CHAPTER VI: THE FIRST PHASE OF OUR STRUGGLE—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SPOKEN WORD

The echoes of our first great meeting, in the *Festsaal* of the Hofbräuhaus on February 24th, 1920, had not yet died away when we began preparations for our next meeting.

Up to that time we had had to consider carefully the advisability of holding a small meeting every month, or at most every fortnight, in a city like Munich; but now it was decided that we should hold a mass meeting every week.

I need not say that on each occasion we anxiously asked ourselves again and again: Will the people come and will they listen? Personally, I was firmly convinced that if once they came they would remain to listen.

During that period the hall of the Hofbräuhaus in Munich acquired for us National Socialists a sort of mystic significance.

Every week there was a meeting, almost always in that hall, and each time the hall was better filled than on the former occasion, and our public more attentive.

Starting with the theme, 'Responsibility for the War,' about which nobody cared at that time, and passing on to the discussion of the peace treaties, we dealt with almost everything that served to stimulate the minds of our hearers and make them interested in our ideas.

We drew attention to the peace treaties. What the new Movement prophesied again and again before those great masses of people has been fulfilled in almost every detail.

Today it is easy to talk and write about these things, but in those days, to criticise the Peace Treaty of Versailles at a public mass meeting attended not by the small bourgeoisie, but by proletarians who had been worked up by agitators, amounted to an attack on the Republic and an evidence of reactionary, if not of monarchist, tendencies.

The moment one uttered the first criticism of the Versailles Treaty one

could expect an immediate reply, which became almost stereotyped, 'And what about Brest Litovsk?'

'Brest Litovsk!' And then the crowd would murmur and the murmur would gradually swell to a roar, until the speaker would have to give up his attempt to persuade them. We felt that we were knocking our heads against a brick wall, so thoroughly did we despair of such a public. They neither wanted to be told nor to admit that Versailles was a scandal and a disgrace and that the dictate signified an act of highway robbery against our people.

The disruptive work done by the Marxists and the poisonous propaganda of the enemy had robbed these people of their reason.

Nor had we the right to complain, for the guilt on the German side was enormous. What had the German bourgeoisie done to call a halt to this terrible campaign of disintegration, to oppose it and open a way to a recognition of the truth by giving, a better and more thorough explanation of the situation than that given by the Marxists? Nothing at all.

At that time I never saw those who are now the great apostles of the people. Perhaps they spoke to select groups, at tea-parties of their own little coteries, but where they ought to have been, where the wolves were at work, they never dared to appear, unless they found an opportunity of yelling in concert with the wolves.

As for myself, I then saw clearly that for the small group which first composed our Movement the question of war-guilt had to be cleared up, and cleared up in the light of historical truth.

A preliminary condition for the future success of our Movement was that it should bring knowledge of the meaning of the peace treaties to the minds of the masses. In the opinion of the masses, the peace treaties then signified a democratic success.

Therefore, it was necessary to take the opposite side and impress ourselves on the minds of the people as the enemies of the peace treaties, so that later on, when the naked truth of this despicable swindle should be disclosed in all its hideousness, the people would recall the attitude which we then took up and would give us their confidence.

Even at that time I adopted the attitude that if public opinion went astray on important and fundamental questions, it was necessary to oppose it,

regardless of popularity, hatred or the bitterness of the fight.

The National Socialist German Labour Party ought not to be the servant, but rather the master, of public opinion. It must not serve the masses, but dominate them.

In the case of every movement, especially during its struggling stages, there is naturally a temptation to conform to the tactics of an opponent and use the same battle cries, when his tactics have succeeded in leading the people to crazy conclusions, or to adopt a mistaken attitude towards the questions at issue.

This temptation is particularly strong when motives can be found, though they are entirely illusory, that seem to point towards the same ends at which the young movement is aiming.

Human poltroonery will then all the more readily adopt those arguments which give it a semblance of justification, 'from its own point of view,' for participating in the criminal policy which the adversary is following.

On several occasions, I have experienced such crises, in which the greatest energy had to be employed to prevent the ship of our Movement from being drawn into a general current which had been started artificially, and indeed from sailing with it.

