

## CHAPTER IV: PERSONALITY AND THE IDEAL OF THE *VÖLKISCH* STATE

If the principal duty of the national socialist *völkisch* State be to educate and promote the existence of those who constitute the material out of which the State is formed, it will not be sufficient to promote those racial elements as such, educate them and finally train them for practical life. The State must also adapt its own organisation to meet the exigencies of this task.

It would be absurd to appraise a man's worth by the race to which he belongs, and at the same time to make war against the Marxist principle that all men are equal, without being determined to pursue our own principle to its logical conclusion.

If we admit the significance of blood, that is to say, if we recognise the race as the fundamental element on which all life is based, we shall have to apply to the individual the logical consequences of this principle.

In general I must estimate the worth of nations differently, on the basis of the different races from which they spring, and I must also differentiate in estimating the, worth of the individual within his own race.

The principle that one people is not the same as another, applies also to the individual members of a national community, just as no one man, for instance, is equal to another, because the constituent elements belonging to the same blood vary in a thousand subtle details, though they are fundamentally of the same quality.

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

This task is comparatively simple because it can be recognised and carried out almost mechanically.

It is much more difficult to select from among the whole bulk of the people those who actually possess the highest intellectual and spiritual characteristics and to assign them to that sphere of influence which not only corresponds to their outstanding talents, but in which their activities will be of

benefit to the nation.

Selection according to capacity and efficiency cannot be effected in a mechanical way. It is a work which can be accomplished only through the permanent struggle of everyday life itself. A *Weltanschauung* which repudiates the democratic principle of the rule of the masses and aims at giving this world to the best people—that is, to the highest quality of mankind—must also apply that same aristocratic postulate to the individuals within the folk-community.

It must take care that the positions of leadership and highest influence are given to the best men. Hence it is not based on the idea of the majority, but on that of personality.

Anyone who believes that the *völkisch* National Socialist State should distinguish itself from the other States only mechanically, as it were, through the better construction of its economic life—thanks to a better equilibrium between poverty and riches, or to the extension to broader masses of the power to determine the economic process, or to a fairer wage-system, or to the elimination of vast differences in the scale of salaries—understands only the superficial feature, of our Movement and has not the least idea of what we mean when we speak of our *Weltanschauung*.

All these features just mentioned could not guarantee us a lasting existence and certainly would be no warranty of greatness.

A nation that could content itself with external reforms, would not have the slightest chance of success in the general struggle for life among the nations of the world.

A movement that confined its mission to such adjustments, however right and equitable, would effect no far-reaching or profound reform of the existing order.

The whole effect of such measures would be limited to externals. They would not furnish the nation with that moral armament which alone will enable it effectively to overcome the weaknesses from which we are suffering to-day.

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

The first step which visibly raised mankind above the animal world was that which led to the first invention.

The invention itself owes its origin to the ruses and stratagems which man employed to assist him in the struggle for existence against, other creatures and often to provide him with the only means he could adopt to achieve success in this struggle.

Those first very crude inventions do not reveal the individual personality, for the subsequent observer, that is to say, the modern observer, recognises them only as collective phenomena.

Certain tricks and skilful tactics which can be observed among animals strike the eye of the observer as established facts which may be seen everywhere and man is no longer in a position to discover or explain their primary cause and so he contents himself with calling such phenomena instinctive.

In our case, this term has no meaning, because everyone who believes in the higher evolution of living organisms must admit that every manifestation of the vital urge and struggle to live must have had a definite, beginning in time and that one subject alone must have manifested it for the first time.

It was then repeated again and again, and the practice of it spread over a widening area, until finally it passed into the subconsciousness of every member of the species, where it manifested itself as 'instinct.'

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

There can be no doubt that personality was then the sole factor in all decisions and achievements which were afterwards taken over by the whole of humanity as a matter of course.

An exact exemplification of this may be found in those fundamental military principles which have now become the basis of all strategy in war.

Originally, they sprang from the brain of a single individual and in the course of many years, maybe even thousands of years, they were accepted all around as a matter of course and thus gained universal validity.

Man supplemented his first discovery by making a second. Among other things he learned how to master other living beings and make them serve him in his struggle for existence, and thus began the real inventive activity of mankind,

as it is now evident to its.

Those material inventions, beginning with the use of stones as weapons, which led to the domestication of animals and the production of fire by artificial means, down to the many marvellous inventions of our own day, reveal more clearly the individual as the originator, the nearer we come to our own time and the more important and revolutionary the inventions become.

All the material inventions which we see around us have been produced by the creative powers and capabilities of individuals, and all these inventions help man to raise himself higher and higher above the animal world and to separate himself from that world in an absolutely definite way.

Hence, they serve fundamentally to promote the continued progress of the human species. What the most primitive artifice once did for man in his struggle for existence, as he went hunting in the primeval forest, is being done for him today in the form of marvellous scientific inventions which help him to wage the present-day struggle for life and forge weapons for future struggles.

