have nothing good to expect either; therefore, the Reichsbanner means the preparation for a democratic dictatorship.

That is why Seeckt had to go! That is why others will have to go, too, with the aim of transforming the still national Reichswehr into a will-less protection force of the three November parties. On October 15, the Reichsbanner-Zeitung already openly demanded the Reichswehr Minister's post for a Reichsbanner leader. The cheers of the all-Jewish high finance will resound even louder when the "great coalition" of the November clan, as it was demanded in Thoiry, dissolves the German associations and disintegrates the Reichswehr just as it once disintegrated the great German army, and fills it with Reichsbanner representatives. These objectives of the November parties are clear to anyone who keeps his eyes open. But the struggle against them must be taken up with renewed energy in this difficult winter in the interests of the whole German people. And likewise against those who stab us in the back in this liberation struggle.

We have worked with the "Jungdeutschn Orden" for a long time in peace with each other and have nowhere taken a polemical stand against it. When in 1925 he published his great

4l)

conflict with the Stahlhelm, we have continued to refrain from any intervention in the interest of peace. This immediately earned us an invective from the newspaper "Der Jung- deutsche", such as had never come under our eyes against the Reichsbanner. The polemic has then also become sharper on our part, and so we want to take a closer look at the internal political struggle of the Order at this point.

When Zeus also wanted to provide the poet with a fiefdom, it turned out that the earth was already distributed. When Mahraun looked for a keyword for his state, he found none: Völkisch was taken, the great man could not be national socialist, of course, Jungdeutsch meant too little. So good advice was expensive. Finally, it was found: volksnational. It is true that volkssoolklich or nationalnational would have been just as correct, but where terms are lacking, words sometimes do wonders. Since then, the Jungdo has been striving for the "volksnational" state and imagining a "volksnational" movement, led by Arthur Mahraun.

Now it has been shown that Mahraun has appropriated a lot of demands and principles for which National Socialism has been fighting since the beginning: Antip arlamen-- tarianism, rejection of the outlived economic nationalism of the last epoch, breaking the rule of the plutocracy, reconciliation of the popular strata which are hostile to each other today, etc. About the spreading of such thoughts, no matter by which German, we could only be satisfied, now, however, we have followed for year and day the practical execution of these speeches at the hand of the official order newspaper "Der Jungdeutsche" and find: no campaign against the volksverraterifchen Marrismus; no real enlightenment about the entanglement of the international

Plutocracy, nowhere a depiction of Judaism and its activities destroying the people; instead, the most tender consideration for Seering and comrades. Biting and untrue reports about National Socialist meetings. In addition, quite interesting, purely reporting foreign policy news and abundant entertainment literature, as in every citizen's newspaper.

Some time later, the "Völkischer Beobachter" reported that "Mahraun had declared his support for the Weimar constitution. Immediately tremendous raving in the "Jungdeutscher" and "Pfui Teufel, Herr Rosenberg!" Now I just saw in the prison of the glorious republic and had no possibility to go into Mahraun's protests in more detail. In the speech in question, which the "Jungdeutscher" carried on October 14, 1926, it says, after the "Hochmeister" had expressed the hope with regard to the Reichsbanner that the streets would have to meet after all: "My brothers, in this sense I affirm the Weimar Constitution, in which it is written: the German people, united in its stänr- men and animated by the will to renew and consolidate its empire in freedom and justice. - Yes, we want that too, but we want to go further and build a prouder country and a higher castle than the republic of today, which is barely viable."

Who should now believe that Mahraun did not recognize Weimar. He recognizes that the traitors in the center, in democracy and in manism, who had disintegrated the German people and stabbed the German army, had been inspired by a thought of unity of the German tribes! He thus recognizes the revolt of November 9, 1918 as an attempt to protect freedom and justice.

When Seering left - not to retire completely, of course, but to work after your recovery break on

In order to lead the fight against the awakening Germany in another place, the chief editor of the "Jungdeutscher" dedicated an editorial to Seoering on October 8. The pioneer of the folksnational movement assures that Seoering is a "personality of high leader quality". Since Seoering has joined the Reichsbanner, he expresses the expectation that the leadership qualities of "such a man" will succeed in welding the Reichsbanner together more and emphasizes that Seoering is leaving "with a clean slate".... Even the "Berliner Tageblatt" could not emphasize his protégé better.

The alleged struggle of Mahraun against the plutocracy and its servants is thus nothing but an empty phrase. In this way, the leadership of the Jungdo ties up good German forces and prevents an effective fight against the enemies of the German nationhood.

## The Rot of the Democratic Party.

"The attacks against the parties of the old system show, in addition to brilliant characterization, that in the rich scale of Rosenberg's style the sharp tones of agitational mockery are struck with equal mastery as the tones of cool political deliberation.

We have already pointed out the strange fact that the supposedly so successful democratic November Republic is increasingly moving away from its spiritual mother: from the Democratic Party, which once waddled proudly with 79 representatives into the so-called Nationalsozialismus and had united 5.5 million trusting votes on mass and Ullstein. And now it is melting away. Now there are only 25 democrats who, Georg Bernhard at their head, represent the spirituality of Syria, with the help of those voters whom Karl Arnold immortalizes in "Simplizissimus," the "Pachulkes," as the "Tagebuch" just derisively called them. Mr. saw them melt away, too, but we did not expect that the death-imaginings of the mighty of democracy would be so rude. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" now declares, sadly psalm-mocking, that the situation is such that after further collapse all political effectiveness of the German Democratic Party will cease. One must think of the death of the party ...

Consider what such words, already openly spoken, mean: they mean that the 3.5 million daily Ullstein sheets, the million-circulation "Frankfurter Zeitung," the "Berliner Tageblatt," that

the huge sums of money of the bank princes, the department store billionaires, all the work of the Central Association, etc., are no longer able to supply the party of the Republic, which is nevertheless protected by its shoe law and the sanctification of all its ministers from any really profound attack, with the sufficient "spirit. All the hymns to Rathenau have helped nothing, even the refuge of putting Fräulein Gertrud Bäumer at the head of the Democratic Reichsliste no longer worked. Probably also the democratic ladies got a disgust for a political party which has not a single man to raise in hard times.

And now, just at the moment when Mosse and Ullstein are struggling for Stresemann's soul and Mr. Koch-Weser has sat down with them in the board of the Liberal Association, a fraternal-Zionist dagger thrust comes into the flank of the democrats and overthrows all shares of the merger of the firm Mosse-Ullstein with the firm Warburg-Litwin-Bleichroeder: the "diary" of the Jewish salon Bolshevik Stephan Großmann, in fact, takes the pleasure of publishing the essay of an unnamed democrat, in which we hear that the greats of democracy lived only by enumerating "past merits," despite the success of Stresemann in "banning the black-white-red flags from his meetings." And then we read further: "A German Democratic Party with 25 Reichstag deputies is an absurdity. The name is too proud for so small a group, its content too comprehensive for a splinter group." From which we conclude that the DDP. no longer has a supporting goal, at least not one that can be expressed publicly. Further: "Nevertheless, it must be admitted with frankness: May 20 has given the Demo.

kratische Parier dm neck broken." This will hurt the "short, never moved necks" (Goethe) very much. And further: "No joy over the catastrophe of the German nationalists may conceal the fact that the existence of this democratic party is only a pleasure for a few, that it has become useless for democratic Germany. Reformation of head and limbs? Gone, gone, no way leads out of this abyss to the heights again. One could radicalize the party, but it would at most win back a few tens of thousands of intellectuals, disorganizable elements, and the worst voters. One can let them finally oer- pachulken, - but what is the point of organizing a competition between bakers and painters? What must come in the interest of a healthy political development is the fusion of the middle parties. Courage, so often lacking, is needed for this decision. But for the life of German democracy the Democratic Party must also be able to die!"

An appeal to courage, however, is the greatest cry of pain that a decent democrat can utter. The Hcliden ideal is, according to the official "Berliner Tageblatt", the "stupidest of all ideals", and the democrats are not stupid according to their protestations. - So cowardly.

Now Zern Sireseemann is being persuaded that he, too, has lost a seventh of his human inventory - so into the new merger company! The "Kölnische Zeitung" is already in the happiest mood about it, the "Tägliche Rundschau", however, makes a sour face. But it will be all right, it has already given away so much that there is really nothing left of what it used to hold "high and holy. Now the two liberals are trading percentages, with which each of them can share in the joint bankruptcy of the other.

should participate. Whereby both parts are squinting: Koch to the left, who with a flat foot is already lunging to join the Stampfer-Levi-Hilferding, Stresemann to the right, where quite a few might revolt and join the Dawespatriots.

The matter of the merger is not so simple. In the end, it could turn out that the merged ones would have only half the leanness of the whole.

No matter how things look, we have our not at all concealed pleasure in it, because these speeches about mergers prove to us that the all-liberal democratic idea is rotting alive before our eyes.

Its rottenness contaminates the whole of Germany deep into the German nationalist ranks and has thus caused a terrible poisoning of the people. At the same time, however, it proves the organic correctness of National Socialism, which does not criticize individual things, but is called upon to eradicate the unnatural system in its root, which is devoid of the people and is customary for personalities.

Democrats are already giving themselves away; our time is ripening.



## Ten Years of Revolt.

"The World Struggle," November 1928.

The German republic that emerged from the gloomy days of November 1918 is celebrating its tenth anniversary. The authoritative rulers do not quite want to believe this themselves and calculate the duration of their activity starting from August 11, 1919, when the Constitution of Versailles became official state law under the harmless title "Weimar Constitution. One does not want to have anything more to do with those companions who, in reality, broke the way for the rule of Ebert Scheidemann-Severing. One does not like to think back to comrade Barth, the first so-called Dolksbeauftragter, who was punished for five moral crimes and was spared from further punishment for causing public annoyance only by granting 8 51 (mental inferiority). One reluctantly remembers those comrades who accompanied the field graves rushing into battle with the cry "strikebreaker". One closes oneself as much as possible to the fact that the German democrats in Paris had the German army informed by postcards decorated with black and red gold that whoever would give himself up with the ruse "Republic" would be sure of the best treatment. There is also a desire to cover up the fact that Siegfried Balder, a pacifist living in Switzerland, once again smuggled brochures decorated with red gold into Germany in which he called for the murder of German officers and for mutiny. Silence has fallen on the revelations of a Paris editor-in-chief who announced that the German pacifists were

The German court seems to have forgotten that the Jewish pirate O.H. Kahn had given 50000 dollars for the foundation of a Swiss newspaper, which was used for treasonous propaganda. It seems to have been forgotten that a German court felt compelled to declare treason against the first President of the November Republic.

It has also disappeared from the memory of the world that it was the "Dutch" comrade Barmat who supplied the starving German people with bad fat goods and gave his canned goods a lower weight than it was indicated on the beautiful label, which did not prevent certain Social Democratic politicians, Reich Chancellor Bauer at the head, from making a hollow hand for a moment. The people should no longer remember one of the spiritual heads of the Second International, Parvus-Helphand, who had acquired the money to finance the neo-liberal movement through grotesque food transactions. The German worker should not know that while he was suffering terribly from the consequences of the "victory all along the line," the heads of the Social Democracy were feasting in Parvus' magnificent villa near Zurich in such a way that the Swiss negation felt compelled to expel the comrade. The latter then continued his activities in his proletarian palace on Schwanenwerder, surrounded by Sklarz, Scheidemann, Hänisch, in order to die as a highly honored fellow citizen.

What does it matter to the people if the "national" bourgeoisie gives up the once announced fight against the November Republic, if Gustav Stresemann happily and piously appears next to comrades Braun and Severing from the castle of the East Jew and false councilor of commerce Litwin, lets him give money to his party and accepts beautiful ivory vases with silver inlays as a gift. For what? Certainly for

his pleasant and witty company. No one even thinks today of the center minister Höfte, who let himself be bribed smoothly and beautifully by cyclical eastern immigrants, or of Lange-Hegemann, the other center great of the Barmat concern, and who pays the names of those who still live their happy existence as proletarian leaders undiscovered?

This small blood reading is to show that in the today's time of democratic glory no "politician" is to be finished morally at all. If, for example, a minister is proven to have had relations of the most evil kind, this does him no harm at all. On the contrary, it only strengthens his position, because the democratic newspapers support him all the more.

On June 28, 1919, the Social Democratic Reich Foreign Minister Hermann Müller signed the Dictate of Versailles.

Exactly nine years later, on the anniversary of this most dreadful delivery of the nation, this gentleman becomes Chancellor of the Nooember Republic! This fact alone shows that even a politician in Germany cannot be finished by any political failure, and that the parties of the common betrayal of November 1918 are welded together in such a way that they simply defend everything. Even their fulfillment policy, even the Dawes delivery.

And there is only one conclusion to be drawn from this: the formation of a political power against all these parties and also against the personalities who have surrendered to them in whole or in half. They never step down of their own accord.

## §

In the attack against the revolt of 1918 and its results, it can in no way be the condemnation

### 4 Blood and Lhrc

It is not about a revolution by itself and about defense of the so-called evolution as the only model of organic development. Rather, also a revolutionary uprising belongs very often to organic growth. Just as the other way round evolution is often only a rottenness.

The characteristic of the events of 1918 is that they were not an organic revolution against a rotten form of life, but a soulless mutiny to make the rotten form the state core. The spirit of November 1918, which we can observe today in literature, in the theater, in the cinema, and in parliaments, had worn down the soulful forces of resistance long before: Nathenau, Mar Reinhardt-Goldmann, Mosse-Moses and Ullstein dominated the hour, even before the Soldatenräts ruled. The national bourgeoisie had given up cultivating a true idiosyncrasy and regarded men like Lagarde, Lang-behn and Chamberlain only as cultural turpitudes, retarded compared to the liberal and progressive thinking in "continents" and in "world economy". Therefore, today's punishment of the German nation with figures like Matthias Erzberger, Paul Levi and Gustav Stresemann is only a symbol of your self-inflicted fate. We have no gods to blame for this, not even Satanism and Kabbalism, but first and foremost ourselves. Which, of course, does not prevent a fight against the Levi-Erzberger-Stresemann, but, on the contrary, demands it. For man does not fight against abstractions, but against human beings. A rejection of the present system with all energy is therefore to be regarded more as a sign of awakening than a spiritual "noble" restraint from life.

The men of November 9 1918 believed they were accomplishing great things, by taking the substance of the nationhood

They betrayed the national idea, handed over the field-grey army to the deadly enemy inside and outside the borders of the empire, and finally ended up in the humble futzfall in front of the foreign countries. Therefore, there can be no peace pact either with the "ideas" or with the leaders of the November revolt or with their later successors. The antagonisms must not be balanced, but fought through.

The National Socialist movement of the active German minority today claims to be the Germany of the future. It links up with the "one third", the original substance, and pierces that slimy, tough layer of international spirituality which is connected with the internationalism of all varieties of modern political Ganklerism.

## Silence in the Storm.

It is part of the essence of Rosenberg's essays that they never gloss over. Thus, in this Weihnachtssentence in the "Völkischer Beobachter" of 25 December 1929, Rosenberg gave an unvarnished picture of the outlook at that time.

Not since 1923 has the Christmas celebration in Germany been so shrouded in misery and worry as it is today. For four years, the German people lived in the deceptive hope that there would finally be peace on earth. Dr. Gustav Stresemann promised "peace on the Rhine," and gleaming images surrounded millions even in the midst of the deepest sorrow. It was therefore bitterly difficult for us to tell the truth in view of this state of mind: the truth, namely, that no peace with God beckons to us, but that new weapons are being forged against us, that we are only being "educated" to understanding without being serious about it ourselves.

Now it seems that gradually larger parts of the people are awakening from hypnosis. Chaos reigns in the government offices, only half-veiled admissions of bankruptcy all along the line. At the same time, there are blatant attempts by the parties to deny their guilt for these conditions. In front of us a front of opponents who will meet in the Hague.

The Christmas bells sound gloomier than ever before, and yet we National Socialists of all people want to draw breath for a few hours and remember those who, regardless of the lack of character in the present, have suffered and bled for a great future. The strength that drove them is the pledge that although a heavy crust

The German people are not only aware of the fact that we are burdened with a foreign essence and foreign power, but that underneath it the eternal Germanness is alive and just now in the time of the deepest humiliation it is beginning to stir in a youthful freshness. The faith of our future, which Lagarde summed up in the one phrase, "the German man's religion is his fatherland," has already been born in hundreds of thousands of hearts and will know how to assert itself as a primeval soul force against all dark men and traitors. The time of the winter solstice is here, and now it begins to become brighter and lighter. As the lights of the trees symbolized in former times the victorious power of the light in dark northern night, so the same lights shall do it also in the future.

Silent thoughts are often the ones that bring the storm, if this silence is deep, grazing, determined, represents collected Scelenkraft, ready to "storm the sky", as the "silent" mystic Äugelns Silesius once demanded. Gathering, slag melting, preparation; living through a newly fought commonality, the awareness of a great mission in the service of the German people.

## Center and Christian People's Service.

"Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte," April 193k. Rosenberg had recognized the essence of the Center as clearly as few others from the beginning of his fine political career. No one found like him the simultaneously cuttingly ironic and "steamed" tone that was necessary for the camps with this cornerstone of the system.

The chapter National Socialism and religion has occupied the minds since the appearance of the NSDAP, uninterruptedly. Adolf Hitler had placed himself from the outset on the standpoint of the statesman who takes the fact of the different religious confessions for granted and wants the political movement to be set apart from the religious struggles. One would think that it should have been pleasant for every Christian confession to note the emergence of a workers' movement that was preparing with all its energy to fight against the soul-killing atheistic Marxism, that continued to take up the idealistic thought against the mammon rule of our time and, as once Jesus, wielded the scourge against the changers and merchants. But the opposite occurred: Of all things, that party which claimed to pursue only Christian politics rose up to fight against National Socialism and, the stronger it became, placed itself more and more on the side of Social Democracy, which was hostile to every religion. It formed coalitions for the purpose of exterminating the German workers' movement and supported those powers which for years had financed the movement to leave the church and have not ceased this propaganda even after the coalition ties.



There was something that was just as abhorrent to Marxism as to the Center: namely, the conscious feeling of the people and the appeal to Germanic moral feeling, as can be read in paragraph 24 of the party program. At Catholic congresses, which were actually center meetings (Constance 1923), German nationalism was therefore denounced as "the greatest heresy", and bishops (Mainz) and cardinals (Faulhaber) competed in the condemnation of this "neo-paganism", forbade affiliation with the NSDAP, as princes of the church, and in some cases even excluded Catholic National Socialists from the sacraments. In doing so, they invoked Catholic doctrine. The strange thing in view of these attempts is the fact that in strictly Catholic Italy the most extreme nationalism has become a state attitude, a state regiment, and that the pope, who for decades had closed his mind to any reconciliation with liberalism, made his peace with the leader of this most ardent nationalism, even calling Mussolini a "man of providence" after signing the Lateran Pact. From church organs of Italy now sounds even more frequently the royal anthem and from the cardinals of Italian origin goes the saying that they wear under the purple the black shirt of fascism.

The German people now claim nothing more than to be accorded in their entirety the same right to national pride, the right to establish a real national state based on their character. If, in view of the Italian facts, which can no longer be disputed, this is denied to him on the basis of "Catholic doctrine" by his church leaders, there are only two consequences: Either there are two Catholic doctrines, or else, in order to achieve political goals, the faith of Catholic

Must be misled. Since the first case is excluded (the Roman church has only one head), the second would remain. Although the Center nominates Zionists and presidents of Jewish religious communities as candidates for the Reichstag, and admits Protestants as non-influential members, it is still a strictly Catholic confessionnsparci. Similarly as Manism wants to perpetuate the division of the nation by teaching the social class struggle, so the Center has announced the confessional class struggle to the German nation, has brought the spiritual, religious struggle into the sphere of power politics, and as the Social Democrat has only his class in mind, so the Zeutrumsführer has only his confessional interest. This party lives from quarrels, and that is why the NSDAP, from the first day on, was hated by it from the deepest soul, because in it a living example of religious forbearance within a party had been practically carried out in an exemplary way. Religious differences of opinion and philosophical disputes had to be conducted outside the party organization. As soon as this organization met, as soon as the SA. put on its brown shirt, there were no more Catholics and Protestants, but only Germans fighting for the existence and the honor of their people. No employee in the NSDAP was asked whether he was Catholic or Protestant, whether he belonged to the German Church or was Reformed. The only thing that counts is performance in the service of German freedom. The deep wounds of the Thirty Years' War finally closed in the National Socialist movement, just as the wounds of the Marxist and bourgeois class struggle began to scar. There arose the concentric struggle of all those political upstarts who were to emerge from these wounds on the

The Marxists cried "capitalist slaves," the civic leaders clamored "national Bolsheviks," the center cried "enemies of every religion. The Marxists cried "capitalist slaves", the civic leaders clamored "national Bolsheviks", the center shouted "enemies of every religion".

Never has religious sentiment been dealt with so unscrupulously as on the part of the center and the political prelates leading this center. And it was one point in particular to which the zealous dialecticians always pointed. National Socialism, as stated above, does not claim to be an ordinary political party, but also a worldview. In order to consolidate the struggle against German nationalism, the Center points to this worldview and declares it to be "pagan, anti-Catholic wet idolatry." In this regard, it can be said that the science of names established the difference and diversity of the Nassen, just as one makes a discovery in the field of physics and chemistry. Such a discovery cannot be fought by any dogmas and ban words, and the church has already had to bow to these facts several times. When Copernicus once emerged with his heliocentric doctrine, when the flat earth with heaven above and hell below suddenly became a sphere floating freely in space, a whole world of dogmas rebelled against this doctrine. Up to the year 1827 (!) all works which taught this solar system stood on the Indian. Of course, the discovery of Copernicus caused a completely different view of the world than the biblical one, a different view of the world, but this discovery did not affect the real religion, which comes from the soul of man. It took about 300 years for the Roman and Protestant churches (Luther had called Copernicus a swindler and an impostor) to accept the new worldview, but they had to submit to it in spite of everything. Another example

game gives the treatment of the mother tongue. One demanded only the use of the pagan (here this expression is quite in place) Latin, Meister Eckehart was violently opposed when he preferred the German language, but to the "heretic" Luther the entire German people owes its High German language unifying the nation. The statutes of the Jesuit Order stated that the use of the mother tongue in all matters concerning the school was never permitted. In 1830 the order was forced to release at least the mother tongue for poetry; this at a time when Goethe was at the end of his life's work! And the very famous Jesuit Father Duhr confessed: "This remained henceforth the principle: The practice of the mother tongue is recommendable; but a separate school subject should not be made of it," This persecution of what a volt calls finely its own has been overcome; today the Roman Church itself often stands up for the mother tongue while safeguarding the interests of its faithful.

It is quite similar now with the Rüssenkunde in relation from religion. A judgment of a bishop or cardinal or also of the pope about Nasse is in this case quite a private opinion about a biological and/or political problem founded on it, which stands outside of the purely religious authority, which the believing Catholic grants to him. A dogmatic ban word can no longer undo a scientific discovery.

In the Middle Ages, researchers were burned as sorcerers; today, the Vatican is building itself a broadcasting station that a Troquemada would surely have cursed as the most evil work of the devil. That is why the fight against racial science is not of a religious nature, but a fight of political interests, which until now had rallied their voters around them on other grounds. An anathema

against blood will therefore be overcome for the same reason that Copernicus had to be recognized, and it is a world-historical irony that one of the most sensitive researchers of the laws of heredity was the Catholic Father Gregory Mendel.

From these explanations it follows that worldview and religion are not the same. Worldview can exist outside of religion (atoni-stijche world explanation, naturalistic monism), but it can also open up religion. The National Socialist movement is a people's movement based on a new and yet ancient worldview of blood value. It wants to protect the healthy good blood. No matter whether one wants to call this a creation of God or an iron law of nature, in both cases National Socialism serves an uplifting principle, which in itself means a religious spirit. The most tender questions of the soul about God and immortality, fate and grace, are left to the individual personality to decide. He may look for those comforters and pastors whom he needs for the development of his innermost life.

The fighters of the consciously German essence in Bavaria, in Silesia and on the Rhine, when criticizing § 24 of the National Socialist program, stoop to the assertion that there is no special "Germanic moral feeling" at all which can be regarded as a standard of action. This means a quite conscious denial of German cultural consciousness in general, a terrible disregard of the value of one's own ancestors. For without the character prerequisites of Germanicism for the building of a state and society, Germany, for example, would not have come into being as a life form at all, without its strength and its

If it had not been for the will to create, the ground itself would not have been conquered, on which sit today mainly those who have been the beneficiaries of this colonizing advance, but who are inwardly completely alienated from the founders of prosperity, freedom and statehood. And if the state-building character has already been a part of Germanic morality, then this has revealed itself in the other life and in the art in such a tremendous way that already an impertinence unparalleled belongs to it to equate the Hottentots or Jews with Germanic being. When, for example, the Vandal Stilicho became regent of Nom, one of his first acts was to ban gladiator fights, the most terrible symbol of a decaying, bestialized world that had inherited those cruel games from the Near Eastern Etruscans. The same thing was done later by the great Ostrogoth Theodoric, who replaced the gladiator massacre with nitter tournaments. And without falling into a one-sided glorification of Teutonism, one may well say that, for example, the song of Gudrun, the hymn to a proud woman, corresponds to the most beautiful spiritual longing, as does the noble, generous figure of Siegfried; and even in Hagen, something unconditional flashes up in a reconciliatory way on a deep level: loyalty to his king.

Germanic morality was that deep truthfulness before itself, which wanted to give an account of itself, of nature, of the cosmos. From this longing the mystics and the great explorers of nature were born, up to the sublime doctrine of the PfUcht by Immanuel Kant. And in German music the same has become world-transcending life, so that the denial of this Germanic-Germanic value means an attack with the aim of destroying the German soul, which has always been world-giving. The fact that such a denial can be openly voiced

It shows the deep fall that Germany as a nation has suffered today, but it also shows the necessity of a general resistance of bolts, without distinction of religious confession, against an action, at the end of which stands the wet chaos, the mental, then also political downfall of the German nation.

If today the Center brazenly declares that National Socialism is organizing a new "cultural struggle," i.e., that it is preparing a state persecution of the Catholic Church, this is a lie of the worst kind. Whatever the individual National Socialist may think about one or another religious dogma, he has always rejected any power-political intervention against a confession and will continue to do so in the future. He has proved this by deed. The Center has done the opposite: it has defended Catholic dogmas with its lips, but through its alliances with Marxism it has made possible for the latter the possibility of unrestrained atheistic propaganda and thereby rendered assistance to total Bolshevism. The prerequisite of a religious renewal is thus the destruction of Marxism and the defeat of the center, as long as it grooms in the Praris the total inariism.

On the Protestant side, similarly minded political conjuncture knights have seen the anti-Marrist movement grow. They have now founded a similar denominational party to the Center: the Christian People's Service. There can be no doubt that National Socialism takes exactly the same position toward this "evangelical" foundation as it does toward the "Catholic" Center. Greater successes of the "People's Service" would degrade the great liberation struggle of the Germans to a confessional bickering, in any case would again force the struggle to a level which is outside the realm of the "Protestant".

of the great political frontal battle of all mutz stand. Incidentally, the first thing that the Reichstag faction of these "evangelicals" did was to cast its vote against the candidate of the national opposition for the post of Reichstag president. They preferred to vote together with the Center for the champion of conscientious objection, the left Social Democrat Paul Loebe. Here too, then, an outright betrayal of both national and Christian thought.

In view of this treacherous attitude of the political representatives of both denominations, influenced by Marxist thinking, it is no wonder that the movement to leave the church is growing, that the sects of the Adventists, the Serious Bible Students, etc., are swelling enormously, and that the Communist International of the godless is preparing for the organized destruction of all religious values and is using enormous means for this purpose. The NSDAP has also taken action against these forces destroying the people (in Munich, too, the rallies of the "Bible Students" were forbidden by the government of the Bavarian People's Party only after clear words on our part), but the fact that all these currents are spreading shows the weakness of the inner advertising power of the present representations of both the Catholic and the Protestant Church.

It is beyond the competence of the NSDAP to evaluate the possible ideological causes of the deliveries, but it believes that it has the unconditional right and the imperative duty to point out one phenomenon: the advancement of the clergy in the political party struggle. Bismarck had already criticized Stoecker for wanting to be a political leader at the same time as an active preacher, out of the sure instinct that a general national policy would quite involuntarily lead to confessional regression.



Today, in Germany, we are once again faced with the fact that a party, the overall center, is once again under purely clerical leadership. The party leader of the center and, moreover, its foreign politician is (with the prelate Illihta) the papal house prelate Dr. Kaas. The actual leader of the Bavarian People's Party is the leader of the parliamentary faction in Bavaria, Domprobst Wohlmuth, leader of the Reichstag faction of this party and also its foreign policy spokesman, Prelate Leicht, and so on. Thus Catholic priests (patriotic clergymen like Abbot Schachleiter, Dr. tbool. Haeuser, etc., are simply forbidden to speak), and when they fight against the Center's policies that are harmful to the people, even in the form of rejection of the leaders, it is called priest bashing.

The people see this in all places and this is one of the reasons why the anti-religious criticism falls on fertile ground. The task of the center's clergymen is not to pay lip service to Catholicism in popular assemblies in order to share the political sinecure with their atheist Marxist coalition comrades, but to leave the political arena and become again what they were ordained to be: Pastors. The nation needs comforters of the human soul today more than ever, but here it must be noted that the hateful centrist spirit has penetrated even those circles that are not outwardly politically prominent. It could happen, for example, that a Bavarian pastor openly slandered Adolf Hitler from the pulpit, saying that he had spat out a host. The priest was accused and convicted of slander, but was acquitted. In the confessional the confessors are told

The women are told that they must deny their husbands their marital duties if they do not vote for the Center, and so on. All this - in connection with a terrible harassment of clergymen who do not agitate for the Center - outrages the health-sensitive full, which sees more and more the pastor disappear and the narrow-minded Center parishioner appear.

A recovery in religious life will not come sooner than until the priest will have returned to his proper office and will submit to the decree of his church leader. The same applies, of course, to the Protestants. The most beautiful cultural flowering of Protestantism was undoubtedly the Protestant parsonage in small town and village. Here, too, the cosmopolitan city intervened in a nerve-racking way and awakened ambitious desires that had otherwise directed forces in a purely pastoral direction. Here, too, the clergyman, as long as he acts as such, should disappear from the parliamentary tribune and from the political assembly of the people.

Neither the Protestant nor the Catholic clergyman should be restricted in his vitality; but he should deal with the general national, the general social, the general cultural from the pulpit and in the form required by his office, which is intended for all. Here lie the great possibilities of action, here alone the levers for deepening and renewing the religious leed. It is just as unnatural for the priest to become a parliamentarian as for a statesman to see himself in the confessional. In the organically founded separation of these spheres of activity lies the first prerequisite of a new psychologically healthy cell structure of Germany.

## "So-called Balts."

By a great attack in the Reichstag, Alfred Rosenberg upset the otherwise "stony" Mr. Brüning. Brüning let himself be carried away to speak of "so-called Balts" and said literally that he objected to a man making him the downis of an undentfchen policy, who "at the moment when I had fought to the last breath in the war, had not yet discovered which fatherland he had at all". The following day, February 26, 1932, he received the following answer from Alfred Rosenberg in the Reichstag.

Yesterday, the Chancellor of the Reich avoided addressing the specific findings of the failures of his activities. He did not respond to the evidence that German foreign policy had completely failed in the Upper Silesian conflict, in the question of the Customs Union and at the Disarmament Conference. The Reich Chancellor therefore saw fit to save himself from this utterly helpless position by personal attacks, accusing the National Socialist leaders of spreading deliberate lies without rebuke from the Speaker of this House. Moreover, he tried to defend the center policy by an outburst against a German tribe, the Balts, by speaking of "so-called Balts." Dr. Brüning then declared, with reference to me, that he rejected any attack on the Center on the part of a personality who, as late as November 9, 1918, had not known where his fatherland was. 10 million foreign Germans will learn today of this mockery of their tragic fate and will be wary of the following

5 Dlut and honor

that the present Reich Chancellor will soon speak of "so-called Sudeten Germans" and "so-called Memel Germans" on the occasion of a criticism.

I remind you that, as far as I know, the present President of the Reich was born in a town which today belongs to Poland. The foreign Germans will remember that they owe their situation as much to today's as to the old center politics.

The Baltic countries were once lost to the German people as a result of the crusade policy of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. The collapse of Germany was also the collapse of the Balts, and they, who defended their nationality for centuries, were in the tragic situation of being sent to Siberia during the war east because of a German word. We sang German folk songs in our corps houses during the war.

I won the right to speak here in a 12-year struggle in the National Socialist movement.

As a member and representative of the National Socialist leadership, I am here to represent their foreign policy. This is more legitimacy than the representation of a party allied with the Reich Chancellor, whose leader declares that he knows no fatherland called Germany.

As for the justification of my criticism of the Center, which has so upset the Reich Chancellor, I would like to cite here only one word of his paper, the "Badischer Beobachter" in No. 162 of the year 1929, which blurted out something he had heard from his superiors in Berlin or in another city. This paper wrote: "The Pong-

Plan is lein dictate, but an agreement. What we used to give to the army and the fleet, we now give to France and the others. If we want to pursue the path of understanding consistently, then the West Locarno must be followed by an East Locarno, which means that Poland's western border must be guaranteed. France's hegemony in Europe must be a given for Germany."

This is the true essence of the center, and if the center is not overcome, there will be no rebirth of Germany.

## Stop the Murder Squad!

This essay was published on August 3, 1932 in the "Nöllischer Beobachter" on the occasion of the murder of four SA. comrades by Marxists. The four killed were: Sturmsührer Arel Schaffeld, Braunschweig, SA.-Mann Nemle, Königsberg, SA.-Mann Peter Kölln, Itzehoe, and SA.-Mann Friedrich Schroen, Essen.

Yesterday we had to report again four bestial murders of our comrades. Apparently made safe again by the lifting of the state of emergency in Berlin-Brandenburg, which took the place of an expansion of the area, the murdering rabble has begun its "communist activity" of assassinating decent Germans. The nerves of our daily assaulted SA. are strained to the breaking point. In his last speech, the Reich Chancellor himself indicated that he is aware of the nature of Individual terror as a means of fright and preparation for mass reoolte. But now it is time to put an end to it! In an unprecedented unanimity, 14 million Germans demand that measures finally be taken to call to account the street murderers, but also those intellectually responsible in the KPD. From a decent state of former times Germany threatens to fall into anarchy of the worst kind; the savage murders must finally lead to self-defense, and such acts of defense, which we cannot control but which burst forth after the bestialities of the Commune and the Iron Front, can lead to unforeseeable consequences.

Above all written and printed paper stands the life security of the nation. As for the criminal criminals the police, so just when by democratic-Marxist and center rule the "political" rabble begins to murder, the whole state power must be used for the rescue. Peoples with still unbroken defensive instincts have today oorgebeugt, in order to defend themselves against the Fültniserreger. Yugoslavia has banned the communist party. Likewise Hungary. Recently, two Communists in Hungary were found to have done oolk-destructive work for the Third International, sentenced to death and hanged. The "Vorwärts" was indignant about this: "The two victims of the court martial did - even according to the indictment - nothing else than try to rebuild a communist party, received messages from other countries and also gave them there!

The central organ of Braun and Severing thus advocated espionage in favor of Moscow, which, of course, will not prevent the "Christian" center from still raving about its faithful Red coalition partner, under whose co-rule Bolshevism "has done nothing more" than to work for the "construction" of the rule of the Communist International, to the detriment of the German people, including its entire working class.

So you can see who is quietly growing the communist blood dictatorship. Therefore, our demand for self-protection of the nation by eradication of the Bolshevik criminals as well as the Bolshevik agitation centers becomes all the more urgent. The KPD. has forfeited the right to be considered a political party today after the bestial continuing attacks. Just as cyanide is not counted among the wines.

can be eliminated. Just as the sale of material ice had to be forbidden, the mental poison must also be separated forever from the body of the people, from all places where it could penetrate. Even if the center should express "fundamental constitutional doubts".

The problem is more urgent than ever and must be solved in a short time. This is demanded by the Rus of Germany, this is demanded by the murdered victims, this is demanded by the 14 million, each of whom must feel threatened in life and limb. But the problem cannot be solved completely by a schematic judiciary, which must be supplemented by the National Socialist education of the decent but misguided workers. Only this combination of popular education and civil law will make Germany immune to decomposing poison, as the first condition for both internal and external reassurance.



## Mark Equals Mark - Man Equals Man

Alfred Rosenberg's fundamental statement on the affair of Potempa km "Völkischer Beobachter", August 1932. As is known, at the Beuthener Prozeß the five National Socialists who had executed the People's Court on a national traitor and felon were initially to be punished by death. Alfred Rosenberg's opinion on this Prozeß illustrates at the same time the sometimes volksZerstörende effect of a "right in itself" and shows the foundations of a truly national German right.

In Veuthen, five Nazis were sentenced to death because, persecuted for years, terrorized, they had resisted and shot a communist.

The press of the presently ruling system, in unanimous defense of the Beuchen verdict, emphasized that neither the state nor the negation nor the court could be blamed, especially that the latter had to pass its verdict "uninfluenced by any political situation".

Thus the abysmal difference is revealed, which separates our thinking, our sense of right from that of liberalism and reaction forever. It is characteristic of the "law" prevailing today, which encrusts all healthy instincts of self-preservation of the people, that man should be equal to man. Other peoples, while burdened with similar anti-people laws, have nevertheless left themselves sufficient leeway for self-evident self-protection. America's constitution, for example, recognizes only American citizens without any anter-

difference in race and origin. But there are unbridgeable social barriers between whites and blacks. A black man is not allowed to ride together with a white man, let alone mix. If a Negro rapes a white, he is lynched by the people. This is not "nice," but it is the only possible correction of an anti-natural law from a time when Masonic humanitarian self-poisoning began. The only solution to the conflict can only be that in the case of racial defilement, the American woman in question is expelled from the state association, but a black rapist is executed by right.

When the World War broke out, the French pacifist Jaurès was killed in an assassination attempt. The murderer was later acquitted by the court. Our "objective" jurists' hair stood on end because of this "scandal". France, however, has acted in its Leüensmtsresfe. The man, however, who made an attempt on Elemenceau's life, was summarily executed. That was a matter of course.

So, contrary to all Jewish-liberalist visions that man is equal to man, some nations still preserved their instinct; even when Kurt Eisner was shot, a similar instinct awoke and prevented the imposition of a death penalty. Later, however, a "German justice" rushed after a Schlageter wanted posters, and the all-Hebrew journaile insulted the netters of Silesia as "fememurderers".

The same "justice" declared during the insane inflation that Mark was equal to Mark, and this error of "objective thinking" cost thousands of lives, but the nation its entire saved VoltZ fortune.

Now the "Objectives" are particularly proud of Bytom and boast about their "incorruptible" justice, which does not take into account any political situation. But we declare that this consideration has to be the essential thing in all trials. Man is not equal to man, deed is not equal to deed.

A man who used to be a Polish insurgent, who later as a communist incited our comrades to attacks, is beaten to death when the murders of OHLau - the "culmination" of many years of violence - cause a terrible outrage, just after he had incited to terror again. One could perhaps say that the right of self-defense had been pushed too far - but to impose death sentences, five death sentences, after more than 300 murders of our comrades had remained unpunished for 10 years in 90 percent of the cases at all, that was too much, that showed the justice isolated from the entire German people. Only that cowardly bourgeoisie, which let itself be beaten bloody by Marxism without contradiction, and of course the papers of All-Judaism rejoiced. For now Hitler's SA-men were not only put on a par with communists, but even under the Untermenjchentum.

Five Germans, including old front-line fighters, are to be shot because a communist and former Polish insurgent had been beaten to death!

Such a "justice" turns against the most elementary instinct of self-preservation of a nation. Here, at this one example, the thinking of the last 150 years overturns itself and shows the whole insane substructure of its existence. In this palpable, terrible case, however, 80 million Germans today experience how much a world view, indeed often only a small shift in philosophical thinking, can influence the lives of a nation.

praxis for decades, centuries. For this reason, National Socialism also sets itself ideologically em. For it, soul does not equal soul, man does not equal man, but its goal is the strong German man, its creed is the shoe of this German and everything, legal and social life, politics and economy, have to adjust themselves according to this purpose.

This is a new doctrine, which an incomprehensible generation still fights short-sightedly today, although its misery is also the necessary consequence of the disregard of this view. Only a confession of the inequality and inequivalence of men, but of the unconditional defense of the life of the nation, will create the possibility for a political freedom of the oppressed Germany.

## The Criminals.

"DöMscher Beobachter," 1 March 1933.

Blow by blow, so-called political Marxism is exposed as criminalism in disguise. Time and again, the red seducers have understood how to pretend to the deceived workers that they were fighting for social freedoms, when it was all just personal enrichment instincts of the lowest kind (from Barmat to Brolat). Now, this acquisitive cooperative of the red flag saw itself threatened by the awakened people, while in the criminal cellars of the Liebknecht House the conspiracies were instigated, the murders prepared.

If under the SPD Erzesinski this activity could not be uncovered, under the National Socialist police chief of Berlin the secret cellars, the criminal alarm devices, the underground new outlets were uncovered and the breeding ground of communism was eradicated.

And there the latter, having already caused an arson in the Berlin palace, struck the "big blow": shortly after a secret meeting of the communist Reichstag faction, the giant dome of the German Reichstag glowed in a sea of flames. From many places, the communist rabble set fire to the nation's property, destroyed millions in assets, brazenly challenged the entire nation to begin carrying out its plan of destruction hatched in Liebknecht's house.

For the destruction of the Reichstag was only the beginning jein.

As mentioned elsewhere, the police confiscated from the KPD detailed marching plans, which provided for terrorist attacks, hostage arrests and shootings. Dynamite attacks on churches were to be carried out, railroads and museums destroyed.

The whole people, without distinction of estates, will welcome the energy of the National Socialist negation, will build it forever, because only today it has become clear even to the most harmless what communism means, from which Adolf Hitler saved the German nation even in the last hour.

And with this realization, the full weight of responsibility falls on those men and parties who have dominated Germany for the last 14 years. The Social Democrats and the Center are jointly to blame for the fact that the red plague has been able to spread almost unrestrainedly; these parties have not fought against Communism, but against national Germany. They allowed the wild propaganda, they did nothing when one SA. man after another passed away under the bullets or knives of the criminals in the course of the long years. They took almost no notice in their press, rather the "moonlighting" of communism appeared to them as a salvation of their work of suppression against the German freedom movement.

The burning Reichstag, caused by communist criminals, that is the fruit of the negation of SPD. and Zentrum.

The German people have Adolf Hitler to thank for the fact that all national artistic achievements did not fall by the wayside, that hostages were not murdered and churches were not blown up.

Now, we hope, even those millions of decent German workers who have lost their fraudulent

The hour has come when the whole of creative Germany must shake off the scoundrels and crooks. Here there is no longer any leniency, no leniency any more, but only steely justice in the service of the nation's self-protection.

And the whole German people will therefore stand behind the man who saved them from the worst end, the criminal rule and extermination of the people, behind Adolf Hitler.

## The Protective Coloring.

The incorruptible clarity of the palitic view, which is characteristic of Alfred Rosenberg, was not dimmed for a moment by the great victory of the movement. As so often before, on March 27, 1939, in the "Völkischer Beobachter," he sounded his warning: "Beware of too much guilelessness!"

One characteristic above all others has brought the German people terrible collapses: magnanimity. The straight-thinking German always assumed a similar mental disposition in partners, fellow fighters and opponents, so that he overlooked finely spun intrigues, conspiracies, treacheries, until these plunged him into great conflicts. Siegfried, who was ready to help everyone, reached out to the most bitter opponents with ingenious guilelessness - until the treacherous Speerstotz struck him down. But - and this is also the law of life: the traitors somehow perish from their deed, precisely because they gnaw, cut down the living supports of great character values. Because then there is no more possible form of life, but only conspiracy, fight of all against all.

But from a deep fall, this big-heartedness, which is connected with giant strength, often rises to enormous anger. And then the Levantine Lum, SophisLentum, ducks down to hissingly express its "good will".

We have experienced it after such elevations then, that after the victory the magnanimity appeared again



and the speeches deprived him of the fruits of his successes. This is the situation we are in today. All enemies of the German thought, connected since decades, centuries, have - especially since b. March - put on protective coloration. They emphasize their "readiness for expansion", acknowledge the people's uprising, speak again of the great traditions of Germany. They, who recently presented the heroic ideal as the "stupidest of all ideals," today rave about Potsdam. They, who insulted German soldiers as "professional" murderers, today praise the discipline of the German Reichswehr. They who wanted to drive Adolf Hitler out of Germany with a dog whip now praise his "great statesmanlike speech." They have all felt Hitler's lashes, but they are much too cowardly to stand up against it. No, they are now ingratiating themselves with Germany, denying all the international ties so often praised up to now, but at the same time all their racial and intellectual comrades are agitating against the awakened Germany in a way that can only be matched by the war atrocity propaganda. After all, Einstein and Feuchtwanger were and are the glorified greats of the Berlin and Frankfurt asphalt, who were never different from how they appear today. The danger for the German nation, then, is that its magnanimity will again be invoked with success. That it is expected to forget everything, to forgive all unrestrained insults to Germany, to think no more of the November treason, to let the 300 dead of our movement be buried forever. Now that all external resistance has become impossible, one wants to achieve as a "friend" what one was unable to achieve as an enemy. The predominantly physical threat has been replaced by the psychological threat. The harmless citizen may be happy

About the "conversion" of certain sheets and puts their conductors on the same level with the incipient insight of decent, just confused people.

Here the NSDAP has to be vigilant now. It must now know no false magnanimity, but must unflinchingly avoid shameless agitation and equally shameless ingratiation, represent its principles and realize them more and more in practical life. Not with "pogroms", not with "teeth-gnashing" and "eye-gouging", as the Hebrews lie to the whole world, but by legal state measures, which leave no doubt that the German has become master again in his own house, which was stolen from him in 1918.

However, we would like to draw the attention of the other states to the fact that these regulations of German life are a purely internal political matter of the German Reich, in which we must forbid ourselves to interfere once and for all. We take the liberty, however, of pointing out something else.

When 600 Jewish associations of New York address to the government of the U.S.A. and other states the demand to take diplomatic steps against Germany, to impose the boycott of German goods or even to consider armed interventions, such a demand includes the very greatest world-political impudence. The states of the world are to be erectives of the Jewry threatened in fine pre-rule, no matter whether they also connect most important interests with the German Reich!

One may be curious how this challenging attempt of degrading the states under all-Jewish special interest will turn out. Perhaps just

through this desire awakened the understanding of the need for purification of German life?!

It is almost a miracle that nothing has actually happened to the Jews in Germany, that only little by little the stolen rights of the Germans in politics and culture are being restored, because for the 14 years of open abuse of Germany the Jewry would have deserved a completely different fate.

In any case, what we have to do now is not to become soft, but to remain hard and just. Not "big-hearted", but hourly vigilant. In this sign is the coming work, and the NSDAP, will also complete this second stage of its mission.

## The End of the Center.

"Völkischer Beobachter 2./Z. July 1933.

The leadership of the Center now preempts the dissolution efforts within its own ranks, which could no longer be stopped, and declares its dissolution. Although this has not yet been done officially, the last article of the "Kölnische Volkszeitung" of July 1 leaves no doubt about the fact that the history of the Center is now closed. In a somewhat elegiac reflection, the Zentralblatt of the Center declares that the party has left visible traces in the books of German history and that its men have always been called honorable. A few days ago we declared that we do not want to strike a fallen man and that we treat the case of the Center without any personal bitterness. Nevertheless, the simple historical truth dictates that, notwithstanding many devout members and also a number of personally honorable leaders of the Center, the party itself has never been a German party in the full sense of the word. Bismarck had defined the Center as a "bresch battery, performed against the state," and this activity the Center also carried out for decades, at the beginning still in the cultural side-struggle against Marxist atheism, but later in the closest alliance with it. The whole terrible past of the last 14 years is inconceivable without the leadership of the Center; such political and economic corruption would never have come about if it had not been for the fact that since 1917 under the leadership of Matthias Erzberger the

Center would have made fraternity with the country oerrüterischm leadership of the Dittmann, Crispian and enjoyments.