The last occasion was when our accursed press, to which the existence of the German nation is unimportant, succeeded in bringing into prominence the question of South Tyrol which is bound to prove fatal to the interests of the German people.

Without considering what interests they were serving several so-called 'national' men, parties and leagues, joined in the general cry, simply for fear of public opinion which had been excited by the Jews, and foolishly contributed to help in the struggle against a system which we Germans ought, particularly in these days, to consider as the one ray of light in this distracted world.

While the international Jew is slowly but surely strangling us, our so-called patriots vociferate against a man and his system which have had the courage to liberate themselves from the shackles of Jewish freemasonry, at least in one quarter of the globe, and to set the forces of national resistance against the international world poison.

But weak characters were tempted to set their sails according to the direction of the wind and to capitulate before the storm of public opinion—for it was truly a capitulation.

Even if people are so much in the habit of lying and so morally base that they do not admit it even to themselves, the truth remains that only cowardice and fear of the public feeling aroused by the Jews induced certain people to join in the hue and cry.

All the other reasons put forward were only the miserable excuses of paltry culprits who were conscious of their own crime.

Then it was necessary to grasp the rudder with an iron hand and turn the Movement about, so as to save it from a course that would have set it on the rocks.

Certainly, to attempt such a change of course was not a popular manoeuvre at that time, when public opinion had been fanned by every conceivable means and its trend was in one direction only.

Such a decision almost always brings disaster on those who dare to take it. In the course of history not a few men have been stoned for an act for which posterity has afterwards had reason to thank them on its knees.

But a movement must count on posterity and not on the plaudits of the moment. It may well be that at such times certain individuals have to endure hours of anguish, but they should not forget that the moment of liberation will come and that a movement which purposes to reshape the world must serve the future and not the passing hour.

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

We had experience of this when we made our own first public appearance. It can be said in all truth that we did not court public favour, but made an onslaught on the follies of our people.

In those days what happened almost always was that I presented myself before an assembly of men who believed the opposite of what I wished to say and who wanted the opposite of what I believed in.

Then I had to spend a couple of hours in convincing two or three thousand people that the opinions they had hitherto held were false, in destroying the foundations of their views with one blow after another and finally in persuading them to take their stand on the grounds of our own convictions and our *Weltanschauung*.

I learned something that was important at that time, namely, to snatch from the hands of the enemy the weapons which he was using in his reply.

I soon noticed that our adversaries, especially in the persons of those who led the discussion against us, were furnished with a definite repertoire of arguments out of which they took points against bur claims which they were constantly repeating.

The uniform character of this mode of procedure pointed to a systematic and uniform training and so we were able to recognise the incredible way in which the enemy's propagandists had been disciplined and I am proud today that I discovered a means not only of making this propaganda ineffective, but of beating the authors of it at their own game.

Two years later I was master of this art. In every speech which I made it was important to get a clear idea beforehand of the probable form and matter of the counter-arguments we had to expect in the discussion, so that in the course of my own speech these could be dealt with and refuted.

To this end it was necessary to mention all the possible objections and show their inconsistency; it was all the easier to win over an honest listener by expunging from his memory the arguments which had been impressed upon it, so that, I anticipated his replies.

What he had learned was refuted without having been mentioned by him and that made him all the more attentive to what I had to say.

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

As a result of the persistency with which this falsehood was repeated again and again to the masses of the people, millions of Germans saw in the Treaty of Versailles a just retribution for the crime we had committed at Brest-Litovsk.

Thus they considered all opposition to Versailles as unjust and in many cases there was an honest moral dislike of such a proceeding.

This was also the reason why the shameless and monstrous word ‘reparations’ came into common use in Germany. This hypocritical falsehood appeared to millions of our exasperated fellow-countrymen as the merit of a higher justice. It is a terrible thought, but the fact was so.

The best proof of this was the propaganda which I initiated against Versailles by explaining the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. I compared the two treaties, point by point, and showed how in truth the one treaty was immensely humane, in contradiction to the inhuman barbarity of the other.