Ultimately, all human thought and all human inventions help man in his life-struggle on this planet, even though the so-called practical utility of an invention, a discovery or a profound scientific theory, may not be evident at first sight.

Everything contributes to raise man higher and higher above the level of all the other creatures that surround him, thereby strengthening and consolidating his position, so that he develops more and more in every direction as the ruling being on this earth.

Hence, all inventions are the result of the creative faculty of the individual and all such individuals, whether they have willed it or not, are, in a greater or lesser degree, benefactors of mankind.

Through their work millions, and indeed billions, of human beings have been provided with means which facilitate their struggle for existence.

If then we see the inventive minds to which we owe the origin of the material civilisation of our day, as individuals who supplement one another and continue the work their predecessors have begun, the same is true in regard to the practical application of those inventions and discoveries. For all the various methods of production are in their turn inventions also and consequently dependent on the creative faculty of the individual.

Even the purely theoretical work, which cannot be measured by a definite rule and is preliminary to all subsequent technical discoveries, is exclusively the product of the individual brain.

Humanity in bulk does not turn out inventions, nor does the majority organise and think, but only the individual man.

Accordingly, a human community is well organised only when it facilitates to the highest possible degree individual creative forces and utilises their work for the benefit of the community.

The most valuable factor of an invention, whether it be in the world of material realities or in the world of abstract ideas, is the personality of the inventor himself.

The first and supreme duty of an organised folk-community is to place the inventor in a position where he can be of the greatest benefit to all.

Indeed, the very purpose of the organisation is to put this principle into practice. Only by so doing can it ward off the curse of mechanisation and become a living thing.

In itself it must personify the effort to place men of brains above the multitude and to make the latter obey the former.

Therefore, not only does the organisation possess no right to prevent men of brains from rising above the multitude but, on the contrary, it must use its organising powers to enable and promote their progress as far as it possibly can.

It must set out from the principle that the blessings of mankind never came from the masses, but from the creative brains of individuals, who are therefore the real benefactors of humanity.

It is in the interest of all to ensure men of creative brains a decisive influence and facilitate their work. This common interest is surely not served by allowing the multitude to rule, for it is not capable of thinking nor is it efficient and in no circumstances whatsoever can it be said to be gifted.

Only those should rule who have the natural temperament and gifts of leadership.

Such men of brains are selected mainly, as I have already said, through

the hard struggle for existence itself.

In this struggle there are many who break down and collapse and thereby show that they are not called upon by Destiny to fill the highest positions, and only very few are left who can be classed among the elect.

In the realm of thought and of artistic creation, and even in the economic field, this same process of selection takes place even to-day, although—especially in the economic field—its operation is heavily handicapped.

This same principle of selection holds good in the administration of the State and in that force which is represented by the organised military defence of the nation.

The idea of personality, of the authority of the individual over his subordinates and of the responsibility of the individual towards the persons who are placed over him dominates in every sphere of life. It is only in political life that this very natural principle has been completely ignored.

Though all human civilisation has resulted exclusively from the creative activity of the individual, the principle that it is ‘the majority which counts,’ persists throughout the entire, national community and more especially as regards its administration, whence the poison gradually filters into all branches of national life, thus causing a veritable decomposition.

The destructive activities of Judaism in different parts of the national body can be ascribed fundamentally to the persistent Jewish efforts at undermining the importance of personality among the nations that are their hosts and, in place of personality, substituting the domination of the masses.

The constructive principle of Aryan humanity is thus displaced by the destructive principle of the Jews. They are the ferment of decomposition’ among nations and races and, in a broad sense, the wreckers of human civilisation.

Marxism represents the most striking phase of the Jewish endeavour to eliminate the dominant significance of personality in every sphere of human life and to replace it by the numerical power of the masses.

In politics the parliamentary form of government is the expression of this effort. We can observe the fatal effects of it everywhere, from the smallest parish council upwards to the highest government circles in the Reich.

In the field of economics we have the trade-union movement, which serves not the real interests of the employees, but the destructive aims of international Jewry. In the same degree in which the principle of personality is excluded from the economic life of the nation, and the influence and activities of the masses substituted in its stead, national economy, which should be for the service and benefit of the community as a whole, will gradually deteriorate in creative capacity.

The works committees which, instead of caring for the interests of the employees, strive to influence the process of production, serve the same destructive purpose.

They damage production as a whole and consequently injure the individual engaged in industry, for in the long run it is impossible to satisfy popular demands merely by high-sounding theoretical phrases.

These can be satisfied only by supplying goods to meet the individual needs of daily life and by so doing, creating the conviction that, through the productive collaboration of its members, the folk-community serves the interests of the individual.

Even if, on the basis of its mass-theory, Marxism should prove itself capable of taking over and developing the present economic system, this would not be of vital significance.