Later, German history will show that this center fell apart internally: on the one hand, thanks to its spiritual leadership, it was able to represent Christian principles and advocate human and business purity, but on the other hand, the idea of power was so strong among the same old men that they unscrupulously placed themselves above their own proclaimed principles. This duplicity finally took its revenge not only on the German state and its leadership, but also on the center itself. The great scandal of the Eörres House, which stands without precedent in German newspaper history, the terrible corruption in the Leo House in Munich under the care of Monsignor Walterbach, the evil affairs in which the Center leader Esser seems to be involved, and a large number of similar things which have not come to light, show that one cannot lead an organized double game for decades with impunity.

We cannot absolve the Center of having been partly responsible for November 9, 1918; we cannot absolve the Center of having acted as an inducement to the enemy in the person of Matthias Erzberger; we cannot absolve it of having led the whole terrible policy of subjugation; and, finally, the Center bears the tremendous guilt of having at the same time harnessed the whole force, together with Marxism, to suppress the German freedom movement. We must remember that even one of the best leaders of the Center, like Dr. Brüning, wanted to prevent the rise of the National Socialist movement by dissolving our self-protection against murdering Marxism, our SA and SS, and dared to do so,

in the Reichstag to present this persecution as a state necessity.

The German revolution under Adolf Hitler's leadership has passed over all these parties and men, has beaten the red ally of the center to the ground so that he will never rise again, and now the law of history is taking place that the center, which had allied itself with Marxism, has now proved itself alone to be incapable of resistance and today is limping along without any intervention in power politics at all. The center is dying like a tired old man of inner powerlessness, of inner lack of belief, and thus 60 years of German history are closed, but at the same time a stumbling block in the development of the nationhood of the Germans has been pushed aside, and the new Germany will see to it that the center is never seen again. We would like to point out this point, because the "Kölnische Volkszeitung" published an editorial in which it twice with obvious intention characterized National Socialism only as a copy of fascism and referred to the state forms depending on the time (!). Thus, the hope that the National Socialist wave would pass was expressed here somewhat carelessly. We would like to warn against these hopes, which could only too easily lead to deeds. In Bavaria, the Center got a small foretaste of how the new state intends to defend itself against such attempts at sabotage. In the future, too, it will see to it that the new state foundation is built without nits. The "Kölnische Volkszeitung" closes its farewell article with the following words:

"And so the German Center Party, surrounded by the mild glow of the setting sun, disappears.

'angen, on the horizon like a ship heading for distant cargoes. Accompanied by the breath of memories and the thanks of those who loved her. Long live Germany!"

Mr. want to add to it that the center ship is driven in em endless sea where it sinks. The only conciliatory thing is the last saw that Germany should live. We want to sign this: in order for Germany to live, the center had to sink.

## The End of the Parties

"The noble attitude of this political obituary is indicative of the inner strength of the movement, which has always disdained to unnecessarily give the fallen opponent the familiar "kick behind".

With the decision, finally foltzen on Wednesday evening, to dissolve also the center, a nearly hundred-year-old historical development found its end. Born out of the desire to also represent the people, Germany took up the ideas of the French Revolution and the various electoral laws, which now developed in the German states and later also for the Reichstag in the anonymous form of a secret direct election, dominated the political life of the German nation. An ever-increasing number of parties finally confused the world of thought more and more, and when all consequences had been drawn from the anti-natural principle of such secret mass elections since 1919, the dissolution of the party state itself began at the same time as the rule of the parties. The Weimar party system swallowed the Weimar Republic' the victorious policy of the Führer, who for 14 years tirelessly denounced corruption as a necessary consequence of parliamentary be- triebes, accelerated this process. The German nation felt more and more that this form of popular representation did not correspond to its nature, that, as in all fields, the natural thing was leader and allegiance, and that this principle should also prevail in political life.



Today we remember all the persecutions and harassments to which the German freedom movement was subjected in the course of 14 years, and at the same time we note with our victory that this entire campaign against National Socialism lacked any generosity and style. It was a petty pinprick policy, an allowance of the most unworthy and petty harassment, a letting off of Marxist lust for murder, but nowhere did a great idea of state, a strong faith and a great personality emerge among our opponents.

Thus the Weimar party system has now disappeared without a sound, not a single real head has made a passionate stand. One Otto Braun, the former czar of red Prussia, disappeared across the border in the most pitiful manner, the other leaders of Social Democracy followed him abroad and are now endeavoring to whip up the whole hostile world against Germany by a mendacious and vile agitation. Communism, the most active outgrowth of the Marxist movement, has been crushed, and all its attempts to reorganize will meet with a vigilant and steadfast defense. The German National People's Party has voluntarily dissolved itself, and the national forces, valuable in themselves, will cast off the dross of a reactionary will of the past and gradually be inserted into the great issue of access which is set before the National Socialist movement.

With the Center and the Bavarian Volkspartei, the seemingly unshakable bulwark of Germany's most firmly established party is now sinking away without a fight and without faith. The decision has become very difficult for the Center, but the urge of the followers has convinced the leaders here, too, of the necessity that the Center, too, is a long-survived past and is heading for its end one way or another. Be-

However, the fact that the center in Gdansk has refused to dissolve as well is indicative of the economic and spiritual condition - if we disregard the Christian Socialists in Austria for the time being. It is evidently endeavoring to hold on to the last bastion here by all means, taking advantage of the peculiar international situation of the Free State of Danzig. National Socialism therefore has every reason to follow up with special care the political phenomena which are now emerging after the dissolution of all parties, so that the masses of millions, who have become shapeless at the moment, may gradually be integrated, if not yet politically, then at least socially, into those forms which have arisen under the new state through the Labor Front, through the Reich Leadership of German Youth, and so on.

Here lies the great future problem of the coming years, perhaps decades; for the establishment of a new basis of life for all Germans is a task which we know very well cannot be realized quickly. Even if the process of political dissolution is the consequence of the internal constitutional decomposition of the old parties, the transformation in a positive sense will still require many efforts, and it can only succeed completely when the younger generation grows into the new state structure from the outset without being burdened with the remnants of the past.

An age has now died; it has not passed away in the weather glow of really great fights, but has sunk rotten, unresistant, and after this sinking together the new German life steps over the past.

## Memories of November 9, 1923.

"Völkischer Beobachter," November 8, 1933, The Nolls of Alfred Rosenberg in November 1923 is generally very little known. The following account, which was published in the "Völkischer Beobachter" exactly ten years after the march to the Feldherrnhalle, describes the fateful events of that time with the calm plasticity of genuine historiography.

The mental tension, which had already made itself felt in agonizing form throughout Germany in the early fall, grew ever more intense in the days of September and October. Inflation robbed German national wealth week after week, day after day; thousands of suicides were terrible witnesses to a mood of despair and doom; an outward sense of servitude deepened this feeling, and through the masses went the burning desire to make an end, whatever that end might be. Adolf Hitler was faced with a fateful situation: On the one hand, a desperate popular mood; on the other, a passionate will to resist on his part and on the part of his swelling movement; thirdly, however, the particularist political current was becoming increasingly clear that the plight of the entire people and Reich should be rested upon in order to realize the old plan of separating the south from the north of Germany and thus securing the agricultural areas and leaving the north, with its predominantly industrial population, to chaos and thus to the subsequent attacks from outside. All these moods, plans and plots were buzzing around Munich at that time, and Adolf Hitler had to make a decision, did he want to

he became not only an object of the politics of others, but himself an agent. Thus, during these October days, meetings between the Führer and his SA. subordinates took place again and again. The office of the "Völkischer Beobachter" was a center of these meetings, and representatives from Bavarian districts, but also deputies from other German states, came and went there without interruption.

About a week before the fateful day, Adolf Hitler, Göring and I met in the apartment of Dr. von Scheubner- Richter. Naturally, they talked about the coming action, its possibilities and prospects. In the course of this, we also talked about a parade that the Bavarian crown prince was to take off in these days. The parade was to take place in the Marstallstrahe at the front of the Residence Church. It was to be attended by all dignitaries of the Bavarian state, detachments of the Bavarian Division, and also detachments of our SA. I raised the thought that under certain circumstances the parade in the Marstallstrahe could be an opportunity to carry out the planned putsch in a short and painless way.

The Marstallstratze is a short connecting street between the Hofgarten and the Marimilianstratze; a quick blockade after the march past of our SA. on the part of the Marimilianstratze and a suddenly rolled up battle-axe on the part of the Hofgarten would have given under circumstances the possibilities to arrest the Prime Minister von Knilling, the Commissioner General o. Kahr and all dignitaries of the Bavarian state at that time. Then the Führer should approach the Crown Prince, ask him in the most polite manner to excuse himself for having disturbed this parade, but at the same time with the explanation that in the interest of all Germany to prevent a Bolshevik chaos or a

The idea that this step would be necessary in the interest of Bavaria, too, was discussed at length. This idea was the subject of a lengthy debate, and the plan of the whole situation was sketched out on a large sheet of paper and discussed in detail. Of course, there were many doubts about the possibilities, especially about the possibility of being taken by surprise. However, the plan was considered and its execution was made dependent on the given situation. In any case, the mood was determined to put an end to it one way or another. On this occasion, Röhm laughingly recounted that he had been cleaning his revolver the day before, and that a shot had gone off while he was doing so and had been sitting in his bookcase. It was my book "Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten" that had been hit. This seemed to be a certain hint for superstitious minds.

When the parade took place in front of the Crown Prince, I went there to have a look at the situation. Unfortunately, it could be seen that the Bavarian government - perhaps anticipating certain possibilities - had ordered an extraordinarily strong protective contingent. The entire Hofgarten was covered with armed police, so that an intrusion into this protected area was inevitably linked with great fighting, with no possibility of being taken by surprise. Obviously, the SA. leadership had also taken this situation into account, and so a putsch did not take place that day, although its possibility had been extremely close. It is difficult to decide whether such a daring act in broad daylight could not have created a different situation in Bavaria than in the late night hours of November 8, in the darkness of which it was not easy to undertake the necessary actions, even of a political nature.

In any case, that day passed without a decision. The negotiations continued, and finally, on November 8, at 11:30 p.m., Adolf Hitler came to my room and said to me: "Rosenberg, it's going to start tonight! Kahr will hold his government speech and then we will all catch up together in the "Bürgerbräu". Do you want to come?" I answered him, "Of course!" It was agreed that the Führer would pick me up in his car in the evening. I immediately set a call, which was quite violent in nature. In fact, it appeared the next day in the "Völkischer Beobachter," and I always wondered later that this appeal, of all things, had not been loaded onto my shoulders as the responsible editor of the newspaper. It was apparently assumed that it came from the newly formed government and had just been handed over to the "Völkischer Beobachter" for publication.

An hour later, after the Führer had been with me, a foreign journalist whom I had known for years visited me and told me the following: he had just met Prime Minister von Knilling in the street and had taken a short walk with him. Knilling had told him that a revolution on the part of Hitler was imminent, he did not know what to do, but the fact itself was certain. The foreigner asked me whether this really corresponded to the facts, which I, of course, denied with the most indifferent face.

Thus this afternoon of November 8 proceeded with the most diverse preparations. The entire printing plant and editorial staff of the "Völkischer Beobachter" were put on alert with the reasoning that

Kahr's great speech had to be delivered in detail that night, since it was of decisive importance. At about o'clock Adolf Hitler appeared in my room. He was quite serious and calm, we sat down wordlessly in his car and drove out to the "Bürgerbräukeller". The whole hall was packed, the Eeneralstaatskommissar spoke in a monotonous manner about his plans and intentions. Hitler and I stood at the entrance next to the column. There we had already found Dr. Mar von Scheubner-Richter. We remained another ten minutes listening to Kahr's speech, when suddenly the door was torn open with a great crash and a machine gun was rolled into the hall by heavily armed men. This machine gun was pushed by the active detective superintendent of the Bavarian police, Pg. Serum, in field gray uniform. This was the signal to strike.

Adolf Hitler and his companion Graf, Dr. von Scheubner-Richter and I pulled our pistols out of our pockets, took the safety off and walked four abreast, Adolf Hitler in front, in silent silence to the podium where the General State Commissioner was standing silently. When Adolf Hitler ascended the podium, excited words and shouts of fear rose up to him from those who had seen the machine gun near them, so that the Fuehrer, in order to gain calm, fired a shot into the ceiling of the hall. Then silence fell.

Adolf Hitler spoke passionately of the mission of his movement, full of hope that what had driven him as a blinded soldier into politics could now be realized; he called on all well-wishers to work with the new government in order to build a new Germany of freedom. There was then a short pause, during which Adolf Hitler met with von Kahr, General von Lossow and

Colonel Geister negotiated. We both escorted Prime Minister von Knilling to the door. Adolf Hitler told him, "Prime Minister, I am sorry to have done this to you, but the fate of Germany has made it necessary." Knilling walked wordlessly beside us and was then led on.

After the break, the three gentlemen made their declarations, which had already become a matter of course today, and they were to play the familiar game. Ludendorff had also arrived from Prinz-Ludwigs-Höhe and immediately declared his solidarity with the new government. With this, so to speak, the official act of the people was completed and the gentlemen went back to the consultation room.

At this time reports came from Infantry Barracks 19 that the troops there refused to unlock the gates for the revolution. Hitler felt obliged to enter here in order to avoid as much bloodshed as possible and drove out. In this coming half hour the further fate was decided. General von Lossow, Kahr and Seisser had declared that they could now take all measures to carry out the solemnly made promises. They gave Ludendorff handshake and word for the observance of the future alliance, and General Ludendorff, not accepting a breach of word by a German officer toward him, dismissed the gentlemen.

Shortly afterwards Adolf Hitler returned and when he heard about what had happened, his inner self probably already told him what course the departed gentlemen would take. For it was as clear as daylight that the leaders of the Bavarian government had turned directly to the Reich government in order to put down the young uprising with its help and with the help of all other forces. The details of that night are to be found in the confidential sessions of the court in Blumenburgstrasse



been discussed, and it is up to the leader to determine if and when the deeds of these hours can be published.

§

The "Reichskriegsflagge" had taken up residence in the building of the Kriegssnnnisterrmm in Ludwigstrasse; the whole house had become a veritable milltar quarter. Soldiers were sitting and lying in all the rooms, on all the corridors and steps. Late at night Ludendorff sat with his advisors, pale and serious, probably also aware that something had happened that should never have been done from a political point of view. Captain Röhm lay on the floor, his head resting on a knapsack, with the typical equanimity of an accustomed soldier who took this "putsch" night as a release from many doubts and as a matter of course. Singing people paraded through the streets of Munich, our SA. was cheered by them, and everything had the appearance that a popular uprising was going on here, in spite of the dark machinations that could be seen. The early morning, however, already brought the precise knowledge that the Bavarian negation, with the help of the turned-over gentlemen, was concentrating troops from the provinces on Munich in order to use the reaction against the awakening people.

In the "Völkischer Beobachter" also all sorts of reports arrived along these lines, and around the morning hours, when the rotary presses printed the first issues of the German Revolution, the political situation looked more than bleak. The drafted proclamation of the new government announced on all street corners that the new government had met with the new masters, but it was noticeable to all readers that nothing said that they had signed this proclamation. In

In the early hours of the morning, industrious hands of the Bavarian government were already gluing the famous leaf against the "Prussian Ludendorff" to the pillars, and so in the morning the enemy announcements were emblazoned side by side on the Munich notice boards.

Everyone's tension had risen to unbearable levels. I had stayed away from the "Bürgerbräu" for several hours in order to arrange the rest for noon in the editorial office, and only drove there again in the car at 11 a.m., together with Dietrich Eckart and our print shop supervisor Müller. As we drove through Ludwigstraße, no one disturbed us, but at that moment a huge yellow-grey-green monster was already lined up in the center of the five street intersections on the Odeonsplatz: an armored car bill From the various streets, gray figures with automatic rifles in their hands swarmed out, so that we knew what the clock had struck: a destruction of the entire city center, which was apparently connected with an equal action with encirclement of the "Bürgerbräu" and the entire suburbs.

When we pulled up in front of the "Dürgerbrau", the whole train was already ready for the march into the city, Adolf Hitler, pale and serious, next to him Dr. von Scheub-ner-Richter. I greeted him with a handshake and he told me, "Things are dirty!" That was his last word. Three quarters of an hour later, a German bullet had hit him to death.

As the procession was marching off, Müller said to me, "Zerr Rosenberg, don't go along, that's pure suicide." In that hour, however, there was no longer any question as to whether suicide or not. I placed myself in the

Second line and we marched off. In the middle of the first row the Führer walked next to Ludendorff, Göring, Graf, Streicher, on the other side I noticed Albrecht von Gräfe, Feder and Griebel. On my right marched Arno Schickedanz and on my left Pg. Körner, the then 2nd chairman of the NSDAP. The procession was greeted enthusiastically by the people, who had not yet really grasped how things stood. A swastika flag hung down from the town hall on Marienplatz, and a dense stream of the Munich population accompanied us through Weinstraße, then into Perusastraße, and suddenly we turned off into Residenzstraße. Behind us were sung patriotic songs, to the right and left of us two flag bearers carried the flags. About 200 paces in front of the enemy firing line, the flag shaft of the right flag bearer suddenly broke, and at that moment I had to think of the story Röhm had told about the pistol guard in the back of my book. Apart from me, hardly anyone knew how things were in the Residenzstraße. Hardly anyone knew about the big armored car on Odeonsplatz and the chains of riflemen there with the submachine guns. But it was clear what was coming. The entire leadership of the NSDAP and their loyal friends marched almost unarmed in the lead, and only in the distance came some troops of the SA with shouldered rifles, unarmed for a stratagem, which also seemed impossible in view of the leaders marching ahead. It was a psychological game that General Ludendorff thought so: German soldiers will not shoot from the general and the leaders of the German freedom movement. In order to make clear to the gray shooters of the Bavarian government the fact that Ludendorff was walking in the lead, mar-

**7 Blood and honor**

Julius Streicher marched about thirty paces in front of the front and shouted to the national police: "Ludendorfs march with us, don't shoot!" It is possible that these words caused some delay in the events; in any case, at a rapid marching pace, General Ludendorff passed between the riflemen, and fire was opened at very close range. Of course, there was a great confusion among the crowd, and all of us were pulled to the ground, as was Adolf Hitler, who severely dislocated his arm in the fall. What happened now did not last long, but these few minutes decided the history of the German revolution, memorable moments, because after them the law of the movement had become different, the coming work had to begin under completely new aspects.

Dio Landespolizei shot into the front not only from the front; also from the high narrow side of the Feldherrnhalle the machine guns rattled and slapped the asphalt or the bullets dug into the bodies of the National Socialist leadership. In the tumult I came to lie on a comrade of whom I still do not know who it was. In any case, I had become a noticeable elevation in the whole gear and was able to observe the events closely. On the right side of our platoon lay Hermann Göring, obviously wounded, and rolled, seeking decompression, behind the Bavarian lions at the Residenzapotheke. Some seemed to be lying dead already, but I could not determine that everywhere. Behind me, a gunman of ours had lain down and was fiercely shooting into the Bavarian police's chain of riflemen. After each protection he ducked behind me and had obviously judged me to be a good bullet sang. I told him: "So stop it, it's all pointless

because I felt absolutely no desire that little by little the shooting police would become attentive to this now still concealed shooter. Shortly thereafter I see Hitler raise an arm and shout back, "Don't shoot!" Soon the shooting subsided and people straightened up. I walked back slowly, there lay many dead. Across the sidewalk lay a comrade with his brains shot out, from which the smoking brain was oozing, he was still breathing his last breaths. If I remember correctly, it was Pg. von Stranjky. On the now deserted Mar-Joseph-Platz at the back of the post office I saw a car driving slowly across the square, in front with a motionless face Adolf Hitler, on the back seat a small bleeding boy, who had obviously also been hit by a bullet from the negation troops. Hitler drove slowly past the SA. men who were still forming a line and who greeted him with a quiet but firm "Heil".

At noon and in the evening of that day, however, Munich was in a state as this city had probably never known before. Thousands roamed the streets, singing patriotic songs, a single protest against the negation and the Marxists created space, from the steps of the National Theater one indignant speech after another resounded, the mounted police and no possibility to do anything here. The crowd stood unarmed in front of the rifles and said that they should shoot so that the whole disgrace would come to an end.

Pg. Streicher told me years later an episode that he had observed and which is so quite indicative of the spirit that prevailed in the afternoon and evening of 9 No-.

7\*

vember 1923 in Munich. On a street corner, Pg. Streicher discovered a group of party comrades led by Pg. Stier, now deceased. In front of them stood a group of heavily armed police, who angrily demanded of Pg. Stier that he hold up his hands and in this way allow himself and all his comrades to be deported. Stier shouted at them, "You can shoot us all to death, but we will not be led away with our hands up like criminals!" This courageous attitude resulted in our comrades being led away in an honorable manner.

Many SA. formations that were in Munich were taken away that evening, and the halls of the main train station in Munich witnessed passionate speeches from the conviction of a deep hatred against what had been done to Germany at the Feldherrnhalle on November 9, 1923.

When we look back on the bloody events at the Feldherrnhalle, we will have to conclude, despite deep sorrow for our comrades who fell there, that their sacrificial deaths were not in vain. The mere fact that at the decisive moment the leadership of the movement had kept its promise that it would fight for this movement even at the risk of its life, has earned us the respect of our opponents and our supporters. It is true that in the years that followed the Mar- Misch-Jüdische Presse tried again and again to interpret the words of the Führer "The next day will see me victorious or dead" in a gloating manner. But these now cowardly rulers had forgotten that Adolf Hitler had been delivered to the guns of reaction with all its leaders and that it was not at the will of the old Be

fehlshaber had lacked, the entire leadership of the NSDAP, to give death. Sixteen comrades died there, many others had to spend months between death and life in the hospitals, all other leaders were sought by the police, the continuation of the party was threatened with the heaviest penitentiary sentences, and only with the greatest energy could the faithful be gathered together again bit by bit and first brought together provisionally under another title, in order to create the conditions so that the National Socialist movement could come back to life after this interim state. I personally confess that I did not give up my faith in our cause for a minute immediately after the collapse, and I am convinced that this was also the case with everyone else, despite understandable dejection. The National Socialist revolution, which out of the mood and the necessity of the moment wanted to see itself in the power of the state with a single leap, was in this form mihsuccessful, and in its later conduct of the struggle it was quite different from the fascist one. While the latter, after a successful uprising, had to educate the still retarded nation from above, Adolf Hitler's movement had to start from below, from scratch, it had to represent our world of thought against the state, it had to go through a school of the strictest discipline and the greatest sacrifices, but precisely that which at the beginning was a necessity enforced from above turned out later in the struggle and in the sacrifices to be a blessed selection. It was given o the possibility of picking out strong and characterful hussies from all the German districts, of forging them into inseparable comrades in common work, and of establishing that unity of thought in all fields in the Praris of life and not in the Praris of death.

by decrees of the state. November 9, 1923, gave birth to January 30, 1933, and when we commemorate that day, we commemorate those men who laid down their lives for the German uprising.

When Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich and we congratulated him, he flew to Munich immediately afterwards. I had the honor of accompanying him. It was a wonderful flight. As we flew over Landshut and the other Bavarian cities, he must have thought seriously of that 9th November 1923, which was now avenged. The next morning, Adolf Hitler laid a huge wreath on the steps to the Feldherrnhalle with the inscription: And yet you have won!

From the large flagpole, 20 steps from the place where the National Socialists once lay in blood, the Hakenkreuzbanner now flutters. Day and night the SA and SS keep faithful watch over the great wreath until the day when a monument will be erected on the narrow side of the Feldherrn Hall in memory of those who sacrificed themselves for Germany's freedom on November 9, 1923.



# For the New Empire

You who carry the flags and standards and march behind them, be aware that you are fighting for the greatest cause that has ever been fought for in Germany in the last 1000 years, and don't lose sight of who gave you the symbol for the idea: Hitler.

(Alfred Rosenberg, from "Völkischer Beobachter,"  
July 1926 at the conclusion of the Weimar  
Party Congress)





The Mtmch znr Feldherrnhalle e-ni i). November Behind dern A n h r r in the second row A ! fred Rvsenberg



## Introduction to the NSDAP.Program

Lieser Aussatz is the Ciâiwng to the already in 1923 published writing "Essence, principles and goals of the NSDAP. It hntic become yezeigi that the first followers of the movement urgently demanded presentation of natianalsozialisl thought. Alfred Nosenderg then replaced this writing, which can claim to be the first writing of the National Socialist Party. Therefore, we place its introduction here as a lasting enancrnng to the first days of the German uprising.

If a volt has fallen into great misfortune, but still possesses really living spiritual forces, then the clear answer to the question of the deeper reasons of its downfall becomes the first condition of a rebirth. The very fact that an empire as great as the German one could withstand a whole world, only to collapse and - after this collapse - to show the worst reverse sides of the former heroic spirit, forces the most serious questions upon every thinking man. He will recognize that the huckster spirit, the "economic^ thinking purely attuned to the ego, the spirit of soulless internationalism, combined with a widespread conceit, did indeed publicly take over on November 9, 1918, but had already been rampant inside the Voll for years, for decades. Numerous voices of warning had gone unheard; driven by a demonic urge for purely technical, economic conquests, fostered by material predicaments (overpopulation, etc.), without the will to overcome the Naumprobleni

The German people lost their mental equilibrium and fell victim to seducers who exploited the flattening state of mind for the inculcation of doctrines of national sovereignty (human culture, internationalism, pacifism, parliamentarism, etc.).

The völkische revolution against this morbid condition brought the August days 1,914 and all the heroic deeds of the German people in field and homeland. But the pathogens sat too deep in the blood, and through them, worn down by suffering and hunger, the proud edifice, the dream of centuries, collapsed in a few days to make way for a system and men whose existence became a mockery of an old, great past, a mockery of Germanness bad.

Now the great turning point has come, when it must be decided whether Central Europe will be inhabited only by a few people who happen to speak the German language, but who otherwise no longer possess a common pulse of the heart, or whether the old idealism will still be able to rise from the deepest shame to forge the 80 million together into a community of blood, people and destiny. In the first case the downfall - the deserved downfall - is sealed, in the second no power in the world will be able to prevent the resurrection of Germany.

The National Socialists oppose all materialistic, mercantile and mammonistic thoughts with faith in the idealistic forces and call for a conscious ruthless struggle against the powers which partly consciously promoted Germany's decline, partly were too weak to oppose it, but still claim rights of rule in the German people. Without money and goods, only with this faith is

the fight has been started. Against all parties. For whether "right" or "left", they all suffered and still suffer from such fundamental infirmities that they are equally guilty of the misfortune of the German people.

The one fatal error has been the permitted distortion of the concepts of national and social. The circles and parties that pretended to defend the most precious national goods did so all too often only in terms of foreign policy. Domestically, they have not infrequently regarded rank, status, and money as sufficient advantages to look down on the people's comrade in a work coat as a second-class citizen. The people's comrade was not considered as such, but as an economic object. This class conceit became a welcome means of agitation in the hands of foreign seducers of the people,

This evil was compounded by the equation of dynasty and national interest. Undoubtedly, there have been times when the personality of the king or emperor was at the same time the guarantor of the whole empire. But the fact that this state of affairs became a standing compulsory belief, was ordered by a Byzantine custom, which endeavored to cover up all weaknesses of the imperial government and in this way, even if unintentionally, in turn strengthened the opponents of the German state as such. It had been forgotten that the nation, its interest, its welfare and its honor also had to stand above the personality of the monarch. Thus, nationalism in foreign policy not infrequently became anti-ethnic, anti-social.

These enemies were joined by an increasingly widespread alienation of the learned classes from the world. The one-sided interest in antiquity, in the science of the Orient, in abstract, anemic principles, widened the gap between the intellectual and the scientific world.

The government's policy was not to create any new barriers between the workers - the national intelligentsia, which was actually called upon to lead a people in its life struggles - and the manual laborer, and here, too, it gave unscrupulous elements and foreign agitators the opportunity to exploit the hardships of the starving strata of the population for purposes quite different from the pretended ones.

The preaching of the Klasjenkampf thus fell on fertile ground, and its representatives have not let a day go by for decades without trying to open up the wounds in the German body of the people again and again.

The German worker saw himself divorced from his blood-related intellectual class and believed in the doctrine of the eternal mass struggle as a law of nature; he heard many emissaries of foreign nations say the same things as his native leaders and believed in the equality of men and in the solidarity of the proletariat of all countries; He saw the injustice of the machine age manifesting itself daily and believed in the just state of the future; he felt an invisible capital dominating the well, he saw his often unpopular entrepreneurs before his eyes daily and believed in the necessity of the overthrow of every capital, in redemption through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Besides the pursuit of apparently ideal aims, however, Marxism knew how to mix in its real essence and to falsify the socialist thought which had been in flux long before it, and which had formerly grown organically. While it preached equality, equality between Germans, Frenchmen, Jews and Chinese, it taught camps to the blood between different strata within the same people, thus refuting itself from the very beginning; while it taught property not merely occasionally, as it used to do, but thoroughly-



In the same way, the fact that the "property" of the "Christian" was basically called theft (while the logical absurdity - that where there is no property, the concept of theft cannot exist either - was completely covered up), it taught nothing other than personal enrichment at the expense of others.

Marxism pretended to fight usurious world capitalism and yet, since its inception, worked hand in hand with big international banks and stock exchanges. Until the present day. November 9, 1918, was the stock exchange revolution carried out with anti-capitalist, plundered, and outraged workers, with the long-pursued purpose of playing into the hands of supranational loan capital the national industry and agriculture of Germany, which had not yet been completely taken possession of by the world banks. This was the meaning of the struggle against these soil-bound economic forces of Germany, as waged by "anti-capitalist" Marxism in association with plutocratic democracy. But this was also the meaning of the Social Democracy's vote in the Reichstag since 1880 against all usury laws, stock exchange taxation, Lulus taxes, etc. They did not want the people's welfare. It was not the people's welfare that was desired, but injustice was deliberately and systematically bred, in order to be able to organize the troops of the revolution with the help of the thus self-supported discontent.

This was the greatest fraud of the 19th century, as it finally triumphed in Moscow in November 1917, in Berlin in November 1918: the anti-capitalist world revolution, led by servants of world capital.

Marxism was not socialism community spirit, but its conscious, only concealed mockery. Marxism was not a challenge to the materialism of the age, but the culmination of this mammonistic thought. Manism was

Not an economic struggle at all, but an announced struggle for power and culture to all peoples of Europe. Marxism falsified the ideas of internationalism, class struggle, pacifism into the socialist principle, which had nothing to do with them.

This monstrous world fraud was only made possible by the fact that in the course of the 19th century the leadership of both capitalism, which exploits the people, and Marxism was in the hands of the representatives of one and the same race: in the hands of the Jew,

Freed from almost all inhibitions by the French Revolution and its repercussions in the other countries, Jewish nature had exactly the same effect as in earlier centuries. Tenacious energy, unscrupulousness, international ties with civic equality, innate parasitism,,,, all this formed the basis for Jewish monetary domination, under whose sign we stand today.

In order to make the rising dangers of the beginning workers' movement harmless for itself, the Jewish high-capitalist banking world "supported" Marxism, founded "workers' newspapers, built trade union houses, agitated against entrepreneurs and peasants, agitated denomination upon denomination, in order to rule by division! That is why for decades in the leading position of all workers' parties of all states there have been Jews or insignificant people who are connected with the existence of their party for better or worse, and evil strivers who exist in every nation. To a very small extent there were also among these leading people unworldly fantasists; they were just as harmful as the conscious deceivers.

The sins of the farmers and industrialists met the deception, and for decades now the economic and political struggle has been waged in a false front: instead of entrepreneurs and workers recognizing their national, political and economic togetherness and turning from this realization against the mobile bank capital burdening all peoples and the all-destroying stock market speculation, they waged a bitter war against each other for the benefit and good of the laughing third party: the village Jew and his uncircumcised brothers in spirit.

That is why the National Socialists declare battle to these bank consortia, which today already dominate almost everything, and their owners, Kamps but also to every single industrialist or farmer who forgets his *völkisch* duty above self-interest. And just this ruthless fight, because these pests distort the necessity of a nationally bound economy. Protect the national economy, fight its despisers.

National Socialism sees its mortal enemy in the crude materialistic Marxist world view, which replaced the concept of quality with the purely material concept of quantity, which denied the value of the creative personality and called upon the masses, which made the national and political lie its principle (whereby party affiliation plays a role only secondarily). One of the most important goals of the NSDAP is to overcome this world view and to destroy it, but to make its main representatives harmless in every direction. Once this has been achieved, only then will the way be free for a German Reich, for a truly German fatherland.

It is now clear why the new popular movement is called the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

National, nationalistic, it is with all the fervor of a new experience of ancient, only buried essence; socialistic in the realization that the co-creator, milerbaner of a state must not, at best, be thrown a social alms (as happened on the part of the liberal state), but that the state as such has the duty of superintendence over all that of which all its dependents are in need. In the further realization that all this cannot be realized until the bacillus has been rendered harmless which poisons our blood and our soul: the Jew and the Jewish spirit born of him with his followers from the German camp, the ruthless struggle against these seducers of the German people was exempted. And that means at the same time: fight of all mentally and physically productive working against the drones and parasites. For National Socialism there are neither "proletarians" nor "citizens" as two classes hostile to death, but only Germans as comrades by blood and fate. Creative Germans.

The present time of great changes of destiny has brought about a new view of the world, of history and of the state, which, although it has not yet taken a clear form, is already clearly defined in its direction. We no longer recognize history as the "eternal development of mankind", be it to humanity, be it to the Christianization of all peoples, be it to a somehow imagined "culture of mankind", nor as a raw class struggle, but as a confrontation of psycho-racial powers with their environment and other races. In the appearance and passing away of the wet ones the last great natural law recognizable to us wallet; its disregard created the racial chaos, at which the great Aryan cultures of India, Persia, Greece and Rome once perished. The self-awareness of the European race-

This is the innermost awakening of our present, that power of the soul which wants nothing else than to represent itself in the firm belief that in this way it can create the most valuable thing of which it is capable. After centuries of denial of the eternal nature, the völkisch, the national socialist movement consciously reintegrates itself into the lawfulness of the eternal life process. This consciousness gives it the strength and the faith.

The movement calls itself a party out of the sober realization that such an announced power struggle against a whole world cannot be waged by non-partisan, all-reconciling associations, but only by a combination of very clearly attuned fighting personalities and energies. National Socialism openly professes to be a fighting party which may never form a numerical majority, but it does so in the rock-solid belief that it embodies a popular movement which will one day decide the fate of Germany and, moreover, show other peoples the new paths of the future. For the moment, however, it is called struggle, and struggle always means man against man, party against party.

From all these findings, the German people's Freiheitsbewegung is called:

National Socialist German Workers' Party!

## National Socialism in World War

This almost seerisch amnvtcnde Aufsah flames from the "Völkischer Beobachter" of January 27, 1923 and was written for the party congress of 1923. Alfred Rosenberg accompanied all party congresses with his fundamental essays or speeches; they are inextricably linked with the historical picture of these shows of the movement.

National Socialism has fared like every great new idea: unnoticed at first, then fought by all the powers of a degenerate age with slander, scorn and violence, it nevertheless grew into an avalanche. Enraged, all the parties and personalities look on who have lived on the deception of the German people and today see themselves more and more exposed. Stunned and frightened, the moribund structures of old national life stand there and do not understand the new spirit of the German future. Calcified in heart and brain, they are incapable of even thinking the thought: that all must somehow be to blame for Germany's misfortune, that one must feel that today the impossible is possible, the incompatible can, must and will be united!

And so all awakening people join the new people's uprising, whose existence today already proves that the hour of German freedom will one day strike. For in it has come to life that which alone is capable of begetting life: faith, a sense of sacrifice and an irrepressible will to fight for a great idea.

This unerring energy has borne fruit over the years. Against their will, the opponents had to come to terms with the new popular movement, and some researchers from all camps suddenly lost their scales.

from their eyes, and the frustum of world political powers and ideological forces suddenly appeared to them in a completely different light than before. More and more detailed essays appeared in various newspapers and attempted a confrontation with the awakening sneeze. At the same time, however, came the campaign of slander. One side called National Socialism big-capitalist, monarchist, reactionary; the other saw in it an offshoot of communism; the third called it a Bavarian-separatist movement; the fourth, extreme unitarist... yet it had answered only one question: what is useful to the whole creative German people, and what is in keeping with its nature? Without regard to above and below, right and left?

When old forms break and the times become ripe for a new spiritual birth, then all lying and slandering, even all honest and convinced opposition is in vain. The new form grows up and displaces or crushes what stands in its way.

Many in Germany fight against us, many get excited about "coups", about "planned murders", etc. But very few know that National Socialism is much more dangerous for today's world than a coup. It is the herald of a new age for the whole of Europe, for the white wetlands in general.

Today, the German struggle has again become a world struggle, even if the German National Socialists are guided by nothing, nothing at all, but boundless love for the German people.

Thus, in one of the most difficult hours of the German people, we gather to express our unshakeable faith in this nation and to pledge to use all our strength for its resurrection from shame and disgrace.

The final victory is assured.

8\*

## One Man.

After the collapse of the movement on November 9, 1923, the "Völkischer Beobachter" could also no longer be published. Then, on February 18, 1924, during the Hitler trial, Alfred Rosenberg wrote the following pledge of allegiance to Adolf Hitler in the "Grotzdeutsche Zeitung".

The hundreds of thousands? who read Adolf Hitler's first vindication speech, even if they are his mortal enemies, will do so only with inner shock. Here, if anywhere, speaks a man who saw his last drop of blood for jein, a subjugated people, blinded to the point of madness. Whether on the battlefields of France, whether in front of thousands of his enemies and friends, whether in front of a court, everywhere he remained the same: the leader, the man who embodied the longing of the best, who gave expression to their urge until action, beyond the Tai. May his words ring out from the Eenchtssaal as far as the German tongue can reach, so that today he firmly believes that the German people understand him! An oath of allegiance shall resound to him as an answer from all German regions, a ghostly thanks for his awakening of the soul of our depressed nation....

As he was, so he still is today: proudly he holds himself up: "I alone carry the responsibility!" As he enlisted in the field when it was most dangerous; as he took up the seemingly hopeless fight against the betrayal of our people five years ago; as he walked unarmed in front of his troops on November 9, so he stood before the court - before his deed, as one whole, one man!



That was and that is Adolf Hitler, and he may have the certainty in the coming difficult days: Millions of German hearts beat even more for him today than before; he is even a thousand times more beloved by the people who have remained unadulterated than at the time when he still marched past the cheering storm troopers as a free man.

If the nagging Munich democrat pack calls him a bajazzo in court, this and his sadly-minded comrades will only be met with the contempt of all Germans. Adolf Hitler's mission is not over, it is just beginning. His path goes through struggle, jubilation, pain and despair; and if "German" essence is not a dream of a sunken past, but still slumbers in the people as a spiritual force, then this people will one day carry its awakener up as leader to the place where he belongs. Whatever the result of the negotiations may be, love and veneration will accompany the man in unchangeable loyalty, whose heart knows only one thing: the German fatherland, the German people, German freedom!

## The Völkisch State Idea

From the (out-of-print) book "Der völkische Staats- gedanke - Untergang und Neugeburt" by Alfred Rosenberg. Franz "Lher-Verlag. 1923.

In times of peace, the separation of spirits is almost imperceptible. Slowly, through decades, the inner conversion to the problems of the world view and the state takes place. At last this tension within a people or different people's organisms as a whole reaches such a degree that a discharge must take place. Peace will be replaced by war, slow development by catastrophe. It is only in these times that people suddenly become aware of the extent to which spirits had already diverged before, and it is discovered that in times of decision old views, many of which are still venerated, sink back into nothingness, that other, completely new syntheses suddenly come to life and bind to themselves all that is seeking, struggling, striving.

It cannot be our task here to characterize individual epochs of spiritual and political decisions from the past with a final value judgment, only it can be stated that at the beginning of the 16th century a great tension came to discharge and the thought which Luther proclaimed moved through all states of Europe. In 1789 it lay again like a fluid over all the world, and as in 1517 the attempt at religious and political renewal began, so here a new idea of the state entered into a conscious opposition to another. The one triumphed, the other collapsed.

Today we are once again in the midst of a struggle that is both ideological and state-related in nature. Whether the eternally lukewarm and the eternally cowardly do not want to admit it and still hide their lukewarmness and cowardice behind old, inwardly long rotten views of the state in order not to have to take a stand on the questions of the present and the future, the struggle has begun and will not be over until a new synthesis of life has triumphed. First in one country of Europe, then in the other states.

Today we all feel inwardly a breakdown and have a dear longing for a new way of life. We no longer want the past, we hate the present, we strive for the future of the German people ...

We know where we belong. What the future holds for us in detail, we are not able to recognize; which forms our longing will take one day, we cannot say exactly. But we see a goal shining in the distance and have to set out on a journey to it. We are irresistibly urged to do so, and this faith will one day prove us right. We are the forerunners of a new era, and even if many or all of us do not live to see it, we will still be able to say at our end: we have lived and it was already to live and to fight....

## The "Völkischer Beobachter" on its Resurgence.

"When the Völkischer Beobachter, which had been banned after November 9, was relaunched in 1925, Adolf Hitler again entrusted A. Rosenberg with the main management of the paper, a position he still holds today. In the first half of the new Reich, the Baltic Observer became the largest newspaper in Germany.

When on November 9, 1923, the persecution of everything völkisch, of all National Socialists, was realized, of course, the "Völkischer Beobachter" was also banned by the General State Commissioner of the Bavarian Volkspartei, His Excellency Dr. Gustav von Kahr. After almost a year and a half, shortly after the anniversary of Adolf Hitler's conviction, it re-emerged as a daily newspaper and fighting journal of the National Socialist freedom uprising of the great Germany.

The political situation has changed a lot since 1923 in many respects, only the servitude of the German people has remained, has even increased. Even those groups in which many had still hoped have gone over to the camp of unrestrained fulfillment politics. The National Socialist movement is therefore more than ever the hope of Germans who love their fatherland. It would be disingenuous to conceal the fact that many deeply regrettable things have happened in the past year. But precisely for this reason, only one thing is important now: to follow our duty.

Once whole generations built Gothic cathedrals. It happened that many humanities often delayed the completion of the work, and yet today it stands before us as if cast from a single mold. This was possible because the de-

The architectural thought as an active, shaped form was the basis of the whole work. It will - in spite of everything - grow and grow organically, because the National Socialist idea of the state is present in its outline and in its foundation, and it has already been put to use in the souls of so many Germans, so that it must and will go its way over all obstacles, if the German people as such still possess any mental strength at all. - The "Völkischer Beobachter" will continue to be unswervingly dedicated to the struggle for the National Socialist idea of the state and the völkische Weltanschauung.

We set ourselves the goal of developing it, of necessity again from small beginnings, into the sharpest and leading Grotz-German newspaper. We ask our old friends at home and abroad to cooperate with us again, to send us important news, to speak to us when they have something beneficial to say.

Restless, undaunted work is demanded of every National Socialist; everyone has the duty to contribute his share to the dissemination of the "Völkischer Beobachter". The higher the circulation, the richer it can and will be, and the larger the circles of today's blinded German people it can reach.

## Soldier and Worker.

**"Völkischer Beobachter," April 21, 1925,**

There are a lot of capable people who feel German with all their heart, who also openly profess the sharply outlined National Socialist state program, but to whom the word workers' party appears as a new rehashing of the old idea of class struggle in contrast to the intended Volksgemeinschaft. This thought is obvious, however, thanks to decades of Marxist propaganda, which used the concept of the manual worker with all unscrupulous means to promote the class struggle in order to cut up the organic *dolkskamp*: for in the ever-intensifying class and class stupors, the so-called bourgeois part felt itself precisely as a non-worker and carries this concept around with it to this day. But to put the concept of the worker back into the right perspective is the problem of the National Socialist movement. It does not want a class struggle, where on one side stands the manual worker and on the other side the bourgeois, but a national community of all working people against all parasites. This designation of the worker, applied to a large generality, will take away from the concept of the worker the character of the class militant and already inwardly prepare that reconciliation which must one day be the outward characteristic of a national state.

The bourgeois side has to consider that the term "citizen" does not mean anything positive, but only expresses the meaningless fact of a citizenship of a certain country, whereas the term "citizen" is not used in the same way.

The idea is that there is a very definite positive performance idcet underlying the worker's candidacy. For the well-meaning, another example may clarify what is essentially at stake here: when the candidacy of Field Marshal Hindenburg became known, a famous general gave a speech in which he said that now the best soldier in the German army had agreed to run for office, everyone had a duty to commit themselves completely to him. Here the concept of the soldier has also been applied to the highest officer of the German army. The concept of the soldier, originally confined to the lowest grade of the army hierarchy, has proven its rank-binding character by being extended in its essence to the entire officer corps. Similarly, the designation "worker" should lose the character of pure manual laborer, and whether one is a scholar, technician, artist or writer, all creative people should be united by the concept of worker, and only the drones of society should stiffen themselves to their titles and place themselves outside the creative community of the people.

The concept of a workers' party in the National Socialist sense is therefore not a repetition of the Marxist attempt, but the exact opposite of it! A National Socialist politician feels himself one with the whole German manual labor, with which he is inseparably connected, even if a lot of agitated people are not yet able to see it today. The terms "soldiering" and "working class" are to be given a different sound than they have today, when they are still used for the purpose of class aggrandizement. In the future they are to merge into the concept of the people's community and the working community. Only then will the internal conditions for the establishment of a National Socialist state be created.

## National Socialism?

"Völkischer Beobachter", February 1, 1927, We see here just as clearly as in the preceding sentence "Soldat und Arbeiter" (Soldier and Worker) how important it was to use the sharpest and most precise formulations for the goals of National Socialism in the early years, so that confusion was not brought into the ranks of the young movement from outside.

Words are only symbols, but their use and the way they are emphasized have a magical, compelling power. The names Potsdam, Weimar, Bayreuth, formerly inconspicuous designations, now carry the fullness of the whole of Germany in them when they are pronounced. For some more, for others less - depending on the strength of reason and soul - but in any case they appear as a spiritual power as soon as they are uttered. For millions the words Rome, Wartburg, Mecca mean something similar. Millions felt their whole being seized when one spoke of the "German Kaisertum," others when the "Internationale" was celebrated.

Today, the word "National Socialism" already means a similar symbol for many thousands. In it, in this one word, lies resolved that synopsis of the great problems of our time which constitutes the essence of our movement: that of nationalism and socialism. Nationalism, purified from formal and economic contingencies; socialism, freed from the delusion of internationalism in any form. We all firmly believe,



that when in a coming time this word will be pronounced, millions will thereby get out in spirit the whole struggle for freedom of our people. We should use this name as one word, as one main word, therefore as undivided as possible, as a whole.

In our circles, however, people often talk about "national socialism. Of course, this is done in a non-genuine sense, because all party comrades who do it naturally think in the same way as I have explained at the beginning. And yet there is a danger in the use of these two words. The danger is that the Germans who are yet to be recruited may get a different impression from the one intended.

For in the use of the version "national socialism" instead of "national socialism" the view could easily gain expression as if socialism were the main thing, the national only an epithet, so to speak an explanation of the main word. Whereas in reality it is rather the other way round: the eternal thing, which we want to preserve through all changeable forms, is the people. Everything, but also everything, has to serve the strengthening of those racial foundations which guarantee the flourishing of the nation. From this point of view, socialism - purified from Marxism - appears as a state means, in the service of the individual and the whole, to protect the popular unit from private unrestrained desires. This is not in order to realize an abstract idea called "socialism", but to serve the most concrete, the nation. That is why the word "nation" must stand as the main word, connected with "socialism", and not as a lower-case addition.