The effect was very striking. When I used to speak on this theme before an assembly of two thousand persons, I often saw three thousand six hundred hostile eyes fixed on me, yet three hours later I had in front of me a crowd swayed by righteous indignation and fury.

A great lie had been uprooted from the hearts and brains of thousands of individuals and a truth had been implanted in its place.

The two lectures that ‘On the Causes of the World War’ and the other on ‘The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles’, I then considered as the most important, of all.

Therefore, I repeated them dozens of times, always giving them a new intonation, until, on those points at least, there reigned a definitely clear and unanimous opinion among those from whom our Movement recruited its first members.

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

Apart from the small circles already mentioned, I could not discover that the slightest effort was being made by any party to explain things to the people in this way.

Not one of those parties was then active which talk to-day as if it were they who had brought about the change in public opinion. If a political leader, calling himself a nationalist, pronounced a discourse somewhere or other on this theme it was only to circles which were, for the most part already of his own conviction and among whom the most that was done was to confirm them in their opinions.

But that was not what was needed then. What was needed was to win over through propaganda and explanation those who, by education and conviction, belonged to the enemy camp.

The one-page circular was also adopted by us to help in this propaganda. While still a soldier I had written a circular in which I contrasted the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with that of Versailles.

That circular was printed and distributed in large numbers. Later on I used it for the Party, and also with good success.

Our first meetings were distinguished by the fact that there were tables covered with leaflets, papers, and pamphlets of every kind, but we relied principally on the spoken word.

And, indeed this is the only means capable of producing really great revolutions, which fact can be explained on general psychological grounds.

In the first volume I have already stated that all the formidable events which have changed the aspect of the world were carried through, not by the written, but by the spoken word.

On that point there was a long discussion in a certain section of the press, during the course of which our shrewd bourgeois people strongly opposed my thesis, but the reason for this attitude confounded the sceptics.

The bourgeois intelligentsia protested against my attitude simply because they themselves did not have either the force or the ability to influence the masses through the spoken word, for they always relied exclusively on the help of writers and did not enter the arena themselves as orators for the purpose of arousing the people.

This habit necessarily led to that condition of affairs which is characteristic of the bourgeoisie to-day, namely, the loss of the psychological instinct to work up and influence the masses.

An orator receives continuous guidance from the people whom he is addressing. This helps him to correct the trend of his speech, for he can always gauge, by the faces of his hearers, how far they follow and understand him, and whether his words are producing the desired effect.

The writer, on the other hand, does not know his reader at all. Therefore, from the outset, he does not address himself to a definite group of persons which he has before him, but must write in a general way.

Hence, to a certain extent he must fail in psychological finesse and flexibility. Therefore, in general it may be said that a brilliant orator writes better than a brilliant writer can speak, unless the latter has continual practice in public speaking. One must also remember that of itself the multitude is mentally inert. It clings to its old habits and is not naturally prone to read something which does not conform to its own pre-established beliefs or does not contain what it hopes to find there. Therefore, a piece of writing which has a particular tendency is for the most part read only by those who are in sympathy with it. Only a leaflet or a placard, on account of its brevity can hope to arouse a momentary interest in those whose opinions differ from it.

The picture, in all its forms, including the film has better prospects. Here less intelligence is required on the part of the audience, it need only gaze, or at most read short captions or titles, and so it comes about that many people are more ready to accept a pictorial presentation than to read a long written description.

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

The most important consideration, however, is that one never knows into what hands a piece of written material may fall and yet the form in which its subject is presented must remain the same.

In general, the effect is greater when the form of treatment corresponds to the mental level of the reader and suits his nature.

Therefore, a book which is meant for the broad masses of the people must try from the very start to gain its effects through a style and level of ideas which would be quite different from those of a book intended to be read by the higher intellectual classes.

Only through this capacity for adaptability does the force of the written word approach that of direct speech. The orator may deal with the same subject as a book deals with, but if he has the genius of a great and popular orator he will scarcely ever repeat the same argument or the same material in the same form on two consecutive occasions.