The question as to whether the Marxist doctrine be right or wrong cannot be decided by any test which would show that it can administer for futurity what already exists to-day. It need only be asked whether it has the creative power to build up, according to its own principles, a civilisation which would be a counterpart of what already exists.

Even if Marxism were a thousandfold capable of taking over the economic system as we now have it, and of maintaining it in operation under Marxist direction, such an achievement would prove nothing. This is because, on the basis of its own principles, Marxism would never be able to create anything which could supplant what exists to-day.

Marxism itself has furnished the proof that it cannot do this. Not only has it been unable to create a cultural or economic system of its own anywhere; but it was not even able to develop, according to its own principles, the civilisation and economic system it found ready to hand.

It has had to make compromises, by way of a return to the principle of personality, nor can it dispense with that principle in its own organisation.

The *völkisch Weltanschauung* differs fundamentally from the Marxist by reason of the fact that the former recognises the significance of race and therefore also of personal worth and has made these the pillars of its structure.

These are the most important factors of this *Weltanschauung*. If the National Socialist Movement should fail to understand the fundamental importance of this essential principle, if it should content itself with patching up the present State from without and adopt the majority principle, it would really do nothing more than compete with Marxism on its own ground. For that reason it would not have the right to call itself a *Weltanschauung*.

If the social programme of the movement consisted in eliminating personality and putting the multitude in its place, then National Socialism would be corrupted with the poison of Marxism, just as our bourgeois parties are.

The *völkisch* State must ensure the welfare of its citizens by recognising the importance of the individual in all circumstances and by preparing the way for the maximum of productive efficiency in all the various branches of economic life, thus securing to the individual the highest possible share in the general output.

Hence, the *völkisch* State must mercilessly eliminate from all the leading circles in the government of the country the parliamentary principle, according to which decisive power through the majority vote is invested in the multitude. Personal responsibility must be substituted in its stead.

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

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



Genius of an extraordinary stamp precludes consideration of the claims of the average man. In its organisation, the State must be established on the principle of personality, starting from the smallest cell and ascending to the supreme man in the government of the country.

There are no decisions made by the majority vote, but only by responsible persons, and the word 'council' is once more restored to its original meaning.

Every man in a position of responsibility will have counsellors at his side, but the decision is made by that individual alone.

The principle which made the former Prussian Army an admirable instrument of the German nation will have to become the basis of our state constitution, that is to say, full authority over his subordinates must be invested in each leader and he must be responsible to those above him.

Even then we shall not be able to do without those corporations which at present we call parliaments, but they will be real councils, in the sense that they, will have to give advice. The responsibility can and must be borne by one individual, who alone will be vested with authority and the right to command.

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

The following is an outline of the picture which the organisation will present. From the municipal administration up to the government of the Reich, the *völkisch* State will not have any body of representatives which makes its decisions by a majority vote.

It will have only advisory bodies to assist the chosen leader for the time being and he will distribute among them the various duties they are to perform.

In certain fields they may, if necessary, have to assume full responsibility, such as the leader or president of each corporation possesses on a larger scale.

In principle the *völkisch* State must forbid the custom of taking advice on certain political problems (economics, for instance) from persons who are entirely incompetent, because they lack special training and practical experience in such matters.

Consequently, the State must divide its representative bodies into a political chamber and a corporative chamber that represents the respective trades and professions.

To assure effective co-operation between those two bodies, a selected body, or senate will be placed over them. No vote will be taken in the chambers or in the senate. They are to be organisations for work and not voting machines.

The individual members will have consultative votes, but no right of decision will be attached thereto. The right of decision belongs exclusively to the president, who must be entirely responsible for the matter under discussion.

This principle of combining absolute authority with absolute responsibility will gradually cause a selected group of leaders to emerge—a thing which is impossible in our present epoch of irresponsible parliamentarianism.

The political construction of the nation will thereby be brought into harmony with those laws to which the nation already owes its greatness in the economic and cultural spheres.

Regarding the possibility of putting these principles into practice, I should like to call attention to the fact that the principle of parliamentary democracy, whereby decisions are enacted through the majority vote, has not always ruled the world.

On the contrary, we find it prevalent only during short periods of history and these have always been periods of decline in nations and States.

One must not believe, however, that such a radical change could be effected by measures of a purely theoretical character, operating from above downwards. The change I have been describing could not be limited to transforming the constitution of a State, but would have to include the various fields of legislation and civic existence as a whole.

Such a revolution can be brought about only by means of a movement which is itself organised on the lines of these principles and thus bears, the germ of the future State in its own organism.

Therefore, it is well for the National Socialist Movement to make itself completely familiar with these principles today and actually to put them into

practice within its own organisation, so that not only will it be in a position to serve as a guide for the future State, but will have so far completed its own constitution that it can be placed at the disposal of the State itself.