We are therefore, strictly speaking, not "national socialists" but national socialists.

It is high time to emphasize this clearly; for from the formerly only inauthentic use of the first version, many of our speakers and writers have become accustomed to use it alone. Here, therefore, the danger of the displacement of our overall idea is obvious. It must be eliminated by speaking and writing from now on only of National Socialism as a unitary and main word.

## The Flag.

"Völkischer Beobachter", Thursday, July 8, 1926. This statement was written by Alfred Rosenberg at the end of the NSDAP party congress in Weimar, July 1926.

Every true longing creates a symbol for itself. At the sight of such a symbol, all the ideas, personalities and experiences that have attached themselves to the symbol come to life in the simplest person. In everyday life, many people do not even realize what a strong idea-forming power resides in a human heart that, at the sight of a regimental flag, suddenly knows itself to be one with those thousands who in past centuries fought and bled under the banner that had been disintegrated in many battles. The German sailor who waved the flag of the "Nuremberg" before he was the last to sink in the floods before the eyes of the enemy has become the mystical embodiment of a flag in whose fluttering Germany's greatness was once embodied and which carried the German name to the farthest countries.

With a flag one leads millions into battle, but a flag has real value only if it is a symbol of an attitude to life bubbling up from the human fountainhead. That is the black swastika on a white field and a fiery red background. The swastika, the Germanic sign of the wet and the sign of the struggle for the values of our nationality. The colors black-white-red were the sacred danner under which the second Reich was founded and under which two million German heroes gave their lives. Now we are in ehaos. Out of this chaos, against this chaos

The eternal race symbol and the heroic old colors of honor in a new ancient form - race and honor, honor and wetness, that was what every flag preached, every one of the many that stood closely together in the early morning on Sunday, July 4, and in the evening, 500 in number, followed by ever new columns, were carried past Adolf Hitler. This sea of flags, then gathered in the marketplace, later spoke again, wordlessly but more forcefully than any words, the new confession.

During the delegates' conference, it was said for the first time in public that the flag controversy has already been overcome, both internally and externally. Not only the idea and form of the Third Reich are already visible on the dark background of the present, but also the symbol of the future is already there: The flag of the Third Reich is the National Socialist swastika banner. Its creed: The state is not an end in itself, but a means to wet protection. The Nassen- schutz is also still not an end in itself, but a means to preserve the idea of national honor. Race and people are the indispensable bearers of this idea, which is born with them and must die without them. Idea and substance are ultimate phenomena. Every race has its great idea, every idea seeks its race.

This was instinctively felt by all those thousands who were driven to Weimar by a great longing. There their feeling will have become a living and unshakable consciousness. The Pharisees and scribes of all denominations and parties will laugh - like

they all laugh who became rotten in their faith and yet remained presumptuous: but those who swore to the swastika flag experienced that the consecration of the flag was a sacred act, simple as it was, or rather because it was so simple.

And you who carry the flags and stands and march behind them, be aware that you are fighting for the greatest cause that has ever been fought for in Germany for over 1000 years. And do not forget who also gave you the symbol for the cause: Hitler!

## Unforgettable Days.

**"Völkischer Beobachter," August 24, 1927.**

The days of Nuremberg are over, but the experiences will remain unforgettable for all participants, not only for the party comrades; even the dullest spectator felt that here, for once, the original German will was finally stretched up. Hochrecks with a consciously grasped goal before eyes. And when the SA. passed by their leader with shining eyes and looked at him with pride, then all the thousands in brown shirts, in reverse, could return home with the consciousness that the leader had also been proud of them. After all, he saw the best German blood passing by, just as in 1944, when he himself went to the German border in the gray field army as a still unknown person to help save Germany.

All National Socialists will have heard with pride that during the Nuremberg Days, despite the huge crowds, there was not a clash, not even a minor incident. Hereby it has been conclusively proved that where National Socialism dominates the field, the German Volksgemeinschaft has become a practical fact. The Marxists, in so far as they were good German workers, abandoned all protest and had not responded to the provocative calls of their leaders. Yes, many Nurembergers saw with joyful astonishment that apparently overwhelmed by the impression of the swastika army of German workers of the forehead and fist, many workers known as Social Democrats took the festival badge with

swastika and the standard eagle. Especially in workers' quarters, where a National Socialist was not allowed to enter in 1920 and even in 1922, swastika flags were hanging out of the 4th and 6th floors. We shake hands with these German workers who have awakened from the deception of Marxism, in the hope that they will all become ours one day, ours like the united troop that passed by Adolf Hitler on Saturday with former Red Front caps wearing swastika armbands.

When the flags and standards re-entered the gray army after the consecration in the Luitpold Grove, a broad beam of sunlight broke through the morning clouds and flooded the many thousands with radiance. Thus the days in Nuremberg were also a ray of light in the darkness of the present. They tell us: Ours is the future!

## Party Congress 1929.

**"Völkischer Beobachter," 6, August 1929.**

Well over a hundred thousand National Socialists were in Nuremberg. There were just as many and even more, who from all circles of the population participated and took part in the great march of the National Socialist Party. For three days the old German city of Nuremberg stood under the sign of the swastika, for three days it was filled with the atmosphere of the awakening will for freedom of the German people. For hours the brown columns marched past their leader Adolf Hitler, with glowing looks, determination in their expressions and enthusiasm on their lips. The march past of the National Socialist SA. men from the north and from the south, from the Ostmark and from the Palatinate, from the Czech Republic and from Carinthia was a political demonstration of unheard-of forcefulness, was a demonstration of the national will for freedom of the entire German people.

It was a rally against the bondage in which Germanness is held down by the means of violence and betrayal. A rally which today manifests itself so originally and must manifest itself, because the hour of destiny of the German nation has struck and no longer tolerates a cowardly evasion. Thus this party congress of the National Socialist movement in all its manifestations must become such a significant expression of the tremendous political agitation by which today our German people is shaken to the core. In a few brazen sowings the leader of the movement formed the essence of these tremendous struggles for our destiny. In the impressive rally at the opening of the convention



In his speech to the congress, he proclaimed the National Socialist Party as the fighting organization of the German people, and in the passionate closing address he crowned this idea with his appeal to the German people.

The speeches of the other speakers at the party congress were similarly dominated by the atmosphere of the deep political ferment that is taking place in the German people today. Thus, when Gottfried Feder, in forceful words, explained the resistance against the threatening financial slavery through the Pöungplan as the last possibility to make a political will known at all, or when General von Epp, in front of the sarcophagus of our fallen heroes from the war, called for a vow to emulate these men and to prove their death courage also in the fight for the restoration of German freedom through action. "We are the last posse of the German people," said Julius Streicher in his welcoming speech, thus expressing the thought that was once the cause for all of us to commit ourselves to the National Socialist Party with heart and hand.

And which is again the cause for all the thousands today to push into the ranks of the National Socialist front and to let it grow into the most powerful people's movement of this century. Here a revolutionary act is going on in the political-mental sphere, the path of which will have to be bought with bloody sacrifices. The blood that flowed in Nuremberg during the days of our party congress is also the result of the same passionate shock that is gripping the German people as a whole. A shock which must lead to bloody crimes by those political powers which feel most threatened by the imminent upheaval of the political character of the German nation.

## On the Essential Structure of National Socialism.

Speech delivered at the NSDAP party congress in Nuremberg, August 1-4, 1929. Not long after that, Alfred Rosenberg wrote his well-known, equally-named paper. Some sections of this speech were included in the "Myth of the 20th Century".

This year's party congress represents a very special milestone in the development of the National Socialist movement, because the first difficult years of arduous preparatory work, as was necessary through the founding of local groups throughout the Reich and their gradual formation, have in a certain sense come to an end. At the same time, however, it is becoming clear that ever broader masses are beginning to recognize the utter helplessness of the previous German foreign and domestic policy and are accordingly looking for a hitherto derided doctrine and listening to the speeches and writings of that opposition which for years had tirelessly predicted the unsuccessfulness and hostility to the people of the policy of fulfillment and denounced the gagging of national thought within the country. This situation in our development places unheard-of demands on everyone for the future, above and beyond all technical and organizational matters, because the awakening masses are now approaching us with a thousand questions of a fundamental and day-to-day political nature. In order to accelerate the process of integration of the newcomers and to give it a unified direction, it is absolutely necessary, also at the congress, to present the epistemological preconditions and the confessions of our movement.

clearly and tangibly. For we can already today not infrequently experience that personalities who turn away from old political parties and join us are already active as speakers and writers a short time later. It is only too understandable that some of their ideas still originate from the old past, that they do not yet show the clear National Socialist transformation, and that therefore in our meetings and in our press questions are not infrequently treated in a way that could harm the unity of the whole movement.

The human being cannot grasp and represent the world, the life, in its intermittent nature. The essence of life is its uninterrupted activity, the essence of the human spirit and consciousness is the interrupted, the intermittent. Without this spiritual stroke, not a single work of art, not a single formed thought of science, not a single heroic deed would be possible. This profound difference between the uninterrupted, flowing, organic process of life and the essence of our comprehension compels us to distinguish even further and to bring to our consciousness those forms by means of which man appropriates the world, subjugates it or serves it.

Immediately convincing or negating is the effect of perception. A cognition about the problem at hand can only be achieved by a scheme of reason and man is driven by the spur of the will. The view always works with symbols according to its eternal vision. Whoever has stood at the grave of Frederick the Great and Frederick William I in the Earnison Church in Potsdam, whoever has visited the old

If you have looked with consciousness at the tattered Prussian flags on the walls, a whole world emerges from these symbolic banners, the greatest ages of German history, the greatest parables of German strength and German self-sacrifice. It is also a new symbol that has been carried past us today by the National Socialist movement, repeated in infinite numbers. This symbol shows us in color and drawing directly what we theoretically recognize and inwardly want. Around this symbol, from day to day, from month to month, from year to year, ever new thoughts, ever new works, ever new sacrifices are grouped, and so not only the new banner itself becomes a symbol, but also the men who carry these flags. Only people who are carried by the great values of Germanness and have the courage to represent them outwardly can profess this new symbol inwardly.

And here we can already detect a mystical correspondence between these character values and ideals with the immediate view, in that the average of that humanity which professes itself to us also recognizes a racial ideal, as it was once proclaimed by more impartial times through their art. A racial ideal which links the great female figures of the Parthenon pediment at Athens with the figure of Gudrun and Goethe's Dorothea just as closely as the Greek male figures with the Germanic ideal of beauty even in our day.

In life it is not always necessary that each individual figure corresponds perfectly to the ideal image, but it is important that everyone carries this ideal image in his heart. It has been proved by racial science today that the hereditary image of man and his appearance sometimes do not coincide.

The new German science of names has given us completely new eyes, but it is clear that the new German science of names has given us completely new eyes. All those fantastic and nature-hostile doctrines of the equality of men, of a so-called eternal and general development, in short, all those doctrines, which essentially maintain that from a nothing a something can arise or that from a something that has been somehow brought about, through a development, an opposite thing can emerge, have been done away with at one stroke.

Such teachings were possible only by scholars and could be taken up only by a generation which had forgotten the seeing and which had become accessible thus to abstract compulsory beliefs. Today a healthy view refutes all these things, without having it necessarily necessary to lead still more exact rational reasons for the very widest circles. However, these are of course quite possible, necessary for all leaders, and they are today more decisive than ever, because they correspond to the immediately visible. Genuine contemplation therefore goes beyond this immediacy of the human given of a new seeing and further grasps the entire art (also music, which is based on the pure contemplation of the ear) as a means to determine a general essence through descriptive symbols - colors, signs, sounds - to represent a life-myth. If one goes even deeper, one will find that the perception by its symbolic power plays a part even in the most abstract science. Symbol is ultimately also the ideal of the so-called Nordic race. We find complete embodiments of this symbol almost nowhere and nevertheless it floats quite uniformly and vividly before our eyes, has by

Today it has fallen like scales from the eyes of millions that the eternal change of figures in the course of political history, in the course of the coming into being and passing away of many peoples, is only the outside of the becoming and dying of great thoughts and great powers of will.

If, therefore, view and symbol are indissolubly connected as the one way of grasping the world, the will of man is characterized by valuations, i.e., on the volitional level the approval and rejection of an individual or a people takes place in connection with those values which we designate by the words honor, freedom, pride, duty, and loyalty, or with their corresponding antipoles.

In the course of the history of philosophy much has been argued about the question whether reason or will should be given the predominance. One declared that it is the will which gives the direction to reason, the other side, however, proved very sharply that the will is directed solely by motives, these motives, however, are the births of a knowledge of reason; the more a knowledge is proclaimed, the more the human will is adjusted to it and, therefore, the happiness or disaster of the individual or of the nations depends on philosophy alone. This question has not been decided until today and cannot be decided here by us in a binding way, but we place ourselves here on the practical point of view of a confession, which we base on the myth of blood, from

the mysterious correspondence between blood and soul,

As National Socialists, i.e. as representatives of the modern version of the national will, we confess that the drive of the will is for us the first and last thing, that therefore in the character values of man lies the last standard also for the last rational insights, so that even the economic program and the social program, the whole state program of the National Socialist movement is conditioned by the will-hard part of the German man and that he is willing to make everything else dependent on the recognition of the values of honor, pride, loyalty and freedom.

Therefore, the seemingly so substance-bound economy is in our eyes not primarily determined by intellectually idle divisions, not by sober programs, but by the enforcement also of its sober process with clearly ascertainable values. Just as today the so-called Roman law is deaf to us at the deepest level, so it can be overcome only by a new law in which the idea of individual honor and national honor supersedes everything, provides the standard for judging all actions and all misconduct. And just as today's democratic economy is dishonorable and this dishonorability celebrates triumphs over the infatuated German people as the so-called free play of forces, so will the economy take on a changed face when the eternal Germanic values of character are again placed decisively at the top and their negators are ruthlessly suppressed. There was once a time when a handshake of a Germanic chieftain or the word of a Hanseatic merchant lord were more unbreakable than the longest contracts and the loudest oaths are today. And National Socialism will also oppose any policy which does not

has been born out of the values of a national pride and does not pursue in its end point the complete independence throughout the nation.

Finally, the third way of forming a picture of the world for us is carried out with the help of reason and understanding. Both together have the task to grasp the eternally flowing life in firm thought schemes, to make clock divisions and to produce so only purposeful and that means life-promoting social forms also for the everyday existence. Our whole physics, our whole science in general belongs to this schematic world organization. Mathematics, for example, as a whole is a tremendously artistic, purely schematic structure of the constructive mind, starting from the simplest arithmetic, through algebra to the last subtleties of analytical geometry. Whoever has done higher mathematics will have observed with amazement how much work is done with the concepts of the infinitely small, unimaginable, in order to come as close as possible to the comprehension of the form of life. The whole elevating course of the Germanic sciences is based on the scheme which only approaches life, and there is nobody among us who would like to disparage this expression of human life.

In the present time strong currents are appearing which see in the spirit itself the enemy of life, which, out of very understandable organic impulses, have kindled a strong struggle against rationalism, i.e. against the rule of the purely intellectual. We welcome this struggle as far as it is directed against a dictatorship of the intellect, if similar to the developmental hypotheses already touched upon do not only depend on the



We can only distance ourselves from nature, but in their theories, e.g. of human equality, they contradict the immediate natural views and all volitional forces of man. On the other hand, we cannot admit that "the spirit" as such must somehow be in itself hostile to nature, life and blood. The first creations of reason on the Greek soil, the figure of Zeus, the father of God, were not a bloodless abstract thought, but only the schematization and impersonalization of cosmic forces, which man felt directly acting upon him. The law of the sun, the commandments of the heavens, they were made immediately vivid by the symbolizing power of the eternally great poet, just as the thought of the atoms revealed a tremendous schematizing creative power. If today's spiritual movement is rightly outraged against the fact that the purely mechanistic conception of the world has taken possession of the whole of man, his values, his religious ideas, and finally also his political thoughts, then, conversely, one must object to the fact that today a romanticizing philosophy is already declaring triumphantly that the mechanical conception of the world is finally collapsing, a philosophy that wants to smuggle in moral values as determining cosmic natural events. It was Immanuel Kant's great erudite-critical deed to have separated two worlds here, which had materialized our conceptions by their arbitrary fusion until today, whose representatives in turn tried to prevent with all means that a real science arose with the help of schematic large-scale conceptions. The great physicist Lenard has pointed out the significant fact that shortly before the beginning of the year  $t$  until almost the year 1500 this research and creative power

The first step was the development of a new, more efficient, and more efficient way of thinking about the world.

We believe that a current which today turns against the so-called spirit, against rationalism, against technology as such, will not produce a vital organism in the case of its victory, but will have an all the more form-destroying and chaotic effect. For it is not technology and not science per se that obstructs culture or somehow destroys civilization, but both always receive their character traits from the people who created them and who continue to nurture them. If today we observe the destruction of the value-creating man by the cosmopolitan city and think to defend ourselves against it with all means, then we are aware that above all a degenerated mankind created these stone deserts for itself and also only because it was degenerated itself and no longer saw the ability to integrate the technology and the science under will-haste values and to overcome the existing difficulties. From this realization a straight path leads to the conception of the world as perception and will. Here we reach at the same time the deepest source, from which we believe that the entire renewal movement of today's Germany has been carried up, at the head of which the National Socialist movement is marching.

We believe, datz the three possibilities of the world-appropriation by view, will and reason together- flee from a uniform faith, from a single myth, the myth of the blood, from a myth of the people, even if we cannot trace the individual currents of all these forces experientially to their very finest ramifications. At this point the confession, the faith em,

and as a measure of the organic truth of this belief serves the fact that, if vision, will and reason really originate from a single source, also the essence of all these three possibilities can be switched over unconstrainedly. We must therefore be able to find that the view of a certain race coincides with its innermost strivings of will, in other words, that quite definite character values are bound to a distinctly clearly imaginable racial form, and furthermore that reason with its cognition cannot come into contradiction with these inner character values. So, to speak symbolically, it must be possible to feel the song of the Master Hildebrand as related to the mysticism of the Master Eckehart and the thinking of Immanuel Kant, for example. And whoever strives more deeply to grasp the essence of the German will find that this possibility exists, despite the richness of the thoughts and aspirations. This thought alone, however, opens up for the National Socialist movement a great awakening of all the forces still dormant today, and shows it marching as a strong link in an ancestral line of millennia.

This insight into the great unity having been made, we now have to deal mainly with the schematic side of the movement.

Schematism in all fields always takes place with the help of spiritual dualities, with the help of organic opposites, and here it is important above all that one always understands a schema only as a means to grasp figures, but not as a means to blur as many figures as possible and then to play off one schema against the other in a vacuum. And furthermore we have to understand that the history of the world

is not carried out by thinking up some doctrines in the scholars' room, which, likewise floating above the clouds, now divide people into two parts, and that one believes to be able to solve all riddles on the basis of these purely abstract value measures.

So it is when one group in Germany declares that one must realize nationalism and another retorts that after the previous Marxist parties have committed treason against socialism, our movement is called to realize socialism. Now there is no abstract nationalism at all, just as there is no abstract socialism.

The German people is not there to champion some abstract scheme with its blood, but conversely, all schemes, thought stems and values are in our eyes only means to strengthen the life struggle of the nation outwardly and to increase the inner strength by a just and expedient organization. We must therefore promote and welcome nationalism as the rise of certain inner values only among those peoples of whom we believe that the forces of their destiny do not come into hostile opposition with the emanations of the German people. We are therefore unable to express enthusiasm for nationalism as such. We can state that, for example, the South African half-breeds or other half-breeds in the tropics are also making "nationalistic" revolutions, that the Negroes of Haiti and San Domingo are feeling a "nationalistic" awakening, that under the slogan of the right of self-determination of the peoples, quite schematically, all inferior elements on this globe are also claiming freedom for themselves. All this either does not interest us

or only insofar as a far-sighted German policy promises itself the strengthening of Germanicism by its use and within this Germanic awakening a strengthening of the German people.

It is certainly necessary, in order to master the fleeing life, to call certain spiritual and mental attitudes, even if the most diverse ones dwell together within the human heart, nevertheless with different names. Thus, we call an endeavor that starts from the individual, that considers egoism as the standard of its actions, individualism. With the same expression we designate a conception of the state which in all seriousness believes that an assemblage of millions of individuals can produce a people, a state or so-called mankind. Such a system of states, on which our entire democracy is based, necessarily lacks the concept of an organic whole, and thus also the ideological power to create real forms, be they spiritual or political. That is why liberalism, democracy has nowhere been type-creating, nowhere begetting, but always loosening up, in the best case preparing new types.

All life and all cognition is always characterized by contrasts. Everywhere we can observe a polarity of the appearances. Therefore it is extremely important to become clear about the organic contrasts, not to falsify them by arbitrary schemes or even to treat things as opposites which are not at all, which must lead ideologically, but later also practically, to strongest devastations within the structure of society. For centuries, for example, we have been used to perceive life and death as organic opposites, and we still do so today.

den. This train of thought originated from a time of decomposition, which had lost every connection to nature purely in an egoistic way and had now passed over into the dogmatics of our churches, but also into the thinking of non-churched strata. An open view into nature proves us that life is not a contradiction to death, but that we can observe death only as an event in an individual being, not as a whole. The single being is born and dies, the life goes on. Thus, birth and death are opposed to each other as organic and quite natural opposites, while life is a comprehensive concept that unites birth and death. As Goethe said of nature in genial impartiality, that it needs death as a means to beget new life again and again. This view of nature may seem cruel from the individual human point of view. It is very well possible that we all can only elten rise to the height of this view, nevertheless it remains as true and has an effect, no matter how we think about it. The assertion, however, that death is the opposite of life, has bred a spiritual despair among millions of people and has led to the most diverse attempts to overcome death as the "wages of sin" or to apply other means of consolation.

Just as disastrous can become under certain circumstances also the best attempt to proclaim within the organization of a people or some groups of people false opposites as existing, then to contrast them as abstract systems and to undertake in this way the attempt to create new foundations for the life of the peoples. We have just experienced, for example, that the already mentioned individualism is contrasted with a so-called Umversalism,

just as we represent German socialism vis-à-vis individualism. The following is to be said about this:

From a purely philosophical point of view, the word universalism denotes an idea which starts from a whole as opposed to a view which only takes the individual as the measure of value of its thinking and acting. By the way, this expression is also indissolubly connected with the historical appearance of ecclesiastical-political universalism in Europe, as it prevailed throughout the Middle Ages. This universalism started from some doctrines and demanded the subjection of the thinking of all races and peoples to these dogmas pronounced at some councils. It was against this universalism that the national cultures of the peoples of Europe came into being.

Universalism, therefore, was from the outset an abstract assertion or an abstract form of belief, which only received its supporting content through the national vitality of different peoples. If we therefore use the word universalism, we can no longer separate the great historical phenomenon from the form of expression. And for this reason alone the juxtaposition of individualism and universalism in the sense of a commitment to the latter must be rejected from a consistent German standpoint. Universalism cannot but amount to so-called ultimate wholes, to ultimate assertions not only of a formal nature but also of a substantive nature, by which the destiny and the structure of life of the most diverse peoples are to be determined. Beyond that, however, this coinage of words is also inadvisable because it asserts opposites which do not exist. Organically opposite to each other stand the I and the blood-conditioned people, which strives to form its life and its history under social forms suitable for it.

io\*

The summarizing terms would therefore have to be, from the more formal side: Individualism- Socialism, from the predominantly substantive: Individualism-Nationalism. The *Societas*, the society, is therefore a living, animate thing and I can also only understand under organic opposites the opposition of animate and inanimate, but not proclaim an organic opposition between animate and inanimate, because the means for such a comparison are absolutely missing to us. Universalism has to refer to a world mechanics or an abstract dogma, and it is of no use if it tries to deny these consequences. If, however, one wants to understand by universalism only the human, then it results in principle as well as in historical consideration that individualism and universalism are not opposites, but on the contrary spiritual twin brothers.

At the time when in the dying Greece and in the dying old Rome the egoism, the materialism, began to prevail as an appearance of a popular decomposition, at the same time also universalistic systems of thought came to the fore. If the ancient Greeks in the time of their bloom and health knew above all the difference between Hellenes and barbarians, the blood-capable at least ultimately non-Greek Socrates proclaimed the so-called unity of all good, and his disciple Antisthenes, the son of a Greek and a Near Eastern slave, already openly demanded the laying down of all national barriers in the sense of an abstract humanity.

The connection between individualism and universalism can be traced directly in the last 100 years in the political field in the democratic and Marxist movement, which starts from the bliss of the individual and at the same time creates a



The Dawes Plan and the Poug Plan are both examples of a combination of universalism and bloodless individualism. The Dawes Plan and the Poug Plan are both parables of a combination of universalism and bloodless individualism. We therefore confess that we can recognize the organic contradictions only between ego and society, between ego and nation, because in the concept of society - i.e. of a humanly organized one - the organic bloodless binding by character values and ideals is already included. From this fundamental view then grows the entire National Socialist system of thought and state, and we explain that it is not abstract individualism or abstract universalism or abstract socialism, settling, as it were, out of the clouds, that forms peoples, but that, conversely, bloodthirsty healthy peoples do not know individualism as a standard, just as little as universalism. Individualism and universalism are, fundamentally and historically considered, the world views of decay, at best of the unhappy man, fissured by some circumstances, who takes refuge in a last compulsory faith in order to escape his inner division by it.

From this whole experience of a new birth, from the recognition of ancient eternal values and from the new version of the organic opposites, a radiantly bright light suddenly arises for us when we survey the development of the last epochs of history. We see through the entire 1st. We see two great movements - nationalism and socialism - throughout the entire history of the actual century and into the 20th century.

The fact that they both grew big and strong shows that they both necessarily have an organically healthy core, organically healthy driving forces, no matter which people and systems have taken possession of these powers and thought systems in the course of time. We see the old German nationalism, after its great flare-up in the wars of liberation, after its deepest foundation by Fichte, after its explosive appearance by Blücher and Baron vom Stein and Ernst Moritz Arndt, and embodied in its military vigor by Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, - passing into the hands of an inwardly surviving but organizationally still strong race, as most sharply represented by the Metternich system. The blossoming nationalism thus entered into a disastrous marriage with dynastism immediately after its emergence.

The value of the king or emperor in itself was higher than the value of the people as a whole, and while a Blücher still declared that if the kings did not want to join in the struggle for freedom, they would have to be chased away, and a Freiherr vom Stein forced the King of Prussia to appeal to his people with the threat, If a baron vom Stein had forced the king of Prussia to call on his people by threatening to imprison him in Spandau, we now see a courtly economy growing up that would have led to a collapse sooner if the mighty power of Bismark had not once again attempted to unite monarchy and nation in a single dynastic leadership. But while Frederick the Great embodied this unity even in the most difficult days of Schiä- sal, the last German emperor had already lost this faith by declaring that he wanted to spare his volte a civil war and went over the border. Thus was the dynastic concept

The dynastic idea of the state broke down on November 9, 1918.

§

In addition to dynasticism, German nationalism in the 19th century was closely linked to liberal democracy, which became stronger and stronger as the industrial trusts, the world economy, wholesale trade and world banks grew. The economic interests of these trusts were not infrequently presented as national interests, e.g. the Deutsche Bank and its profits in Turkey were falsified as national interests of the German Reich. During the war we saw that the battle cry of the nation did not consist in the declaration that the land conquered by the German people's army should now become German imperial property, but for years only the ore mines of Briey and Longwy were negotiated, i.e. the interests of industry and profit were placed above the interests of the entire nation. Today, bourgeois nationalism is dying because of this unnatural combination and inversion of the hierarchy, and only our movement is proclaiming a new nationalism, thus unconsciously and consciously linking up with all the Germanic struggles for freedom of the past, but above all with the unconditional greatness of those men who led Germany from the depths to the heights again in 1813.

§

Just as the nationalism of the 19th century had been poisoned by Marist-liberalist forces, so has socialism. But before we deal with this, we must be clear that the term "socialization" does not simply mean technical nationalization.

We define socialist as a measure implemented by the state to protect the population as a whole from all forms of exploitation, and also as a state measure to protect the individual from private profit. For our part, we define as socialist a measure carried out by the state to protect the population as a whole from all exploitation and, furthermore, a state measure to protect the individual from private greed for profit. But here, too, it is not only a formal act as such that matters, but an act becomes socialist only in relation to its effect. Therefore it is possible that a socialist deed does not at all entail a formal nationalization; on the contrary, it can even mean a personalization, a freeing of many individual forces, if this freeing entails a strengthening of the totality. When Bismarck was once attacked by the conservative side as a "socialist," he explained that the term "socialism" was by no means a deterrent for him under certain circumstances. He had socialized the railroads and he recalled the act of liberating the peasants by the Reichsfreiherr vom Stein, which was also a socialist measure. Here our view is deeply in touch with that of Bismarck. The act of the Reichsfreiherr vom Stein meant the liberation of hundreds of thousands of peasants from a tremendous coercive rule. Through this freeing of creative forces the welfare and the character of the people were raised, and the deed of Reichsfreiherr vom Stein remains to this day one of the greatest milestones in the history of German socialist freedom.

The essence from which this National Socialist way of looking at things stems, which is flatly opposed to both the bourgeois--liberal and the Marxist way of looking at things, is the

ancient, today buried German legal feeling. If Roman law insisted only on the formal side of possession, lifting this possession, as it were, as a cache for itself out of all relations, the Germanic conception of law does not know this point of view at all, but knows and recognizes only relations. Relations of a dutiful kind between private property and the totality, which give to the character of possession at all the sense of entitled ownership. At this point, perhaps, the deepest poisoning of socialist thought sets in. In our meetings and writings the three great depredations of Marxism have been pointed out with sufficient detail, namely, the doctrine of internationalism (which corrodes the popular basis of all thought and feeling), class struggle (which is to destroy the nation, i.e., the living organism, by whipping up one part against the other to revolt), and pacifism (which is to complete this work of destruction by emasculation in foreign policy). The fourth and perhaps deepest undermining is the destruction of the concept of property, which is intimately connected with the Germanic ideal of personality in general. Once Marxism took up the word "property is theft" thrown down by Proudhon and proclaimed it as a slogan in its struggle against so-called capitalism. This inwardly untrue slogan brought all demagogues into the Marxist leadership and eliminated all honest people from it, and so it came as it had to come:

In today's Marxist rule, it is not property that has been declared theft, but quite the opposite; the greatest thefts today have been recognized as rightful property.

This fact shows with a highlight what the whole concept of property is about.

An unimaginative bourgeoisie of today will accuse us National Socialists of hostility to property, because our program provides for the possibility of expropriation in the name of a national state, if necessary. Even the citizen today, who has been robbed by inflation, clings fearfully to an outdated conception of property, and in this way feels more connected to the greatest pests and racketeers than he is willing to subject his old ideas to a rigorous examination. The preceding statement shows that the whole dispute is only about where between theft and rightful ownership the idea of legality begins to operate. In a Germanic man, who always links the ideas of right with the ideas of honesty and duty, rightful ownership is not difficult to determine, whereas in today's concept of ownership in democracy, people who actually ought to be in jail go to international business conferences in the most beautiful tails. The National Socialist conception, which cannot recognize unfair possession as property, has thus become the strongest protector and guardian of the genuine German concept of property, which is quite in accord with the old Germanic sense of right.

And here, too, we see a significant fact that takes us back to the beginning of this lecture: Socialism is for us only an expedient implementation of measures protecting the people, it is therefore not only an economic-political or socio-political scheme, but all this goes back to inner evaluations, i.e. to the will. From the will and its merits comes the idea of duty, comes also the

Idea of the right. The blood is one with this will and thus our word that socialism and nationalism are not opposites, but in the deepest essence one and the same, appears philosophically justified precisely by the fact that both expressions of our life go back to common, witten, this life in certain direction evaluating original reasons.

We can call a parable of the technical impact of these two valuations: The army and the police. The army is the nation's massed popular force, which has to face the enemies outward, the most vivid embodiment of the nationalist idea, so to speak. The police is the internal political safeguarding of the state's sovereignty, the summing up of those forces which are called upon to protect the whole and the individual from any exploitation. In this sense, the army and the police appear today, in contrast to the November Republic, in a new sense, given the highest task in a coming German state. And with it, at the same time, everything that is dutifully related to them.

If one thinks and lives through the struggle of our time in this way, only then will one know those conditions which give all our individual efforts their full content, color and unity. If, however, every National Socialist examines himself in all questions of life which approach him from the standpoint of the highest value of the blood-conditioned nationality, then he may certainly sometimes err, but he will always very soon become aware of the error and be able to correct it.

#### §

The German people fell into the deepest depths in 1918 through its own fault and now, in the course of 10 years, it will be destroyed by its internal and external enemies in

Miserably tormented and martyred **by the mesensgefiige of National Socialism**. Nevertheless, forces have been found which, having reached the depths of life, have rediscovered here the eternal sources of the German people's strength and are ready to fight to carry these experiences and insights through the misery of the times. The 20th century has to make up for what the 19th century has done in bourgeois ponderousness, Marxist madness and far-reaching lack of ideas, in the midst of a hostile world such as Germany has never faced before in this concentration of power.

That is why National Socialism is not a soft doctrine of melancholy, but a hard and harsh demand.

To this day, the idea of so-called humanity is associated with a feeling of compassion for everything that is sick, weak, decomposed and rotten. We National Socialists, however, associate the idea of humanity with everything that is inwardly healthy, strong and brave. We know that the doctrine of humanity tried to counteract the selection process of nature, and that nature therefore takes revenge by destroying all these democratic and other attempts to the last.

The essence of National Socialism is therefore to fit in with the eternal aristocratic natural laws of the blood and not to promote the selection of the sick through weakness, but on the contrary to lead the strong-willed and creative back to the top through a guarded selection, without looking back at what is left behind. The National Socialist doctrine is therefore addressed to all the strong of the German nation, who are perhaps today misled by innumerable confused doctrines or who, being emaciated from existence, lead a closed life for themselves alone in the artistic, scientific or other fields.



Today, when we look over the German der- gangenheit, for example when we walk through Dinkelsbühl or Rothenburg, we see before us a complete picture of Germanic culture, a creative power and a military power without equal. We know that the Thirty Years' War destroyed a way of life forever, that the 17th and 18th centuries lie between them like deep abysses, and that only with the strengthening of the Prussian state does a very young life begin to beat again. In the freedom wars of 1813 and its men we see the concept of a completely new German history emerging, and we National Socialists of today tie in with the leaders of these freedom wars as the first founders of a new idea of the state and a new attitude to life.

We think of the great Freiherr vom Stein, who knew only one fatherland, which was called Germany; he declared: "I am utterly indifferent to dynasties at this moment of great developments; they are mere tools; my wish is that Germany should become great and start, in order to regain her independence and nationality, and to assert both in her position between France and Russia; she cannot be preserved by the way of old, decayed and rotten forms." To oppose the "democratic fantasists and princely despotism" Stein described as the line of his struggle. We do the same, only with the underlining that today Marxist criminals have taken the place of the democratic phantasts. And another one rises before our eyes as a prophet awaiting his resurrection: Paul de Lagarde. No one saw like him the damage of the liberalist second empire leading to decay, and shatteringly he lamented: "Our days are too dark not to promise a new sun. For that sun I wait."

And we National Socialists today feel secure in agreement with the really great ones of the German nation, joyful and powerful in the unconditional belief that as a great people's movement we represent the rising of that sun for which Stein and Lagarde and many others were waiting, for which they worked as individuals. We are inwardly strong and swell as never before a revolutionary movement of Europe.

The French Revolution of 1789 was only one great collapse without creative thought; today we are experiencing its decay; our time of upheaval and the realization of the nature of blood means the greatest spiritual revolution which is consciously beginning today. These questions of the time are pressing upon us daily, and it is the duty of all of us to deal with them, to give an account of the spiritual struggle and to include the awakened ones in the brown crowd. It is the duty and task of each one of us to grasp anew the newly set tasks of the nation, to serve them in reverence, and this life is in truth eternal bliss.

## The Road Clear.

**On the death of Horst Wessels. "Völkischer Beobachter, March 1, 1930.**

On Saturday at 4 o'clock our murdered Pg. Horst Wessel will be buried. The whole movement will pause at this hour in its daily work and consecrate a silent memorial to the new victim of the coming Reich, a man who sealed with his life and his death the blood brotherhood between student and worker. As a Corpsstudent he went - an example to all students - among the German workers, always at the head of the fight for freedom and bread, loved by all comrades, hated by the enemies of the awakening workers, who then had him insidiously murdered by a pimp.

The Italian fascists cultivated a beautiful and deep custom. They, too, had had to make many sacrifices in the struggle with Bolshevism. The dead of a company, however, continued to be listed in its membership list, and when at roll call each individual was called up and answered with "Here," this answer resounded from the throats of all when the name of the dead comrade was heard.

Like the other martyrs, Horst Wessel is not dead. His Storm 5, which he led and which he multiplied tenfold, already bears his name, and his fervent will for the new Germany will spread to all his fellow fighters and those still to come. Invisible and yet tangible, the souls of the "dead" are fighting with us.

for em new life. - If we really want to live. Horst Wessel's call: "Free the Straste dem Sturmabteil- mann!" is the slogan for an army of millions that is struggling, sacrificing and fighting for the soul of the Germany that is still hidden today. The tide is already rising, and every dead man is a reminder for us to be worthy of this death when we carry the swastika and march under our standards.

Clear the road! - Remorse Germany has started.

## Idea and Guide.

**This essay in the "Völkischer Beobachter" of May 3, 1930, is a good example of the decisive educational work Alfred Rosenberg did for the movement.**

Every great idea appears - according to Goethe - law-giving. But every true great assembly is always a spiritual-soul birth of a personality. At best, experiences of an age flow together through a few individuals, - not by amalgamation, but because they originate from the same longing, the same character, the same life-myth.

In this world, an idea needs a body for its representation. The Parthenon as well as the Sirtina and the Ninth Symphony arose from this urge. Man, idea and work have become a spatio-temporal unity that can never be separated. This fundamental insight also applies where man is both subject and object, where human life is in a state of flux, where a changing number must therefore be the representation of a thought. Here, man himself takes the place of the work, but with him also come the concepts of fidelity and infidelity.

The National Socialist movement received its own law after it started, from the first days of its existence: Blood and soil as the prerequisite of all activity, personality as the crowning glory of a people, leadership in the face of democratic egalitarianism, the final battle against social Marrism, the replacement of the incapable bourgeoisie by a new selection of the nation...

Before an idea can become a formative force, a generating type, it is inseparable from its living creator.

**U Blood and honor**

bar connected. This is something that everyone who has and forms thoughts himself understands without further ado, but it is also something that every Germanic character, no matter how simple, feels just as deeply immediately. If, therefore, from the outside, the enemies of an organic elevation now try to seemingly recognize the "groats of the idea" and call names "sound and smoke", it is quite clear that we are not dealing here with "ideal" motives, but with asphalt plants, which neither idea nor great personalities are able to comprehend, and therefore also not to evaluate.

In my speech at the party congress in Nuremberg in 1929, I pointed out that with the great influx of people into the NSDAP, many a newcomer would soon leave as a speaker or writer without having experienced the complete melting down by the idea of National Socialism. Many join em in the childish belief that they will find in the party a convenient forum for their plans and plots, since no one else will listen to them. These people then usually like to speak of the "idea," imagining only the outgrowths of their imagination and regarding National Socialism only as a test object for the extent to which it can be added to these emanations of all sorts of hitherto repressed feelings. These people are therefore also embarrassed by the personality of the Fuehrer per se, because here idea and figure are already present and there is damn little opportunity for attempts to pose. So they eagerly emphasize the "loyalty to the idea" and then draw on "historical" examples with which juggling around has always been a pleasure of the coffee house.

All the larger local groups know these types; they will have to be more careful of them in the future than ever before. Before National Socialism becomes steel doctrine

he must first have been carried by the leader through the flames of time. Cedar, who is really faithful to this idea, will therefore emphasize the present indissolubility of leader and idea and will have to take people of the above-mentioned kind either into iron discipline or - if there is character inferiority beside still curable ambition - to eliminate them.

It is precisely the strongest personalities and the most conscious of the National Socialist movement who refuse to turn the party into a public debating club of people who come in and confuse chatter with problem-solving.

In the unique inner recognition of the idea lies the expression of freedom of the National Socialist. Loyalty to it is then loyalty to oneself. And the strength of this common idea is strengthened in the support of the Führer in the fight against the decay of our time, in the fight for a great German future.

## To the Victory of 14 September.

Every electoral victory of the movement was accompanied by Alfred Rosenberg's commentary, which was at the same time soberly pondering and inspecting. At this point, the essay on September 14, the spectacular breakthrough battle of National Socialism, which appeared in the "Baltischer Beobachter" on September 16, 1930, should be reproduced.

What took place in Germany on September 14, 1930, was not an election to the Reichstag, but a referendum the like of which has never been seen before in the history of the German party. A movement ridiculed, mocked, pursued with all the means of power of money, press, radio, state terror becomes in just over two years from a ridiculed party to the strongest anti-marriage organization of the common people. From only 809000 people in 1928, the number of confessors rises to 6 401000. The number of Reichstag representatives grows from 12 to 107,

With September 14, 1930, the National Socialist movement has also received outwardly the legitimation of its demand of former times: it is today the sole representative of the German idea of freedom, of the idea of social justice, of the demand for cleansing our whole life of corruption and baseness. Yesterday she received the right to say to the whole world:

In our camp stands the Germany of the future, Make way, you survivors, to the powers of rebirth, Your clock is fen!



We will immediately go to work to build on the election victory in organizational terms. For all our district and local group leaders, a tremendous amount of work is growing up, because now, with tripled forces, it is a matter of: forward, always forward. The people's movement has got going; it must grow to a movement of 10 million. On the shoulders of the NSDAP, a tremendous responsibility has been placed on September 14, 1930. We solemnly vow to reward the confidence of the millions with tireless work, but we also expect them to unite in an ever firmer fighting front, while the mercenaries of the opponents initiate an increased onslaught.

But we are all proud, because September 14, 1930, did not fall into our laps as a gift of mercy, but is the result of tireless work and a clear, steel-hard policy that lasted ten years. Victory is ours, now tie your helmet tighter!

## The Emergence of the German Nation-State.

**"Völkischer Beobachter, March 14, 1933: This and the two following paragraphs capture in a truly memorable way the mood of the time around the great day of Potsdam.**

For decades, there were two irreconcilable camps in Germany, the so-called "Einheits-Staatsler" and the federalists. The first group included democrats and Marxists who saw the state only as a technical construction and wanted to build it according to the French model, without any understanding for the diversity of the German tradition. Federalism, for its part, shimmered from slightly particularistic shades to separatist tendencies. This group did not see Germany as a federal state, but as a confederation of states, and always believed that it was entitled to place state law above imperial law. The richness of Germanness was thus understood not merely culturally, but politically, and the word "Germany" was always pronounced with the silent reservation that under certain circumstances, for example, a "Rhenish Republic" might be proclaimed.

Both groups were firmly committed to their slogans, and so it is not surprising that the compromises of the past tore German life apart, that we practically no longer had a state, but a poor substitute for the political business that had to be done. The notorious phrase: "Somehow, after all, we must be governed" is the classic expression of the inner style and helplessness of the Weimar structure, which has now died of fear of death, as a French newspaper mockingly but correctly put it.

But what is now taking place in Germany lies entirely outside the bickering about federalism and the unitary state, outside particularistic inferiority complexes and eehirn constructions remote from life. Today, with the hoisting of swastika flags, the inner overcoming of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" is finally taking place, the overcoming of 1866, the shattering of 1919.

"One state, one people", the slogan of the great patriots around Hutten, via the great Elector, up to the same slogan of the National Socialist people's rally in Vienna on March 6, 1933, that is today the expression of the innermost will from the Karawanken to Helgoland. The bearers of the swastika banner no longer quarrel about grohdeutsch or kleindeutsch, because they know that they are German, nothing but German. They no longer quarrel about the past because they are bloody present. They stand firmly on the ground of our century and build their world view and state ideas from the experience of our time. They want the German nation-state, which has the task to represent Germany unshakably united as a whole to the outside world, to make it healthy at home and to govern it in a socially just way. All means that lead to this goal are good, but those that do not bring us closer to this goal are bad. That is the only standard that can be applied. But which means are expedient, to make the choice about it, can only one. The right to this leadership has been fought for by this one, acquired before history. And Germany gives him the possibility to make the choice with all emphasis. That is the essence of the great transformation in Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Hamburg, Stuttgart.... .

The people is brought "into shape", the millions of souls do not oppose each other, but align themselves in parallel. From this arises that great magnetic force which is just now straightening the hearts of all, also aligning those who perhaps still offer a little resistance.

With a people that is 50 percent national and the other 50 percent Marxist-democratic, it is impossible to pursue a policy, least of all a policy of freedom. Foreign and domestic policy are thus condensed into the problem of clearly lowering one bowl of the scales - and then putting the sword into it. This is now accomplished by our SA as the executor of this will after the legal verdict of the people on March 5.

With irresistible force a founding of a state is taking place. Outside all surviving bickering, born of a united longing, a new will to live is shaping Germany's destiny, and it is pointless to try to resist it.

## The meaning of March 21.

### **"Völkischer Beobachtn," March 21, 1933.**

March 21, 1933 is a national holiday. What is happening in its course is a historical act, a symbol.

On March 21, the revolt of 1918 is overcome in terms of state law.

In our mind's eye we see again the days of disgrace of the gray November, when the sacred signs were torn down, trampled into the dirt. We see the later years of cowardice and servitude, of the Versailles Treaty, of the Dawes plan slavery, of the miserable illusions - then gradually the emergence of a new - our - spirit of resistance.

Until the historical turning point came on January 30, when the lieutenant of Königgrätz, as the field marshal of the World War and the president of the Reich, gave the chancellorship to the corporal of that war.

This was the beginning of the German revolution, the reckoning with the revolt 14 years ago.

And now, under the symbol of the two million dead heroes and under the sign of the swastika, the Reich draws the line.

On March 21, the dying hour of Marxism begins. It was he who for decades has dripped the hostile poison into German workers' hearts and made them incapable of taking the would be direction.

Mentally paralyzed, millions followed the deceivers and traitors, not outraged against the slave-

The German people are not fighting against the freedom of the holder, but against their own freedom, which is indissolubly linked with the freedom and honor of the nation as a whole. So we all had to pay together, suffering at first, now we want to carry off the boo in fraternal unity fighting before the German history.

Awakened German workers are burning their own red flags today in the marketplaces of German cities. We welcome them with a handshake. But their "leaders" we will call to account.

From the point of view of world history, the liberalist epoch had the mission of overcoming social forms that were no longer sustainable and of giving birth to a new form. Liberalism has proved incapable of doing this - without wishing to denigrate individual great achievements. It distorted the emphasis on personality into economic-political individualism, finally destroyed more and more all natural ties under Jewish leadership and thus became an element of popular and state decomposition.

On March 21, the state view of the last 150 years dies.

"Freedom" was no longer understood as a duty to work for something, but as a call to be unbound from everything. Theoretical betrayal of the people and cultural anarchy, in whatever guise they may appear, go back to this "Weltanschauung". Under Hitler's leadership, Germany overcame this disease of mind and soul; the simple play of the Potsdam Garrison Church therefore rings steadfastly in the ears of the reborn Germany.

On March 21, however, the Middle Ages finally fade away.

This epoch, even if carried by Germanic greatness, nevertheless witnessed the disastrous conflict of souls of the ecclesiastical denominations with the conclusion to make this spirit-.