He will always follow the lead of the great masses in such a way that from the living emotion of his hearers the apt word which he needs will be suggested to him and in its turn this will go straight to the hearts of his hearers.

Should he make even a slight mistake he has the living correction before him. As I have already said, he can read the play of expression on the faces of his hearers, firstly to see if they understand what he says, secondly, to see if they take in the whole of his argument and, thirdly, to see in how far he has succeeded in convincing them of the justice of what he has, said.

Should he observe, firstly, that his hearers do not understand him, he will make his explanation so elementary and clear that they will be able to grasp it, even to the last individual.

Secondly, if he feels that they are not capable of following him he will make one idea follow another carefully and slowly until the most slow-witted hearer no, longer lags behind.

Thirdly, as soon as he has the feeling that they do not seem convinced that he is right in the way he has put things to them he will repeat his argument over and over again, always giving fresh illustrations and he himself will state their unspoken objection.

He will repeat these objections, dissecting them and refuting them, until the last group of the opposition shows him by its behaviour and play of expression that it has capitulated before his exposition of the case.

Not infrequently it is a case of overcoming ingrained prejudices which are mostly unconscious and founded on sentiment rather than on reason.

It is a thousand times more difficult to overcome, this barrier of instinctive aversion, emotional hatred and prejudice than to correct opinions which are founded on defective or erroneous knowledge.

False ideas and ignorance may be set aside by means of instruction, but emotional resistance never can. Nothing but an appeal to these hidden forces

will be effective here, and that appeal, can be made by scarcely any writer. Only the orator can hope to make it.

A very striking proof of this is found in the fact that, though we had a bourgeois press which, in many cases, was well written and produced and had a circulation of millions of copies, it could not prevent the broad masses from becoming the implacable enemies of the bourgeois class.

The deluge of papers and books published by intellectual circles year after year passed over the minds of millions of the lower social strata as water runs off a duck's back.

This proves that one of two things must be true: either that the matter offered in the bourgeois press was worthless or that it is impossible to reach the hearts of the broad masses by means of the written word alone.

Of course, the latter is essentially true when the written material betrays as little psychological insight as hitherto.

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

Seldom has a more superficial attempt been made to support an argument based on a false assumption. What gave Marxism its amazing influence over the broad masses was not that formal printed work which sets forth the Jewish system of ideas, but the tremendous oral propaganda carried on for years among the masses.

Out of one hundred thousand German workers scarcely one hundred know Marx's book. It has been studied much more in intellectual circles and especially by the Jews than by the genuine followers of the movement who come from the lower classes.

That work was not written for the masses, but exclusively for the intellects behind the Jewish machine for conquering the world.

The engine was heated with quite different fuel, namely, the press. What differentiates the bourgeois press from the Marxist press is that the latter is written by agitators, whereas the bourgeois press would like to carry on agitation by means of professional writers.

The Social Democratic editor of some local 'rag', who almost always comes directly from the meeting to the editorial offices of his paper, knows his job to his finger-tips, but the bourgeois scribbler who wishes to appeal to the broad masses, feels faint if their stench but reach his delicate nostrils and so he is naturally powerless to touch them by his writings.

What won over millions of work-people to the Marxist cause was not the *ex cathedra* style of the Marxist writers, but the strenuous propaganda work done by tens of thousands of indefatigable agitators, from the ardent agitator down to the insignificant trade-union official, the trusty employee and the heckler.

Furthermore, there were the hundreds of thousands of meetings where these orators, standing on tables in smoky public houses, hammered their ideas into the heads of the masses, thus acquiring an admirable psychological knowledge of the human material they had to deal with, and in this way they were enabled to select the best weapons for their assault on the citadel of public opinion.

In addition to all this there were the gigantic mass-demonstrations with processions in which a hundred thousand persons took part. All this was calculated to give the petty-hearted individual the proud conviction that, though a poor worm he was at the same time an integral part of the great dragon before whose devastating breath the hated bourgeois world would one day be consumed in fire and flame, and the dictatorship of the proletariat would celebrate its final victory.