The aim was to transfer the struggle for power to power politics as well. From the Crusades to the Counter-Reformation, and even up to the present day, these attempts have always stood in the way of a true German national policy. Within our worldview, this great discord of German history has already been overcome by lived life. Religious, philosophical convictions everyone should be allowed to hold freely, every deep, genuine faith must be sure of the respect of every German, but German national politics must no longer be falsified as a means for the power-political enforcement of confessional thoughts. Just as the social, the confessional class struggle must disappear when there is talk of the shoe and umbrella of the German nation. And when this brotherhood of the people has become the condition of existence for all, then the fatal legacy of the Middle Ages will have been finally overcome. This is the deep meaning of the National Socialist people's uprising.

We recognize over centuries, through all forms of life, the German nation carried by certain values when it stood tall before the world history - these have been the ideas of honor and duty. To have carried out this character regeneration in the midst of the previous disgrace is Adolf Hitler's immortal merit.

It therefore connects across chasms the German greats from Widukind to Bismarck and points itself as a summit into the future.

March 21, 1933, is therefore a day of honor and consecration for the Fuehrer, which the whole nation, inwardly united with him, will celebrate today as a day of contemplation, reflection and hope.

At one of the most sacred graves of the German people, at the coffin of the greatest king in German history, an em confession is made to the eternity of the German people

and proclaimed the promise to fight for the nationhood, its purification and strengthening until the end of life.

The German revolution marches differently than the French and Russian. It is deeper and bigger, is more comprehensive and more powerful. It preaches thoughts which one day the other still valuable nations of the Occident must also recognize, if they do not want to perish in the swamp of liberalism and communism.

Therefore, the German popular uprising is not a threat to the vital needs of others, but will one day have to be recognized as the salvation of all Europe.

With these thoughts we will go to Potsdam, with these feelings we will celebrate the historical day, we will see our symbols united with the flags of Leuthen and Tannenberg, and at the grave of the great Preutzen King the unity of Grotzdeutschland will be accomplished.



## Hitler, the Führer.

**"Völkischer Beobachter," March 24, 1933.**

On the afternoon of March 23, the entire betting world listened to the Chancellor's government declaration. And everyone must have had one definite feeling above all others: here speaks a statesman who is a born leader, a man who knows how to blend hardness of principle in a brilliant way with the prudence of what is politically necessary. He is unswervingly ready to destroy what is despicable and to reconcile what is reconcilable. But Gin Mann also spoke, through whose words sounded the irrepressible will not to yield under any circumstances, but to carry out firmly his mission of the salvation of Germany.

Hitler's words came down on Marxism like hippopotamus whips. After four years of fighting, he now stood face to face with its representatives and - they were spared nothing. Without a word they had to accept everything, without contradiction they had to endure the flagellation of their crimes against the German people. Here was symbolically embodied the powerlessness to do anything against Germany now, and the threat to make foreign friendship services harmless, they will have understood. Germany lives - and therefore Marxism dies.

The chancellor's views on all questions of domestic and foreign policy are crystal clear. His formulations are balanced but unambiguous, full of dignity and pride, and his repeated emphasis that he no longer wants to accept the division into victors and vanquished is full of restrained passion. And even when dealing with problems that

the Center in particular, one senses unswerving firmness associated with versions that would make this party appear to have taken leave of its senses if it were to vote against the Enabling Act.

Again and again, stormy agreement interrupted the chancellor. We had all reached a new goal of our struggle. Our Führer is master in Germany and National Socialism heralds the revolution of the 20th century.

The mood of neo-liberation prevailed in the Reichstag when the SPD leader Wels gave a speech that was as soft as diapers, but still had the audacity to claim that the Social Democracy was also fighting for German equality and honor. Then Hitler stood up once again and settled accounts with the Marxist leadership sitting in front of him in a way that they had never heard before in such brashness and contemptuous superiority.

They probably felt the lion's paw now, when he exposed the hypocrisy of "humanity" and "freedom" of the SPD, made it clear to them that if they invoked the "right", this had been done by him, Hitler, by election and convocation of the Reichstag. If he had wanted to give the people and the power alone free rein, then the gentlemen of the SPD would not be here in the Reichstag.

That was clear. And the "revolutionary" leadership looked there, like a pack of fearful hares, small and pathetic, as it had always been in reality. Their "leader" Braun had fled, their agitator Grzesinski had fled, they themselves had been beaten up, without ideas, without courage - at the end.

These strikes shook the Marxist edifice to its foundations, so that even the state party voted for the Enabling Act.

Thus the last remnants of Weimar democracy submitted to Hitler's rule.

All resistances were broken, the wave of German uprising broke down all dams, the people wanted to see Hitler in economic power, the parliament bowed, the center agreed to the rule of National Socialism.

For four years Hitler can do everything necessary for the salvation of Germany. Negatively in the eradication of the people-destroying Marxist forces, positively in the building of a new people's community in order to lay the foundations for the first true German nation-state as the fulfillment of the German longing of many centuries.

And with him goes in unbreakable loyalty his entire old Lämpscrschar, marches the Brown Army as a political prop to ensure the implementation of everything necessary to make any thought of resistance impossible.

"Hitler to power!" This call of the nation became a deed on March 23, 1933!

Germany has awakened, the grotty work begins, the day of the Third Reich has come

## The German Nationhood.

This statement, which appeared in 1933 in the first issue of the "Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte", is also the introduction to a short paper on "The Development of the German Freedom Movement", written for Auslanddeutschum.

In spite of the tremendous shocks of the last months and the joy of all National Socialists to see their fourteen-year struggle crowned by victory, many millions have certainly not yet fully realized what has actually taken place in Germany. As always, only a later time will see the whole event in the historical context in the right perspective, based on the results of future developments. It has been said several times in these weeks, but it must be emphasized again and again, that between March 5, the day of the last Reichstag election, and April 7, when the law on the Reichsstatthalterschaft appeared, a new German Reich was founded.

For almost a millennium, the German nation stood in the midst of the most violent polar antagonisms, which often outgrew natural tensions within a nation and not infrequently shook the whole soul structure and fate of Germany to its foundations. Since the time when Charlemagne directed the gaze of the German princes beyond the organic borders and allowed the dream of a world empire to become his dream, ever new tempers shook the German national body as a result of an inner turning away. The struggle was played out between the Roman emperor

and the idea of the Germanic king. More and more this first mental imprint overshadowed the realities of the Germanic being and begat the most bitter feuds between the German princes. In addition, the ideological formation of a Roman universalisim<sup>u</sup> merged with the idea of a Wellmonarchy, which at the same time, in addition to political resistance, gave rise to one heresy movement after another Uetz. The so-called "Middle Ages" were not, as the old historiography liked to present it, a time of ideological peace. Only for a short time did this "worldview of the Middle Ages" succeed in becoming so politically entrenched that a defensive movement seemed hopeless. More and more protests were heard from all European countries and led to religious wars, which took place most violently on French and German soil. Germany in particular was brought close to an abyss by decades of bloody wars, and only out of the ruins of the destruction of the Thirty Years' War did the Prussian state rise as the bearer of a German energy rooted in blood and soil. Little Brandenburg became Prussia and Prussia finally became Germany. The political unification of 1871, however, was not complemented by an ideological unity, and the political state idea of the second empire could not be clearly expressed, because the dynasty itself as the last remnant of the Thirty Years' War - however high one may rate its cultural creations - prevented the real state-political unity of the German nation.

In the nineteenth century, the Marxist idea of class struggle grew out of these contradictions as a consequence of economic liberalism, whose crude, capitalist methods were used by millions of people.

Ehrr

Völler cheated of his fate. Thus, in addition to particularism and confessional struggles, the social class struggle developed as the third life-threatening phenomenon. The old Reich was incapable of dealing with all these conflicts, and when, after a terrible struggle from 1914 to 1918, the last reserves of German power of resistance seemed to be broken, once again and more strongly than ever before those very forces triumphed which it had taken Germany centuries to overcome. Germany did its deepest fall, but the great mystery of the last fourteen years consists precisely in the fact that it, deeply pressed to the ground, only now recognized the true roots of its strength and found back over centuries to its origins. Meister Eckehart once said, "It is the deepest wells that bear the highest waters." This word has proven true in the struggle of the last fourteen years. The struggle of the last decade was marked by an ever deeper overcoming of both the medieval confessional ideal, and the baroque dynastic ideal of the state, and the liberalist-mariist international class struggle ideal. On all three fronts the National Socialist movement under Hitler's leadership and with his imprint waged this tremendous struggle, and that is why the essence of these days appears to us first and foremost not to be the fact that a political shift of power has taken place, but that this shift of political forces is only the expression of a deeper-going ideological experience. That is why the National Socialist revolution was so welcomed by the millions who fought with us, why it became a revolution not of the guillotine but of the joyful face, which as its first symbol organized a Day of German Labor on May 1, 1933, i.e., a celebration of the people's pride, a

Feast of internal reconciliation of the different confessions and classes.

This statement, however, is not meant to imply that the National Socialist movement is somehow given over to sentimental weaknesses; on the contrary, from the very first day of its activity it has emphasized that it must be an uprising of the strong and healthy against all intellectual powers which pay homage to a philosophy which presents the sick and weak as the only human thing. The National Socialist Revolution will, in spite of its quite disproportionately bloodless course, be quite harsh in the implementation of the laws recognized as necessary; it will inexorably eliminate from the political life of the state all those representatives who, whether through weakness or through anti-German sentiment, have contributed to the calamity of the last decades. Without any petty revenge and therefore in the feeling of a great future, the replacement of the old leadership strata in all areas of life is taking place with astonishing certainty, first in the upper echelons of political power, then in the appointment of the National Socialist Reichsstatthalter as a safeguard of the Reich idea in the Länder, then in the formation of the Länder governments and in the appointment of the police. In addition, there was the splendid founding of the German Labor Front, which, based on the idea of social justice, preached the idea of the New Reich to the workers and entrepreneurs together and, if necessary, incorporated unruly elements into the new type of National Socialist worker.

In the cultural sphere the same conquest is taking place step by step, whether in the German poetry academy, or in the German universities, from which the representatives of the surviving age are disappearing and where space is at last being made for the hitherto not 12\*

were heralds of a new worldview and a new idea of the state.

On the horizon of the future, the disputes within the Protestant church show that here, too, the new experience has awakened millions, and that these millions are now also calling for new ecclesiastical forms. The NSDAP, as a political party, does not interfere directly in these religious and ecclesiastical disputes, but cannot and will not prevent it when more deeply searching National Socialists participate in this religious struggle for a new church.

We understand that the world around us is still uncomprehending of the great events in Germany, since the principles on which Germany is now being built are quite different from those from which the statehood of the democratic countries has grown. However, we are firmly convinced that it is not we who have turned back the needle of history, as is arrogantly suggested to us, but that, on the contrary, Germany, under heavy mental pressure, has in the course of ten years undergone a development for which other nations will still need many decades. The problems are very similar in the other states, too. In order to solve them, one cannot apply the same means that were used for 14 years, but will have to decide to go over to other forms of life and states. The whole democratic-parliamentary statehood is crumbling, has already collapsed in human life, and no nation will be spared to face with deepest seriousness the same questions as the German nation did. The great disease which the ideas of 1789 brought to Europe has been overcome in Germany, not in a negative sense, but in a positive sense.



positive new creation of the state, and the other peoples, whether they like it or not, will have to take a similar path according to their tradition, or else will be forced to do so by fate itself in bloody revolutions. Today it is the German nation which gives the world a new image, which does not ask for the rights and thoughts of the grandfathers in order to test the laws of the twentieth century against them; rather, we affirm the form of our time, and if we thereby declare that the National Socialist revolution is also a conservative revolution, then we do not understand by this the return of outlived cultural and state forms, but the preservation of the eternal character values of the German man. These cannot change. The nation as a people can only exist if it preserves unchangeable laws in its center. On the other hand, these values must be defended and strengthened within a new environment by means of technical inventions of our time, and only a child of the twentieth century himself is capable of mastering these, no longer a retrospective scholar or a reactionary party functionary.

National Socialism thus demands a totality of humanity for itself. In the conviction that it embodies the teachings of our century in their substance, it must also be intolerant for the coming time, because only in this way can a strong foundation of the coming life be built. Thus the German Revolution is advancing with mighty steps towards its realization, and the experience of the German nationhood is guarantor that in all fields of life the longing of many centuries will take shape, and that the Third Reich will become what King Henry I, Martin Luther and Frederick the Great dreamed of.

## The National Socialist Revolution is Just Beginning!

Its mission is the creation of a new  
basis of life for all Germans

**"Volkischer Beobachter," 17 Jun 1933.**

The great meeting of the leadership of the NSDAP was not an ordinary working meeting, but a deep discussion of the problems of the state and the people, work and socialism, training of leaders and the building of the states, which then led to debates on current measures. This conference brought together almost everything that embodied the power of the state today, but beyond that, and this has been the deep essence of the great speeches of the Fuehrer, the will for future type-breeding of later generations was embodied here.

A few days ago, an editorial in a German nationalist newspaper tried to show that a party, even the largest one, is also dependent on other collaborators. One followed Hitler as chancellor unconditionally and that had to be enough .... . These trains of thought prove that certain circles have still not grasped what is actually taking place in the German Reich. It is not the fact that the NSDAP has become by far the largest political party that is of decisive importance, but rather that its thinking represents the new foundation of German life. All other attempts to create a foundation for life have failed miserably, because the old powers have always regarded only their class or denominational interests as this foundation on which to build.

wanted to recognize. This development from the Middle Ages until 1933 has now come to an end. The highest value of the nation opens the revolution of the 20th century, and whoever does not want to bow to this value, no matter whether citizen, centrist or Marxist, will be broken. And because the people of the old and oldest system are incapable of grasping the new millennium will, therefore the national-socialist revolution is not over, but stands at the beginning!

Almost all revolutions have reached the height of their impact, for good or ill, only after years. What 1789 meant was revealed only under the guillotine in 1793, in a different way, when Bonaparte became master of Paris. And that is why the shape of the National Socialist uprising will only emerge vividly after some time.

This idea of a great mission dominated the last meeting of the NSDAP as never before, which is why the inauguration of the Reichsführer School - a special achievement of our Pg. Dr. Üey - was a symbolic act. In Bernau, where an eeneralftab of the Marris-mus was to be educated, the formation of the future leader corps of the National Socialist movement is being created; training of the mind and will of the liveliest kind, comradeship and spiritual fighting community, these are the goals of this new foundation in the service of the Führer.

The movement has once again received a tremendous boost; full of confidence, it is unflinchingly doing again what it did for 14 years: working.

## Peasantry and Culture.

Ceremonial address on October 1, 1933 on the occasion of the harvest festival of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur at the Deutsches Eck in Koblenz. On the same day, the Führer spoke to 500,000 farmers from the Bücksberg.

The new empire has been able to celebrate many serious and festive days, but two of them stand out: one was May 1 and the other is October 1. People have long struggled to give meaning to May Day. Citizens and proletarians of all nations have fought fierce feuds over this day for decades, and even in Germany itself such battles of the most bitter nature have been fought. May Day had become a day of German discord, especially in Germany; it seemed to remain so forever. But moreover, this day was not only an object of dispute between citizens and proletarians, but also within the Marxist movement itself this struggle had drawn deep furrows. It was only a few years ago that Berlin became the scene of a bloody Straßenkampf on May Day.

In 1933, however, this fiercely and much disputed day took on a completely different face. Millions and millions of Germans from all towns and villages marched to the town halls and large squares, where the German worker was celebrated on this day. And without any incidents, this day passed in a harmonious, peaceful unity, and thus became the most beautiful and noble testimony of respect for labor.

It was a celebration like mail had never seen on a May Day in decades.

Today we celebrate the 1st of October and again millions and millions flock together in all German cities to honor this time the farmer, the German farmer. And with this they do their second social duty this year.

In the times that lay behind us, the German peasant had always been regarded as a backward class. Yes, the Marxist movement had even set itself the task of ousting this peasantry altogether and of erecting large capitalist enterprises, managed from the center of a cosmopolitan city, in the place of a peasant estate. An unworldly erudition and a high-bred intellectualism in the last decades, for their part, have always ridiculed this German peasant and degraded him to the object of their ridicule. In the newspapers and in the theaters, the peasantry has never been portrayed in a way that it deserved.

But if today we look back on the struggle of the last 14 years, then we can and must state with pride that the honor of the German peasant has been restored by the National Socialist movement. And when today the German peasant celebrates his hour, his day of honor, on the Bückeberg, then we look back on German history and remember those battles which the German peasantry had to fight in the course of the centuries. We remember especially that time in the 16th century, when the German peasants, the best townspeople and many honor-loving knights, such as Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen, united to fight against spiritual and secular tyranny. This great struggle, however, ended in a terrible defeat, and

When the peasants had to submit, they sang: "We'll go home beaten, our grandchildren will fence it out better."

Since then, many centuries have passed in the German lands, a long time before this saying became truth. The attempts of Freiherr v. Stein made the first breach in the wall of an anti-farmer tradition. But only the adversity of our time should be called to bring the final victory, the adversity of our time, which seemed to break everything, and which was now called to finally give the German peasant his honor and fine right, to restore it, and to help him in his work and creation to real dignity.

When we thank the German peasant today, we believe that the German peasant in turn also has to thank the nation, because it was not the "peasant parties" that won freedom for the peasant, but for the honor of the German peasant also unemployed workers in all cities fought under Hitler's flags - and bled. This shed blood is the firmest bond, the firmest cement, which holds the national community together today, which forges city and country into an indissoluble unity. We can state with pride and joy that, if in former times the city was whipped up against the country and the country against the city, today, conversely, the city dweller and the countryman have joined hands in the consciousness that one cannot live without the other, that from a quarrel and strife between the two would come only the downfall of Germany, but with it the downfall of all.

If we now ask ourselves: what does a cultural organization have to do with such a celebration, does such a political and social power struggle go the

German culture, then one thing has to be said: we do not recognize and understand the political and the social and the cultural as separate factors, but we believe that all these three activities have their root in a single, common spiritual force and draw the similar will drive from this common element, from this common root.

Today we would like to confess that the conception of culture has become quite different in our days than in earlier decades, also due to the National Socialist movement. In the past, culture was seen only as what could be written and printed, what could be carried home in black and white. Culture was often understood to mean cramped psychological ideas that found their way into literature. An unworldly visual art had been cultivated, and a gulf had finally developed between the natural instinct of the nation and its scholars and artists. This led to a disdain for the peasantry, which found its strongest expression in the world cities and their life. We believe that this time of cosmopolitan hypnosis has come to an end politically and socially and culturally, and that we are returning to blood and soil because we have to. But if today a symbolic image of culture has arisen before our eyes, it is the image of the German farmhouse.

This farmhouse was the archetype of all later architecture. From this farmhouse of the Nordic Central Europe the inspirations and sources of strength were carried out by all those who later called themselves Greeks when they moved to the Balkans. This farmhouse is the archetype of the Greek temple and is still today an eternal model of Germanic and Nordic architecture. While in the last hundred years the

While the peasantry in its entirety was socially in decline, the mysterious German language itself has summarized in the word peasant all that was and is present in creative forces, it has thus given the word a comprehensive and deep meaning beyond the narrow concept of peasantry. For the word farmer is connected with the concept of building, of construction, of cultivation in general. And with it the spiritual connection between language and culture of a nation is given at the same time, which leads back to those origins. And today we ourselves find our way back to those origins, not in a sentimental rapture, but because the false essence of the past epoch has fallen away from us and we long anew for what we must regain. The last decades were dominated by hopelessness in the big and world cities, the consequence of that disrespect and neglect of the peasantry, which drove millions and millions from the countryside to the city, which now again strengthened and increased the misery prevailing in the cities, and which gradually had to perish in this misery.

Therefore, if today we reject the glorification of the sick and miserable man in the visual arts and in writing, this is also the outflow of this new awakening, which must lead back to the healthy original sources and draw its strength from them. If we want to put the healthy and strong man in the place of the sick and miserable man, if we wish that a coming German literature and poetry should place this powerful and strong man in the center of the creation of art, then this is a return to peasantry, because the peasant in the midst of decay has remained the only healthy and strong part, which has survived centuries, even millennia, and also in



will be equally powerful and strong in the millennia to come.

If we have gathered today on the Rhine, it is also a symbol of a struggle that is not only of a state, political and social nature, but also of a cultural nature. The eternal Rhine is forever connected with the German destiny. It was the river of destiny in the past and will remain so in the future, a river over which people suffered and fought for thousands of years, and which will therefore remain a symbol also in the German future.

From the Rhine, the eternal song of the Nibelungen misery has sounded out, and it continues to resonate wherever the German language is still spoken at all. Hundreds of songs have come from the Rhine, and they are sung from all over the globe, wherever Germans live. But, when we commemorate the Rhine here, our thoughts also go far out into the land to the other tribes of the great German people. We think of the mysterious Black Forest, which was once the birthplace of the German fairy tale, the birthplace also of the dreamy German folk song. We think further of the hard tribe of the Lower Saxons, who have fought for blood and soil for centuries with a tenacity and energy like hardly any other tribe of the German people. If we note this, then we know at the same time that the fight, which the great Sachsenherzog Widukind once led, is continued today again, and that Widukind's fight for blood and soil was led in the 20th century by Adolf Hitler's victory towards its decision, that Widukind, who lost in the 9th century, won in the 20th century through Adolf Hitler. And today the Führer's message from Lower Saxony will resound over the whole of Germany.

Our thoughts go on to East Prussia, the most endangered point of the Germany torn into two parts today. We remember this cultural and state creation in connection with the work of the Teutonic Order. We know that from the sword and the plow a new way of life was born at that time. If today we want to find our way back to the German origins beyond the age of democracy and the dynastic ideas of the state, we see already in the center of the idea of the Teutonic Order those thoughts which in continuous development find their realization today in the Third Reich.

Thus, a common will and feeling runs through the German people. But when foreign countries reproach us today that the Third Reich apparently only has time to celebrate festivities, we have only one answer to give: since 1914 Germany has been fighting for its political and spiritual substance, for its very existence. For 14 years, everything that was great in German history has been reviled and reviled. At last, this year, the foreign trusts have been thrown off and smashed. For once, Germany, in all its tribes, has the right to celebrate festivals as the other nations have always celebrated them.

We believe that when the German peasant pays his respects today, he is rightly celebrating this hour of his rebirth, rightly remembering that what was begun many hundreds of years ago has today gained its real shape. If on May 1 the Fuehrer said to the German workers that the German peasant is the foundation of all German life, then with today's day this is affirmed in a document and recorded for all times.

Furthermore, if the whole German nation honors the German peasant in all cities today, then

they, as a community, have a great right to it; for the first time in a thousand years, when then King Henry! began the gathering of Germany, it can be said today that it is no longer the hierarchy of dynasties, confessions and classes that determines German life, but Germanness itself, the German nation all by itself. Today Germany is celebrating this becoming a nation in a setting such as this country has never seen before. We want to mark this celebration in the deep seriousness which the great experience of this wonderful year 1933 has given us. In that year the miracle took place that a unified empire of all tribes and professions and estates came into being. The longing of two thousand years has taken shape. And when we use the word Third Reich, we do not mean it as a chronological enumeration, but rather we want to characterize the content of this Third Reich by the fact that it has become the first real German nation-state, which does justice to all the greatness of the German past. It is to this first German nation-state that today, in the celebration of the German peasantry, we extend our greeting, our deepest, longingly felt salvation!



# Worldview and Culture

**Religion, state, politics, economy, art are not fattening poles in themselves, but means to secure the race and the nation. When we have become aware of this, only then will we have felt the whole burden that lies on the present and future generations, but only then will we also attain the strong, united faith for which fighting means happiness and honor.**

**Alfred Rosenberg in the "Völkischer Beobachter,"  
May 25, 1925.**



## Humanity Dogma

**"Auf Gut Deutsch," December 3, 1920.**

In every human being, Wei forces fight. The one wants to assert the individual in life, the other strives for unification with something superindividual. If the times of the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath were completely set on ruthless fight, it is humanly understandable that a countercurrent spread around, which wanted to honor the "humanity", which strived into the "universe". But as the restriction alone, so also the rhythmless expansion alone leads death with itself. Here it is to be reminded of a deep word of Goethe: "There is nothing more inconsistent than the highest consequence, because it produces unnatural phenomena which turn over at last."

We have once in the history of the peoples the possibility to observe how the idea of aloneness carried out in the Praris led to the catastrophe of a people: India. We know, dah the Indians as a powerful people moved from the north to the Indus and to the Ganges. We know their hymns and songs; from handed down stories and myths ancient Indian life is built up for us today with quite clarity. The Indians moved into the country as conquerors, their structure of life developed from race feeling and class consciousness, they formed castes. The Aryas (i.e. the faithful) were divided into the caste of priests, warriors and tradesmen (Brahmins, Kshatriyas Vaicyas). To these are added, as the fourth caste, the Audras, the natives. This last division is the most important. They 13"

is based on the realization of racial difference: caste in Indian is called varna, which is color.

But already in the oldest time the question of the unified essence of the world appears to the Indian thinker, the multiplicity of the gods is no longer sufficient for him. And in the course of his development of thought he comes to the conclusion that the one power which guides and sustains the universe, the well soul, the Brahman, is identical with the mysterious inner self, the Atman. Personality is regarded only as a barrier; individual differences, then racial differences, are regarded as externalities, delusions. Thus the Indian 'oligently comes to honor the divine soul which he feels alive in himself, even in the (ludra. From this boundless, self-surrendering state of mind, the ever increasing loosening of the barriers between Aryans and Aborigines consequently resulted. Inter-marriage increased, foreign spirit and foreign blood began to influence Indian life. It lost its original inner peace more and more. And even if an Oan- kara came into being, even if in Kalidasa a wonderful blossoming of poetry still occurred, the foreign element, which penetrated more and more, nevertheless intervened so strongly in all expressions of life, overgrew the old Indian character in such a way that this sign of decay can almost be grasped with the hands. Delusional cults take over. The beauty of Indian art sinks into intemperance and distortion. The formerly rhythmically regulated course of life: learning, founding a family, turning away from the world as an old man, is more and more abandoned, the one-sided asceticism from youth on appears as dogma: India is doomed to infertility. The strict caste division on a racial basis gives way to a schematism on purely professional ground and ends in the end downright in monstrosities.



And as em right principle, put into wrong hands and rigidly pursued, finally leads to the absurd, so the thought of the boundlessly expanding faith turned into monkish self-conceit.

These apparently only historical facts throw a glaring light also on the dogma of mankind of the Masonic world view. For, if one takes it seriously, one opens the door to the foreign and the enemy and disarms oneself. We know now how closely wetness and spirit are connected, we know that a certain wetness produces a certain art, a special religion or philosophy, but that mixture of quite different peoples only results in bastardization in every field. We know, now, that this is a crime against our best, innermost.

Until this dogma of humanity, which is tolerant of foreigners but intolerant of its own people, is condemned to the ground by Freemasonry, every lodge brother, however harmless, is our enemy. From a political point of view, it will become clear why; purely nationally, the Masonic world view that has come into effect lays waste to valuable forces. There are 65,000 German Freemasons. German will to live is weakened by so many energies, so many defenders the foreign, in our case the Jewish intruder has more.

## Völkisch Art.

From the very beginning, National Socialism refused to accept a certain unhealthy idolatry of the past in art as its standard. It was felt too precisely that a new doctrine, which encompassed the whole other life of the people, would one day create something new also in the field of art. Alfred Rosenberg describes this view, which is widespread today, for the first time in the following essay of May 10, 1923 in the "Völkischer Beobachter",

The völkisch movement rightly describes itself as a spiritual as well as political current, which has broken with collapsed state banks and many surviving forms of life and art and wants to create a new home for everything that is alive and pushing forward. Politically, the völkisch thought has received its clear imprint in National Socialism, and under its banner the most active Germans are currently fighting for a new idea of the state. It is strange, however, that when we look at what is popularly called völkische art, there is little to be noticed of this elementary forward thrust.

When we speak of the idea of the state of the Middle Ages, of Frederick the Great, of the French kings, of the liberal democracy, we are speaking of a past from which one or another element may well provide the basis for a new construction of the future, but none of these ideas as a whole has become for us politically a compulsory set of beliefs.

On the other hand, if we first turn our gaze to painting, for example, we see the distressing appearance,

that the majority of our folk painters look as if spellbound only at the art of the past. Of course, it is readily admitted that some of our present-day artists look at the world with eyes similar to those of a Schongauer or Ludwig Richter, for example, but it is strange that it is precisely in frequent imitations of the old form that one believes one must emphasize one's folk art. The representatives of this direction therefore have no understanding whatsoever for the urges of the present, and we all too often see a fundamental denial of the entire artistic germinating forces of the present time emanating from them. They do exactly the same thing that in the political field the conservative has done to the workers' movement. Instead of listening with a fine ear to the rhythm of the present, they closed themselves off from the whole world with books and pictures of past epochs and were indignant and astonished when suddenly chaotic movements became visible everywhere. Similarly as politically the in itself deeply justified workers' movement could be falsified by Jewish Marxism, because the old national leader was petrified in the conservative camp, so in the artistic field it succeeded in falsifying the longing of an age for new art form.

Instead of witnessing the inevitable inner break with the past and allowing the new forces, which necessarily appear in Sturm und Drang, to develop organically, many of our more mature völkisch artists have fallen over the new yearning as such and have handed over a whole generation to a power which abused and distorted the new yearning of today. It is not acceptable to break the baton over the entire new age in pharisaic presumption, but we must release capable existences that became unfaithful to themselves through spiritual well forgetting. The

## M

Today's time has more right to demand expression than the raving and groaning after a dead art past. Only an artist who understands the present in its urge will one day also find the artistic form for it. Here, as in other areas of art, neither theoretical considerations help, of course, but only the experience. To wait for this and to prepare for it is the business of every German.

## To Present a Worldview.

**"Völkischer Beobachter," May 24-25, 1925.**

It is necessary to be aware, even in the midst of the political struggle of the day, that even a struggle for power in the state can be waged sustainably and with success only if there is a will behind this struggle, born of a closed world view, whether it is grasped purely instinctively or consciously. - We believe that the present time represents a break with many spiritual powers. Many forms as an expression of former views of life collapsed, rotten inwardly, ast without resistance, but also the seemingly laying powers came to violence at the moment when they too were already overcome inwardly. Millions, however, do not yet want to believe this: the thought is unbearable to them of having to throw away something for which they have made many and great sacrifices. Both the adherents of the center and those of marasmus and democratism reject with an indignation all the attacks expressed unvarnishedly from our side, which one notices the secret rage that a strong hand is shaking their rotting idols, which are, however, proclaimed to be untouchable. There is no doubt that this state can last for some time. Out of a world-historical catastrophe the new life will emerge, even if it still stands without organizational tradition. It may form crystallization points here and there, whose attraction is at first great enough to captivate the despairing, but not sufficient to transform them positively. Just today's

Time of a movement crisis may cause us to survey the life also from higher point of view, and to tell us that the birth time of great thoughts never passes painlessly. Life absorbs and expels, attracts and repels, and before the molecules create themselves uniformly in one direction, years go by ...

But they can only be established when a central thought acts as a magnet, an absolute standard is applied more and more and displaces other criteria of thought and action. It is precisely in the face of this demand that the most difficult struggles often take place, for nine-tenths of the material for the implementation of the National Socialist worldview, even in its clearest interpretation, consists of people who do not yet face the forms of the past with the inner freedom to pick up, out of a new attitude toward life, what it demands and to courageously eliminate what stands in its way.

The slogans under which millions are persuaded to march show the measure of an attitude towards life. A person fights and dies only for what he really believes in. The Middle Ages are dead, royal absolutism has died, subjectivist democracy is rotting before our eyes. Two systems find it, which line up to the crucial fight, around which all other forces will group themselves in the end:

The one, communism, means the attempt of the violent final depersonalization of the Occident under the tyranny of a single terrorist will. The other, National Socialism, means the recognition of the dynamic attitude to life of the European west, which includes the rejection of both the coercive state as an end in itself and the unrestrained economic subjectivism.

Religion, state, politics, economy, art are not measures in themselves, but means to secure the race and the nation. When we have become aware of this, only then will we have felt the whole burden that lies on the present and the coming generations, but only then will we also attain the strong, united faith for which fighting means happiness and honor.

## On the Artistic Circles of the Present.

**"The World Struggle," November 1925.**

A time and a people that no longer have a unified worldview also no longer have art. There can be isolated artists in them, but a style is always something that coincides with a general spiritual direction. Therefore, today we are faced with chaos in the field of art as well.

The end of the 18th century saw the "strikers and shakers" confront the classicist ideal. The aspirations of the former were subject to the protectors of Hellenism, who looked beyond themselves for a formal canon. The striker and romantic Goethe became the author of the 2nd Faust, the revolutionary Schiller the poet "approaching antique form".

The feeling and creation of the Occident is dynamic, the Greek ideal originates from a primarily static state of mind. In Europe, rest is seen as a transitional stage from movement to movement; in Hellas, even the fastest thing was to be transformed into rest. The essence of Greek life is enclosed in sculpture at rest, the essence of the Occident is expressed in the most animated architecture, the most internalized painting, eruptive music; Greek life was form, the Occident was formation, i.e. perpetual activity. Greekism was predominantly body-plastite, the Occident struggled for soul-formation.

When the age of the machine posed new problems of form, it became apparent that the Occident no longer regarded artists, but only art-



Professors, archaeologists, grammarians on the one hand and sober, ost instinctless engineers, eclectics, mathematicians on the other.

It began - to speak first of architecture - that building of monstrous stations, factories, warehouses with cast Greek capitals, acanthus leaves, imitations of Moorish, Gothic, Chinese forms, combined with the crudest iron construction. All of Europe is still crowded with these products of an unprecedented artistic decline. And when a new generation wanted to become "personal", the infamous "Art Nouveau" was born, whose art-craft crimes can be marveled at from Paris to Moscow and Budapest. It still rages on unchecked in many places today.

The creative power was broken because it had been oriented ideologically and artistically to an alien standard and thus could no longer cope with the demands of life. The painting of the 19th century also shows us the classicistic schools, only to suddenly become subjectivistic and to perish in today's art Bolshevism. If in former times one wanted only "Greekness", then only "nature", today one would like to delete the object at all and "represent" "mental experiences" without form. Parallel phenomena to the fine arts can be found in music, poetry and theater at every turn.

Art and artists are atomized. Thousands in all camps feel this today - desperately. They are all looking for a new bond, a new style, a new ideal of beauty. All of them, as far as they are genuine. The bastardism of, for example, a Schönberg, a Kokoschka, a Becher, however, triumphs today, after the shattering of the ancient scale, over our still

directionless artists who have thrown off the old, but have not yet found the real, the new. A later time will prove whether the popular and wet forces are strong enough to create synthesis out of chaos.

Architecture is today the first art that is out of: Ways is, first of all, to become honest again. The task of overcoming technology through technology and innovation awaits it. Whoever has eyes to see, sees the conscious search to create a true form for the new dynamics of our life at work in the grain silos of California, on a steamer of the North German Lloyd, in the railroad station of Helsingfors, on the bridges of the Tauern Railway. The time will also come here when this new search for truth will also give rise to theaters, town halls and sacred buildings. With pity and shame, a modern architect today looks down the Berlin Friedrichstrasse, at the Munich City Hall and a thousand other products of an inwardly untruthful art and ideological chaos.

In other arts, the controversy rages on; indeed, it seems that the bottom has not yet been reached.

If one now wants to speak of the foundations of a coming art, then no rules and commandments can be meant by it, but only a new spiritual direction. The national world view and the view of history necessarily bring with them a new truthfulness, which has thrown off old compulsory beliefs and broken up rotten crusts; it instinctively and consciously eliminates the foreign and the hostile: the most important prerequisite of the positive deed. But it also brings with it an old-new ideal of beauty. Old in that racial valuation, as the great Venetians (Titian, Palma Vecchio, Giorgione) created it; as Raphael, Botticelli, Holbein, Dürer and van Lyk portrayed it; as it is depicted in Wagner's

Creations sieved out. New because the forces and forms of the present will envelop it.

We do not yet have a great poet today because "we" are not ourselves at all. The world war has not yet produced one, because deep down no one knew that he was fighting and dying for a new myth. Today millions of all nations think of the grave of the "unknown soldier", millions of Germans look at serious war graves; recently the plan has been drafted to erect a sacred grove in Germany in honor of the heroes of the world war. Soon it will be seen that these 12 million men of the consecrated race are martyrs, that they are all victims of a collapsing time and at the same time heralds of a new one. They, the dead today, are the living links between the individuals of the many millions, the founders of the völkisch myth. They are the most sublime witnesses to the eternal nature of the ideas of race and people. Once this has been experienced, then the poet of the world war will also be born. From this myth, however, a new culture and art will one day be able to arise.

This mythical experience is the foundation, the only foundation of our future. It alone is what makes a style of life and art possible.

The past created an ecclesiastical, a courtly style, gave us Hellenistic or Roman bond. The present has the task to prepare a folk-racial bond, or to sink into civilized barbarism.

## Theater.

**"The World Struggle," November 1925.**

**This essay shows, as few others do, that the time of "specialism" is over. Rosenberg, a "non-specialist," has better and deeper things to say about the theater than most theater experts, because he sees it in the context of an overall view.**

Germanic art is personality confession. Also the theater. The Greek put his actors on high coturne, tied an immovable mask in front of them, almost eliminated the personal by a huge arena, created so-called formal laws, which later in the pseudo-classical time of the rule of the pseudo-French tragedy gagged all real dramatic creative power of Europe. (Greek drama also ultimately gave no real inner development. "Fate" was an elemental external catastrophe, not an event also internally linked to the subject). The Greek stripped his heroes of the personal, he "harmonized," the Teuton characterized. He created form, the Teuton expression. The Hellene depicted the destruction or the victory of the person, the Teuton guilt, victory and expiation of mental personality.

The chains of a foreign drama were broken by Molière and Shakespeare. Both played their dramas in the middle of their present without pseudo-Greek environment and laws. Shakespeare's whole art is a single breaking through of pseudo-classical traditions. Lessing theoretically justified this legality, but on the basis of a new pseudo-humanitarian ideal created the precondition for a much worse poison: for the Jewish theatrical plague of today.

Anyone who has been to the Moscow Artists' Theater before the war has been able to get an idea of real dramatic art. All participants, down to the last extra, harmoniously integrated themselves into the whole work, were well educated artists. Even the prompter was dispensed with, and applause was forbidden. Thus, that element was eliminated which makes up the appearance of the theater and forms its greatest attraction. The artistic seriousness that Schiller and Goethe had once demanded prevailed here, and produced the profound effects that no one who had visited the theater, which was so inconspicuous on the outside, was able to escape. The secret of the effect of Stanislavski's, Katzhlov's and Dobushmsky's art was undoubtedly based on a deep, Russian folk education. This listening to the folklore and the serious service to the spiritual values born from it were the prerequisites for the success of the artistic programs of the theater led by "dilettantes". In addition, of course, the Russian is artistically gifted, especially in theater and dance. In Germany, we experience that individual great artists appear, but the general level of the performers leaves much to be desired. The result is that the spectator is expected to accept too much abstraction, i.e. he is forced again and again to overcome imbalances, which is not his business, but that of the actors and the director.

The purely industrial operation of Western European theater was then taken to the extreme when it fell into Jewish hands. The hunt for the "star" still determines the inartistic nature of our theater directors, which causes kitschiness for everything else. Added to this is the fact that - if you look at thoroughly-

The first step was to develop a new approach to the work of the artist. Neinhardt-Goldmann's Oedi\* pus performances, for example, showed this endeavor most clearly. The theater became a mass gathering, art became mass hypnosis and sensual excitement. Mahler strove for something similar with his thousand-voice orchestra. The consequence of the incursion of the Jewish business spirit into Western theater life is that we have neither a French, nor a German, nor a Jewish theater, but a typical bastard product. The German's disposition to bring out the hero particularly clearly became in Jewish fingers the undoing.

If we ask ourselves about the fundamentals, we must be clear about the fact that there is only one path here, the path that the Moscow Artists' Theater took in its time: listening to the national essence in the past and present; pushing back the actual theatricality from the theater; the serious, I would like to say technical overcoming of the technical-material. But all this is only possible when the foreign is felt again as foreign in the first place. Just as Shakespeare overcame the pseudo-Hellenic "law," so the dramatist and playwright of today is faced with a task of an opposite nature: to overcome the bondlessness, the dissolution, i.e., to create a real national theatrical style.

On the question of decoration, the dispute gradually begins to settle. The materialistic decoration was finally overcome. It gave too much to the viewer and finally seemed kitschy like any imitation. The opposite pendulum swing led to the Neform stage and to the bare nature-unfriendly extortionism. But here, too, it soon became apparent that the expressionist (Jewish-directed) stage, which supposedly

The new design, which was supposed to distract from the imitation, demanded new imaginative additions, and even more: restoration of the meaningless, which inhibited the dramatic experience. Both of them sinned against the essential requirements of any kind of decoration: 1. not to distract and 2. to expect as few abstractions as possible from the viewer. In view of our present age of decay, this demand means something almost impossible: renunciation of effects. And yet it is the first and last condition for the rebirth of the theater.

Various attempts have been made to create truly national stages. These collapsed for economic reasons. As far as I can see (I confess that I am not a theater expert), they emphasized their good patriotic sentiments, promised to play only German plays, demanded only German actors and directors, but still moved in old artistic program templates, without noticing that we National Socialists are and must be not only politically but also artistically revolutionary, because the old nationalism had connected itself with economy and industry in such a way that it no longer has any relationship to genuine national thinking and feeling. It is completely devoid of ideas and is thus helpless in the face of the Jewish, instinct-driven activity of decomposition. If the "national" German industry understood what character-forming (and -destroying) influence the theater represents and how necessary it is to revive the soul of the people again and again and to weld it together for a common genuine experience, we would have had a good theater system long ago. This "national" industry and our "national" economy in general, however, has been for a long time the servant of Jewish high finance and today dares less than ever to cherish an independent folk artistic thought. One has coal, paper, copper and

Kali in the head, but no völkisch cultural ideas. The heart beats for dividends and not for struggling artistic creation. The Jewish banker pays his writing comrades of the people and the race, lets his newspapers spread their fame; the German king of industry, and also the French and English, unfortunately all too often regards writers and actors as parasitic journeymen.

From Vienna, the Jewish "Neue Wiener Journal" reported on October 16, 1925, sneering and beaming with joy:

"As I have learned, the project of establishing an Aryan theater in Vienna, in which only plays by Aryan poets were to be performed by Aryan actors before Aryan spectators, is to be considered a complete failure. In order to have a reasonably secure basis for the planned establishment of the theater, it was intended to try to found an Aryan theater association with a minimum membership of 15,000 people, in order to have at least 500 secure theatergoers per day. In spite of great propaganda, only a far smaller number of interested persons were found in Vienna, and one therefore refrained from carrying out the project until further notice."

The plundering of an entire people has succeeded almost completely. It will take many years until a political power struggle will create the conditions for a völkische cultural work. Until then, however, it must be made clear by what ideas the decomposition has been brought about and which principles alone guarantee a new birth.

For this, we first need not so much individual new thoughts, but a new way of thinking altogether.



## Film.

**"The Contest," November 1925.**

**Alfred Rosenberg has always been an opponent of those antiquarians who see only the bad in everything new, but here he places film in its proper place in the cultural life of a nation.**

There is much clamoring about the film, especially in völkisch circles. One points out - with justification - the immense flood of the most inferior cinema pieces, the corrupting criminal and "moral" films and concludes from this a condemnation sentence.... The art of printing, too, was once considered an invention of Satan; it has often had a satanic effect, and yet none of us will want to do without it. Nothing happens in this life without compensations: one has to put up with the faults of one's virtues, and certain qualities polarically cause other peculiarities.

The film is a question of style like the theater. The we- en of theater undoubtedly means the drama, i.e. the eelic depth, the inner concatenation between man and fate, whether tragic or comic. To have transferred this stylistic concept of the theater to the film was the first root of that evil which today we call "cinema-drama". Theater is three-dimensional - film is two-dimensional. In theater one goes from the inside to the outside, in film one must begin with the image, i.e. take one's start from the outside. It is therefore contrary to style and unfair to demand something different from the new means of representation than it is capable of by its very nature.

The first commandment of the film is therefore: to do no psychology, but to tell through images. Only when one has decidedly adjusted oneself to this two-dimensional activity, one can hope to touch depths in the viewer as an impression at the end.

There is no question that German film directors have come to these views in the course of many years of experience. At the same time, however, they are endeavoring to expand the possibilities of film in a direction that is naturally forever closed to the theater. It is drama in the true sense of the word and the art of storytelling from legend and the present that are reviving in film today and exerting on millions the great influence that we can see everywhere. Certainly, adventure and crime films have caused a lot of mischief, but I take the liberty of expressing the heretical view that the film has once again helped a source, which has been almost blocked by the dirt of the big city, to gush forth for millions: the imagination. Just imagine today's city without the film: huge stone deserts, dirty courtyards, gray walls, flickering light and human restlessness in the center. The theaters made inaccessible to many millions. Then suddenly the possibility opens up to these abandoned ones to wander to distant lands, to experience adventures, to laugh at grotesques and to cry over "feelings". A whole world passes by on the flicker screen, and in the middle of the age of the dead machine, a new romance has been born.

The dark room creates in each person the feeling of being alone and unobserved; the usual inhibitions fall away inwardly, the rusty imagination awakens and feels the unrolling light.

game as a host, indeed, unconsciously as a medium that carries us across time and space.

The Game of Light has become an Ersah for millions of books. Today's adventurous boy reads less Karl May, instead he sees Tom Mir in the cinema and admires the powers of Marco. The young girl, thank God, reads less Marlitt and Eschstruth and Heimbürg, but now she has Henny Porten and Asta Nielsen, and one should not be too upset about certain silliness and sentimentalities. They are also part of life, and there has never been a time, no matter how great, when one did not have to pay a tribute to the all-too-human.

So one should not hypocritically reject the film (those who do so publicly, secretly like to go to the flicker booth themselves), but be aware that through its invention in the hand of man is placed a tool that, used purposefully, can make millions of hearts beat in one direction.

Today the cinematographic art has become a cinema industry, the major part of which is in the hands of the Jews. Accordingly, the film has become a means of popular incitement through slippery depictions, and the other intention of glorifying criminality is just as evident today as it was in the Jewish press. At the same time, all of Europe is flooded with American products which, insofar as they are grotesque, provoke a peculiar appeal to laughter, but which, in every other respect, are so hopelessly shallow, stupid, and uncultured that they, too, actually represent a great danger.

Many a Scandinavian and German director has tried to restore the film's bad reputation.

partly with success. Recently, a patriotic company was founded in Berlin amid howls of rage from the Jewish film companies. The censorship in Marxist misgoverned Prussia, which passed almost all impudent films without a hitch, forbade even the mere mention of the name of King Frederick William III and Blücher on the title. Here it becomes apparent that the anti-German side is anxious to prevent the political re-emergence of our nation even by cultural-political detours, and that all problems today ultimately end in the problem of power. In almost all countries, things have progressed to such an extent that the struggle against the big trusts can no longer be won by economic and artistic means alone. Therefore, here, too, the unconditional demand arises: to support with all one's strength those political power groups that want to supply the people's imagination with worthy material in the theater and film industry, to elevate it and not to poison and disintegrate it.

The practical way forward would be for all national associations to unite for the purpose of establishing model cinemas. The existing German undertakings would have to be assured of support, and they would have to put their artistic experience at the service of the national cause in the deepest sense. Perhaps this suggestion will not remain without consequences. In Budapest, for example, the "Awakening Hungarians" own three cinemas, the income from which also facilitates their national education work. With a good, artistic, diverse and popular program, good results could certainly be achieved in Germany, too, with a united will, until the Syrian-Jewish influence is finally completely eliminated.

## Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

**In the book of the same name, published by Biruckinnen-Verlag in Munich, Rosenberg pays his debt of gratitude to Chamberlain, who once, as a fifteen-year-old, gave him for the first time in his writings a lin- pressure of the burdensome problems of the time and was, in a certain sense, a kind of spiritual teacher for him.**

One had to translate in Germany that the fight, which started consciously around 1200, just started again in the 19th century, whereby the attack was led by Völkerchaos, Rome and Judea, supported by peoples and states, which believed in a short-sighted way to be able to go together with these destroyers of everything national and state, which already begins to avenge itself today likewise uncannily. More than ever, therefore, the complete works of H. St. Chamberlain demand attention in the enslaved and betrayed Germany. Self-reflection and the awakening of buried spiritual sources, the struggle for German spiritual and political ideals, a deepened new nationalism, combined with German-Socialist renewal, are the demands of the present and the future.

Chamberlain's work, however, has not been in vain. If one removes his work from the intellectual history of the last three decades of German life, a terrible ode would prevail in its place. The fiery battle cry to the enemies of the German nationhood and to the ossifying scholarship had nevertheless evoked a strong echo and conjured the startled Pharisees and scribes from all Lagem on the plan.

The latter left no stone unturned to thunder down man and value. It was in vain, however. The best Germans have been able to breathe freely again and to face the Evolutionary Popes who ushered in the monistic century just as freely as the ecclesiastical and political obscurantists. The flag of German consciousness, which once Martin Luther had taken in his hand, which then fluttered in the hand of Frederick the Only, sank down, was pulled up again by Bismarck-Mottke, it was saved into the 20th century by the tender and yet fiery H. St. Chamberlain. Now it lies in the dust and waits for the "man with the lion's heart" who will take it in his strong hand and carry it fighting through the German misery of today into a new art of the future.

How this will look in detail, nobody knows: the direction of the struggle, however, is as clear as ever. The question, however, is: Will it be possible to grasp and teach the thoughts of the greatest Germans, which H. St. Chamberlain has reorganized for us, in such a way that they become the supporting ideas of a people's movement? To bring this problem closer to its solution is the highest task of every German. The German Houston Stewart Chamberlain has also shown the foundations for this and the direction out of the darkness into the light.

## Dietrich Eckart.

Preface to the first authentic writing that appeared about Eckart's work and personality. "Dietrich Eckart, Ein Vermächtnis," Franz Eher-Verlag, 1927.

When the news of Dietrich Eckart's sudden death reached his friends at the end of December 1923, it seemed more incomprehensible to all than any other death report. They had felt too deeply the great vitality of this man, the strength of his temperament, the impetuosity of his will. Five years of tireless struggle had made an indelible impression on all who knew Dietrich Eckart as a peculiar, idiosyncratic, self-confident personality, an experience that had a doubly lasting effect, especially in times like ours when people's attitudes have become dull and their characters have flattened.

Thus it comes about that even now, with every thought of the intrepid man, spiritual currents of strength emanate from the grave in Berchtesgaden, which we need more than ever, since perjury still triumphs and presses its stamp on the face of time even more blatantly than before.

These commemorative sheets are intended to help keep alive the memory of one of the best of the German people, but at the same time to remind us with pride in whose ranks Dietrich Eckart fought for a German future.

And finally, the short introductory words shall represent a small part of the gratitude that the editor owes to Dietrich Eckart; first as his selfless patron, then as his friend. With many Germans I feel it as a duty that Dietrich Eckart's name and work are guarded and cared for until the day when both have become common property of the whole German people.

## Man and Woman.

**From "The Competition". The basic ideas of this work were later put into the context of an overall view of the world in the work "The Myth of the 20th Century" and explained in more detail.**

The man approaches the world and life inventively, formatively (architectonically) and summarizing (synthetically), the woman, however, lyrically. Even if the average man in ordinary life does not always betray a great spiritual architectonics, the fact remains that great foundations of states, legal codes, type-forming associations of political, military, ecclesiastical nature, comprehensive philosophical and creative systems, symphonies, dramas and temples - all and all, as long as mankind exists, have been created by the synthetic spirit of man. In contrast, the woman represents a world which in its beauty and peculiarity is not inferior to that of the man, but equal to it. The ama- zoned "emancipated" is to blame for the fact that the woman began to lose respect for her own being and made the highest values of the man her own. This meant a mental disturbance, a re-magnetization of the female nature, which then also today lives wandering along, similarly as, vice versa, the male nature, instead of caring for architectonics and synthetics of existence, began to worship the idols of humanity, human love, pacifism, the liberation of slavery. One is also mistaken if one considers this as an "Über- gangsstadium". Thanks to the "emancipation movement" the woman did not become architectural, but merely intellectual (as "Amazon") or purely erotic (as representative of the sexual revolution).



In both cases she has built in her own most, and nevertheless has not reached the masculine. The same applies - vice versa - to the "emancipated man".

From the woman's point of view, the state, the legal code, philosophy could be seen as something external. Why always forms, schemes, consciousness? Is not the flowing, spontaneous, unconscious in the experience of the deepest greater and more beautiful? Do we always need works to prove the soul, and are not these forms and works of the man born from an atmosphere of the lyrical-feminine, which would be unthinkable without the woman?

The life is being and becoming, consciousness and subconsciousness at the same time. In his eternal becoming the man tries to create a being by *zdeenbiidung* and works, tries to form the world as organic-architectural structure. The woman is the eternal guardian of the unconscious. The Nordic-Germanic myths presented the goddess Freya as the guardian of eternal youth and beauty. If she was stolen from the gods, they would age and decline. Translated into today's language, this means: in the hand of the woman lies the preservation of our race. Out of political bondage every nation can still rise up, out of racial contamination no longer. If the women of a nation give birth to Negro or Jewish bastards, a flood of nigger enthusiasm and nigger "art" will continue to pass over Europe as unhindered as it does today; if Jewish brothel literature is still allowed to enter the home as it does now; if the Syrian from the Kurfürstendamm is still regarded as a comrade of the people and a possible man, then one day the condition will arise that Germany (and Europe) will be populated in its intellectual centers only by bastards. With the doctrine of the "erotic meder-

Today, with the help of the teachings of women's emancipation, the Jew reaches to the roots of our whole being. If anywhere, the holiest and greatest task of the woman today would be in the preaching of the no- preservation of the race.

This means the guarding and preservation of that unconscious, still unconcentrated, but for that very reason original life; the life on which the content, nature and architectonics of our racial culture also depend, those highest values which alone make us creative. But instead of paying attention to this most important and greatest thing, many women fall for the great cry of abdication of the enemies of our wetlands and our nationality, and are ready in all seriousness to scratch out the eyes of men for ballots and parliamentary seats. Supposedly, in order not to remain a "second-class citizen", the woman has been hounded for the right to vote. While her instinct for choosing men is spoiled by the "Elegante Welt," the "Dame," and other openly or covertly soul- and race-obsessed magazines and works. The woman today carries the money into the Jewish wholesale exchange houses, from whose shop windows the glittering decay of a declining time peeps out, and the liberal or subdued national man of today is too weak to oppose the overall current. The lyrical passion of woman, which in times of need is capable of becoming just as heroic as the man's will to form, seems to have been buried for a long time. The woman's task is to clear away this rubble. In this the man is to be helpful to her. Emancipation of the woman from the emancipation of the woman is the first demand of a female generation, the people and race, the eternal unconscious,

the basis of all culture, from destruction.

But lest, after all this, I be misunderstood as wanting to resurrect the Biedermeier way of life, it should be noted that the days of the summerhouse and the "dreamy girl's life" are, of course, definitely over. It goes without saying that women belong to the life of the nation as a whole; they must be given every opportunity for education, and the same care must be taken for their physical training through rhythm, gymnastics, and sports as is taken for men. Under today's social conditions, she should not have any difficulties in her professional life, although the laws for the protection of mothers should be enforced even more strictly. However, after breaking the anti-grassroots democratic-Marxist system of leaching, we will strive to pave the way for a social order that no longer forces young women, as is the case today, to flock to the labor market of life, which consumes the most important female resources. Women should have every opportunity to develop their strengths, but there must be clarity about one thing: The man must be and remain judge, soldier and head of state.

Today more than ever, these professions demand an attitude that is unlyrical, even rough, that recognizes only the typical and the general. It would mean neglecting our past and future if men were to give in here.

The toughest man is just tough enough for the iron future. When racial and national exaltation, when racial defilement will one day be punished by penitentiary and death penalty, only then will nerves of steel be able to cope with it.

and the most abrupt form cranes succeed in creating the coming type.

Different souls must not be leveled, "balanced", but must be respected as organic beings, cultivated in their individuality. Architectonics and lyricism of Les Daseins are a double sound, man and woman the poles generating the tension of life. The stronger each being is for itself, the greater the work success, the cultural value and the will to live of the whole people. Whoever tries to undermine this law must find his determined enemies in the real man and in the real woman. If no one defends himself any more against the race and gender chaos, then the downfall has become inevitable.

## Beethoven.

**As one can see especially from the "Myth of the 20th Century", Rosenberg has a particularly close spiritual relationship to the heroic classical music of Bach, Beethoven and Wagner. This love for the great German musical art gave rise to this essay published in the "Döllischer Beobachter" on March 26, 1927, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Beethoven's death.**

It is a strange feeling to know that, while a whole incited world looks hostilely from Germany, on March 26th in all countries and cities which still lay claim to culture, the commemoration day of one of the greatest of the same German people will be festively celebrated. On the hundredth anniversary of Beethoven's death, hundreds of thousands will listen to his music, millions will read about him in newspapers and magazines, and in Paris and Warsaw, too, the word of German culture will have to be spoken again.

Like a giant of Arwelt lines, Beethoven still tames and unleashes the hearts of people today; especially today more than ever. Today the whole world is fermenting and wants wild, titanic things.

From all the great figures of the Germanic Occident, two types of man emerge. The one wants to conquer the mystery of life like an encircled fortress, as it were, from all sides, in order to checkmate it by a world-encompassing strategy. This was the spiritual attitude of a Lionardo, a Descartes, a Kant, a Leibniz, a Goethe. In all of them lived the longing for a universality of the all-embracing spirit, an all-embracing striving and researching.

The other type approaches the mystery of existence with double energy from almost only one side. He wants to break the fortress in the onslaught, to expose its interior. This was the primal instinct in Michelangelo, in Rembrandt, in Schopenhauer, in Richard Wagner. Beethoven also belongs to this second type, he "reached into the jaws of fate" and confessed to the power as the morality of the people who distinguish themselves before others. Our time needs in its spiritual struggle not so much a slow strategic method, as a one-sided, intolerant attitude. When old values break and new ones are born, all forces naturally will hasten against a few points, ultimately against a center of force.

As certainly as once after the victory a time of rhythmic relaxation will come again and the epic poets and "classics" of life will begin to work again, so certainly today the one-sided willfulness is the primary thing.

And that is why many commemorative days are celebrated now, but none that could trigger such deep forces as the hundredth anniversary of Ludwig van Beethoven's death. Whoever has understood which essence also works in our movement, knows that a similar urge lives in all of us, like the one which Beethoven embodied in highest intensification. The storming over the ruins of a collapsing world; the hope in a will shaping new worlds; the strong joy through passionate sorrow.

"Run brothers, your course, Joyful, like a hero, to  
victory!"

This is the climax of the Ninth Symphony.

For one day, let us allow ourselves to participate in the greatest expansion of the heart in awareness,

-German Beethoven towers above all the peoples of the Occident and is regarded by the best of them as a center of true creative power. Then, however, let us remember that Beethoven can and must be for us the driving will for German shaping. For today we live in the Eroica of the German people,

## Paul de Lagarde.

**"Völkischer Beobachter," IO. September 1927.**

Among the men who will once be called prophets of the new worldview and co-builders of the völkisch state, one in particular stands out: Paul de Lagarde.

A small circle knew and revered him, but even today this circle is far too small. And even if a man of austere rigor, incorruptible consistency and self-confident closure, like Lagarde, cannot become popular in the ordinary sense, he will still have lived for some hundreds of thousands.

The great future he proclaimed and demanded, Lagarde said, was still far ahead. He felt himself to be a conservative and a revolutionary at the same time: "I am too conservative not to be radical"; he thus quite consciously established that new summary which is going on today in the broad masses: to preserve the old, ancient essence of the nation and race and to ruthlessly reject everything that has been inculcated in us and has poisoned us in the way of "ideals" of a masonic-humanitarian, oriental, international kind. We no longer have an ideal because we manage too many ideals. It is an untenable condition in the long run, if in the course of a few hours a pupil hears realistic-scientific arguments as authoritative philosophy, immediately afterwards classical dogmatics and Christian plus Jewish compulsory beliefs... No real personality, no healthy state can grow on such a mixed world view."



"That the German Empire is not viable is plain for all to see," Lagarde wrote in 1887, that is, at a time when the German people, in all their childishness, believed they possessed a whole starting body. "The Kaiser question is a secondary question. One should not offer a stone to the people who want bread, but neither should one hand them a crown where they need a soul, bread and a sword." The people are sick with the longing for a new worldview; the forms of today's religion no longer fill them with the fervor of earlier centuries, they have become formulas. But the struggle of the old with the new would and must bring a tremendous conflict of conscience. "Paul brought us the Old Testament in the Church, from whose influences the Gospel has perished, as far as this is possible." "Religion is personal relationship with God; it is necessarily presence.... Totally incompatible with this insight is to place historical events in essential relation to piety." "The state cannot create religion, but it must not artificially suppress life and endeavor to breathe life into schemes."

"That; the religion of the nation as such, that is, dah every nation a national religion is necessary, follows from the following considerations: Nations do not come into being by phasic begetting, but by historical events. Historical events are subject to the power of Providence, which shows them their ways and goals. Therefore, nations are of divine appointment; they are created. If they are, if they have not come into existence by the regular course of nature, not by chance, then their Creator has connected a purpose with the creation, and this purpose is their essential principle: the recognition of this purpose, a recognition of the divine will, which achieves this purpose.

Without it, the life of the nation and the nation itself are unthinkable. Always to recognize anew the mission of one's nation is to immerse it in the fountain that gives eternal youth: Always to serve this mission is to acquire higher purposes and with them a higher life."

"We are sick of the necessity of carrying out in 1878 what should have been done in 878."

Lagarde went through life lonely, seemingly hard and rugged, but with that glow in his heart that is the result of a strong faith. Lagarde opened the window and the door to the future for some of us; there must be, and soon will be, many who, after experiencing his life, will feel around them the native breeze of a free, clear and yet yearning humanity, coupled with an indomitable will. Only this rebirth and this finding of a home will make us capable of overcoming all that is hostile, hostile to death to us today.

## Fight Against Cultural Decline!

**This appeal, published in the "Weltkamps" in May 1923, was the nucleus of the great organization of the "Kampsbund für deutsche Kultur".**

Today we are faced with the fact that hand in hand with the political decline promoted by forces hostile to the people, there is also a planned struggle against all German cultural values. Non-racial literati, allied with the refuse of the big cities, promoted and paid for by like-minded, parasitic upstarts, have joined forces more than ever to rob the German character of its last power of resistance against what is hostile to it. To this end, thousands of paid pens ridicule everything that is intrinsic to the German character; on the other hand, thanks to the internationally associated press, truly value-creating forces are hushed up in all fields; furthermore, men are paid to falsify the essence of the German greats, for the purpose of robbing us not only of the present and a belief in the future, but also of pride in the past. In place of the popular, the international bastard comes openly to the fore in all cultural fields, made self-confident by the knowledge of the power of the financial-capitalist forces behind him and of the international press, which only happens to be German. In place of the Germanic values of courage, honor, lawfulness, pacifism, cowardice, shirking are already being praised as progressive and spiritual almost without any counteraction. An enormous number of scurrilous weeks

The publication of "erotic" magazines and monthlies is also aimed at poisoning the adolescent sex mentally and making it incapable of leading a German revival.

To fight against this obvious moral decay, for German character values and original culture, is the main goal of the Society (or the Federation) for German Culture,

This foundation is based on National Socialist circles, but it is directed with the call for cooperation, for fighting together, to all Germans who are still conscious of the people, both within and outside the political borders of the Reich. An affiliation to the political National Socialist German Workers' Party is therefore not a prerequisite, We rather hope that in the defense against all anti-German powers in the cultural field, especially those people-conscious personalities will come together who perhaps believe that they must go other ways than the NSDAP in questions of the political reorganization of Germany. To all these scattered individuals or associations struggling in a similar front, however, National Socialism provides many tens of thousands of recruiting forces, something which all previous cultural associations lacked and which - apart from the lack of attacking courage of a ruthless openness - made their failures explicable.

Recognizing that the ultimate confrontation of the contending forces can be characterized by the terms race and chaos, the Society will emphasize the racial bond as a prerequisite of German morality as a whole, and will endeavor in every possible way to carry the realization of this bond, which alone guarantees creativity, into the widest circles in all fields of culture. Racial researchers, visual artists, scholars of all disciplines

etc., are to represent this basic knowledge in the struggle against the bastard ideas of the International, which is corroding everything genuine, by word and writing, while writers, publicists, men of public life are called upon to enlighten the still insufficiently informed strata of the German national intelligentsia about the true condition of our theaters, of our entire literary life, and to rally them to the struggle.

Fichte has exactly characterized the essence of Germanic morality with the word that every culture is a culture of the mind. Therefore, it is our duty to ruthlessly preserve the totality of German moral values as a prerequisite of every cultural activity, and to duly mark the insolent attacks on them that are going on every day in the press, in life, and in the legal system.

If it is possible to bring together in this struggle against derbastardization and displacement of our existence an intellectual, but at the same time strong-willed and self-sacrificing group of German men and women, then an expansion of the work will arise of its own accord. (Use of existing newspapers and magazines, promotion of today's suppressed German teachers and artists, organization of exhibitions, influence on theater schedules, film screenings, etc.).

The objective of the Corporation (or the Federation) is enunciated in line 1 of its contemplated bylaws as follows:

"The purpose of the Society (or Federation) for German Culture is to defend with all determination, in public events and in every other way that presents itself, the values of the German character and to promote every kind of own expression of German cultural life.

The Society aims to educate the German people about the interrelationships between race, art, knowledge

It aims to enlighten the public about German business, moral and military values. Its aim is to bring important Germans, who today have been silenced, closer to the public through speech and writing, and to emphatically promote the culture of the German people as a whole, without regard to political boundaries. It aims to create the conditions for an education in schools and universities that recognizes the nationality as the first value by gathering forces that promote these endeavors. In particular, it also aims at awakening in the adolescent generation of all strata of the people the knowledge and the will for the essence and the necessity of the struggle for the cultural and character values of the German nation in view of the freedom to be fought for".

A large number of German men and women from all professions - politically unaffiliated in any direction - have declared their readiness to open the struggle for German freedom of thought and the possibility of sacrifice. We now also address to you the request to support this difficult struggle which lies ahead of us, in such a form as is possible for you, be it as a full member of the Society, be it as an organizer, be it as a recruiting friend.

## Representatives of a Declining Spirituality.

Count Hermann Keyserling.

Bus "The swamp", cross-section through the "spiritual life of the Nooember Demâcâ". Berlag Franz Eher Nachf, Munich, 1930.

This book, which unfortunately received far too little attention at the time, is still one of the most gripping documents of the National Socialist struggle, with its sometimes bitter, sometimes sparklingly humorous, succinct and hard-hitting essays against the cultural decay under the old system.

A few years ago, Count Keyserling, the teacher of wisdom, made a lot of noise: when his main work, the "Reksetagebuch eines Philosophen," was published. The whole world asked: Do you know the "Travel Diary"? Grandiose, world-spanning, phenomenal! Representation of the Orient and Occident! Finest soul analysis of all times!

And really, Keyserling's book was interesting. A clever man ("volcanically stimulating" H. St. Chamberlain called him) intertwines changing personal moods with the ever-changing environment on a trip around the world; builds new philosophical aestheticisms on a shiny black Negro back; breathes himself in the Red Sea and in the face of the Indian Ocean; describes the culture of mandarins in contemplation of Chinese food sticks; and never finds himself closer to Indian wisdom than in contemplation of Japanese Buddha images. Keyserling has a girlish shyness before any "crystallization". Again and again he would like to give himself up and completely immerse himself in the spiritual beings of foreign peoples and finally prophesies that, "if anywhere", we will find ourselves in America.

will complete. Keyserling carries himself heavily: "How easy it is for inward natures of low intelligence!" "Ours remains uncertain until he knows, and he knows so heavily."

Although the outwardly robust, inwardly mimosa-like count does not find the strength for any agglomeration because of the melting of the soul, he is deeply convinced of his mission of humanity; of his "pioneering". "My path will indeed become more and more the path of all, for the process of Intellectualization is advancing inexorably." Unfortunately, the hundreds of millions of Europe are now not in a position to ride soul-stirringly on LuruZ- steamers to India and China and to enter every hint of a thought immediately into the big notebook in order to go the way of Count Keyserling. The path of the future seems to us not to be a problem of the intellect, but a problem of the will. We believe that the coming form of life of today's rotten world will be forged not by witty eclectics but by indomitable steely men of will. Above all, not by people with such embarrassing complacency and philosophical coquetry as Keyserling.

Lin uncle of his once said aptly: "Hermann can take his ego in his hand. Then he puts it on a table like a Christmas tree and admires it." The "Travel Diary," the "School of Wisdom," etc., are delicious testimonies to this self-admiration. Also the well-groomed mustache of the count, which, according to Ehinesen custom, runs out like a long needle, is probably to be regarded as an external sign of the inwardly assumed embrace of East and West.

It goes without saying that Keyserling also reflected on "Germany's true political mission. This happened after the war. During the same



he spoke and wrote of the Russians and their allies as of "we" and "us". And what does the all-pervading philosopher now discover? First of all, that the old monarchy had been a mere façade, that the revolution had only given final expression to what existed! Admitted! But in what did this already existing consist? Every conscious German says: the plutocratic-democratic system, sucking us all dry, represented already in 1914 by Rathenau, became master over us all, in order to symbolize itself completely with the rule of the Barmats and their friends. So it was the mockery of the social thought that won. Count Keyserling thinks differently. He says: "The German Reich has been essentially a social 'republic' for years." We recommend this passage to the "Vorwärts," the "Berliner Tageblatt," in order to make propaganda for the colony of international high finance as for democracy. According to Keyserling, low forces may have been at work, but they would only have "helped the high to victory." Dawes, Erzberger, the German Reichstag etc. can thank for the philosopher of their glory.

In Bolshevism Keyserling sees the "embodied will to death of a dying world". Very nicely said. But is this Bolshevism not the straightforward continuation of that "high" which was led to victory in 1918?

Well, Keyserling also finds Bolshevism "ideal" in the sense "as also the will to death can be ideal". But one cannot realize this ideal "as long as the masses do not consist of angels". This is about the shallowest phrase with which intellectual philistines deal with this great problem. Keyserling's Sah: "If Christ had believed that his kingdom was of this world, he would have had the power and consequence to go to its foundation on a large scale, also

He would have become a Lenin," could have come from the mouth of Erich Mühsam or another Schwabingen apostle of salon Bolshevism.

In a movie theater the other day, I saw a movie in which an awkward man has the following conversation with a lady:

He: It's nice weather today.

You: But look, it's raining cats and dogs.

He: Yes, if it didn't rain, it would be the most beautiful weather.

This is a parallel to the logic of Keyserling's comparison. That Christ did not want to establish his kingdom here is his essence; that Lenin knew nothing of another kingdom than that of brutal personality annihilation was his essence. - It would be rotten for us if we ever wanted to recognize men like Keyserling as "pioneers". Germany's mission is, first of all, to dispel the fog of eclectic mosaic wisdom and to put a stop to feminists who, far from shooting, present Bolshevism as one ideal among others.

The tender-hearted pioneer of mankind does not want to know anything about anti-Semitism. Of course! A man of today, who worldly superiorly rejects the "crystallization" of the ego, is merciless in one point: anti-Semitism is a scandal for him. It would be outrageous: how could the rabbis, the "Frankfurter Zeitung", the world press make propaganda for "modern spirituality" if one were anti-Semitic. The whole reputation as a "great philosopher" would be lost after one week! We do not know whether the count - who, by the way, was very enterprising - had such thoughts. We want to assume that the reasons of his "intellectual" companions did not influence him, that his own nature drove him to make a

Negroes as absolutely perfect, but the attempt of the Nordic man to defend himself against the bastardization is indignantly rejected in a schoolmasterly manner. Keyserling wrote in his main work: "The Negroes of Aden are absolutely beautiful, because the racial type is completed in them." And went and got the president of the B'nai B'rith order for Germany, the Nabbiner Baeck, as the main teacher for his "School of Wisdom" to teach the Germans how they should think! (One reads e.g. Baeck's book, "Essence of Judaism". From it one sees that Kant, Goethe etc. have actually done nothing else than to appropriate Jewish wisdom. Perhaps the count will next fetch a flat-footed gymnast from the Maccabi sports club, in order to demonstrate to us the correct ideal of beauty...). )

Besides the Rabbi, Keyserling also prescribed the harmless good Tagore, who was shown around in Berlin and elsewhere for heavy entrance fee in front of the "Berliner-Tageblatt"- audience to marvel at. By the way, in the School of Wisdom Chinese, Tibetan, Indian secret doctrines are brewed together: the philosophical Art Nouveau thus approaches its most beautiful perfection.

Also astrological circles have been approached by the busy Count Keyserling (or they have sensed a foreman in him). In the first issue of the monthly magazine "Der Okkultismus" (September 1925) Keyserling has written the leading article, while his picture (with head bent to the side in Chinese style) takes a place of honor. In this editorial Keyserling writes:

"What they (the school of wisdom) do is not theory, but magic. Their (from the rules of scientific instruction fundamentally different) basic laws are known from time immemorial, even if still hardly understood. Quite

The only thing that is new is the technique of our great autumn meetings, at which I re-set the world problems both in themselves and in the souls of the participants and solve them by treating them in a polyphonic and orchestrated way".

"Hereby I hope to have said enough to stimulate a more detailed study of the Darmstadt Center. This is actually quite a magical center, although there is nothing unhinged, nothing occult in the usual sense, going on in it, and the first lesson which is taught to every new student is that one may have more, but by no means less than common sense, and that to have views instead of insights is immoral.

After describing previous successes, Keyserling concludes, "This will now continue until the same is true of all problems and so many individuals that a new deeper level of meaning and thus a new higher type of man has become historically determinative."

As you can see, the Grand Tophta of Darmstadt has set himself distant goals, he wants to create a new type of man who shall determine our history. Therefore, we all have reason to take a closer look at the "Darmstadt Center", his master and his worshippers. Keyserling is a witty, much-read man, of effervescent eloquence, who, without a real inner heavyweight, is no longer able to muster a belief in real values at all, but is strong enough to help all nagm at the German nationhood to a scientific transfiguration. Em dissolution philosopher of a feminist age. This may support and glorify him. But a gender, which finally wants itself, will put the Grasen Hermann Keyserling once in the intellectual cabinet of rarities. As one of the best pieces.

## Blood, Soil, Personality.

The questions of racial-ethnic struggles in history touched upon in this essay have been presented in detail in "Myth >es 2g. Jahrhunderts".

Adolf Hitler has always emphatically maintained that the disintegration and rebirth of a people do not depend on bad or good economic programs, but on the weakness or strength of the worldview that this people carries. The more unified, powerful and life-enhancing such a worldview is, the greater will be the resistance of the people to a hostile environment. Thus the collapse of 918 took place primarily because the German nation was not supported by a unified worldview, because many worldview systems struggled for the soul of every German, with the result that just as many forced beliefs tore apart the German's inner being. These were dogmas that differed not only in their endorsement of certain ways and means, but ones that were diametrically opposed to each other. While one political worldview placed the protection of the people and the state at the top, this thesis was denied by the Marxist International, and the "United States of Europe," a "culture of mankind," etc., were proclaimed as desirable final goals. While some had already taught a völkische Weltanschauung through the mouths of a few great ones, various ecclesiastical confessions quarreled in such a way that it was possible that representatives of both the one and the other

**Id Courage and Ekirc**

put their particular confession above the fate of the nation as a whole. A Catholic priest Stegmann dared to declare in his work that the Spanish Catholic was closer to him than a German Protestant. And in the writing "The Church and the Third Reich" a Protestant clergyman declared the same for the German Protestant.

In this chaotic struggle of different world views the birth of National Socialism began, not as a result of a myriad of shimmering thoughts, but as a very elementary rebirth of the German people. The National Socialist worldview was based on the conviction that blood and soil constituted the most essential aspect of Germanness, and that cultural and state policy had to be driven by these two factors. That the health of the blood was the prerequisite for every great achievement, and that therefore the greatest goal of domestic and foreign policy had to be the preservation and strengthening of this blood. This original confession of the National Socialist movement coincided with a deepened research into the wet, which took up the discoveries of Gobineau, the hereditary theory of Gregor Mendel and the works of Günther and Darw, which, as it were, gave new eyes to hundreds of thousands of Germans. The abysmal hatred of a truly convinced Bolshevik was now understood to be the genuine expression of a humanity stunted or poisoned by blood; it was understood that, on the contrary, the heroic element in all spheres of life was closely connected with the Nordic wetness which the German people possessed. The five races of Europe have not been understood by the present in-depth research in materialistic terms alone, but we understand today that with the outer appearance of man there is a quite certain

character, a very definite spiritual attitude goes together. The overlapping of the different races is thus also an overlapping of the different souls and spirits, and thus many a seemingly chaotic complex of the present arranges itself before our eyes, even if, of course, not every single appearance can be an object of proof in the fullest mast.

Out of this inner experience of the present a new view of history was now born. The personalities of the past now appeared in a completely new light; things which one liberaUstical world view had pushed back were understood as the really important events and the so-called world history unfolds today not as a trampling of abstract principles, not as a fulfillment of a "plan" conceived after all by human brains, but as a dramatic struggle of different races and their souls.

Greek history, for example, does not appear to us today as a supposedly proliferating whole; we no longer make a convulsive effort to grasp the most recalcitrant characteristics, which make themselves known in the art and politics of Greek life, as the outflow of a single nation, but on the contrary, the many struggles of the Greek sagas, the most diverse representations in the fine arts, appear to us precisely as the struggle of different peoples. The Greeks migrated as tribes of the Nordic race from the Danube valley to the Balkans and conquered there in heavy fights against the Near Eastern inhabitants the country, which was later called Greece. Especially with the Pelasgians the Greeks got into bitter fights and as the people struggled with each other, so did the Greek gods.

of the light and the sky with the Asia Minor gods of the night and the earth. Thus the Nordic father right fought with the Tlemasian mother right, thus the Nordic Matz feeling fought against Near Asiatic ecstasy, thus the figure of Apollo and the figure of Athena fought with the Medusa and Near Asiatic Bachanalialia. For a while the Greek of Homer ruled over Hellas and the coasts of Asia Minor, once there were twenty small-Asian slaves for one Athenian, until finally the Hellenic character was crossed and decomposed by race-mixing, lost its inner self-assurance and as a result of this race- and soul-division the man of late Hellenism arose, a characterless Levantine, who was never again able to build a Parthenon or to write an Iliad. And these characterless late Greeks then became the victim of a younger, more vigorous peasantry, the Romans, who called the "Graeculi" to Rome as the educators of their children, but kicked them with hats when their whim failed. Thus the Greek, after leaving his artistic gifts to posterity, disappeared as a man from the earth and with it also that wet soul to which we owe the culture and the researches of Hellas. From this point of view also some incidents of the Persian, the Indian and the Roman life can be explained.

## §

Even the Germanic tribes, before they created a so-called civilization, had to struggle for the formation of their own interior, and today, after 2000 years of directly comprehensible history, a remarkable transformation has also taken place in the evaluation of the German past. This can be seen above all in the reinterpretation of the personalities who at the top



of the political battles. Charlemagne no longer appears to us today as the founder of the German Empire, but on the contrary, his adversary, the Saxon Duke Widukind, is to us today a symbol of the preserver and protector of innate idiosyncrasy as a prerequisite of the aspired popular culture rooted in blood and soil. Therefore, also the Greater German approaches of the later Saxon emperors, namely Otto the Great, appear to us as the continuation of the struggle, the efforts of the episcopal system in the church of the Middle Ages appear to us as the outlets of those struggles against a world-political absolutism centralized outside Germany.

Therefore all the Germanic researchers of the last centuries appear to us as representatives of the Faustian researching Germanic being and not those who wanted to stop this research drive with many dogmas. Our great physicist Lenard says in his writing "Great Naturalists": the epoch from the year 100 before Christ to 1500 after Christ was a "dead time" of science. It was the time when Greekism perished, when great migrations of peoples made a systematic development of a world view impossible, until the time when the old biblical dogma began to prevail and the Old Testament was not only revered as a religious book, but was also considered a work of natural science. From the point of view of the books of Moses now the whole natural science was led, and everyone who really scientifically concerned himself with world and universe, with the visions of the blood circulation and the plant life, was rushed like the monk Roger Bacon by whole Europe and finally probably even killed. Thousands and thousands of "renegades" forfeited their lives in the service of the Germanic will of the explorer, and this

The will to explore finally prevailed all over Europe around 1600 and was the prerequisite for the inner free development of the German people as well.

From this standpoint of the guardians of blood, character and soil, the National Socialist world view has proceeded, and it recognizes as the third highest goal the shaping of personality, which it conceives not as an accidental monstrous phenomenon, but as the most beautiful flowering of the people's character, of an inquiring and artistically shaping national soul. Personality, therefore, is not alien to the masses, but is only the highest expression of a national will. And last of all, in order to protect blood and personality, the people need a space in which they can till, sow and reap, in which they can live with dignity, in which they finally have leisure to pursue deep thoughts and to develop their spiritual world view and to pass it on to future generations.

In the midst of the terrible political struggles of the day, the National Socialist world view stands immovably as the impetus and driving force, and even if one may have different opinions about the one or the other path to the goal, the shaping of the great world view always remains the greatest task of today's freedom movement. This is the secret of its successes to date, but it is also the only force that can carry this political movement of the people in a never-ending stream through the German lands and thus lay an unshakable foundation for today and for all generations to come. The 20th century is the epoch of a spiritual and mental upheaval, such as occurs perhaps once every half a thousand years, perhaps even once every millennium. This epoch will change the face of Germany. It will bring the German soul back to its roots.

It is to be led back to the roots from which it had always drawn strength when it became stronger and more fruitful. It is this great struggle which is at stake, and the political positions of power and economic plans are all only means in the service of the preservation of the German blood and the German people. Everything else must be integrated into the service of this task, and only when this insight has been inwardly recognized by the entire German nation will the prerequisite be given for the defeat of German rights in the world.

## Revolution in the Visual Arts?

Although an outspoken enemy of excessive dogmatism, especially from the field of Kunst, Alfred Rosenberg had to intervene in July 1933 in the face of a growing unracial artistic current. He did this in addition to the "Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur" and in essays, the following of which was published in the "Völkischer Beobachter" and in the July issue of the "Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte". A small book of the same name was published by Eher-Verlag in December 1933.

The political revolution of National Socialism is the most important stage of the movement. But it is genuine only because it means the outside of a spiritual transformation of the German people. The great uprising is therefore not there in itself, but is set on a certain goal, driven by a certain will. For this reason, more and more areas of life are being seized by the flooding waves of the movement, millions of souls are being aroused anew and spurred on to form.

The visual arts, too, have long been engaged in a bitter struggle of opinion, and it is quite understandable that politically like-minded National Socialists still think very differently on questions of art, and that opinions often clash quite violently when certain artists are judged.

There is unanimity that the mendacious pseudo-Baroque buildings of the 19th century are just as intolerable as the "Ingenieurkunst" of that time. There is unanimity in the assessment of the helpless protest against it, the Art Nouveau. One opinion are probably

all National Socialists about the great exhibition of male fashion from many centuries, named the Victory Alley. But around men like Nolde and Barlach, for example, a spirited dispute flared up. One group of National Socialist artists wants to see these two eliminated from the image of a coming art, another, which calls itself revolutionary, raises them on the shield.

If we try to form a judgment beyond all subjectivism, which corresponds to the style of the National Socialist<sup>a</sup> *scheu E e l a m t* thinking, we will have to state that despite all the differences of fashions and costumes, despite all the millennia, despite all the political shocks, a distinct ideal of beauty has dominated the artists of Nordic character. Nowhere more beautiful than in Hellas does this powerful, natural ideal appear to us, but it dominates Titian as well as Palma Vecchio, Giorgione and Botticelli, who painted almost gretchen-like figures. This ideal appears in Holbein as well as in the depiction of Gudrun and Goethe's Dorothea. It dominates the face of Pericles as well as the Bamberg Rider.

Quite apart from whether the individual corresponds completely to this ideal, as long as the longing for it is alive, the nation is close to art, connected to art. It is this instinctive that connects itself here with form and shape, in order to prepare the ways to the future, for example in the field of painting and sculpture. If one asks oneself from this show, how the position to Nolde and Barlach must be, then one will be able to say, so I believe at least for my person, that both artists undoubtedly show a pronounced talent. A landscape by Nolde, for example, in the Kronprinzen-Palace is painted strongly and powerfully. Next to it, however, hang some attempts at portraits: negroid, impious, crude and devoid of any

genuine inner power of form. Barlach, for his part, has a virtuoso command of his material and no one will deny the monumentality of his carving. Mer what he creates of people is strange, very strange: earth-slaved massiveness and joy in the weight of the heaviness of matter, These are not "Mecklenburg peasants", oh no, these stride over the earth quite differently than that Barlachian humanity! And finally: just look at Barlach's "war memorial" in Magdeburg, which he made for the church there: small, half-idiotic looking miro variations of indefinable kinds of people with Soviet helmets are supposed to symbolize German Landsturmmänner! I believe that every healthy SA. man will make the same judgment here as conscious artists. For the Noldes and Barlachs, so I have found at any rate, "revolutionaries" are enthusiastic, who usually have very little contact with fine art, but now believe that they must also be active here,

Incidentally, it is no coincidence that Nolde and Barlach, for example, were so enthusiastically pushed to the fore by the November rulers. They obviously sensed that the two artists represented an aberration of Germanic art, similar to Otto Braun's aberration of German politics.

We want to admit without further ado that a painter or sculptor of great style, who would bring true interpretation to our movement, is not yet working. This should make us wait modestly, we should simply admit that, but not frantically raise artists on the pedestal who have already survived, just to have troops against the reaction. These troops are not real inside - and that is crucial.

These remarks are in no way intended to stop a drive forward; on the contrary! An old world has sunk forever, in place of a

The dreamy romanticism, as I tried to capture six years ago, has been replaced by a steely romanticism. This longing works in millions and gropes for shaping. There is therefore no harm in trying different paths, but this search lies outside political boundaries for every genuine National Socialist. How the German landscape is perceived, how the heroic image of the German fighter appears, is what instinct and taste judgement should be tested on. The outcome of this struggle will then determine the form and content of our future.

## In the Battle for German Science.

"It is to Rosenberg's credit that science, too, which was overestimated in one age and underestimated in another, has been restored to its proper place in intellectual life.

Some time ago, after the conclusion of the Concordat, we had to note that the "Osservatore Romano" published strange comments about it. On August 9, on the occasion of the upcoming Salzburg University Weeks, the Vatican newspaper published a lengthy essay which gives an extraordinarily clear exclusion of certain intentions which amount to forcing the whole of German science under the dogma of one denomination. The Vatican paper literally declares the following:

"The new German order of the 20th century will exist only if it will really complete the renewal of science which it has begun so promisingly. The prospects for this are conceivably favorable. The so-called absence of the presuppositions of science, which in reality was only the uncritical absolutism of one's own prejudices, the distortion of intellectual freedom, which was allowed to become intellectual anarchy, the unlimited skepticism, to which basically nothing remained, neither commandments, nor faith, nor truth, the end in itself of science, which led to an alienation from the world and to an exaggerated specialization, the aversion to a synthetic examination, the preference for an endless fragmentation, - all this seems today overcome and obsolete.



The thinking of the time is directed anew to the faith and the spirit, to the idea, to a metaphysical truth, to God. Science approaches anew the great traditions of Christian philosophy and above all the Christian view of the meaning of research. And it gives rise anew to the desire for a true spiritual, creative work of inner knowledge. It tries anew to penetrate into the life of the nation; it wants anew to serve consciously all.

"The new German government has removed from their professorships those scholars who felt unable to follow this new direction. This is good, but it is only a beginning. The necessary reform in scientific circles can be given a strong impetus by administrative measures and by putting to rest those who do not know how to adapt themselves to the new intellectual direction, - but it can be of value only in so far as it creates a clear path and sufficient intellectual space for the positive renewal of science. Only scientific creative work is capable of overcoming definitely false scientific convictions, erroneous ideals of research, positivism, rationalism and skepticism.

"It is in this field that the Catholic scientific work of our time must begin, to which the greatest tasks in the renewal of research activity and scientific study in Germany belong. On its ability it will depend in a decisive way whether Germany can stand at the head of science in the future. The rebirth of German science from the spirit of the best German tradition, that is, the rebirth of German science in the Christian spirit, cannot take place unless the clarity of Catholic thinking about the world and about the

Supernatural, the greatest traditions of Catholic thought and research, the unchanging firmness of Catholic dogma in the spiritual life of the nation <sup>rvie^</sup> der their full value.

"These are the major problems on which the Salzburg University Weeks, which will take place again this year from August 22 to September 5, must take a stand.

"The initiative of the Catholic Salzburg Weeks deserves the warmest support of all Catholic Germans, especially because the University Weeks have the purpose of forming the spiritual preparation for the foundation of a Pan-German Catholic University in Salzburg. This will make it possible, and, we hope, will soon be realized, that the creative scientific Catholic force will penetrate unitedly and firmly into the spiritual German life."

It is a great mistake in thinking of old institutions that they believe to be able to fall back immediately on a gray past when other institutions have become untenable. European science had to pay heavily with blood for its right to freedom and research, when in the fight against the medieval world view the Germanic man began to see his way through all states. It is therefore quite wrongly seen by the "Osservatore Romano" if it believes to be allowed to put forward the reintroduction of a confessionally conditioned "science" as a new German order of the 20th century. Exactly the opposite is correct. The 20th century takes up again the heroic idea of research, which had been forgotten by a flattened, liberalistic generation. The new science of race and soul and the new science of history stand in the middle of the experience of our time and go far beyond all attempts to reestablish this knowledge through

abstract dogmas. It seems a bit strange to us when the "Osseoroatore Nomano" tries to present the adherence to the collapsed medieval research methods as the prerequisite for Germany's ability to march at the forefront of science in the future.

Obviously, the editors of the newspaper have not yet fully understood what is happening in the world today, and the leprosy of the "Osseoroatore Romano" could therefore have the consequence that the awareness of the new research program of the twentieth century in Germany will only become more alive and take even deeper root in the hearts of teachers and students than it already has. For the National Socialist revolution of our days is not going on in order to bring back to life the ideas of the Inquisition or the High Baroque, but in order to defend the rights of our time.

## German Rebirth.

### **Speech at the opening of the German Culture Days in Cologne. Beginning of October 1933.**

The domestic political struggle in Germany is over. What is still going on now is the aftermath of a declining age, and when I speak these words, I believe I can say that this is not done without the awareness that what is happening in Germany today is not a matter of chance and that it is not merely a matter of a certain shift in power; for if the whole German Revolution had had as its aim only the overthrow of the old politics in order to help new governments to power, even if they had great political aims, the great movement would have missed its purpose. Rather, we were aware during these 14 years that it was about more than just political goals, that the struggle for power was only the outside of a mental and spiritual conflict. That is why we attacked our opponents not only politically, but precisely in their world views. We have been clear from the outset that one never overcomes a Marxist worldview by police or state means. One may condemn and criticize this movement as much as one likes, but if one cannot oppose it with a stronger will, a deeper thinking and a hotter longing, one will never become master over it. The events and results of the last ten years have proven that this attitude was correct. But they have also demanded an unheard-of readiness for spiritual sacrifice. They have further

The meeting showed that thousands of people were talking to each other about these problems, where before they had been discussed at most in a small exclusive circle. The fact that thousands, even millions, flocked to the large meetings shows the deep inner upheaval in the thinking and feeling of the German nation, which is why the fate that has befallen us has at the same time become the cause of this deep inner upheaval. I believe I can say that even if the National Socialist worldview has not yet taken possession of everything, the characteristic features of National Socialism have already become common knowledge.

The present attitude of the German people has become heroic again; heroic not in a purely militaristic sense, but heroic towards fate, in the conception of research as well as in the demands that today's experience makes on art.

When we speak of science today, the old generation understood science to mean a peaceful resting place at universities. Only in the last few months has this tranquility been shaken up by a new age. When the most serious accusations are made against us from abroad, as if the new movement were preventing the freedom of the researcher, we protest against this: the freedom of research has not been disturbed.

On the contrary, we believe that space has again been created for this freedom, contrary to what has been taught in Germany's universities in recent decades. Today the German people claim the right to represent their views, their art and culture in the German universities. This is what a victorious movement is entitled to claim, but

it expects that the freedom of research will not be confused with the freedom of insulting history, the great German past, the great German people.

Today's doctrine of race and heredity was ruthlessly opposed, it was declared to be unchristian, it had to be fought, and yet in reality it is exactly the same as 400 years ago, when people opened their eyes to certain laws of nature. Cs in later times, under the influence of an alien doctrine of humanity, innumerable of idiots and inferior people were placed in veritable palaces of the sick, while millions of Germans, healthy in body and mind, lay in the streets and starved. These principles have been wrong. They contradict the laws of nature, and nature takes revenge in the worst abundance by wiping out whole peoples from the earth. The history of the Roman and Greek heroic nations is a living example.

Today we believe that there is no world history in the real sense, but only the history of different races and peoples.

I believe I may claim that German history also receives a different picture when I say - and no one in the German West need feel affected by this - that Charlemagne was not the actual founder and bearer of the German imperial idea. We must understand that the Frankish state was at that time a domestic power, but that at the same time Charlemagne placed his state at the service of a universal idea. And for this purpose he made the peoples and races his vassals. This was resisted in all countries and his bitterest enemy was Widukind, the Saxon duke. Our history books

teach Charlemagne as the founder and the bearer of the idea of empire.

The present revolutionary movement, however, sees in the other, the rebel Widukind, the founder of the empire.

We do not think of wanting to diminish the figure of Charlemagne or the later German emperors in any way, but the evaluation has shifted. And so it goes, from our point of view, through the whole German history. We see it most clearly again with Barbarossa, who again and again shed the blood of new Germanic hosts in Italy and Palestine, until Henry the Lion, the Lower Saxon, rebelled against it and refused to follow him. From this it followed that the Saxon dukes created the soil for the coming German people.

That today by character the population of the West is closely connected with our brothers from the breeding ground in the East was the consequence of the rebellious deed of the Saxon Duke Henry the Lion. And the Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg and Prussia continued to walk in these footsteps. Therefore, the picture of history in perspective today is quite different from what the textbooks have told us.

At the same time, this brings up an old problem, for these great struggles of the state were struggles of the soul and of character. A liberal generation of the last decades has taken great pains to prove that power and spirit, state and culture do not actually belong together organically, that they could go together, but that the spirit and the thoughts of power must always contradict each other. One then referred again and again to the year 1800/06. At that time, with Goethe, Weimar culture was at its highest point.

rage. At the same time, Germany lay politically powerless on the ground. Today, we know that this statement is wrong. Just take a look at Dinkelsbühl or Rothenburg o. d. Tauber or Nuremberg, and you will find that the creative power in the construction of the Gothic houses and churches in these cities testifies to a great cultural high standard. These houses are surrounded by defense towers, and all of this together forms a unity of culture and battle greatness. We can still admire this will to defend in all medieval cities of Germany, coupled with form crast.

Between that time and ours lies the bloody Thirty Years' War, which almost destroyed Germany. After that, there were no more free people, but, as Schiller says, only masters and servants. Only gradually, after many decades, small educational circles grew and formed, and thus the Weimar cultural circle came into being, and still later Bayreuth. But if we look at it today, we have to realize that these cultural circles did not lead to a German national culture.

The second empire had not understood its great mission.

It had a world traffic, it flourished in an economy of unhealthy kind, it had splendid armors, but it had taken damage to its soul. And the prophets of that time, Lagarde and Nietzsche above all, suffered from this dichotomy.

Em Nietzsche felt the suffering of this century more and more deeply, he, who only in our days again celebrates his resurrection, complained about the brokenness. At the same time, however, he rejoiced that the inner precious core of the German people was not lost. Nietzsche was not understood, and he died amidst



such a sick time, which was not enthusiastic about healthy power and strong culture, but only about sick people. During this time, Europe was flooded with literature promoting this sickness. And just as the sick person keeps touching his wounds, the sick Europe also devoured this literature to keep touching the wounds of the soul.

The sick man of Dostoevsky became the only human concept.

For us, it is no longer the sick man who is of interest, for us he is no longer at the center of artistic creation, but the strong healthy man in his struggle, in his victory or also in his heroic defeat. The ancient Greek mockers are all forgotten today, but beyond them the song of the Iliad resounds to us through three millennia, because there a humanity was placed in the center, which corresponds to our nature and is eternal in this song. The song of the Nibelungs still resounds today through all German districts and sings of the Germanic way and honor and loyalty and will be eternal as long as the German people still speak German and can think German; via the Hildebrand and Gudrun song it finds its glorious embodiment in Faust. Today we also have deepest symbols. On May 26, the 10th anniversary of Albert Leo Schlageter's death, all of Germany spoke of this man; radio, all newspapers wrote about him and on die- 'em day the whole nation was united for once. We all hear the immortal song of Horst Wessel every day in almost every village and town, and we understand today that here is a strange case of fate, where a person is a fighter for a new empire, but at the same time a martyr and singer of his martyrdom. I believe that these examples are better than anything else.

show how deeply the longing for a heroic attitude to life runs through all classes and professions.

If we add one more day, so the 1st of October, which we have celebrated in the whole empire: the day of the German dauern! You know that our opponents fought against the peasantry for decades. You know that in the 16th century this peasantry fought a great battle for its internal and external freedom. You know that it was defeated then.

The German farmer is the fountainhead of all life. If we did not have the farmer, the large cities would soon be deserted. People would perish and die, only a few generations would reproduce. The German people will not forget, however, that it was not only the peasant who gave them their freedom, but the unemployed city dweller also fought for them and gave his blood for them. And this cement is the strongest bonding agent between city and country.

What is happening in Germany today means a new hierarchy of values. All political, social and spiritual struggles are struggles for the highest values. They are struggles about which thoughts in the world view, in character values are placed at the top of all others. A few centuries ago, two denominations faced each other and struggled with each other for centuries. There was neither victory nor defeat, but a compromise under whose rule we still live today. After the Thirty Years' War, the struggles of the different dynasties of the house took place. In the 19th century, there was a struggle for class values. Within nations and peoples, class theories gave rise to world views and views of history.

Again the German nation struggles for new values, and there it finds that it must return to the most ancient values, and it sees the essence of the whole National Socialist Revolution resolved in one idea: national honor! This one idea is perfectly sufficient to build on it a new political state system, to breed a new economic thinking, a new economic ethics.

The National Socialists are the Prussians of the 20th century, because after the Thirty Years' War Brandenburg saved the substance of the Teutons against dishonorable princes and carried it over into our time through the old Fritz. Our longing does not go to wanting to impose German ways and German thinking on other peoples, but we want to reflect on ourselves and guard our culture for ourselves.

We want to finally become one with ourselves. This is the longing of our days, which goes through the millions of German hearts.

And at the end of the great yearning is what we call the Third Reich. But we do not mean a simple list of a first, second and third empire, but we say, the first was a Roman empire of German nation, the second was a power-political state without the sure ideological foundation, but the third is the first, real, German national state!





Alfred Nosenderg in London



# Foreign Policy

The German nation, in its awakening, demands the right of equality which has already been laid down in a document and solemnly promised; it expects the abolition of certain articles of the Versailles discord which discriminates against us, because it believes that through the satisfaction of the German nation a train of a general genuine peace will also pass through the world.

(Alfred Rosenberg before the Party Congress  
in Nuremberg 1933.)





## United States of Europe?

**Völkischer Beobachter," September 13-14, 1925.**

In the last few months, the activity of the so-called "Pan-European Society" has increased in parallel with the propaganda for the "League of Nations". At the same time, various press organs have been asking politicians and writers what they think about the so-called "United States of Europe. "United States of Europe. The "Neue Wiener Journal", for example, has just set up such an inquiry and asked a number of well-known personalities of all countries for information about their opinion on the following questions:

1. Do you think the creation of the United States of Europe is necessary?
2. Do you think it is possible for a United States of Europe to come into being?

To these inquiries the French Minister of Finance Laillaur answered that the patriotism of the 20th century would merge with Europeanism. The "Easter Day of the European Union" will come, it will come, as fatefully as there are physical laws. Ignaz Seipel, the former chancellor of Austria, hopes the same and wishes a "revision of the state concept" at all! Anton Soelah, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, outed himself similarly.

Jakob Lippowitz, the Jewish editor of the "Neues Wiener Journal", declares: the border stakes of the European states Hütten proved to be real torture stakes for every European citizen. Similarly express

Maximilian Harden, Albert Einstein, Alfred Kerr and of course Dr. Gerhart Hauptmann, Heinrich Mann and Dr. Thomas Mann!

As you can see, a whole range of personalities agree with the slogan of the United States of Europe. But of course it is clear that most of them understand something quite different by it. Mr. Lippowitz and consorts certainly think of a single Jewish private syndicate, as Walther Rathenau had envisaged. All nation states would then have to submit to this. Ignaz Seipel, however, surely dreams of the medieval rule of the church and the others pursue their most real foreign policy goals.

Whatever the motives of the individuals, however, the fact of a strong movement towards a European union of some kind is present, and we have therefore to deal with this problem and to explain our attitude towards it.

There is no doubt that an awakening is taking place all over the world. The awakening of the Near and Far East, on a racial background, is openly revealed, and the black continent has also begun to announce its claims in a similar way. Only a fool can believe that this non-European pressure does not also demand a common European attitude. This awakening of the Near and Far East is the answer to the predatory economy and the corrosive influences that mercantile Europe has carried to India and China after its political conquests. But this unrestrained predatory economy and naub policy has fostered all the bad instincts not only in the colonies or colonial-like countries, but has also unleashed them in Europe itself, where they are being further fomented by cunning politicians in a planned manner. Today's propaganda for the

The idea of a "United States of Europe", coming from the circles of the Börje and the Jewish press, means nothing more than a logical continuation of this same predatory economy, sanctioned by a politically strengthened union. It is therefore self-evident that we stand in the sharpest opposition to this new fraud. On the other hand, it is a fact that the foreign policy realization is beginning to awaken everywhere that a mutual war between the European nations also means the end of any national culture. This awakening feeling of a European solidarity in foreign policy is today exploited and falsified by the same political people to whom all nations owe their present misery. The "United States of Europe" should be rejected by us, besides everything else, already for the reason alone that such a type as the Zalbajiat Count Eoudenhooe-Kalergi is its main herald. He preaches, instead of linking up with the organic, with race and nationality, the absolute mixture of races and is thus to be regarded as a new harbinger of the European downfall.

Nevertheless, the realization of the necessity of a Europe closed to foreign policy is beyond question, although it must entail a whole series of serious problems. But it should be borne in mind that if we are faced with an either/or choice - annihilation of the West or securing Europe in the world - ways must also be found to reach this goal. At the top there is a demand, without the fulfillment of which everything is in vain: the expulsion of the Jews from all states of Europe. This, in turn, can only be the result of an awakening of racial feeling, a new idea of the state, and a new conception of economic life.

## "West" and "East."

**"Völkischer Beobachter". March 29, 1927. This essay is still of topical importance) since the doctrine of "West" and "East" still haunts many an age.**

The attentive observation of the völkisch literature with regard to foreign policy questions can cause consternation. As much as it is gratifying to see thousands of people trying to give an account of the problems and circumstances of the time, it is sometimes disarming to see a paperish dilettantism that indulges in aphorisms and puns without displaying a deeper knowledge of the issues at stake.

It should be noted from the outset that questions of foreign policy are more difficult to deal with publicly than many others, because not everything can and may be said. Therefore, it is not uncommon for the reader to get different ideas than the writer intended.

Z. For example, the question of the "oppressed peoples. On several occasions we ourselves have not concealed an involuntary sympathy for the rebellion of the Moroccans, for example. We have also occasionally stated that it would be practical under certain circumstances to make these forces of the various peoples useful to Germany. Well understood, Germany, - not to satisfy a humanitarian surge. This would then have demanded to forge in the combination of these powers a means of pressure against high finance and its foreign policy henchmen, not a final program which would have to be stubbornly pursued as a general principle.

Today we can say this calmly, because Germany has already let this means slip away:

Bolshevism, however, formed it and the Brussels Anti-Colonial Congress was the first organized blow against Europe on a world political scale.

That the called nations are only a temporary means for Bolshevism, which by its nature is anti-national, we understand very well, but not those representatives who followed the call of Milli Münzenberg and his comrades. And if they should know it, they in their turn try to use the force of communism as a mittet against England and America.

Be that as it may: at the moment when the different peoples of the globe, under Jewish-Communist leadership, declared war on the white race in a capital of Europe, our position on this new weapon of the 3rd International could only be negative. All the more so, as Prof. Einstein and Lessing-Lazarus expressly dared to present this white race as the only enemy of the world.

I could not believe my eyes when I read the following sentences in a politically competent weekly: "In the Brussels Congress of Oppressed Peoples, the East for the first time unanimously raised its voice against the West. It has declared itself against imperialism and the colonial policy of oppression which follows from it, and in favor of national independence..." In the East, the oppressed peoples are fighting the same battle, the battle of the cultured nations against the civilized peoples, the battle of the deep against the surface. Let us ally ourselves with them. Let us spare no sacrifice. The East is waiting for us. Let us not disappoint it. We are the outpost of the East against the West. The West is wavering, and the storm from the East has begun. The German hour strikes."

Surely this is a tantalizing superficiality that cri-

The author of the book, Mr. Friedrich Mielsch er, is a man of the same name as the author of the book of Genesis, adopting typical democratic general catchwords: the East, imperialism, colonial oppression, etc. And how does the author - Mr. Friedrich Hielsch er - justify this call to Germany to "spare no sacrifice"? He explains that a Frenchman once said that as soon as a German returns to the deepest reasons of his soul, he becomes Asiatic and adds of his own accord: "The Frenchman said this as a rebuke. For us it is the highest praise. Not as if we considered Asia to be an inner unity. But we know that east of us lie all 0) great cultural countries." This already more than unforgivable childishness is then followed by the following "justifications":

"The West is civilization, the East is culture. Civilization is built on money and calculation and knows no inwardness. The culture builds the works of a high art, of a humble thinking, of a devoted wisdom from the ground of an unshakable certainty. The peoples of the West are Zivilisationsvolker, the peoples of the East carry their great cultures. Germany belongs to the East and not to the West."

With such a literary gibberish "foreign policy" is driven! Mr. Hielscher has probably not passed by Gothic cathedrals? Has not heard a symphony of Beethoven? Not read the Faust?

If today we fight with all our might against the violence which has coagulated in the Versailles dictate, then not in the sign of some "Asian culture", not in the sign of the "East", but in the sign of eternal Germanic character values!

The "West" and the "East" are empty geological terms: the determining factor is the type of blood that flows from West to East or vice versa. The fuse

of the good blood in Germany is the goal and value measure of our overall policy and an alliance with the same blood and regulation of national competences in the sense of securing the Nordic states is another goal in the struggle for our existence. Everything else is literacy.

## §

This glorification of the "East" can certainly be traced back to Spengler, whose Gleisnerian eloquence completely chaoticized the head of many a German who had already become stunned. Spengler's preaching about the "magic" in the East, his glorification of Dostoevsky and his genuflection before the "possibilities" in the East led many who had no clue about the real Russia to an indomitable drive to seek "the light" there.

The views of such writers then result, as usual, in a foreign policy either-or: "Geneva or Moscow."

By "Geneva" is understood the rule of "Anglo-American imperialism," and the Englishman himself appears as "the evil principle of the Nordic being," "the prodigal son."

First of all, it is wrong to pose the alternative Geneva-Moscow; for the "West" is by no means so unified that "Geneva" is to be regarded as something permanent. Rome is already breaking away from Geneva.

And then we do not know at all how the Russian East will develop. It is possible that a unified empire will emerge; it is equally possible that the former Greater Russia will disintegrate into its further components. In both cases we are faced with the practical political question: Will this "Russia" stand by the German people for their rights? And everyone can answer this question for himself.

18 Vlut -Iud Eh"

## Against the Foreign Policy of the System.

Alfred Rosenberg's speech in the German Reichstag on Friday, December 5, 1930.

On that day, the agenda was actually the question of the national budget. Alfred Rosenberg, however, spoke about the foreign policy sins of the system and hurled at Brüning: "The budget of a nation does not consist only of arithmetic tricks, but it consists in the character building of a nation. If Poland should now come to her senses and strive to reach an understanding with Germany, the new Reich would only welcome this in its efforts to achieve genuine peace.

First of all, we would like to express our lively regret that neither the President of the German Reichstag, nor the Reich Chancellor, nor the Reich Minister of the Interior felt it necessary to express the indignation of the entire German people over the events in Poland at the beginning of this Reichstag session.

We believe that there has been a strong misconduct here. The National Socialist movement makes up for this misconduct and expresses regret over the incidents in the name of the still German Germany, together with the promise to see to it that everything is done to strengthen the political position of Germanness in Poland as it has a right to do.

We want to intersperse the financial deliberations with some remarks of a general political nature, because we think that the Reichstag, in its agility, is ready to adjourn for a long time again and we believe that some remarks about the situation in Poland are of extraordinary importance at the moment.



"Today has completed the liberation of the people", with these words began the proclamation of the so-called Dolksbeauftragten on November 9 1918. I ask to compare this pompous call with the years that followed, with what is happening today in Poland and in the whole world. There has been no freedom, no equality, but the German people have been transformed into a tribute to the whole world. It has been disarmed to the last and today cannot successfully defend its rights anywhere. The events in Poland are not only a temporary or prolonged oppression of the German minority, but a continuing action with the aim of exterminating Germanism in Poland, but not only in Poland, but an action with the political aim of furthering the disrespect for Germany throughout the world.

At this moment it is necessary to remind something of the historical things. We recall that memorandum which the Polish delegation handed over to the English Minister Balfour in 1917, in which it declared that Königsberg, at the same time as the city and the surrounding lands, belonged to an area geographically connected with Poznan. She stated that "under normal conditions" and a "natural development" Danzig would inevitably have to become a Polish city. Dmowski, one of the co-signers of the Versailles Treaty, stated in a memorandum to Wilson in October 1918: "The aspiration of the German outpost (Königsberg) is now the main obstacle to the building of an independent Polish state."

In the farewell audience with Wilson, the Polish delegation declared that not only Poznan, but also Silesia and the Baltic coast absolutely belonged to Poland.

The Polish delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference declared that the Germanization of Danzig was only superficial. In a collective memorandum of the Polish delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference it was stated that the Germanization of Danzig was only superficial. Danzig would soon be a predominantly Polish city, the territorial isolation of East Prussia was necessary for lasting peace, and it must lead to a voluntary and progressive de-Germanization of East Prussia.

These are only small glimpses of efforts which we want to state here, well the German Reich government has unfortunately neglected to have these things immediately spread all over the world through its representations. Alongside these official steps, the work of various Polish associations is going on, such as, for example, the Association of Upper Silesian Insurgents or the Association of Legionnaires, who asked Mr. Zeligowsky to be their guest of honor at a secret meeting in August two years ago, and who declared on that occasion that what he had begun in Vilnius would be continued later with the aim of regaining the borders of Poland of 1772. These associations have been united 1.929 into a large organization and have pronounced their goal: Poland from the Oder to the Dnieper. Propaganda institutes such as the Baltic Institute in Thorn and the West Slavic Institute in Poznan work together with them.

Finally, together with these Polish associations, there is an extensive cultural work. On behalf of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a Pole published a booklet about Gdansk and had it sent all over the world with the task of presenting Gdansk as a Polish city. In fact, all the buildings mentioned in the booklet were built by German masters. You also know that the Polish delegation at the Der-

The Polish authorities had used forged maps at the Peace Conference in Silesia, which gave the names of Bydgoszcz, Wrocław and Liegnih in Polish, among others.

Thus, a purposeful national political work has been going on in Poland for decades, which is being carried out with all available means. I remind you that at the beginning of November this year the entire Polish press triumphantly declared that the new railroad between Bydgoszcz and Gdynia would be opened on November 9. This was also a deliberately political blow, because on that day Social Democracy was again celebrating the anniversary of its victory over Germany. At the same time, Poland was building three new railroads in southern Poland and six new railroads in the Posen region. It is significant that the new railroad between Bydgoszcz and Gdynia is partly owned by the French arms manufacturer Schneider-Lreuzot. So, in the end, we pay for all these facilities ourselves with our tribute money.

In this context, we also express our sympathy to the Ukrainian minority, which is oppressed both in Russia and in Poland.

What we have witnessed in Poland these days was a flagrant breach of the international agreements. The German government has the duty to draw the political consequences from this, i.e. it has to demand from the League of Nations the reparation of the misjudgement of October 21. October 1921. You know that on March 20, 1921, the votes in Upper Silesia took place, and that these votes brought an overwhelming victory for the German idea, that over 700,000 votes were German and about 470,000 Polish. Nevertheless, at that time the League of Nations decided on the disintegration of Upper Silesia. We believe that it was

now is the high time to make it clear to the world that Germany has not absorbed this loss.

In this connection I would like to refer you to some briefs of the year 1919. General Blitz wrote to Wilson on March 25, 1919: "The proposal of the Polish Commission that we wish to place 2 million 100,000 Germans under the rule of a people who possess a different religion and have never during their entire history manifested the capacity for strong self-government must, in my judgment, sooner or later lead to a new war in Eastern Europe."

General Smuts wrote to Lloyd George on May 12, 1919:

"I think we are about to build a house out of shifting sand. I would revise the frontiers of Poland as provisionally fixed in the peace treaty, leave Upper Silesia and all economically German territories to Germany, draw the frontiers of the free city of Danzig more closely and, instead of placing it under the suzerainty of Poland, leave it under the sovereignty of Germany with an administration subordinate to the League of Nations. I consider the long occupation of the Rhine and the so much greater enlargement of Poland to be the two cardinal errors of the peace treaty. These two errors constitute a strong threat to the future peace of Europe, and I urge that every means be used to eliminate them before it is too late."

We recommend that such votes be cast again today in favor of Germany.

At the same time, we must note a collapse of the Locarno policy. It was said at the time of this agreement that we had to achieve peace in the West in order to be free in the East. Now a pacification in the West has not been achieved; for

France continues in its huge armor. A fortress wall stretches from the North Sea along the Alpine border down to the Mediterranean Sea. France not only has the strongest air fleet at her disposal as a threat to England as well, but she has also refused equality at sea with Italy. France, through these armaments, is forcing all other states to be concerned about their security; instead of paying its debts to America, it is expanding its armaments.

We declare here that the observance of the treaties must first of all also be demanded of France, since the whole of Section 5 of the Versailles Treaty has not been fulfilled. We note that if France does not fulfill these points, it has broken its own treaty.

Thus we come ultimately to the problem of the Versailles Dictate in general. We want to explain here, although this idea has been expressed but never pursued, that this Versailles Dictate is based on the breach of an agreement concluded under international law with Wilson, that the few corrections made in the Lansing note do not change Wilson's 14 points. The British representatives were also of this opinion, and the same General Smuts already mentioned wrote to Wilson on May 30, 1919: "If we carry out the Versailles Treaty as here planned, we break the Wilson peace guaranteed by you."

Above all, we would like to recall the closing words of Wilson's 14-Point Nede, which are perhaps virtually unknown today. Wilson said on January 8, 1918: "The people of the United States can act on no other principle than that of justice, and in defense of this principle they are ready to lay down their lives, their honor, and all that they possess,

TO sacrifice." If we can perhaps understand that the American representatives, surprised by the European secret treaties, could not leave at that time against a general sentiment, we would like to emphasize today the legal claim of the German nation all the more and remind the richest state in the world how it invoked its honor at that time.

We have never had any illusions. It is self-evident that a lost war must have the most severe consequences for a nation that has lost it. We think differently than the "Vorwärts", which declared on October 20, 1918, that no loss of war could make us defenseless. Today we are faced with the fact that Germany loses 20,000 people a year to suicide, that in the course of ten years it has lost almost a million of the best German forces as emigrants, that in today's Germany 400,000 Germans are not born every year. If this development continues in this way, in a few decades there will be perhaps 40 or 50 million people living in Germany, who happen to still speak German, but who no longer have any German will or self-confidence, but who will be a Helotenhaufen that can be used for anything.

The National Socialist People's Movement opposes this and declares that it will use all the means of power at its disposal today against this impoverishment, that it will continue to campaign throughout the nation to stop this process of self-emasculation from eating away at it. We believe that this point and this idea are perhaps the most important for the rehabilitation of a budget. For the budget of a nation does not consist only of arithmetic, but it consists in the formation of the character of a nation and in the strengthening of all of its moral and social values.

values; in the defense against the oppression from outside and above all also in the mw ehr of those forces which are available to a foreign propaganda internally. A new foreign policy can only begin with a rebirth of character. But a rebirth of character is possible only if the pests of character are weeded out.

That is why you cannot pursue foreign policy together with social democracy at all.

We can understand that a foreign policy after a lost war may have to make sacrifices. But if one sacrifices outwardly and further destroys the people with social democracy inwardly, then all sacrifices are in vain.

The development of Germany goes after two ertremen directions. The world will have to choose one day whether it wants to reckon with communism or national socialism after the attrition of the whole center.

To reckon with communism is to declare the downfall of that which for more than 100 years bore the name of Germany. To reckon with National Socialism, however, means to appeal to that power which always became great when Germany rose from its humiliation to the heights.

## Brüning's Disaster Policy.

Rosenberg's great foreign-policy reckoning with the old system in the German Reichstag. 2-I.Feüiuai 1932. The same preliminary remarks apply to this speech as to the preceding remarks,

The Minister of the Center, Dr. Bolz, did not deny the hardship and misery of our days. However, he has asked in moving laments that we should stop searching for the reasons of this misery today. We believe we can understand why a representative of today's system would be reluctant to investigate the reasons for today's misery. However, we are convinced that only when the reasons of a collapse are clear, the establishment of the only guidelines for the future becomes possible.

It was in early December 1930 that we last had the pleasure of discussing foreign policy with Dr. Lurtius. In those days, the persecution of the Germans in Upper Silesia was under discussion. In the autumn days of 1930 this persecution reached its climax, and at that time we called upon the German Reich government to immediately convene the League of Nations Council. Dr. Eurtius stated that he would continue his successful, characterful, straightforward policy, but refused to convene the League of Nations Council, referring to the January meeting which would take place anyway. Thus, in our opinion, a systematic persecution of Germans was trivialized by the German Reich government. I would like to prove in detail by means of this one example - what can be proved in all other areas as well



how German foreign policy has behaved on the Polish question,

Dr. Eurtius demanded an investigation of the events in Upper Silesia by the Council of the League of Nations on January 21, 1931, when the meeting was finally duly held. Two days later he wanted nothing more to do with this demand. Instead, German foreign policy made four other demands with the declaration that it would adhere to them without fail. First, that there had been a violation of Articles 75 and 83 of the Geneva Convention on Minorities. At that time, the Polish Foreign Minister had agreed with the French Foreign Minister that it would be more expedient to take a small reprimand than to have 250 trials rolled out in front of the world public.

As a second point, the government demanded disapproval of Poland. This disapproval was not expressed! Thirdly, the German Reich government demanded a report from Poland on the punishment of all guilty officials. This basically abandoned Vvkerbund control and made Poland the judge in its own affair. Fourth, the German Reich government demanded a guarantee for the change of the system in Upper Silesia. This, too, was by no means complied with. On the contrary, the voivode in charge, Eraczynski, was appointed a few days later as the leader of the Polish Scout Associations.

The essential thing, however, was that the election result in Poland, which had been achieved by terror, remained completely untouched. This, too, was acknowledged by the German Reich government. The Polish Foreign Minister added derision to this result by declaring in anticipation on December 27, 1930: what was taking place in today's Poland was a perfectly normal "de-Germanization" process.

This "normal de-Germanization process" has so far cost the Germans in Poland one million people, which is one of the "successes" of German foreign policy.

Poland - and this is the most important thing, which has not been underlined on the part of the German Reich government - has broken its treaties of 24 June and 28 June 1919. At that time, the recognition of the minority treaties was the precondition for the recognition of the Polish state in general. Poland had to undertake at that time, no matter under which regime, to recognize these minority treaties. These agreements were demonstrably broken in a flagrant manner. It should have been considered here whether Article 19 of the League of Nations Act should not have been applied.

You may further recall that Poland was supposed to punish its criminals. Poland was obliged to submit a detailed report on this matter to the May session. Poland mocked Germany and the League of Nations by publishing this so-called report one day before the opening of the session. The chairman of this session was the German Reichsaussenminister, Dr. Lurtius, who had failed to make Poland aware of its obligations in time. As a result, Dr. Lurtius, as the chairman of the meeting, again suggested postponing the discussion of this issue. On May 21, 1931, during this meeting, the organ of the German Chancellor, the "Germania" wrote:

"The Upper Silesian question will - this can be said with certainty - be reopened in its entire scope, if not now due to lack of time, then after careful examination of all details in September."

In September and the meeting of the League of Nations took place, and the Japanese expert spoke the hopes

The Reich Chancellor and the Reich Foreign Minister, Dr. Lurtius, took note of this declaration and buried the whole Upper Silesian question. The Reich Chancellor and the Reich Foreign Minister Dr. Lurtius took note of this declaration and buried the whole Upper Silesian question. Dr. Curtius still managed to stand up and express his gratitude to Poland for the fact that an arbitrarily closed German school might be reopened.

At the same time that this was taking place in Geneva, Voivode Gracypnski was holding a general meeting of Polish insurgent associations in Katowice and declared in the presence of top Polish officials that the Polish insurgents were maintaining their "old ideology" in an insane manner. He had the audacity to add that it was a tragedy how the Poles were treated in German Upper Silesia. It is certain that there is one Polish school for every twelve Polish children in Upper Silesia, but that 50 percent of the Germans in Poland are without a German school. It is also certain that among the Polish teachers in Germany there are a lot of Polish citizens, including a large number of Polish reserve officers. From this one example one can trace the whole line in which German foreign policy has run so far: first a small attempt at rebellion and then a lamentable surrender under various pressures. Since this collapse, Germany's standing in the whole world has declined, also in the Upper Silesia question, and if one wonders today how the terrible things in Danzig and Memel were possible, one can say: the attitude of German foreign policy is primarily to blame for this. Reference has already been made today to the incidents in Danzig. Imagine that in a German Free State, where 97 percent of the population is German, a Polish priest reads the mass and declares that on this earth would be

soon stand Polish military. And a representative of the military command in Thorn, Colonel Landau, stated that the cooperation of Polish military and Poles in Gdansk was extraordinarily close, and the Eijen- bahn President Dobrzynski in Gdansk added that the Polish railroad was exemplarily prepared for mobilization. Here, too, it is evident that the reputation of our nation of 65 million people has been extraordinarily damaged thanks to the "straightforward and successful foreign policy" pursued so far.

All these details which we have to observe in the East, the disregard for the German Reich in Danzig, the trampling underfoot of German rights in the Memel area, are only symptoms of a general disregard which Germany is meeting today throughout the world as a result of thirteen years of misguided foreign policy.

Finally, as far as the Customs Union is concerned, it was the showpiece of German foreign policy in 1961. When this plan was announced, the system parties declared that now they had proof that the German government was beginning to intervene actively in German foreign policy and was not merely passive. It was strange that here, as in almost all other cases, the Reich Chancellor informed France earlier than the other states. This was not only the case with the Customs Union, but also, as has already been noted today, with regard to the question of tribute. Here, of course, Germany encountered the fiercest opposition, especially from France, from the very first day. France has not shied away from the first day from going back to so-called documents of international law and advocating them with the power of a great propaganda. France refers back to the Geneva Convention of 1922. Zn it actually stands a word, of which we understand, if an opponent tries to make out of it a tool against

Germany and Austria AU forge. This convention states that Austria must refrain from anything that directly or indirectly endangers its so-called independence. You must realize what these words mean. They really mean the possibility for hostile powers to prevent any freedom of movement of Austria. But it is characteristic that this Geneva Convention was concluded by the leader of the Austrian Center, the Christian Socialist prelate Dr. Seipel, and that this group literally gave up Austria's freedom for a League of Nations loan.

In the face of these disruptive efforts, however, the German Chancellor declared on March 24, 1931, at the German Industry and Trade Day that the German government was determined to go its way with calm firmness. On April 20, the Foreign Office informed the "Bayerische Staatszeitung" that the German government would not be dissuaded from the customs union under any circumstances. This was again the typical language that we have come to know at the beginning of all negotiations, but which always ends with a breakdown. This breakdown came a short time later in Geneva.

The day after Germany and Austria pledged not to pursue the Customs Union plans, a banquet was held at which the German Minister of State, Dr. Lurtius, raised his glass with the words: "We all follow our leader Briand!" This was unacceptable even to the present Reich government. Never before has a German foreign minister played such a pitiful nolle as Dr. Lurtius did at that time in Geneva. But only Dr. Lurtius was called away at that time, Dr. Brüning preferred to stay.

Germany is now facing a decisive con

ference, the Conference on Disarmament. I do not need to describe the legal situation; it is known to the House. In fact, foreign ministers of England, even ministers of Belgium, have recognized the German position as justified. In his reply to Adolf Hitler, Dr. Brüning stated that if he now went to Gens, it would be his duty to ensure that the nation united "behind its negotiators". To this we had to declare: after we have seen how Dr. Brüning and his predecessors have gone about German foreign policy, how they have actually been defeated on every question, we must say that Dr. Brüning is not authorized today to speak for this national Germany, but that today he actually represents only the parties of Prelate Kaas and Herr Dittmann.

How the support of a present-day system minister must look to the outside world is best shown, I think, by an article in the "Vorwärts" which is extraordinarily concerned not with German security but with French security. The "Vorwärts" wrote on January 7, 1931, that security of the same kind, such as that demanded by Minister Groener, was not feasible, and added:

"With this fact in mind, Germany has no interest in continually setting herself in opposition to her former adversaries with her demand for disarmament, in continually sowing antagonism and distrust. On the contrary, from the necessity of cultivating the closest understanding with France's superior capital power, Germany has the tactical duty to tolerate France's armament to such an extent that the confidence of the French people in the German will for peace is the most perfect."

That is probably pretty much the height of what one can think of in terms of "support" for a German representation on disarmament issues in Geneva.

But it goes without saying that the Social Democrats always proceed in conjunction with Berlin's major press. The Ullstein press has also told us what it thinks about this. The "Vossische Zeitung" of September 27, 1931, says that if the French are still concerned about their security, the wind must be taken out of their sails, and that the focus must be on sparsely populated contingents, and that Franco-German cooperation would consist in diverting the surplus of people to France's African colonies, to South America, and to China, where there is room for everyone. If Clemenceau once declared that Germany had 20 million too many people, today this word finds the support of Social Democracy and Democracy to make the powerful surplus of workers subservient to the nation as France's slaves.

But the following is characteristic of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament: it changed its name unnoticed and without protest of the German Chancellor. For years one has spoken and written about the duty of disarmament - of the others. As early as 1925, a disarmament committee was convened, which worked in vain for six years. This conference was also called the Conference on Disarmament. Then, on July 15, 1931, the French memorandum appeared, which no longer knew the expression "disarmament conference", but spoke only of arms limitation. As a result of this French pressure on the League of Nations, one finds today on the documents and printed matter of the League of Nations which refer to disarmament only the designation "Conference on the Limitation of the

of the 14 Mul lind Lhre

Armaments". This change of name is symptomatic because the whole meaning of the conference has been turned into the opposite before the German Chancellor even left. And the German chancellor avoided even noticing this symptomatic change of name of the disarmament conference.

Tardieu felt extraordinarily weak under international law in Geneva. He knew only too well that among Germany's 99 obligations there was also a single obligation on the part of France. He knew very well that there was an opportunity for Germany to shout the German position one hundred percent in the face of the French in front of a forum where the whole world had to sit up and take notice. That is why Mr. Tardieu first tried the diversion, with his plan of creating a League of Nations army. But then he proceeded to provoke Germany. He banged his fist on the table and declared over and over again that France "demands," that "generous France" must expect.... and similar phrases more. And finally he threw - in 1932! - threw the lie of war guilt in the face of the German Chancellor. If France today speaks of three German invasions, then we must state the following: if a French conqueror covers the whole of Europe with war and the peoples finally unite to stand up against this usurper, then peace-loving France today calls such a thing a foreign invasion. We would only like to emphasize that at Waterloo, after all, the English were also present. We would like to point out how easily France fabricates lies of war guilt by pointing out such blatant cases as in 1813 and 1870. And to these challenges the German Chancellor did not answer at all. In Geneva, Dr. Brüning did not challenge the German



rights, but two thirds of his sermon was a pacifist Lenten sermon. He had appealed again and again to helpful solidarity, appealed to the so-called Christian conscience. That may all be quite nice here at home, but the world expected something else from a German Chancellor. It expected the thesis of French security to be countered by the thesis of German security. In the whole world no nation is so threatened as the German nation is today, and to approach the world only with demands for disarmament, without at the same time positively demanding German security in case of rejection, is a utopian undertaking. Nevertheless, we emphasize that the demand for disarmament of the others is one hundred percent justified by international law. But the consequence of this is that it should have been asked at the outset whether France and her allies recognize this obligation or not. If they do not, then France has torn up the Versailles Treaty, and in response, of course, all obligations still accruing to Germany under the Versailles Treaty would also be null and void. This is what Germany was entitled to expect from the German Chancellor, and none of this has been said. France received a sharper reply only from the Italian Foreign Minister, who noted with justified irony that armaments had increased tremendously throughout the world. This had been the case after the Locarno Conference, but above all after the conclusion of the Kellogg Pact, which was supposed to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy.

From all this arises the inner truthfulness of the social democratic foreign policy of the system.

If today the representatives of the system parties act in such an extremely sensitive manner, and if it is declared that the Reich President, in contrast to the views of 1925, has supported the policy of the present system with his signature by accepting the Pough Plan, by signing the Polish Agreement, etc., then we must reply that never in these twelve years has a person been thrown mud in such a way as Hindenburg by the Center and by the Social Democrats, we must reply that never, never in these twelve years, has a person been so smeared with dirt as Hindenburg by the Center and the Social Democrats. The leading centrist organ in Baden, the "Badischer Beobachter," wrote on April 22, 1925:

"Hindenburg sacrificed thousands of people needlessly.

When war suppliers and other war profiteers elect Hindenburg president, they fulfill a duty of gratitude, for he made them rich."

And the particularly pious "Fuldaer Zeitung" managed to declare that only the unbelievers and God-deniers could stand on rare of the Hindenburg block of that time. The social-democratic "Münchener Post" wrote:

"Beat the biggest war loser in the history of the world! ... With Hindenburg alone the Inflation winners are victorious."

On April 27, 1925, the "Germania" - I have the original here, if there is any doubt - wrote that it was a Pyrrhic victory of the Right. It wrote:

"More than 30 million went to the ballot box. Not half of them voted for the "savior", and that he was the first to arrive at the finish line, he owes to

not to the goodness of his political ideas, but primarily to the larmoy sentimentality of the politicized woman."

This was the official opinion of the Central organs of the center policy seven ears ago.

But one must examine more deeply all that is going on today in German foreign policy, quite irrespective of how the Reich Chancellor or Reich Secretary of State may be personally shaped inwardly. If it is said that the parties of this House differ only in their ways and means, not in their aims, we have to say that we differ from these parties much more in their aims than in their choice of ways and means. For the National Socialist movement wants a great and strong Germany. But neither the Social Democracy nor the Center wants that. When it is said that the system parties pursued a policy of illusions, this is correct, provided we examine the words with which these parties appeared before the German nation, check their promises and compare them with the state of today. But if we ask ourselves whether there is not a *realpolitik* behind the alleged illusions, we must also answer in the affirmative. This *realpolitik* consists in a completely different world view of foreign policy than we have. Democracy and Marxism do not have as an ideal a strong German nation-state, but a Pan-Europe, led by France and dependent on Jewish high finance. That is the political ideal which Social Democracy follows quite consistently and which repeatedly emerges from all its statements, even if today it is afraid to say so loudly.

As for the center, various currents play a role there as well. It is becoming increasingly clear

What was modest at the beginning has already been spoken aloud today: of the occidental mission of the German people, that it should fit into a larger whole, and this larger whole looks exactly like the idea of Social Democracy, namely a strong France in the West, a strong Poland in the East and a weak Germany in the middle. Everything that the Center and Social Democracy do in foreign policy results from these very real ideological considerations, and all individual phenomena are only symptoms of this foreign policy thinking.

This thinking continues. In 1918, they said to themselves: this policy of illusions must be pursued in the German people until this German people has been emasculated and rendered incapable of resistance to such an extent that it can no longer think of any real resistance to this Pan-Europe. The National Socialist movement has put a spoke in this wheel. This is the only reason why the National Socialist movement is so hated by the Center and the Social Democrats. When the Center today tearfully declares that it is outrageous that in these difficult times the people should be split in two by our agitation, we must reply that the Center is primarily to blame for the fact that Social Democracy was able to become so strong in the first place. The Center has lived for years on this antagonism between the two parts. Without the Center, no Social Democratic minister would be sitting in his chair today. Without the Center, there would not be 100,000 Marxist bigwigs in prominent positions to the mischief of the German people. The Center has made Social Democracy great so that it can always be used as a tool of blackmail against national Germany. We must note that the National Socialist German Ar

beiterpartei has several times given the center the opportunity to change course. These possibilities have always been rejected by the center in the harshest manner. The Center and Social Democracy stand in a single front, and in this front they must perish.

## Crisis and Rebirth of Europe.

From November 14-20, 1932, the "Dolta-Äorigreh" of the General Italian Academy took place in Rome, which dealt with the topic "Europe". At this conference, attended by scholars and politicians from almost all European countries, Alfred Rosenberg was the first National Socialist to address an international forum. Here the idea of the later proposal for the Four-Power Pact was expressed and its historical and political necessity was justified. The fascist press stated that the proposal of the Four-Power Pact followed Rosenberg's idea. - Commenting on Alfred Rosenberg's speech at the Dolka-Aongreh on the same subject, the Italian, Excellency Orestano, said: "I consider Mr. Rosenberg's lecture one of the most important of our meeting. His powerful syntheses made an overwhelming impression on me. Mr. Rosenberg gave a great account of the four main nationalisms."

In our epoch, after the greatest war in the history of the world, as a result of this deepest mental and political catastrophe, spiritual values and social statutes of the past 150 years are breaking down; moreover, ideological bonds even from a distant time and the thought-forms rooted in them are being subjected to a new critique. In the midst of such a time of general upheaval, however, the mental-spiritual crisis can no longer be examined "scientifically", because every science always makes certain presuppositions for its research, from which it begins its research as a valid value gauge. A consideration of Europe as an idea and experience is therefore possible today only in the form of a personal confession. As always, a reshaping of life will also now depend on such personal confessions.

The more deeply they are rooted in the yearnings of the time, the stronger the forces of will already appear within the nations of Europe that are united around these confessions.

A genuine new creation always requires a new evaluation of the past and its great, supporting figures; from this changed perspective of spiritual ancestors, one then also symbolically sees the destiny aimed at for the future. Germany, for example, which is not only in political turmoil, but also in deep inner transformation, does not present Charlemagne today, but his opponent Duke Widukind, as the true guardian of his genuine kind. For all the greatness of the Hohenstaufen, this Germany does not stand by Barbarossa, but by Henry the Lion. It has renounced the House of Habsburg and sees in Frederician Prussia the savior of its spiritual substance. When considering the social conflicts of the past, the awakening Germany is inwardly on the side of the peasants in evaluating the great fateful battles of the 16th century, sees in Sickingen and Hutten the triggers of nationalist thought, not in their opponents. The young Germany no longer intoxicates itself with the far-from-life slogans of the revolution of 1789; it rather judges the spiritual desolation, the materialization, the atomization of the 19th century as the result of a purely abstract attempt to recognize the majority of numbers as a measure of value over the genius of the individual creator in state life and culture. It does not glorify the adored progress of technology, but sees in Nietzsche, for example, his related critic of an industrial culture as the "meanest form of existence that has existed so far".

In a similar way, a reevaluation of the past is also taking place in other nations, even if this can only be directly observed in Italy, which today, after ten years of Fascist rule, is still in the midst of a revolution that is taking over all of life. Throughout the liberal age, with all the recognition of the individual greats, the rejuvenated Italy is reaching for those thoughts and for that will of primordial power from which the monuments of ancient Rome were once born, professing itself not to the Gracchi but to the Sulla figures, not to the boundless thought of the late Rome but to the ground-rooted peculiarity of the old Rome. Archaic symbols arise over millennia as parables of these confessions, and it is more than a coincidence that in Italy is dreamed of the Third Rome, in Germany of the Third Reich, and for this dream is fought with the greatest sacrifice.

## §

This kind of rebirth of the souls, however, says something decisive in the question of the problem of Europe, namely that an intellectual construction in the sense of a universalistic idea, which, as it were, descends from above, is no longer in question. Deeply such a concept has never been able to see its way through the painful history of the Occident. The world view of the so-called Middle Ages, once imposed from outside on the peoples of Europe, established a "European" unity only for a short period of time. However, this did not mean an organic unity, but only an explosive unity, from which, after many struggles, half of Europe renounced. The age of liberalism, which today is finally ringing its own funeral bell in Geneva, endeavored to bring about the "unity of Europe" only in the following ways



The aim was to solve the problems of public life externally from the political-sociological point of view. The goddess of reason was worshipped and it was believed that the problems of public life could be mastered by a scheme that was supposedly suitable for all nations. Parliamentary democracy was the crudest attempt to help this "reason" scheme to triumph within the states and naturally promoted in all fields not the creatively strong but the parasitically unscrupulous. The philosophers of Pan-Europe of our time, however, confused the One with the idea of unity in the foundation of their thought. It is not monism as a typical philosophy of the intellect that has become distant from life that is able to have a fruitful effect, but the unconditional recognition of vital diversity means the prerequisite of any kind of conceived unity. For organic unity has multiplicity as a prerequisite.

From this it follows that, if Europe at all is spoken of, it cannot be an abstract concept, in which every nation somehow "has a part" as in an absolute, but the multiplicity must be recognized as a prerequisite, in order then to contrast the different trees of life that have sprouted from our soil together with those that flourish on Asian, from African soil. Then a relationship could vividly arise, which seems to be just as doubtful to justify by purely eclectic methods as by universalistic assertions and dogmatic demands.

### §

Contrary to all other attempts, the nation is the immovably given starting point of all events, the nation as a diverse result of blood, landscape, political and spiritual common chic.

sal. Contrary to all doctrines, therefore, nationalism and its effects will be decisive for what is to be called Europe later on. Each of the big four nations, which appear here as fate-determining, has now its own "center of happiness", from which it strives to shape itself always anew. For Italy, the leader of Fascism has characterized the State as the supreme value, as the means of education, as the breeder of individuality and its protector, as the guardian of the strong and protector of a threatened spiritual community. Here the chord of ancient Roman glory is consciously sounded, the thought-formation of a power appears, which had to be tough in order to preserve its own essence against the advancing Orientalism. France's nationalism is inseparably linked to the - one may well hunt - worship of the soil. Whoever lives on French soil becomes French, as it were, by a mysterious law, an idea which has united French ecclesiasticism with its opponent, Freemasonry. England, for centuries an ast unassailable island, did not need the myth of the state; even today the conception of the nation as a society prevails there. Whoever follows this society, its customs and unwritten laws, is incorporated into Britishness, which is why tradition plays the all-binding, all-forming and all-superior role. In Germany, it is undoubtedly the belief in the blood that has given rise to the great upsurges, whereby the political turmoil of the Germans, often caused by their geographical position, instilled this doctrine with that great strength which today also represents precisely the main impulse of the great German awakening of our days. And it is therefore again no coincidence that fascism chose as its symbol the sign of hardest statehood, the lictor bundle with the type, the awakening Germany

but the race sign of oldest Germanicism, the swastika, has chosen <which has originated contrary to a pseud "science not in India, but in Central Europe, where it can be proved 3000 years before Christ).

Nothing can be said here about the "absolute truth" of these nationalisms. Nor does their value measure lie in any absolute, but in the degree of spiritual fruitfulness aroused by the ardor of faith in one or another people. If faith in the State as the supreme value begets a strong, proud Italian people, then it is true in the deepest meaning of the word. If the belief in the value of blood leads to Germany's rebirth, then this is the truth rule of its metaphysical authenticity.

#### §

Since Nutzland today has returned to Middle Asia, and the other nations, notwithstanding their manifold spiritual richness, have not produced any independently radiating strong typology, but are closer to one or the other of those described, the first consequence of an investigation into the psychology of peoples is that the overall problem of Europe is simplified to the realization of only a fourfold spiritual-mental life force. For in the great struggle for the destiny of the globe, the dogma, which is also hostile to culture, must be overcome, as if one could mechanically equate small and smallest peoples - all their values recognized - with those nations, which stood in the struggle of the centuries shaping culture, states and types and still stand today thanks to numerical dynamics and inner strength. Whoever, therefore, seriously strives for Europe as an organic unity of a strong plurality and not as a crude summation, must accept the four great nationalisms as given to us by fate.

and therefore strive to give fulfillment to the power radiating from their nucleus. The destruction of one of these centers by any power would not result in a "Europe", but in a chaos in which the other centers of culture would also perish. Conversely, only the victory of the radiations towards those sides, where the four great forces do not clash with each other, would mean the strongest dynamics of creative existence, organic peace, not a forced state of explosion as today, but guaranteeing the smaller nations more true security than seems possible today in the struggle against elementary forces.

Thus, from the psychological overview, the great European problem of state policy and economy emerges by itself. France is saturated, since its soil must already be populated by foreign immigrants. Its dynamism, therefore, if it does not want to provoke terrible conflicts, will turn away from the East and take the second path of its power, that of the administration of its great African possessions, where its mission would be to shield Europe from Africa and not to tolerate or even prepare an African advance on Europe. Italy, with its growing population, cannot rest until "the State" can really take charge of its children in certain parts of the Adriatic and North Africa. In turn, the German people, now cut and split, can never recognize a "Europe" sooner than until the "myth of blood" has led to the unification of the Germans in one state as a means to the shoes of that blood. And Europe will be able to appear with success before all the world only if Great Britain in the first place can powerfully assume the mission of its representation.

The British sooiotx still binds the great empire; in the sense of a fourfold Europe it lies that it should not become weak, but for England it must appear valuable to start the still pressing energies of Germany and Italy for the best of the whole.

If one recognizes these basic demands in one's heart, then every non-utopian head is aware of the fact that today they are still more programmatic than practical in nature. For the way from inner recognition to political activity and completion is tremendously difficult. Just as a true scientific idea needs decades, centuries, to become established, so does a political idea. One can observe that people and nations get enthusiastic about imaginable utopias out of the simple subconscious feeling that they are not at all exposed to the test of reality, but that they find a clearly circumscribed statement uncomfortable because it is too close to reality and therefore fight it. But we all have not much time left to lose, for just as the nationalistic awakening within the peoples of Europe is pushing towards new forms, so other nations and races are also experiencing an inner transformation, followed by social and political convulsions, the results of which cannot yet be overlooked. But no matter whether, for example, in the Far East China emerges renewed as a great power, no matter whether Japan usurps the unconditional leadership of the yellow race, no matter whether an alliance of similarly strong states emerges in East Asia, that which once possessed influence as so-called "European cultural property" will disappear from the consciousness of both the Chinese and the Japanese. The renewal there will also come from their own blood, their own tradition, their own

The people of Europe are elementary to their political destiny and therefore reject the "European spirituality" in a doubly hostile way. A basic demand to all Europeans will be to renounce any "cultural propaganda" out of respect for the inherent morality of the race-genuine yellow East and to adjust the whole traffic to politics, technology, economy. The inner renewal of one's own nation will recognize here the achievement of the yellow race without prejudice.

Africa is also awakening: its wet people are not uniform, not equal; the moral qualities between the "blacks" show the greatest differences. But the fact remains twofold: that a real black culture does not exist, but that a black-white mixture of races leads to disastrous bastardization. Africa's lack of its own statehood means, in terms of world politics, the right of the consecrated to colonies. This right, however, should give up the whole liberalistic "idea of education" also in Africa, should not want to make a "European cultural man" out of the completely different black man, should not split him up mentally, but let him form his thinking and feeling himself. But to punish racial interferences will have to be self-evident self-defense, and everybody who wanted to promote here basically and actually the racial chaos would have to be judged by all nations of the Occident as an open danger for the worldly mankind.

The great mongrel territories around the Indian Ocean, etc., demand the government of a strong hand, and since the consecrated man depends for his life on the products and the market of these countries, the common interest of all Europeans is the unconditional domination of these territories, otherwise the

social consequences of renunciation would turn the whole of Europe into an army camp of permanent unemployed and seal its doom in bloody civil wars.

At the head of the indignation of the half-breeds of all the world fights the Bolshevik movement. The reference to this fact must suffice here to establish a practical commonality in the defense of all Europe, from which ways of overcoming this world danger must be found, no matter how state-political the relationship to Russia may be.

The question of how "Europe" positively faces the rest of the mainly Asian-African world culturally is therefore settled in one word: not at all. Therefore it is not necessary to try to bring the different European nationalisms to a common denominator; they form a purely European problem. Genuine nationalism, which today remembers the *völkisch* bodily-soul substance, segregates more and more consciously all interests of capitalistic or other purely subjective kind; it will therefore, with conscious further development and deepening, not be able to restore increased hateful activity, but that respect and chivalry which today have almost disappeared from the world. For every bearer of genuine values will feel respect even before the representative of another genuineness, and not a treacherous business concurrence. Young nationalism is thus called upon to accomplish what crude internationalism of all shades has proved incapable of achieving. Never, for example, will an effective limitation of armaments be brought about by complaints and humanitarian phrases, but only if an ardent nationalist regards the people, its researchers, artists, soldiers, its youth as the most sacred good, which he can only protect with and against the war technology of the present.

Ä> Vüu Utid Honor

as the very last possibility. Only such a man will not look at the greatest possible war catastrophe from the point of view of the stock exchange or war supply business, as has been the case up to now under a "nationalist" mask just as under internationalist propaganda. As much as theoretically the abstract concept of the state had been decisive in the age of liberalism, it was not this state that had dominated the economy, but the state had been gradually privatized by big banks and corporations. A decisive problem for all the great states of Europe, therefore, is to eliminate from their foreign and domestic policies the private interests of speculators of all kinds - often linked by kinships in all the states; only in this way will the truly creative economy regain that prestige which it once possessed, but which today - insofar as it still exists - it has almost lost. To find forms with the help of which this question will be solved is a matter for the individual people, but the problem and the solution are pan-European.

This statement also means a rejection of the subjectivism of the "ideas of 1789", which necessarily results from the most severe tests. The people of today recognize that subjectivism and personality are not identical, but opposites. The individual being of the liberalistic world of ideas was summed up a million times - to "mankind", personality, however, is the crowning of organic, in blood and soil and tradition based laws of a formed, therefore limited growth. Only the law can bring us freedom. To secure freedom of the totality and of the personality is only possible in the fight against the bearers of chaos, whether they intellectually or libidinally destroy us by presenting the world economy as an ideal worth striving for. It



But in truth there is no world economy, and today is finally born what until now existed only in name: the national economy. This, too, is an outside of the great process of nationalization in whose current we all stand, which will soon have infused and reshaped all phenomena of existence as the revolution of the 20th century.

A special complex from which Europe stands out is the American continent, especially the United States of North America. Created by Europeans without being isolated afterwards, the USA. has not been able to develop a unified spiritual face. With an uninhibited spirit of enterprise, unconcerned self-confidence, and without too heavy a fate, the United States is experiencing a reverse development to that of the European peoples. These began with fairy tales and legends, with religious myths, pious paintings and fervent sacred buildings, only to experience their technical age - and, as a task, to overcome this in new cultural development. America, however, has begun without this substructure with a gigantic technology, and only the future can decide whether it will be able to bear a heavy fate spiritually, i.e. whether it has really already become a nation secure in itself. Ralph Waldo Emerson was an auspicious glimpse of America in the depths to come, a thoughtful great moment. Perhaps the social plight of the 10 million unemployed will bring America closer to still unsolved problems.

But Europe must never forget that America was once a foundation of its blood, that in the coming great conflicts all of America must be included on the side of the white man in the 2V\*.

delimitation of races, peoples and cultures from this globe. America, having become great and powerful through expansion, is not faced with the mission of continuing this expansion, but, on the contrary, with the problem of turning its young strength inward; for if it does not succeed in mastering the looming "black danger," if it does not succeed in turning farmers into peasants, then all world domination will remain fruitless and the present power must be exposed to the most severe shocks for lack of an inner will to resist, rooted in the soil, in great struggles of destiny. Warning voices from America itself indicate that far-thinking people fear the danger of a purely capitalistic expansion, then of necessity "secured" by force, and understand in it not a real strengthening but a dispersal of the true *dolkskrast*, which here, too, does not consist in loan pieces of highest-interest paper, but, as everywhere in the world, in the blood health and labor power of its citizens.

The states of Europe can only act with caution here in the common interest of their continent and of the "white man" at all, but no one should lose sight of the problem any longer, all the more so as a rampant private capitalism is itself prepared to support the Bolshevik idea through business interests.

But Bolshevism is not an economic theory, it is not only a political movement, it is rather the mighty symbol of the collapse of a millennia-old world in Europe. It is the antagonist from below against the awakening of a new national feeling, which also reaches back over millennia from the sure instinct to possess unchanging foundations of character on this deepest, but also firmest ground of one's own people's *Jch*, now that much

The intermediate one has been questioned. Bolshevism gathers in the world not economic theorists of communist type of thinking, but the desperate victims of the liberal-capitalist epoch, it attracts adventurers from all over the world, it needs, after all, as a vanguard the criminality of all world cities, what an American rightly called the *Untermenschentum*. Bolshevism has conquered a state and tyrannically dominates the people. It destroyed the creative forces of this people, but in its carriers it proved incapable of saving even the once bread-rich Russia from hunger, it was incapable of shaping even slight construction; it had to subjugate - as a "workers' state" - precisely the workers more than ever any other political form. Finally, it had to ask for help from the insulted peoples of Europe and the USA. And it received it, because the "economy" of these countries, which was in distress, was on the lookout for income and profits. Thus the peoples are building with their own hands those armies which are destined to overwhelm them all once in league with all the half-breeds of Asia and all the blacks of Africa.

Bolshevism cannot be fought by cannons, not by military coalitions, but only by the living realization that all Marxist internationals have brought no salvation but only disaster to the workers of all peoples. Every worker is just as much a member of a people's organism as the peasant and the bourgeois. He, more than anyone else, is bound to his homeland. And if a liberal-capitalist age has stolen this homeland from him, he must not co-eroticize it, but must reconquer it. In this upheaval in the soul of the "proletariat," in the elimination of the entire leadership of the Marxist International, lies the possibility of overcoming even Bolshevism as a final consequence.

of Marxism, lies one of the most important broadcasts of the young nationalism of our days.

From the problem given to each people, a pan-European problem arises again, here a deeply cultural, almost religious one. Here also lies the final touchstone for whether the peoples of Europe not only mock surviving forms, but whether they have sunk so far as to let their spiritual substance be trampled underfoot at all. It may be pronounced as the deepest conviction that the decisive battle between form and chaos will be fought out in Germany. A weakening of its vitality, no matter by what interventions, would therefore only benefit the anti-European thought and bring it victory from Singapore over Calcutta to the Rhine. And that it then can no longer stop is clear to everyone who is willing to think even a little deeper about this world danger.

It is useless to try to pass over the life problems of Europe with a smooth hand. The questions have been asked, they must be answered, but this is still easier today than if an unmanly way of thinking were to hesitate with the answer out of convenience and thereby perhaps let the conditions of the future become entangled to the point of insolubility. But the demands on Europe are

Europe stands as a power-political unit before Asia and Africa. Europe recognizes the soul and nature of all races, of all existing cultures and renounces to want to impose the soul life of the white people on the peoples of other races. Europe recognizes the two great nations and states of the yellow race and their rights to life. But Europe must unanimously secure the domination of those Asiatic-African territories which its people need, all the more so as the contemplated

The new state will not be able to establish itself as a sovereign nation in the coming years.

But Europe can appear politically and economically united only if it recognizes the deepest law of its being, the fourfold soul of its culture, and grants to each tree of life, according to its strength, the fulfillment and right to grow and blossom. It is a law of the self-preservation of the whole when the crass streams of these great peoples stand back to back and not against each other: Germany to the east and northeast, France to the south, Italy to the southeast and east, Great Britain directed across the seas. The obstruction of the activity of one of the great European cultural forces would have to be regarded by all three others as an attack on their own vital interests and responded to accordingly.

Only then, with spiritual diversity that can never be suppressed, can a unity of Europe come into being, under which the smaller peoples can also fulfill their existence on their soil. Only then, however, will this unity also be able to appear to the outside world, to other continents and races.

If this does not succeed, then we all go towards the fate of Sparta and Athens, but we have caused this fate ourselves and thus also deserve it.

## The Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP

**"Völkischer Beobachter," April 5, 1933.**

A representative of the "National Socialist Party Correspondence" had the opportunity to ask Alfred Rosenberg, the head of the NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office, which was newly established on April 1, 1933, about the origins and tasks of this office. Pg. Alfred Rosenberg explained among other things:

The foreign policy was treated by the NSDAP, with consciousness as a delicate question, which was to be settled by no means bureaucratically. For this reason, the Fuehrer assigned the years on certain questions of a foreign policy nature to various personalities directly familiar with the problems and had them inform him of the results of this individual work.

It gradually became apparent that the general great interest in our policy caused some party organizations to take a stand on foreign policy questions on their own initiative, which often led to various misunderstandings. Therefore, it has become necessary to have a unity which will make all such subjective advances impossible for the future. This is all the more important now, when the National Socialist movement is the strongest political force in Germany and the word of a representative of the NSDAP carries more weight today than the word of any other political group.

Alfred Rosenberg expressed the following views on the further tasks of the NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office:

Germany is now being visited by a large number of interested personalities from all parts of the world

visited. It is urgently necessary that these can be referred immediately to an authoritative central office of the NSDAP. Another area of work for the Foreign Policy Office is the observation of events abroad and the deepening of knowledge about the work of various personalities.

In general, the tasks of the Foreign Policy Office include working through the problems of the Eastern region, the Danube area, the great question of German equality, and the recruitment of young personalities who might one day be called upon to play an active part in Germany's foreign policy destiny.

The Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP, reports directly to the Führer and through its preparatory work will assist him in making the necessary resolutions.

As soon as the Office is established, more detailed instructions on all these matters will be issued to the relevant party agencies.

In conclusion, Alfred Rosenberg stated:

The fate of the German nation, together with the internal rebirth of Germany, will depend on the shaping of foreign policy developments, on precise knowledge of events and on unerring consideration of the situation.

I hope that through the Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP, the realization can be carried into the German people that foreign policy is not the affair of a small caste, but must be the affair of the whole nation, and that it must know how to represent its will to live firmly and worthily as a prerequisite for an entire state renewal.

## The New Germany and the Treaty of Versailles.

**This speech was delivered on June 28, 1933, on the anniversary of the Dictates of Versailles, in the Reichstagssitzungs- hall in the Krolloper.**

Today we commemorate one of the darkest days of German history in a different frame of mind and in a different political situation than before. Today a wave of confidence and faith goes through the German lands. The German people's soul is preparing to inwardly overcome the heavy fate of 14 years. And precisely because we are carried by great hopes, the shadows of Versailles appear to us deeper and blacker than before. The 14 years that have passed over all the world have made us forget many things. They have also caused much of what took place in Germany itself to fade.

Even today, it is not a matter of presenting details. But the position which the Versailles Treaty occupies in our eyes in world history must be clearly described. It is necessary to go back to its very origins. We do not recognize the Treaty of Versailles as having come into being legally. We deny it the moral right to call itself a "treaty" and have therefore spoken of a "dictate" for 14 years. We are convinced - and I believe that a future historiography of all Nations will one day also gain this conviction - that between October 5 and November 11, 1918, something took place which is called a "preliminary peace" under international law. This preliminary peace is after



of the German arms stretching was not respected, but violated.

At the beginning of October, the German Chancellor had asked President Wilson to initiate peace negotiations. This request was followed by a long diplomatic debate, and exactly one month later the American government informed Germany of the Entente's willingness to conclude an agreement on the basis of President Wilson's message, the so-called 14 Points.

Today it cannot be said that this offer of the Entente was somehow sudden. On the contrary, the leading men at that time discussed the problems in great detail, and in the reply note it was expressly emphasized that the 14 points were recognized as the basis of peace - with two exceptions. These exceptions were precisely described: the interpretation of the concept of freedom of the seas and the provision that the occupied territories would not only be restored, but that payment would also be made for all damage caused by attacks at sea, on land and in the air.

Everyone was pushing for an armistice at that time, even Marshal Haig later wrote down that the Entente also urgently needed the armistice and that finally the United States of North America almost threatened a separate peace with Germany.

So there were also very real reasons over there to strive for a preliminary peace, and the Entente's General Note of June 16, 1919, still expressly referred to these preliminary peace negotiations as a legal basis. Between

November 1918 and June 1919, however, Germany was disarmed. What had been promised before was suddenly no longer valid, and the 14 points were almost no longer available as a basis for negotiation during the negotiations at Versailles.

On January 18, 1919, that is, on the anniversary of the founding of the German Reich, the Peace Conference was opened in Paris. And now, although east after internal struggles within the conference itself, blow after blow took place, directed against Germany, against Germany's present and against Germany's future. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine was taken for granted. The taking away of the German colonies was decided in a meeting of a few minutes. The establishment of a 50 kilometer zone was set up as a special disgrace for Germany. Then began the great struggle over the organization of Germany's eastern frontiers, and this one example shows how much the Peace Conference was deserted by sensible leadership and how much it was dominated by an almost blind passion.

In his 14 points, Wilson had promised the Poles free access to the sea. By this he understood, and at first all others understood, nothing more than that Gdansk would become a free port and that the lower course of the Vistula would be internationalized. Under constant pressure from the Polish representatives in America and at the conference, this point was then shaped in such a way that free access to the sea was understood to mean the cutting up of the German *Dolkskörper*: from a free port of Danzig to the internationalization of the lower reaches of the Vistula. became a

so-called "Free State" detached from the German national body and from the German state, and from the internationalization of the Vistula became a wide Polish territory, which is wrongly called only a "Polish corridor".

A great many voices have been raised in the midst of the conference against this unreasonable arrangement. General Smuts of South Africa has written a protest to Lloyd George. The representative of America, General Bliss, has also raised his voice against it. Lloyd George himself wrote a memorandum on the subject and warned for a time against this outrageous regulation. But all these voices were to no avail. When the elections to the Weimar National Assembly took place, it turned out that in the area we call the Polish corridor, well over half of the eligible voters declared themselves in favor of Germany, declared themselves in favor of German parties. All this, however, had no influence whatsoever on the peace conference. President Wilson had further on 11. February a message was addressed to the American Senate, where he clearly stated that there should be no annexations, no tributes, no claims for damages as punishments. This word had hardly faded away when the opposing forces came forward. The result of these solemn promises was that Germany was to pay hundreds and hundreds of billions. The figures ranged from 200 to 400 billion, far more than the entire German national wealth. Finally, almost a blank power of attorney for the Entente powers came out.

Germany has now had 14 years to bleed and suffer under this dictate of tribute as a consequence of Versailles.

If Wilson promised not to pronounce any punishment, then after long negotiations the notorious 8 231 was inserted, which not only pronounced Germany guilty of unleashing the world war from the ropes of the Entente, but which brought an insertion, whereby Germany had to recognize this sentence of her opponents as rightly existing. This was, I believe, the greatest disgrace that could ever be inflicted on a great nation in its history.

While these negotiations were going on, the Saar region was taken away from Germany for a long time. The French representative stood up and declared: 150000 French people lived in the Saar area. An address of the Saar inhabitants with a huge number of signatures was produced. Later it turned out that these signatures had been forged by the enemy. This did not prevent Germany during these 14 years from losing its rule over the Saar region, which was as internationally governed as it was misgoverned. At the same time, Germany was deprived of its merchant fleet and confiscated German private property throughout the world, the fruit of decades and centuries of German hard work and humanity.

If today in various countries the new government, which is trying to overcome the old party structures, is accused of Bolshevism, because allegedly another opinion, another party, just as in Moscow, cannot exist, we must declare that if once a "Bolshevik" intervention has taken place, it was then, when the capitalist Entente seized the German private property, then it is now the case that the new government is being accused of Bolshevism.

took. The principle of property, on which politics and the economy had stood for centuries, was broken at that time and this break has not been restored to this day.

There came a whole series of other serious interventions: the German cables - worth billions - were expropriated. The German war fleet had to be delivered and sank on a hero's day in Scapa Flow Bay.

It cannot be the purpose here to list all these hundreds of details and to prove them in more detail, but only to indicate what a force of events weighed on the German people at that time and what unrestrained passion burned against Germany at that time.

Finally, the entire peace conference set itself the goal of keeping Germany disarmed on the ground forever and of carrying through its disarmament to the end. But in order to justify this monstrous decision somehow, it was written and promised that German disarmament would be the initiation of a general arms limitation. Hundreds of demands have been made on Germany during these 14 years. One single right has been granted to it, and this one right has been attempted to be withheld from it for 10 years. General Bliss, the chief American representative on this question, later declared in Philadelphia: "In full good faith and on their honor, the 27 nations have solemnly undertaken to make a general limitation of armaments as soon as practicable after Germany has fulfilled her previous obligations." Before his death, Marshal Foch still firmly affirmed that Germany had indeed disarmed. Germany has

fulfilled, and the right, the German right to the disarmament of others, has been recognized in recent years by Henderson, Lloyd George and many other statesmen.

The Disarmament Commission has been working in Gens since 1925, and the Conference on Disarmament has been working for a year and a half. And still one talks about the control of German civil aviation. One talks about the German police. They talk about the world danger that has been created by the present German police force. One talks about the SA. and one talks about the military units. They just don't talk about the real issue: the disarmament obligations of the other side. And here the security of France is an almost insurmountable barrier to all negotiations. France today is a single fortress from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. France has the largest army in Europe. France faces a demilitarized German zone. French fortress tubes can comfortably sweep the entire German industrial area. France has the strongest air fleet on the continent. In the East it has heavily armed allies. It is guaranteed by the Locarno Treaty. Nevertheless, to this day it still declares that its security is threatened. I believe that if these things really get through to the European public, and if the French authorities continue to declare in the future that France's security is threatened, then these French authorities will be pronouncing a judgment on the quality of their people that we ourselves do not want to agree with.

What is endangered in today's situation is not the French state, but German-

country. We have every reason to accept the French security thesis, for no nation in the world today is more endangered in its existence than the German. The fact that still unknown airplanes can scatter propaganda leaflets all over the German Reich without being caught has symbolically shown how degrading and humiliating the position in world politics still is for Germany today.

All over the world people are talking today about the settlement of the Jewish question in Germany: it is barbaric that the German government discriminates against a whole people like the Jews. We have only to note here that the German government has made the greatest efforts to change in the most chivalrous and lawful manner the untenable condition which has existed since 1918. We believe that it is intolerable - and we believe that any unprejudiced foreign observer will also understand this - when in the Reich capital, for instance, of all the lawyers 74% were Jews, when the hospitals of Berlin had 80% Jewish doctors. This is a condition which had not been brought about by any special achievement of the lawyers and doctors concerned, but had come about because a certain political system had chosen and employed only Jewish doctors, etc. It was therefore necessary that our German offspring, who had been starving and begging over the years, should now also come to work and bread. We have not discriminated against an entire people here; we have only restored justice and parity. I believe that the government has even gone much further: it has restored to the professions of 21 Blood and Lore all those who have not taken a direct part in the discrimination against Germany.

so that even now we still have about 30% Jewish lawyers in Berlin. That is still 30 times more than the percentage of the Jewish people.

This is not a matter of so-called persecution and marriage of the Jews, but merely of justice towards the German nation. However, I would also like to express my purely private opinion that if the other nations had experienced something similar to what we Germans have experienced in the course of the fourteen years, they would perhaps not have proceeded in such a lawful and restrained manner as we have. We deny anyone the right to accuse us of discriminating against the Jews as long as a degradation of the great German people by the Versailles Unfriedensvertrag is tolerated or even defended.

The right of others to disarm is internationally recognized. Now one hears in some parliaments in other states: as long as a dictatorship exists in Germany, there can be no talk of a revision of the treaties. We wish to state here before all the public that the right of revision has never been made dependent on an internal form of government. Article 19 of the League of Nations Act, which provides that international treaties which have become untenable may be amended, does not say a word about a special form of state, a special regime, being the prerequisite if any people were to make such demands. This is an attempt to put the whole question on a false track and to bring about an obvious shift in the whole state of affairs. If the others do not disarm, they have not fulfilled their obligations. They ha



Thus, the companies that have begun to revise their contracts have violated their own contracts and have lost the right to make any further claims against us.

This is the general political situation in which we find ourselves today. But we must also note something else: not only do they not want to grant us political peace, they also want to prohibit us from establishing social peace in Germany. Germany, as the Reich Chancellor stated on May 17, has lost far more than 200,000 people to suicide in this decade. These are the victims of Versailles, these are the victims of the tributes, these are the victims of all those oppressions to which Germany has been delivered. Germany has lost about 1 million emigrants in this decade, people who will probably be lost for the most part to the German nation, who were enterprising and probably not the worst of the German nation.

All this we must book as a national loss from the account of Versailles and its consequences. As a result of this dictate and these tributes, Germany has had an ever-increasing number of unemployed: seven million and more. The present government of the Reich is making the strongest and greatest efforts to master this mood of doom in Germany, to create work and bread. And I believe that the last major projects that have been published have shown the German people and the world that here an energetic fist has finally tackled this unemployment problem. In order to create work and to steel people, to make them inwardly strong, this work will **come\***

of the years, this is what the labor service is called to do.

§

But we have to add very serious conclusions to these charges. We all knew that we could not expect good things from the enemy. For fourteen years we have not only reproached the Entente, but we have declared that the Entente was able to act in this way because it had accomplices in Germany. Thus, when we speak of Versailles, it is necessary to add that the French type of democracy was alien to our nature, and that the parliamentary system in its entire ideological foundation was, after all, also the ideology of those who ruled from 1918 until now. It is shocking to read how Bethmann-Hollweg writes in his "Memoirs" that Germany had nothing like the propaganda and the world of thought of the Entente. A German Chancellor thus declared himself inwardly bankrupt from the outset to lead his nation with a great slogan. Inwardly and ideologically, he was not at home in Berlin, but in Paris. And his successors? They drew the conclusions from this. If the Foreign Minister Rathenau was able to write down his infamous words: "If the German Kaiser had been victorious, world history would have lost its meaning," I believe that this man should least of all have been German Foreign Minister. The blame for having kept this man falls on all those who now have nothing left to order in Germany. We must remember the activities of Erzberger, the leader of the Center, who, at the time when the peace treaty in Weimar was being debated, went almost every day to the

French observer and representative went and reported to him on the negotiations with the success that the French representative was able to telegraph to Pans: "The Germans accept everything, mitigations are not necessary."

We have experienced all this. We have also experienced how the German fatherland defenders were called professional murderers by the press in Berlin. We have seen the German front-line soldier brought as a corpse with a steel helmet on his head to a German stage in Berlin, and the paid actor kicking him and saying, "Dirt, get rid of it!"

The gentlemen of Adolf Hitler and his movement were not forgiven for this, and the reckoning with the November criminals has now begun. In the full feeling of their power and out of the triumphant feeling of having achieved what they had been striving for for decades, they had thrown off all masks and overcome all inhibitions. But for fourteen years all this has been recorded in the book of the German Revolution, and the time will come when the foreign countries, still uninformed today, will also take note of these facts and will then also understand what has taken place in Germany and what still has to take place.

For fourteen years, we have been convinced that an economic German foreign policy can only be conducted with a united people, and that a foreign policy cannot be successfully represented if it is backed by parties that openly declare that treason is a matter of honor. In the Foreign Affairs Committee of the German

In the second Reichstag, they simply did not talk about German foreign policy, because they knew that the next day everything about it would be known in Paris and Moscow. We believe that German foreign policy is not only a matter of insight and wisdom, but above all a matter of character, and what is happening in Germany right now is the cleansing of this German character of all parasites.

One wanted to subjugate Germany forever in Versailles. They wanted to divide it socially, and finally they wanted to dismember it through separatist movements. I believe that other nations would have perished under similar pressure. But we are experiencing the mystery of our time: that today, after these terrible years, the German people is celebrating its greatest resurrection and rebirth.

Meister Eckehart once said, "The deepest wells are those that carry the highest waters." And when we speak of Versailles, we must also take something positive from it. Namely, that the passionate and hateful will of the men who sat together at Versailles at that time has become one of the causes of this German revival, which today is directed against their work.

We believe that Germany, under the heavy pressure of a great destiny, has accomplished in the course of ten years a development for which the other nations will perhaps need another fifty years. We believe that many of the problems which have grown up on the basis of Versailles, but also on the basis of other structures of life in Germany, and which in part have become

The problems, which are already solved, are also problems, which move the other nations. However, we believe that it is not possible to teach all nations from one thought. Each nation has its law, its history, its blood, its character, its tradition. And this should not be disturbed.

But the direction of thought that now an epoch of 150 years of the French world of thought is perishing, is today already slowly asserting itself in the souls and spirits of many millions and millions throughout the world. For the mammoth conferences that are coming together are no longer a sign of great inner strength, but a symbol of the inner abandonment, thoughtlessness and hopelessness of a declining age.

The German Revolution is therefore an elevation to social peace, to a pacification within the Reich itself, and precisely for this reason it also strives to maintain a just peace externally, in order to solve the problem of our time: the social question, in the sense of genuine socialism, that is, in the sense of social justice secured by the state.

We believe that it is not we who threaten world peace, but that the Versailles Treaty in its misconstruction not only makes Germany unsatisfied, but also endangers the peace of the other nations. We believe that if today a strong movement against Germany becomes perceptible, if the boycott, which was preached publicly in former times, continues to fritter inwardly, we can say to the other nations: after many trials Germany has finally found the form of state which is appropriate to it and to the 20th century. This anti-communist, national-socialist form of state-

The new German constitution is an element of stability that has not existed in Central Europe for 20 years. If, therefore, any small groups in other states call for economic boycotts with the aim of breaking this new Germany, they are doing something which the majority of the other peoples should actually oppose of their own accord: they are abusing the sovereignty of the other states. They do not ask whether England or America has a vital interest in being at enmity with today's Germany. These small groups simply demand the intervention of the other states for their minority interests.

We also believe that if Adolf Hitler's Germany were really to be brought down by a ring of enemies, a new democratic era would not follow, but chaos would spread throughout Central Europe and the whole of Europe. That would be the end of world peace. The end of all economic reason. But it would also be the end of all those young states which today believe that they still have to ally themselves politically against Germany. The German Revolution is not directed against any one country, against any other people, against any of the new states. Precisely because it has an enormous task to fulfill within the country, it is striving for peace towards the outside world as well.

I believe that if we start the German revolution with the August days of 1914 and the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 26, the anniversary of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, this revolution has more honorable ancestors than the Treaty of Versailles.

In the depths of the German soul, an uprising has come alive. It has not come alive through

an abstract theory, but it is a revolution of instinct, a revolution of character.

Our struggle is directed at this shaping of the German essence. This struggle is for the overcoming of those "peace" and "strife" treaties which have not only enslaved Germany, but also threaten the peace of the other peoples. This struggle is for the resurrection of the German soul, for the recognition of German national law. It is a struggle for the idea of young nationalism, for the idea of an empire of social strict justice in the struggle for Germany's honor and freedom.

## The Dying World Economic Conference.

**"Völkischer Beobachter," July 6, 1933.**

The conference of the world economy in London was probably the largest international meeting we have experienced. 66 countries with 2000 representatives formed a mammoth gathering of experts from all over the world to finally investigate the causes of the world crisis and to proceed from the diagnosis to the cure of the people. Even before the beginning of the deliberations, the whole world had the unpleasant feeling that this great conference had not been prepared at all or only very incompletely, that above all there was a lack of clear guiding thoughts and proposals which could form the basis of the experts' debates. The feeling spread more and more that the conference leadership wanted to see all nations, as it were, under moral pressure with the aim of letting the attempt to blow up this conference end with the defamation of the blaster.

The debates which ensued showed only too clearly that the whole development of the times today no longer strives for a unification of world economic forces, that rather the attempts of the finance-capitalist 19th century to have all national economies flow into a supreme world economic sphere have long since become obsolete and a retrograde movement has set in. The thrust of President Roosevelt, that is, the representative of a highly capitalist state, was to point to a world revolution in the development of which we stand, and to emphasize that America, above all din-



The fact that the American government wanted to place its own economy at the center of its thinking meant the clearest break with all attempts at global economic standardization, unless the ?ux umoriaunu, i.e. American peace under absolute dollar rule, was recognized as the basis of the negotiations.

The arrival of 2000 experts from all over the world was therefore not a sign of great strength, but on the contrary the symptom of an outlived age, which tried to cover up its inner weakness and faithlessness by mass mobilization. National Socialism has long since drawn the theoretical conclusions from this and is now, as a state, also proceeding to realize them in practice. This is not an accusation against individual delegates, but a simple statement of the world-political and world-economic state of affairs, which has been familiar to National Socialism for fourteen years, making a difference between financial-capitalist and truly national-economic thinking. National Socialism has always emphasized that we have a true national economy almost nowhere, and that what appears to purely financial economic thinking as unprofitable is vital from the standpoint of a national economy.

This change from financial capitalism to organic thinking is now taking place with great rapidity among all healthy and vigorous peoples, and however much attempts are still being made today by Marxists and Jews to stage a world boycott against Germany and to portray the thinking of the National Socialist movement as barbaric, the facts of our time are stronger than these spasmodic efforts. If today's Germany keeps calm nerves - and there is no doubt about that - the German revolutionary idea of the labor front between entrepreneurs and workers, the idea of a regulated

The idea of financing by the state from the side of the consumer is becoming more and more prevalent. Just as the once hushed idea of a world republic, the United States of Europe, will give way to a balanced system of certain large states based on national life interests, so the idea of a world economy controlled from above will have to disappear and an exchange of mutually circumscribed spatial economic interests will have to come. The great age of a shapeless expansion from all areas will give way to an inner agglomeration, and with it, from all areas of life, an essential trait of the 20th century is revealed. The faster a state decides to follow these inner laws of nature, the more it will be able to become thought-leading, the more lasting its recovery will become visible to the rest of the world. We deny that 2,000 people will come to better and wiser decisions than a body of ten men who have grasped the upheaval of the times. We therefore trust in the organic development that is taking place and hope that, after the 19th century has been overcome in one state after another, the time will also come when a small body of heads, experiencing the marching line of the 20th century, will come together in order to really make the necessary demarcations in the sense of cooperation between national economies, between Europe and the other continents, and between Europe and America vis-à-vis the other powers of the globe, based on the interests of life and not on private profit interests.

## The Racial Conditionality of Foreign Policy.

**This lecture was given by Alfred Rosenberg at the "Party Congress of Victory" in Nuremberg, September 1933, before the Party Congress.**

We are not for a moment in any doubt that almost throughout the world there is a rejection, and in some cases a passionate aversion, toward the new Germany and the National Socialist Revolution. This negative attitude of a large part of the foreign countries is certainly not due to malice, nor primarily to the counter-work of the "emigrants" from Germany, but in our opinion has much deeper causes. The existence of all states is burdened with serious spiritual, political and social problems, is threatened by what is generally called the "world crisis". It is understandable that the peoples who did not suffer as much as Germany after the great battles of 1914/18 should have retained a stronger driving force from the structure of their pre-war life and should therefore try to cope with the newly arising questions by the means of the past.

Germany had been in a very different situation for the last 14 years. Not only had it sacrificed its best blood, but the empire had been dismembered, huge tribute demands were draining its soul and manpower, and tremendous power-political pressure was weighing on the entire nation as a result of the Versailles truce.

In addition, a system began to prevail within the empire that was contrary to all great traditions.

of the German people, even denying everything that was in accordance with the eternal values of Germanness. Under this terrible pressure, Germany has now accomplished in 14 years a development for which, under other circumstances, it would have taken many decades, perhaps a century. In this very short period of time, which is very short for the life of a nation, all the possibilities of former state and social forms have been tried out, with the result that they have not been able to contain the problems of our time and the fragmentation of the nation has continued to progress.

Because National Socialism with its leader had seen through the illness of the time more clearly than the others, because National Socialism was a great experience of a comprehensive kind, in that it wanted to assert the eternal values of the nation according to the demands and with the help of the modern forms of our time, it was able to give the new Reich its way and the German nation its long-awaited unity again.

We believe, therefore, that in order to be able to judge the situation in Germany at all, one must first recognize the fact of a rapid development fostered under strong pressure as a prerequisite of judgment. We are therefore proudly convinced that Germany has not "returned to the Middle Ages" as a result of the national revolution, but in many questions occupies a spiritual and political position to which fate, even if in longer periods of time, will also force the other valuable nations in forms that are in accordance with their character.

The nationalism of the 19th century has died today. As a young movement, it was a world phenomenon that burst into unconditional grandeur during the German wars of liberation; a phenomenon that the

The uprising of the Italian nation led to political unity; an uprising which seized the peoples of the Balkans as well as the nations of South America. But the fundamental insight for us is that both Germany and many other nations had united politically, but that the social cultural unity, which struggled with the state to form a single entity, had not yet been realized. The great attempt of such an overall view, however, is given by the National Socialist movement. The nationalism of the 19th century very soon passed either into the hands of a dynastic cabinet policy, as we could observe it at the Viennese court or in Napoleon's empire, or, on the other hand, it fell into the clutches of international financial magnates, who converted the longing call from all peoples into election slogans, which were to benefit the private interests of these financial magnates. The great Panama scandal in France, certain processes of the founding period of the Bismarck Empire, the futile attempts of French Boulangism, unheard prophetic cries of Nietzsche and Paul de Lagarde, all show this struggle of genuine national will with those forces which regarded money as a drive to power and saw the power of nations for speculative private interests. Thus, nationalism was no longer rooted in the people, but was transformed into the battle cry of popular literati, cosmopolitans, and big businessmen.

The socialist movement has fared similarly to nationalism. It was once a healthy protest of a race that had been cheated of its right to live by technological development. The protest was genuine and justified; for it showed that a strong will

grew up not to be disenfranchised as a pariah and not to be treated as a slave. This socialism, springing from the völkisch sense of right, fell into exactly the same hands as nationalism. It was poisoned by international phrases, and a Jewish doctrine, which had nothing in common with the folklore of the various countries, preached class struggle as a means of achieving a supposedly socially just condition.

The followers of this doctrine overlooked the fact that if one part of an organism is called to revolt against the other, in the end not a strengthening of the whole, but a destruction of the body in general must be the result. Today we see" that wherever this Marrism came to rule, it could only produce corrupt conditions of social and political life because of its parasitic origin.

Attuned to cosmopolitan thoughts, founded on a 2nd or 3rd International detached from blood and soil, it could not enter into the healthy aspirations of a people, but had to create for itself ever new artificial electoral excitements. He could do this only with the help of big money.

Thus the fact that international Marrism is almost everywhere the servant, or at most the vainly revolting slave of high finance, is not a coincidence, but the necessary consequence of an organically wrong doctrine, contrary to nature and therefore promoting every decomposition, threatening the health of all nations. The tremors which today shake through the whole world are the revenge of nature against the intellectual attempt to break through its laws.

But when abstract ideologies come into conflict with aristocratic laws of organic life,

spasmodic convulsions of the various folk organisms arise. In the end, however, nature always triumphs, even if it demands millions of victims, yes, wipes out whole peoples. It then comes about as Plato once said: the Athenian law, according to which the most capable are "captured like young lions", only to be misled by "magic songs and juggleries" of the preachers of equality, destroys the demands of life. But if one rises again, he tramples these false magic means and rises radiantly as the "right of nature".

To this philosophical-historical picture we National Socialists add our movement, in internal politics, in cultural politics and in foreign politics. We recognize that Volkstum is a value in itself, to which other interests of a domestic nature must necessarily submit, not a means for dynasties or world-political financial machinations. This one realization, however, leads straight into that field which is most attacked by the outside world, the science of race. And to the assertion that without the deeper knowledge of this question also the history and with it the foreign policy of the peoples on the one hand cannot be understood, on the other hand without it also in the future cannot be regulated organically.

We believe that the greatest discovery of our time consists in the experience and in the strictly scientific proof that it is no coincidence if on this globe people of different kinds walk, if from the conditions of these peculiarities different states, cultures and forms of life arise, that thus blood and character are only different words for the same being.

We know that a nation is represented by the predominance of a certain character, conditioned by blood; further, by language, by geographical

SS VIM unb Lhn

environment and by em common political destiny-feeling. However, we also know that the latter circumstances are not the final ones, but that the blood, the wet dominant within a nation, is the decisive element.

The sun of Homer shines today still over the same spot of earth as 3000 years ago, the blue sea washes still today the same coasts as then, and nevertheless on this ground no more Parthenon arises, no more Iliad is sung there anew, because the racially conditioned humanity of the Greeks, as it stands before us eternally banished in stone, has disappeared from the face of the earth.

A nation never consisted and never consists today of a uniformly gray mixture of all varieties, but at its first awakening the great poets and heroes stand before us as the embodiment of eternal values of a certain blood soul. And if a nation, looking back on these first great manifestations, can no longer understand them and cannot continue to create in their sense, it is inwardly lost as a people and will then also be unable to assert itself outwardly full of faith and strength.

The old view of history taught an abstract "development" to the goal of a so-called Christianization of all people and races, the 18th and 19th century proclaimed a so-called humanization of mankind. Today's experience establishes that both are only imagined theories, abstract wishful thinking, that never from a something of any kind another can become, that never from nothing something develops, which did not already exist before in the germ, but that only a quite certain nucleus also possesses the facilities and possibilities of formation given only to it, just as from a grain of wheat no barley develops.



At the decline of the Athenian state, the great Isocrates declared nm 458:

"But it is not the state that is to be praised as happy, which accumulates many citizens from all ends, but the one that best preserves the race of those who have been settled from the beginning".

If, therefore, the Germanic essence is brought to the fore as the decisive factor for the new Germany, this is the restoration of all those prerequisites from which the great German cities, the whole of the old honor-conditioned German legal life, the heroic German music and the great poetry from the Hildebrand Song to Faust once arose.

This means, however, and this is the decisive point, not the preaching of a racial hatred, but, on the contrary, the prerequisite for a genuine racial respect and inner recognition of the values and ^cultural achievements also of other nations, thus strengthening all races against the chaos and waste of the world cities.

If today's Italy, for example, emphasizes its Mediterranean tradition, it can do so with pride, and on the part of the Germans this emphasis will no more be taken as arrogance than we ask that the Germanic revival in Germany not be judged as arrogance. We believe that, in spite of all the theories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which still exist, this knowledge of blood is today swinging mysteriously around the whole globe, and one nation after another is being irresistibly seized by it, without us, moreover, considering ourselves justified in wanting to interfere in this process.

If some reservations are raised by the Anglo-Saxon side, we understand this, for example, from the tradition of Great Britain. Mr. understands the personal carelessness of the Briton as resulting from LZ\*

-sprouted from a sense of tested insular independence, which etz more possibilities for the individual than for the German, who was threatened from all sides. That is why the Briton so seldom understands the necessity of Prussia's disciplined columns. And yet we believe we know that the British Empire, too, is based on the racial master standpoint of the white man and will last only so long as this form of self-assertion persists. For the Portuguese colonial empire shows us as experimental proof that only through this racial and mental divorce can colonial empires be dominated. The old palaces of Goa are today entangled by the jungle, on their tiles the snakes of the jungle curl, and a powerless humanity from the lightest to the blackest brown gives tidings of the end of a once powerful state, which perished because it did not obey the voice of blood. Dor of the history the question arises whether it will look once similarly in Calcutta.

We also understand the strong individualism of North America. The great freedom and conquest of the first pioneers continues to have an effect today. And what the sea was to the British as security, the vast immense space in the United States was to the American immigrants. These immigrants, however, who at that time came from England, Germany and Scandinavia in particular, were of primitive blood and, as is well known, the English language triumphed over the German as the language of the state with only a majority of one vote. From these kindred elements the United States came into being and its generously conceived constitutions. The further huge immigration streams, however, came from very different countries. As a defense against this, the American Union then instinctively enacted its immigration laws. These laws deliberately encourage the in

migration of Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians and reject dis Eastern and Southern Europeans whenever possible, out of the instinct that the character of the Ureim- migratuTon and thus the basis of the existence of the United States would be endangered by an over- take of races or peoples of a different nature.

Nevertheless, a major wet problem is emerging for the U.S. as well. The 12 million blacks who now populate North America are multiplying more than the whites; in a few decades, perhaps, these blacks will make up 20 to 25 percent of the population. Neuyvrk is also home to over 2 million Jews. The yellow race in the West faces history as another major problem.

Germany, to its detriment, has never had such strict immigration laws; when it collapsed in 1918, adventurers from all over the world poured into the major German cities, and that race from Eastern Europe received a double boost from mass immigration from Galicia,

If today one endeavors to exploit this racial balance between Germans and Jews, which has already become historical, for a concentric fight against the young Germany, then I believe that from what has been said before about blood and character the one fact arises that the regulation which has now been made has not sprung from a personal malice, not even from a hatred imputed to us, but from a fateful necessity.

We believe that if any other Natron had experienced the outbreak of Jewish racial instincts to a similar degree as Germany, it would not treat the Jewish question with as much restraint as Adolf Hitler's Germany did.

In 1918, that is, at the moment when the last spiritual reserves for the resurrection of Germany had to be gathered, we experienced that almost the entire rule of the state, of society, of culture was in the hands of this foreign race, which together with the old parties (the Social Democracy, the Democracy and the Center) carried out the oppression of the German nation. It was possible that a Jewish minister of agriculture - Rathenau - could write down publicly that if the German emperor had won, world history would have lost its meaning. It was possible that a Jewish magazine unobjectionably portrayed the soldier, the defender of the German fatherland as a "professional murderer", that a German newspaper, which used to be widely read all over the world, called the heroic ideal the "stupidest of all ideals". It was possible that railroad murderers were exempted from the death penalty because the whole Jewish press was in favor of these assassins; it was possible that eleven times previously convicted Jewish prisoners were released on the intervention of high Jewish politicians and recommended to the authorities as spiritually valuable people. The whole *Nechtsauffassung* of the German, as it had been trampled with feathers in the hushed-up scandal trials, was threatening to decay, and the German nation had almost already become a mindless mass, ripe for a red dictatorship, when the National Socialist movement, with its appeal to German character values, brought salvation in the last hour.

We note that while the Jews in Germany constituted 10/o of the population, the proportion of Jewish lawyers in Berlin, for example, was nearly 70/o, that in most of the hospitals of Berlin the percentage of Jewish physicians varied between 60 and 90/o,

that the major banks were almost all in Jewish hands, that the press of Greater Berlin and Frankfurt was almost exclusively Jewish-run, and that thus the whole life of the nation, both internally and externally, was dominated by a foreign race which contradicted Germanism in almost every respect and could not understand its needs at all.

If in these days the World Congress of Zionists in Prague in its resolution reproaches Germany that we are carrying out a religious persecution, we must reject this deliberate untruth, which was put into the world for the purpose of whipping up the other nations against the young Germany. In Germany no man has ever been persecuted by National Socialists because of his religious convictions, but the law against cruelty to animals by Jews is falsified as religious persecution. We want to draw the attention of the gentlemen organized in the Zionist movement to the triumph of their central organ in Germany, when the victory seemed to have been won. The "Jüdische Rundschau" in Berlin wrote in 1919 in No. 72:

"The questions concerning Jewish emigration shall be solved exclusively according to the interests of the Jewish people.... If the people are behind the solution, the Jews also have the power and influence to implement the demanded solution."

This one statement may stand for thousands. It means that in the Jewish camp they were aware that they were ruling over Germany's national interests almost absolutely, that in their arrogance they went so far as to publicly state in an official central organ of world Jewry in the middle of Germany that German national interests no longer existed.

What is happening in Germany today is therefore not a persecution of the Jews, but the re-establishment of the Jews.

lation of the most elementary justice towards the German people, a parity which even goes far beyond what Judaism would have to claim in terms of numbers.

In the most chivalrous manner, the German government has exempted from the percentage regulation those Jews who fought for Germany at the front or who lost a son or father in the war. One cannot ask more of a tormented people under heavy foreign policy pressure if one does not wish them to give up themselves forever. One can strive for the restoration of the old condition only if one demands that the German people be led and governed not according to its character and not according to its necessities of life.

We have to explain to many a representative of foreign countries who wanted to accuse us Lei rejection of this suicide of discrimination against the entire Jewish nation, that those who tolerated or promoted the discrimination of the German nation by the Versailles Dictate for 14 years have no right to complain about the alleged discrimination against Jewry, which publicly boasted that it no longer recognizes German interests.

Now the serious question arises for all other nations, too, whether there is really an important vital interest among them to get into serious conflicts with the new Germany, merely because a Jewish minority so desires, which wants to see the sovereignty of all states in action for itself without further ado.

We ask the representatives of the various nations whether it is in their vital interest to contribute to chaos in Europe through world boycott, through political isolation of the German nation.

Communism, which already dominates one-sixth of the entire globe, would have suffered from the ongoing

Pressure of political and financial demands also seized Central Europe.

More than six million communist voters, 350 dead, almost 40,000 wounded of our movement are a parable for the fact that the red wave was preparing to roll to the Rhine, and we therefore see it not only as a salvation for Germany, but also for all Europe, if the advance of a world-shattering idea was stopped by Germany.

If this Europe, saved from the communist danger by the new Germany, were now to want to respond by destroying this very Germany, the rise of the communist tide would be higher than ever before inevitable. Viewed objectively, the situation is such that every weakening of the present Germany means a strengthening of world communism, and that a collapse of Central Europe also means the collapse of the entire market for the other nations, at the same time as the rise of a fermenting political threat which could actually shatter the many thousands of years of culture of the West.

The German Revolution is therefore committed to its mission, not to allow the savage destruction of a great old world to be carried out, but to build a new empire on the basis of the great traditions in the forms of our time, after expelling all the toxins and all those alien ideas which threaten this culture.

It seems to us, therefore, that an ardent true National Socialist of our time must be a true representative of peace precisely because of this basic sentiment, because for him the blood of his people is the highest, most precious good, the use of which must be only the last, very last means. A political rule, however, which is not blood-like with the people ruled only by gold and press hypnosis, will

The new nationalism, however, has the reputation of ending an epoch in which the fate of millions of people was gambled on the stock exchanges of the world. The call of the new nationalism, however, is that an epoch must have its end, when the fate of millions of peoples was gambled on the stock exchanges of the world.

Blood is worth more than gold, the clod of earth is worth more than a block of shares, honor is worth more than the highest dividend, the people stand higher than the sum of all their businesses.

It is not German nationalism that threatens peace, but the speculation of certain cosmopolitan profiteers who see their monetary rule tottering and the other peoples awakening from hypnosis as well.

We point out to the nations, their leaders, their youth, the heavy tension of the other nations in the near and far East, which is becoming more and more palpable as a threat to competition. Shouldn't there be a realization that all the people of the white waters are bound by a common destiny, that, from the point of view of world history, Europe must form a unity in order to be able to survive the coming times of decision? Who, as a conscious leader of the European position, wants to take upon himself the responsibility for the disintegration of our venerable continent, just because in certain centers insatiable desires for power want to strike outward? And even if the complete defeat of Germany would succeed, the time of these European conflicts, caused by sick brains from the world cities, would be the signal of the uprising of all other wetlands of the globe against Europe and would let this perish in terrible convulsions, as once the old Nom broke under the blows of Near Eastern slaves.



All old ideas, whether pseudo-nationalist or universalist, wanted to make their one idea dominant over all peoples and to subject the most diverse rests to its forms.

Today's nationalism, however, does not want to force such a "development", but sees history as an interpretation of types, foreign policy therefore as a natural demarcation of cultural sects and their states that have grown out of them.

We believe, therefore, that it is precisely in the organic, respectful separation of these nationalisms, of which I spoke at the beginning, that the best guarantee has been given for the restoration of that national respect of nations for one another which had almost entirely disappeared from the world. We recognize the inherent lawfulness of the yellow race and wish for it in its habitat the development of its culture corresponding to its racial soul; we also refuse to want to "Europeanize" the black man, but we want to secure for him too his peculiarity in the midst of the domination of the white men, but we deny the preaching of the mixture of opposite races.

The laws of nature, which are expressed in plant and animal life, are also manifested in man; and such a mixture of races does not produce a nation, but only a chaos of peoples.

Within the white humanity of different origins and traditions, we respect the natural peculiarities that have all participated in the morality of the Occident, whether as so-called small peoples or as large states.

Precisely because of this realization, National Socialism, in contrast to the new capitalist nationalism of the 19th century, does not wish to suppress

of other peoples, but also rejects the rape of Germanness by foreign nations and states and prioat interests.

The German nation, in its awakening, demands the right of equality which has already been laid down in a document and solemnly promised; it expects the repeal of certain articles of the Versailles discord which discriminates against us, because it believes that through the pacification of the German nation a train of a general genuine peace will also pass through the world.

The days in Nuremberg are to be a milestone of a disciplined will of this German uprising, in order to give it the possibility of the inner development. Even if disapproving voices and negative statements from abroad will still be heard for a long time, we can only say one thing:

In the midst of the most severe humiliations, in the midst of a terrible foreign policy pressure and a life-threatening internal political decomposition, the German nation has not perished like so many peoples of the past, but is just now experiencing the mystery of its greatest rebirth.

The present generation, under Adolf Hitler's leadership, has overcome the confessional struggles that overshadowed centuries of bloodshed, it has overcome a thousand years of particularism, it has beaten to the ground the alien Marxist idea of class struggle and, as the fulfillment of an eighteen-century longing, it has established the unified Reich of the Germans, with the firm will to preserve its political independence, but also with the firm will to recognize every other genuine form of life.

We confess that it may have taken a great heavy fate to grasp the roots of German vitality. This experience rushes through today

like a mighty current the hearts of far more than 70 million Germans and unites them to the deepest confession of a great German Reich of national honor and the strictest social justice as a guarantor of a real peace, as a patron of the culture of the white man on this globe.

## Interview Jules Sauerwem - Alfred Rosenberg

**"Paris Soir." September 11, 1933.**

One of the most famous figures among the National Socialist militants is Alfred Rosenberg. His career was rapid and his success as a journalist and as a theoretician was confirmed over the course of 8 years. Close to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Wilhelmstrasse, Alfred Rosenberg directed the office of foreign policy of the party. His influence on the active policy of Germany is neither direct nor official, but nevertheless great, because today the party is already 80% of the government and has 100% of the public power in its hands. I made my visit to him and talked with him about the group of questions that showed up in the speeches of Nuremberg, his included. He is still a young man, tall and blond, and has in his gestures a kind of calmness reminiscent of the Baltic country where he was born and in his pronunciation a Baltic accent. During the war he pursued his studies in Moscow just at the time when the Bolsheviks were moving against the two capitals. He found means to get to Germany, which he had at all times considered his fatherland, and in Munich came under the full dictatorship of the Munich soviet government. Coming from Russia, he had the opportunity and the courage to present the true situation in Russia to the revolutionaries in speeches. It is known that the Eisner government came to an end very quickly. Rosenberg now found himself, very naturally, in liaison with the revolutionaries.

fertilizer with the National Socialist elements who were beginning to gather secretly. He made Hitler's acquaintance and in 1,921 was one of the founders of the "Böltischer Beobachter," then a very small paper, now the most widely read in Germany.

I knew that I was facing the writer who had published the "Future Path of a German Foreign Policy," in which one can read significant things about what the author calls "the rule of race. His central idea in this book was that Germany must gain space to the East, that the powers which could be suspicious of this enlargement were France and Poland, and that the two powers for which this policy was unimportant were England and Italy.

One can expect a prudent mind to adapt when the impossibilities of a certain policy have been proven. After all, I did not want to address an interposed question to Mr. Rosenberg, after what he has written in the past, but after what he has publicly announced in Nuremberg.

"Does racial theory and the law that governs heroic men have consequences for foreign policy?"

This is the question I asked the one who, together with the Führer, is the most orthodox representative of the party. After a short consideration, Herr Rosenberg gave me the following answer:

"The writings and the speeches of the party develop dis racial doctrine with the aim of giving an account of the essential elements of the German nation, both of its strengths and of its weaknesses. Character and heredity, on the one hand, and blood, on the other, are the two elements which we are convinced are most closely connected. These findings

and the conclusions we draw from them are, by their nature, the foundations of our domestic policy. But they have nothing to do with any intentions and measures whose object could be to interfere in the political life of other states. When we speak of boldness and heroism, we do not mean military strength, but only the holy selflessness in the service of the German people in all fields, as the Fuehrer has explained from the Nuremberg Congress. Some speech was not tailored to the foreign policy of the Reich. Our Congress itself was not a military parade, it was a joyous reunion of the new rule and the new doctrine which guides Germany."

"But the throngs of young people seem to be under a military discipline?"

"It is very obvious that such a mass meeting is not possible without strict discipline. It is necessary. It explains to you the secret of this so little bloody revolution. The indignation was so great in Germany over the decomposition of the state, the judiciary and cultural life that without our discipline it would have come to more, well understandable, but nevertheless regrettable measures. But just as the political side of the National Socialist movement has been ignored, so has the social side. Until now, social revolution has been understood only as the outbreak of wild tumults and the greatest riots. Now one is stunned by the fact that a social revolution is taking place in Germany without these accompanying phenomena which are otherwise common in world history. The National Socialist state is approaching the overcoming of unemployment by other means, because the methods hitherto used have proved to be outdated and completely out of date.

have shown themselves to be fruitful. If, despite the difficult foreign trade situation, he was able to put more than two million people back to work, this is the first successful proof that there is great confidence in Germany and that all efforts have been made to create work and bread. The Reich Chancellor has repeatedly stated that overcoming unemployment is the most serious problem of politics, and that all forces must be devoted to solving this problem. But unemployment can be overcome only by employing large groups for very specific large tasks, such as reclamation, etc. Therefore, here too, forms are needed that are very different from earlier individual attempts. We attach great importance to the clarification of these questions, because we have seen how serious misunderstandings arise abroad precisely from them, because the other countries also live in other ways of thinking and therefore cannot follow the National Socialist methods. Germany's revolution was a revolution of social peace against a condition which threatened to tear the whole nation apart in Klajj struggles. It was an uprising of character against a decline of character in all spheres of German life, and it was the restoration of authoritarian government, such as now corresponds to the nature of the German and has proved expedient for him. We believe that if foreign countries, in the shape of as many of their representatives as possible, were to visit Germany, every unprejudiced person would get the feeling which I have tried to describe briefly above. Unlike some other states, Germany does not think of closing itself off to real evaluation, but, on the contrary, wishes its methods and its ways of life to be examined by unbiased observers.

**N Blood and Ehrr**

We believe that if the world will let Germany solve the above-mentioned social problems in peace, the peoples will at the same time find ways to solve similarly burning questions in other states and thus cooperate in overcoming the terrible geitzel of unemployment. In this earnest effort to overcome the damage of the past, we believe we can also create the first condition for mutual respect for the work of others, in order to come closer to the true peace desired by all honest Europeans."



## For Germany's World Standing.

**This speech was given on October 30, 1933, in the Berlin Sportpalast on the occasion of the German DöHerbundaus^ trilt and the upcoming Reichstag elections."**

The internal political struggle in Germany has come to an end. What is still happening in Germany are the last convulsions of a fading age, the last desperate attempts to defend power positions of the world of ideas of the past century once again. But they are futile attempts. Little by little, all our opponents will understand that in this year a change of destiny for centuries has occurred and that National Socialism will never again vacate the place it has won.

The first stage of 14 years is behind us; after these short years compared to the time spans in the people's lives, a tremendous upheaval has taken place in Germany. And now, after this great internal struggle, a second great struggle is beginning. While we have had to fight our way internally against Social Democracy, Liberalism and their fellow travelers, today an equally tough struggle for Germany's reputation, for Germany's honor in the world, must begin.

If an old regime had appeared before the people in a situation similar to that of today, the representatives of the pre-war period, as well as the representatives of the Nooember system, would have smiled and declared that there was no cause for concern, despite the seriousness of the situation. It was the style of the past age to appear before the nation 23\*.

to cover up serious situations as far as possible. That is why the representatives of past days had to experience that a whole nation, torn from all heights, finally collapsed. The style of the National Socialist will is also different here. We are not a dictatorship, a tyranny of a small caste, but have been used to struggle for the nation for 14 years, and this rule will suffer no exception today. That is why we have declared again and again in these weeks that we have no reason to view today's world events in a rosy light, but that we are all obliged to grasp the great seriousness of the world political situation and to give an account of those powers and forces which want again and again to diminish Germany's prestige, but also to give an account of those currents which are perhaps already making themselves felt in a rejuvenating world.

We must make a historical observation at the head of all remarks on the international political situation, namely, the fact that at the beginning of Adolf Hitler's government nothing more had happened than the arrest of the most prominent Communist leaders, than the suppression of a Communist movement which was preparing to turn the whole of Germany into a bloody chaos. The strange response to this act, however, was not a united action on the part of the Communists of England, France and the United States, but to the suppression of Communism in Germany, world Jewry responded.

Two days after Adolf Hitler became Reich Chancellor, a Jew wrote in a Washington daily that if the new chancellor were shot by a political opponent, few people would mourn it.

It was possible that this open appeal for the assassination of the German chancellor would go out into the world unpunished, and the result was that the attempt to create such an atmosphere favorable to assassination spread to all other states and also to Germany itself. It had become fashionable in the first weeks of Hitler's government to compare the Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler with the anti-Semitic Reich Chancellor Haman of the Old Testament, pointing out that a similar attempt to overcome Jewish rule would have ended with the death of the statesman in question.

The work of world Jewry then combined with an emigrant rush.

If we note these first facts since the new government, we hope that the rest of the people will perhaps one day give an account of the closer connections between this strange phenomenon, the combined work of communism and Judaism. It would be extremely valuable for the evaluation of their own internal political situation. The emigrant atrocities which were now connected with this policy were the result of 50000 emigrations from Germany. I believe that the fact that 50,000 people were able to leave Germany without complaint in the first few months does not speak against Germany, but speaks only against the emigrants.

The rest of the world has now been able to take a look at how things have been in Germany during the past 1.4 years. It has now been able to look a part of these blossoms of international politics in the eye, and I believe that the resistance is showing itself from month to month in an ever sharper way in all states that have remained healthy.

The German nation, however, after the eight months' work of the emigrants, is not convinced today that things were atrocious in Germany, but that it would have been expedient to arrest these gentlemen already in the first days and never to let them out again.

What Germany did later, by imprisoning the com<sup>m</sup>unist and other leaders of a doomsday, that was the right of the most primitive self-assertion against the scum of the world cities. In a concentration camp of Germany there are about 800 communist leaders. One has taken the trouble to check the past of these gentlemen and has found that the previous sentences are on the average four years in prison or four years in penitentiary. It is necessary that society finally remains safe from this accumulation of ill and bad of the past decades, and that one no longer confuses criminals with political leaders.

Although in our consciousness the German revolution was a revolution of decent people, now a combined agitation all over the world tries to call this healthy German people of all people a perverted waste. The pictures of the World War, in which the German is drawn as a gorilla, are already reappearing today in some foreign papers. It is possible that Germans will again be spoken of as Huns. The old hate instincts of the years 1914 to 1918 are consciously whipped out again. This happens within the framework of a so-called cultural world. Such mean drawings would never have been possible in Germany, even under the old regime!

These attacks that Germany has to endure are actually already outside any serious adversarial politics. They simply spring from low instincts of hatred.

But we know very well that they are also connected with real political antagonisms, that some politicians, whom I may have echoed earlier, are now taking a certain direction in their national policy, which clearly and unmistakably points to an attempt to isolate Germany in world politics. You have seen two French politicians fly to Moscow in the last few weeks, Pierre Lot, the French Lustfahrt Minister, and former Prime Minister Herriot. I do not need to tell you what these two gentlemen were looking for in Moscow and what kind of proposals they must have made there. But it is significant that Mr. Zerriot, returning from Moscow, declared in a speech, "There is no famine in Ruriland." We must put this obvious ingratiating in its proper perspective. We, too, have news from Russia that is not theoretical, but based on communications from people who have crisscrossed Russia, on the ice train and in the car. These connoisseurs of Russia have told us things in the past few months that would make you shudder. They have driven through Russian villages where starving people were squatting, people who could not eat at all because they were already tired to death. They drove through villages that were deserted, got out and found starving people in the houses on the right and left; they passed Russian fields and had to get out to see if there were more wilts or weeds growing on this lush soil. They all unanimously expressed their opinion that the coming winter will cost Russia at least 10 to 12 million deaths from starvation.

This is a truer face of the East than Herriot shows us. But I also believe that these things after

and gradually become known in other peoples and there gradually create the awareness that Adolf Hitler not only saved Germany at the last hour, but that he saved the whole of Europe and two thousand years of culture.

The 3rd International had every reason to believe in 1918 and 1919 that the time of the world reoolution had now approached. It saw collapsing peoples, it saw starving and desperate masses of millions. The soviet republics in Bavaria and Hungary showed us where the path of Europe would have gone if this wave had continued to roll. But it broke in Central Europe, it also broke when the Red troops marched on Poland and finally had to flood back before Warsaw. Then the eye of the 3rd International turned to the East: China became a new cauldron of unrest. Millions were poured into it, thousands of Chinese agitators trained. There in China, too, it seemed as if the fruits would ripen until the hand of an energetic state, Japan, intervened and brought the wave to a halt there, too. Now the 3rd International was looking everywhere for new ground for its teachings. Its eye was once again turned to Central Europe, and the revelations we were able to witness in these months showed how deeply the poison had already eaten into Germany and how necessary the German revolution had become. Now, in January and February, the 3rd International suffered the most serious blow since its existence, and from this blow it will not recover.

It will not recover because we did not put down the Marxist movement with the Reichswehr and the police, but were aware from the first day of our struggle that such a great movement as Manism could only be

If it is possible to show logically and provably in life that the Marriottian movement does not mean salvation for the nation, not even salvation for a part of the nation, but rather complete collapse for all of them.

We have explained during these 14 years: it is a nonsense to preach a class struggle, because it is impossible that one part of a body is called to revolt against the other. Then there can be no recovery, but only destruction.

We have declared: it is perverse to link pacifism to the outside world with a hahcr filled class struggle, of all things. One of the two muh lie jein.

We have explained: the hoax of an international solidarity exists only as a mirage, but not as a real, politically exploitable force. This solidarity was broken in 1914, it was broken even more in Versailles. It will be broken when an English labor minister finally forces down 300 million so-called Indian proletarians to give bread to the English worker. It will break everywhere where the iron destinies of the people's life make themselves felt. We have therefore declared from the very first day: there is only one solidarity in the interest of the workers, and that is the solidarity of all Germans on this globe.

No one is more bound to the soil than just the worker, the peasant and the craftsman. The internationals of the whole history have been only the char- latans and the jugglers.

Finally, we have repeatedly pointed out the fourth poisoning of the national body and the German soul

Mariism had taken up a thrown word of Prvudhon: "Property is theft" and this word has become the gospel of many millions. We understand that the old capitalist concept of property had to be fought. Finally, a condition had arisen in the world and in Germany where the property of an individual was understood as sacrosanct, without a concept of duty being connected with this concept of property. Marxism, however, started the criticism of society from the wrong end and therefore had to bring about unhealthy conditions. We were finally faced with the fact that it was not property that had been theft in the course of the last fourteen years, but the other way around, that the greatest thefts had been turned into legitimate property.

No one in these 14 years has been as stingy about property and ownership as the Social Democratic leaders - unfortunately only always about other people's property.

If we retrospectively examine these struggles and consider all the points of view that have been repeated and justified over and over again, then we understand why we can have the firm belief today that the whole nation has now itself become inwardly healthy and today almost immune to the communist world tyranny.

This does not prevent us from explaining:

We are ready at any time to maintain quite correct relations with Soviet Russia, because, of course, we do not necessarily want to reevaluate a world outlook in terms of foreign policy and foreign state.

We can wait calmly to see how Moscow overcomes the blow of fate and now begins to adjust itself to realpolitik. We are, as I said, immune and can follow a communist world work with the rest of the world.



States today already look on much more calmly than the other peoples, who are far from being cured of the disease.

This is roughly the situation that confronts us in the West and East if we want to seriously examine those forces that are working against Germany today. But there are still things at work which we can all feel only with pain, and these are the sufferings which our foreign Germans have to endure. What is happening today in Czechoslovakia, what we have to hear daily from Poland, these are arrests, gagging, economic throttling, literal persecutions of German comrades. We feel these sufferings of the German people abroad as our own sufferings, in contrast to the past regime. We want to declare everywhere in Germany that the pain felt by the Germans abroad resonates more deeply and seriously in us today than it did in the past. However, we also want to make a statement in this context in terms of international law.

In June 1919, the Polish state was internationally recognized. This recognition was preceded by a document, which is still binding today, sent by the Chairman of the Peace Conference, Elsmenceau, to the then Polish Prime Minister. In this letter it was stated that the Polish state would be recognized, but it was made a condition that the rights of minorities be respected. It was even stated that these rights would have to be respected under any regime. And if there was a fear that this would not be the case, even a tightening would have to be considered. The recognition of the German minority rights is thus at the same time the state document of the Polish state, is the document which had as a prerequisite the recognition of this state.

In the following years there were numerous persecutions, especially during the elections to the Sejm in the autumn of 1930. As a result, under our pressure even the old government filed a complaint with the League of Nations, and in the League of Nations it was stated that minority rights had been violated by certain authorities in Poland.

If this development continues, if the violations become more frequent, and if it is established that even the authorities participate in them, then a political historiography and a state-political opinion could possibly emerge that Poland, by violating the rights of minorities, has at the same time violated the document which is the precondition for its recognition under international law.

It is now strange that the representatives of the states, of all countries, which act against the German minorities in this way, advocate in Geneva an extension of the rights of minorities and want to include the Jews in Germany. We must note that the Judenheil in Germany has always refused to represent a national minority. Rather, it has always been emphasized that they are only German citizens of Jewish faith.

The unfriendly attitude of the states around Germany is serious. But it has something good in itself. For once, those false sympathies have been wiped away, which again and again have given birth to new illusions in Germany. These sympathies have been expressed for 14 years. It was declared that this or that democracy had great affection for the young new Germany and was ready to accommodate it in all areas. We have heard these siren tones for 14 years. Nowhere, in no area, have any noteworthy deeds followed, and now we must, every new national government had to reckon with the fact that

these sympathies flutter away. For they were not sympathies to the German Volte, but only to the opponents of Germany in Germany itself.

Now a great demand is coming to all 65 million Germans. We have had 14 years of strong nerves. The National Socialist movement has borne victim after victim. Hundreds of thousands" have lost position and bread. Millions have turned gray in the midst of this struggle, and many, many of us have lost our lives. But this has not had the consequence that we have become softer, but that we have led the struggle tougher and tougher, harder and harder.

I believe I can say one thing today: if we have mustered so much energy to overthrow an opposing system, we will also muster courage and energy to secure Germany's respect in the world. What we are defending today is not a temporary state of affairs, but our fate, our lives, the fate of all generations to come.

Our nerves have been severely tested in recent weeks, for what took place in Gens at the Conference on Disarmament was a concentrated attack on the energy and self-confidence and self-assurance of young Germany.

The disarmament commission of the League of Nations has been working since 1925, the disarmament conference has been sitting together for a few years already, in order to get clear about what had been worked through at Versailles. But the strange thing was that right at the beginning of the conference all the gentlemen did not talk about disarmament and their obligation to do so, but on the very first day jumped in Germany's face with the demand to begin a control of German civil aviation. For weeks they talked about this subject, but not about the real subject - the

Disarmament. When this slogan of controlling civil aviation was used up, the gentlemen immediately came up with new slogans. There came the demand to change now the German army system. It was believed that Germany would immediately say no here. The gentlemen who had imposed this army system on Germany in 1919, they now suddenly wanted to introduce a completely new one overnight. But here, too, they did not come out of a complete denial, but out of a willingness to examine this question, too, in all seriousness in the sense of a real world pacification. This disappointed the gentlemen, and they immediately looked around for new slogans. You know how in the last few months the old idea of military control was suddenly thrown out into the world in a big way and with unbelievable propaganda, all with the one aim of wearing us down from week to week, of making us ever new and new demands, with the hope that Germany would then have to say no. And they wanted to use this no to make Germany say yes. And they wanted to use this "no" to point a thousand fingers at us, claiming that Germany wanted a new rearmament and was forcing the others to do the same.

The gentlemen were dealt a major blow on October 14 when they withdrew from the League of Nations.

Germany waited until the last moment. But when the British Foreign Minister Simon had made his speech in which he no longer wanted to give us equal derhandling possibilities, but spoke of a "must" and simply wanted to extend his own plan, the plan of his state and of his Prime Minister Macdonald, to a double time, then it had become time for Germany to pull the cops out of the noose. Now a new world-political situation has been created, so that the world does not point the finger

The criticism of the world is now directed against the attitude of the others.

When some parliaments declare that they cannot now agree to a revision of the peace treaties because a new Germany, a National Socialist Germany with a military spirit, has come into being, we have to reply that in none of these treaties is there even a word about what system must prevail in Germany in order to justify a revision. This is an attempt to circumvent obligations under international law, not worthy of those great states in whose parliaments these words were spoken!

After all, the issue in these months is not that Germany has filed revisions, but that Germany is only demanding that the others fulfill their treaties. If the others refuse to fulfill their treaty obligations, then they have begun revising their own treaties and have no moral right to make any more demands on Germany.

We are glad to see that a feeling has come alive across the Channel among all fair-minded Britons that the conduct of their delegation at Geneva was not in accordance with the proper and decent British instinct. We note with satisfaction that the only surviving creator of the Versailles Treaty, Lloyd George, has declared that what Germany did she had to do and what the others did was a breach of faith. We welcome the Bishop of Gloucester's declaration that the Allied powers have not been fair to Germany. We know what these words mean in England, and we hope that they will be echoed everywhere by a new generation which will be

is tired of continuing those dodges of belated prewar diplomacy even today.

Between 1914 and today lies a whole world, a collapse of states and systems of thought. We therefore do not believe that people who grew up in the psyche of the pre-war period are still able to exert the momentum in diplomacy today that is necessary to understand this new world. On the contrary, we fear that such methods may once again lead Europe into a catastrophic abyss. We hope that a generation will arise which will look dutifully into the eyes of the new era of the 20th century and will one day have the nerve to overcome those outdated methods in the sense of an honest free debate of decent people of all nations.

What is taking place in Germany is not something that could be called ringing and flaunting militarism.

If we are reproached for our celebrations, we have the following to explain: Germany has been fighting for its existence literally every day since 1914. Germany has experienced 14 years of ignominy like no other nation for centuries. And if this nation once celebrates the day of its rebirth, then it has more right to celebrate festivities than all the rest put together. Precisely because they are not splendid celebrations, because a great upheaval has taken place in Germany, these celebrations are symbolic acts. If May Day restored the honor of the German worker, if on that day the German manual worker was torn out of a decades-long mental entanglement and placed back into the nation, and the nation's attention was drawn to him as an equal element, then that should be a symbol that all German workers will not forget throughout their lives, and that they will not be forgotten.

to their children and their children's children. If October 1 was the day of the German peasant, the day of the liberation of the German peasant, then this day had just as its deepest inner justification. Because on this day all the battalions of the peasantry of earlier centuries passed by our mind's eye.

And finally, the Day of German Art, the symbolic day of a culturally recovering Germany.

The rest do not have the right to celebrate such festivities because they have not solved these problems at all.

The phrases about the advance of militarism, about the threatened security, the fear of an invasion from the side of Germany have a different meaning. Of course, the French generals have no real fear of a German military invasion. If they were to say so today, they would be pronouncing a judgment on their brave people which we ourselves do not wish to subscribe to. We believe that the fear is of a completely different nature.

There are 27 million unemployed throughout the world. All the states threatened by this scourge have made attempts to cope with it. But whether democrats, labor partisans or conservatives have ruled in the various states, they have not mastered this issue. Now a new Germany is emerging and beginning an unprecedentedly vigorous struggle against unemployment, which had also led Germany almost to the abyss. It happens that in the first rush over 2 million Volksgenossen can be reintegrated into the economic process. It turns out that an enormous winter relief work has begun.

and that the whole nation is donating and sacrificing in order to save those who are still held back by fate at least from the bitterest misery. The world continues to hear that a new wave of storms against unemployment will begin at the beginning of next year.

And there are some gentlemen abroad who fear that this attempt might succeed in Germany. They fear that an awakened common sense in France or England or America might say to itself: if this feared and reviled National Socialist regiment overcomes unemployment, then it must be better than our systems.

Some parliamentarians in other states have become old and fat and tired, are too lazy to really live through the problems of our time. They have been living their political existence through a system of unconscionable electoral methods, which also made it practically impossible for them to really act with energy against the damages in their own country.

Yet another group of people has fear with them, and that is the arms industry. The armaments industry must, for example, create an artificial feeling of fear in the French people every day. They know as well as we do that the French farmer and citizen do not want to make war any more than the German farmer and citizen. The French farmer wants to work the native soil as his ancestors have done for centuries. The French citizen thinks of his pension today just as he did in past decades. But in order to squeeze out of this generation, which is in itself unwilling to go to war, those credits which are necessary to guarantee the profits of the armaments industry, the press and the parliamentarians, who are submissive to this industry, must day after day give the French people



The people of the country are being given an artificial feeling of fear, so that they will once again vote for the old parliamentarians and approve the war credits, so that the heavy armaments industry will get its profits.

These are the feelings of fear which are alive in hostility in other peoples, but a real fear of the small German imperial army does not arise.

In addition to these things, however, deeper, real misunderstandings also play a role, despite many sincere efforts.

I would like to take Great Britain as an example. England is an island. It is washed by the sea, and every Briton knows that his soil has not been trodden on by an enemy for centuries. This well-trying feeling has given it a great inner security and the possibility of extending so-called individual freedom ever further, indeed, for example, of letting freedom of the press go almost to the point of the impossible. Out of this feeling of complacent carelessness, the Briton, without any malice, judges events in Germany differently than they really are. He does not understand that the German people must have a different way of life from his. He does not understand that Germany is surrounded on all sides by mostly hostile neighbors. He does not understand that Germany's soil has been the scene of the bloodiest world wars for centuries, and that as a result there lives in every German the feeling that he cannot go about his business here alone, but must stand in closed column. We hope, however, that when the Briton once subjects these conditions under which Germany must live to a more serious examination, he will see this march not as a militaristic demonstration, but as the will to assert oneself, as a

recognizes a consciousness of having to be united in the midst of foreign peoples.

When the English will penetrate more deeply into this feeling, then also those editorials will disappear which really look as if an old "Gow" oernante had written them. Hopefully, it will then cease to be the case that we are taught every day in a lecturing magisterial tone how Germany should actually have behaved. On the contrary, we believe that the times are past when foreign countries had to lecture us, and we think that we can proudly say that Germany, under a difficult fate and under heavy foreign policy pressure, has achieved a development for which the other nations will perhaps need another 40 or 50 years. This is by no means arrogance, because we can add that even Germany itself, if it had not been under such heavy pressure, would probably have needed a much longer time. But so it had to try out new methods from year to year in order to become viable in the midst of the threats. Finally, of all who have ever taught in Germany, Adolf Hitler alone has been right.

Germany has not "returned to the Middle Ages. We know better than anyone that the forms of past times have sunk and will never return. But we also know that when a people no longer finds any kinship with the great ones of the past, this people has not only lost its history and its present, but is also incapable of shaping a future. Above all, we were granted the experience that Germany, in the most modern form, has recovered the old law of its life in the

Structure of its political and social life. It has returned to the old Germanic principle of the duke and his retinue.

If today we go over the old constitutions of those orders which colonized the German East, we will find an exact correspondence, bordering on the miraculous, between those principles according to which the German order was once governed and the principles according to which the National Socialist movement is governed. These are things that go deeper than some superficial politicians of today think. It is a finding back to the primordial principles of our own lives, which were buried and mocked and are today celebrating their greatest rebirth.

We do not need to make propaganda for this National Socialist revolution in the world. We also refuse to create such propaganda, because we recognize every tradition of the other nations. We know that only from the laws of being of each nation can also the upheaval take place in the form proper to it. But even if we refuse to carry out national-socialist propaganda, we know that other peoples today have been given problems which we have already solved, that other peoples have to struggle with these problems, which will break them if they do not take up the struggle with them.

The basic problem of politics is the conflict between the Marxist-Communist world movement and the idea of nationhood. Today, these concepts and ideas are being fought over everywhere. In this context, we have to make an interesting observation: we are already reproached for the fact that the Marxist movement in the various countries is becoming more and more radical because of us. They say: the

National Socialists are to blame for the fact that our peaceful Social Democrats are now getting angry, too. But are we supposed to let ourselves be eaten up by communism so that the others can have their bourgeois peace?

It is precisely because some Marrists in other countries are becoming more radical that the problem that exists is finally becoming visible to those who are still blind to it.

However, this ferment in the world can be seen everywhere. Not only the Marrists become more radical, but also the national groups in all states show a perceptible liveliness. In Holland there are already five fascist parties. In Switzerland there is a national front, anti-Semitic and anti-Christian, as well as national socialist Swiss, and in western French-speaking Switzerland there is an anti-Semitic movement, to which a fascist one has recently been added. One must imagine what this means in a country like Switzerland, and then realize that a similar ferment is going through all peoples, that a new generation is growing up which simply no longer wants the old past and is looking for new forms for the 20th century. In Germany and everywhere, a turning point has occurred, and many peoples who still revile us today secretly envy the German nation for having found its duke.

The German nation has proven itself worthy of this great fortune. Adolf Hitler is being greeted today in all German towns and villages as never before has a king or emperor been greeted by the German nation. The German nation, in the midst of the disgrace of these days, feels more deeply than all the rest that we are standing not only at the turn of a century, but at the turn of a millennium, that all the political movements of recent times have survived and entirely new

forms must be found to solve the questions of our time.

Political unification in Germany has developed with wonderful speed. Entities that many believed could never, ever be overthrown have collapsed as if they had not been.

Parallel to this goes the production of a social pillar that is to support the coming German house. All the various trade unions, those hundreds of confederations, have disappeared. People from all circles are now coming together to give form to the new social idea. It is understandable if the new German state machine still grinds at some ends and corners, especially because some are still throwing sand into it, even consciously. But there is no doubt that a great will is at work here, which extends uniformly to all areas of life, and after political unification, after the establishment of social unification, the ideological question now also approaches us.

It would be going too far to claim today that the entire nation is already National Socialist in its thinking and beliefs. But one thing we can already say: what we call the heroic world feeling is already alive today among all German people.

Heroic world feeling has nothing to do with aggressive militarism. I would like to try to explain this with an example.

When our comrade Maikowski was murdered by communists the night after our leader came to power, he was buried at state expense and laid out in the cathedral. The then pastor and now bishop Hossenfelder spoke there. At that time he said a word that shone like a flash of light into the whole spiritual situation of our people, a word of a

revolutionary consequence, which the audience and the speaker himself may not have thought of. He said, "Our comrade Maikowski has been gathered to the storm Horst Wessels." One must imagine what this word, spoken in a Christian church, means. Earlier centuries have painted the afterlife in the most terrible agonies to the people, hundreds and hundreds of pictures testify to this feeling of fear, of the fear of the tortures that await us in the afterlife. This feeling of fear tore and broke the so-called medieval man inwardly. A later superficial humanistic time painted the sky with consecrated clouds and angelic figures with palms in their hands and with harp strumming. That was the superficially imagined heaven of the good bourgeois society.

Now a Christian pastor comes and professes a heroic image also of the hereafter. He recognizes that the whole life is struggle, not directly bloody war, but that this struggle is tested in the economic life, in the artistic life, in every creative design, and that without this inner feeling of struggle there would be no states and cultures in this world.

If past times appealed to despondency and eternal fear, the secret of the National Socialist success is to be found in the fact that Hitler appealed to the courage of the German people. Through this appeal to boldness and courage, he gradually drew out the best from the German people, and only this following then found the ability to gather the rest around it and initiate the liberation of Germany.

The task that still faces every National Socialist today is to consolidate the inner conversion in himself

and to preach this conversion to all the rest and to spread around them that fluid of irresistibility that actually broke our opponents in the innermost part. For we must say one thing: they did persecute us, but this persecution did not have a great style. Sic did not come from a strong faith, and that is why the terrorist acts of the old system have finally been ineffective. The gentlemen who ran away now had a feeling of inferiority inside. They all had the feeling that they belonged not in ministerial chairs but on the gallows. This feeling finally made them weak, while the other feeling made us victorious. This change of character, this commitment to new and yet ancient character values was bound to a worldview which we call racial science, a worldview which is still misunderstood throughout the world today. For this message is not a sermon of racial hatred, but a sermon of contempt. It says nothing more than that everyone must listen reverently to the voice of his inner being, so that he may realize that it is no accident that people of different colors and different spirits live in this world and that these people produce different kinds of states and different kinds of cultures. Precisely this awareness, with an inner respect for oneself, will also generate chivalry of spirit and respect for every genuine species, a chivalry that seemed to have almost disappeared from the face of the earth in recent decades.

If today the white man struggles for his validity in all the world, it is not at all one condemnation of the other races. We understand, when the Japanese and Chinese point back to their own great culture, and we do not think at all - in contrast to an arrogant time of the past - about it.

to cover these great peoples of the East with a so-called European cultural work. We believe that a Japanese emperor would have been right in rejecting a mixture of Japanese and Whites as ministers in Japan. In exactly the same way, however, we take it for granted that we cannot have Jewish foreign ministers who dare to write: "If the German Kaiser had been victorious, world history would have lost its meaning."

We believe that those states which still fight this world view would have every reason to listen to it and, in its spirit, examine things at home. The white American will soon have to face the wet problem whether he likes it or not. But if he should take up the fight only in the decades to come, under much worse circumstances, he will be sure to find that the two million Jews in New York will finance the black army against him.

We believe that even proud Great Britain would have cause to look the problem in the eye. When we read in English newspapers that it is terrible what arrogance is coming to life again in Germany, I believe - if this view should really become serious in England - that the basis of the British world empire itself is shaken. For it was only in this sense, after all, that the British Empire came into being. There is every reason, therefore, not to sneer haughtily at the new world outlook in Germany, but to approach it with deep seriousness, for this problem is also a problem of England.

I further believe that the French also have reason enough to review their colonial policy, and that they must one day become aware of the impossibility of having black judges over white men-



We hope that the French will also remember that the old Paris of the Sainte Geneviève was different from today's Paris and that the problem also touches the core of Frenchness. We hope that the French, too, will remember that the old Paris of the Sainte Geneviève was a different Paris from the Paris of today, and that the problem also touches the core of Frenchness. They too must remember that across the Mediterranean armed Moroccans and blacks can become a danger to Europe as the Syrian and African slaves once were to Rome.

These are the thoughts that move us, but we believe that the other peoples also have every reason to seriously examine them to see if there is not something valuable in them for them as well. What is going on in Germany today in this great struggle is a new ranking of values. People have always fought over what is to be regarded as the highest value, and in many centuries this highest value has changed. The Middle Ages were marked by a confessional struggle, by the proclamation of a confession as the highest value. Until this struggle was replaced by secular dynastic power struggles. For decades, Europe was in the midst of various wars that dynasties and house powers fought with each other. Until finally the republican idea arose and in the 19th century the class struggle became big. Under the sign of this class struggle, the political struggle has gone through all nations.

Now these thoughts have also wrestled in our soul. Each one of us is the arena of all these thought systems, the arena of what is to be considered the highest value.

Some who have researched the nature of National Socialism have said that it was a political power movement.

gung. They were right, but it was too little. Others said it was the struggle for a new social thought. They, too, were right, but it was too little.

If we ask ourselves in the deepest: what is the essence of National Socialism, we must say: it is the struggle for character values, for the restoration of national honor as the highest value in this world. And because it is so, the 20th century of the National Socialist revolution feels so closely connected with the old Prussianism. Therefore, it is not a coincidence for us, but the deepest symbol that this state was founded at the holiest grave of German history, at the coffin of Frederick the Great.

The essence of the first German Empire, the Roman Empire of the German Nation, was a futile effort to resume and continue a late Roman form: universalistic world monarchy. Thus Caesaro-Papism struggled with Papo-Cesarism for supremacy for centuries, until the Roman Empire broke up and the second German Empire emerged, in which many thought they saw their dream come true. Many looked to Versailles in the January days of 1871, but some quickly felt that this splendid, strong empire, worthy of much veneration, lacked an ideologically deep foundation. The prophets of this time have recognized this for decades, have expressed it, have suffered from it, but it finally came so that this empire once created by Bismarck was the playground of only world economic ideas, and that the value of this empire became the business, so that finally Walther Rathenau could say: "The economy is the destiny", i.e. the profit goes over everything!

This empire has also collapsed, along with much good that has gone with it.

If we want to paraphrase the essence of the Third Reich, we have to say: it is the first German nation state. In this great struggle, the struggle for the fulfillment of the first German state and the implementation of the highest values, for which we fought for 14 years, stands our whole life today to its end. And I believe that this struggle is worth fighting for. It is a prelude to what we call eternal bliss, a struggle that we want to carry over to all coming generations, and if we remain faithful in this struggle, then we may say at the end: no God can ask more of us.

# Subject and name index

Conference on Disarmament 365-366.

Arndt, Ernst Moritz 150.

Foreign Germans 363.

Baeck, Rabbi 239.

Bacon, Roger (1214-1294) 245.

Balder, Siegfried, pacifist writer 47.

Balfour, English Minister 275.

Barbarossa, Emperor Frederick I 259, 297.

Barmat 48, 75, 237, Barlach, painter 249-250.

Barth 47.

Farmer, Otto, Mariist 48.

Bäumer, Gertrud, Abgeord. 44,

Bayer. Bolkspartei 28-30, 62- 63, 87, 120.

Bebel, socialist 34.

Beethoven, Ludwig van 225-227.

Bethmann-Hollweg, Reich Chancellor 324.

Bismarck, Prince Otto von, 12,29, 62, 82, 150, 152, 218,

Lightning, Amerlk. General 278, 317, 319.

Blücher, Field Marshal 150.

Bolz, Dr., Minister of Centium 282.

Brown, Lily, Marrist writer 32-33.

Braun, Otto, Mairist leader 48, 69, 87, 174, 250.

Brüll, deputy 22.

Bruening, MD, 65, 83, 274 282-295.

Eaillaur, french. Fina NM in is. 267.

Chamberlain, Houston Stewart 50, 217-218, 235.

Clemenceau, French. Premier 72, 289, 363.

Lohen IS.

Loudenore-Kalergi, Count Rich. 269.

Lot, Pierre, French. Minister of Aviation 359.

Lrispien, 38, 83.

Curtius, Dr., former Reich Foreign Minister 282-285, 287.

Darrü, Walter, Reichsbauernführer 242.

Dawesplan 49, 149, 169.

Dittmann, Marristenführer 83, 288.

Dmowski 275.

Dobrzynski, Polish Railway President 286.

Duhr, Cesuit Father 58.

Ebert, 47.

Eckehart, Meister (1260-1328) 58, 143, 178, 326.

Eckart, Dietrich, 96, 219.

Einstein, Prof. Albert 79, 268, 271.

Eisner, Kurt, Revolutionary Leader 72.

Epp, General Ritter von, Reichsstatthalter 133.

Erzberger, Matthias, Center Guide 50, 82-83, 237, 324- 325.

Esser, Center Guide 83.

Faulhaber, Cardinal (Munich) 55.

Feuchtwangcr, Lion 79.

Fichte, Zoh. Gottlieb 233.

Compartment, French. Marshal 319.

Frederick the Great 12, 150, 181, 198, 218.

Yellow race 347, 303-304, 377 -378.

Gneisenau, Count Neithardt von, Genera lfeldmarschall 150.

Goethe, Wolfgang von 27, 146, 160, 195, 204, 239, 259.

Goldberg 22,

Goering, 90, 97, 98.  
 Eraczynsli, Voivode 283, 265.  
 Erzesinsti, 75, 174.  
 Eroener, Minister 288.  
 Erostmann, Stefan 44.  
 Günther, Rafseforscher 242.

Haeuser, Dr. theol. 63.  
 Haig, English marshal 315.  
 Hanish 48.  
 Harden, Maximilian 268.  
 Hauptmann, Dr. Gerhart 268.  
 Henry I, German king (919-936) 181, 191.  
 Henry the Lion (1139-1181) 259, 297.  
 Henderson, Eng. minister 320.  
 Herriot, franz. Premier 359,  
 Hielscher, Friedrich 272.  
 Hilferding 46.  
 Hindenburg, Paul von, 123, 169, 292.  
 Hitler, Adolf, 11-12, 37, 76 to 77, 79, 86, 89-102, 116 to 117, 127, 130-131, 132, 162 to 163, 167, 169-171, 173 to 175, 189, 241, 325, 348, 35S-357, 360, 372, 374, 376.  
 Höfle, Minister of the Center 49.  
 Hossenfelder, eo. Hutten, Ulrich von 167, 185, 297.

Jfocrates, Greek orator (436-338o.Lhr.) 339.

Jaurès, French. Socialist 72.

Jews, Judaism, Jewish mind 15 - 27, 79-81 100, 110-112, 210^212, 221-222, 231, 239, 269, 321-322, 336, 341-344, 356-357, 364, 378.

Äaas, Dr., Hausprälai, Zentr.-Führer 63, 288.

Kahn, Otto Hermann 38, 48.

Kahr, Dr. v., 90-91, 93, 94, 120.

Kant, Immanuel, 60, 141, 143, 239.  
 Charles the Great (768-814) 176, 245, 258, 297.

Kerr, Alfred 268.

Keyserling, Grass Hermann 235-240.

Knilling, o., bayer. Minister President 90, 92, 94.

Kokoschka, painter 205.

Copernicus, Nicholas, (1473 to 1543) 57.

Lagarde, Pauk de 50, 53, 157, 158, 228-230, 260, 335.

Landau, Col. 286.

Lange-Hegemann 49.

Langbehn ("Rembrandt as Educator") 50,

Light, Prelate 63.

Lenacd, Physicist 141, 245.

Lessing-Lazarus 271,

Levi, Paul 50.

Ley, Dr. 183.

Lippowitz, Jakob 267, 268.

Litrin 48.

Lloyd George, English Minister 278, 367.

Loebe, Paul, 62,

Lossow, o., Gen. 93-94.

Ludendorff, 94, 95, 97.

Luther, Dr. Martin 58, 118, 181, 218.

Mahler, Gustav, musician 210.

Mahraun, Arthur 40-41. painters, Italian 206, 249. Mann, Dr. Thomas and Heinrich 268.

Maikowski 375-376.

Mendel, Fr. Gregory 59, 242.

Morning dew, deer 22.

Masse und Ullstein, Berlage 43 -44, 50.

Müller, Hermann, 49.

Muller, owner of print shop 96.

- Nietzsche, Friedrich 260, 297, 335.  
 Nolde, painter 249.
- Otto the Great, German Emperor  
 <936-973) 245.
- Pan-Europe 149, 267-269, 299.  
 Parous-Helphand 48.  
 Plato, Greek philosopher (427- 347  
 B.C.) 337.  
 Proudhon, French. Socialist (1809 -  
 1865) 362.
- Rathenau, Walther, 36, 50, 237, 268,  
 324, 380.  
 Reinhardt-Goldmann, Mar 50, 210.  
 Richter, Ludwig, painter 199.  
 Roosevelt, President of the United  
 States of America 330.  
 Ruppin, Dr. Arthur 15.
- Samuel 22.  
 Sauerwein, Jules, French. Journalist  
 350.  
 Chess Leader, Dept 63.  
 Scharnhorst, v., General 150.  
 Scheidemann, 47, 48.  
 Scheubner-Richter, Dr.-Jng.Mar  
 Erwin von 90, 93, 96.  
 Schiller, Friedrich von 204, 260.  
 Schlageter, Albert Leo 37, 72, 261.  
 Schoenberg, Musician 205.  
 Schongauer, Martin, painter 199.  
 Seeckt, 39.  
 Seipel, Dr. Ignaz, Austrian Federal  
 Chancellor 267-268, 287.  
 Seisser, Col. 94.  
 Seliamann, Dr. Caesar, Rabbi 16-17.  
 Severing, 30, 41-42, 47, 48, 6g.
- Shakespeare, William 210.  
 Silesius, Angelus 53.  
 Sickingen, Franz von 185, 297.  
 Sklarz 48.  
 Smuts, Eng. general 278, 279, 317.  
 Sonnemann, Löb 34.  
 Spengler, Oswald 273.  
 Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Freih. v.,  
 150, 152, 157-158, 186.  
 Stern, Attorney at Law 17.  
 Bull, Pg. IM.  
 Sttlich, Vandal leader (359- 408)  
 60.  
 Stoeäer, evang. preacher 62.  
 Streicher, Julius, 97-IM, 133.  
 Stresemann, Dr. Gustav, 35 to 36,  
 44-46, 48, 50, 52.  
 Svelah, Anton, Czechoslovak.  
 Prime Minister 267.
- Tardieu, French. Minister 290.  
 Theoderic, King of the Ostrogoths  
 60.  
 Trietsch, David 18.
- Ullstein-Verlag 43-44, 50.
- Voltaire, Francois Arouet de 18.  
 United States of North America 307-  
 309.
- Walterbach, Monsignor 83.  
 Wels, Sozialistensührer 38, 174.  
 Wessel, Horst 159-160, 261.  
 Widukind, Sachson Duke 189, 245,  
 259, 297.  
 Wilson, Woodrow, President of the  
 Der. States of America 275, 278,  
 279, 315-318.  
 Wohlmut, cathedral provost 63.
- Doungplan 66, 133, 149.
- Jeligowsky 276.



TRADITION