This kind of propaganda influenced men in such a way as to give them a taste for reading the Social Democratic press and prepare their minds for its teaching.

That press, in its turn, was a vehicle of the spoken, rather than of the written, word. Whereas in the bourgeois camp professors and learned writers, theorists and authors of, all kinds, made attempts at speaking, in the Marxist camp real speakers often made attempts at writing.

This applies especially to the Jew who, on account of his dialectical skill and cunning in distorting the truth, assumes even as an author rather the guise of an eloquent agitator than of a creative writer.

For this reason the bourgeois press (quite apart from the fact that it is

dominated by the Jew and has, therefore, no interest in enlightening the broad masses) is not capable of exercising the slightest influence on the opinions held by the great masses of our people. It is difficult to eradicate emotional prejudices, psychological bias, feelings, etc., and to put others in their place. Success depends here on conditions and influences which cannot be gauged.

Only the orator who is gifted with the most sensitive insight can estimate all this. Even the time of day at which the speech is delivered has a decisive influence on its effectiveness.

The same speech, made by the same orator and on the same theme, will have very different results according as it is delivered at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at three in the afternoon, or in the evening.

When I first engaged in public speaking I arranged for meetings to take place in the forenoon and I remember particularly a demonstration that we held in the Münchner-Kindl-Keller as a protest against the oppression of German minorities.

That was the biggest hall then in Munich and the risk appeared very great. In order to make the hour of the meeting suitable for all the members of our Movement and the other people who might come, I fixed it for ten o'clock on a Sunday morning.

The result was depressing, but it was very instructive. The hall was filled. The impression was profound, but the general atmosphere was chilly. Nobody got warmed up and I myself, as the speaker of the occasion, felt profoundly unhappy at the thought that I could not establish the slightest contact with my audience.

I do not think I spoke worse than on other occasions, but the effect seemed absolutely negative. I left the hall in a very depressed frame of mind, but also feeling that I had gained a new experience. Later on I tried the same kind of experiment, but always with the same results.

That was not to be wondered at. If one goes to a theatre to see a matinee performance and, then attends an evening performance of the same play, one is astounded at the difference in the impression created.

A sensitive person and one who is capable of analysing his own reactions, will readily acknowledge that the impression created by the matinee performance is by no means as vivid as that gained at the evening performance.

The same is true of cinema productions.

This latter point is important; for one may say of the theatre that perhaps in the afternoon the actor does not make the same effort as in the evening, but surely it cannot be said that the cinema is different in the afternoon from what it is at nine o'clock in the evening.

In this case, the time of day exercises a distinct influence, just as a room exercises a distinct influence on me.

There are rooms which leave one cold, for reasons which are difficult to explain. There are rooms which steadfastly prevent the creation of an atmosphere of any sort. Moreover, certain memories and traditions which are present as pictures in the human mind may have a determining influence on the impression produced.

Thus a performance of Parsifal at Bayreuth will have an effect quite different from that which the same opera produces in any other part of the world.

The mysterious charm of the House on the 'Festival Heights' in the old city of the Margrave can neither be equalled nor conjured up by external surroundings in any other place.

In all these cases one is dealing with the problem of influencing the freedom of the human will, and that is true especially of meetings where there are men whose wills are opposed to the speaker and who must be brought round to a new way of thinking.

In the morning and during the day it seems that the rower of the human will rebels most strongly against any attempt to impose upon it the will or opinion of another. On the other hand, in the evening it easily succumbs to the domination of a stronger will, because actually in such assemblies there is a contest between two opposing forces.

The superior oratorical art of a man who has the compelling character of an apostle will succeed better in bringing round to a new way of thinking those who have, in the course of nature, been subjected to a weakening of their forces of resistance rather than in converting those who are in full possession of their volitional and intellectual faculties.

The mysterious artificial dimness of the Catholic churches, the burning

candles, the incense, the thurible, etc. also serve this purpose.

In this struggle between the orator and the opponent whom he must convert to his cause, the former gradually acquires an awareness of the psychological fitness of his propaganda weapons, which the writer seldom possesses.

Generally speaking, the effect of the writer's work helps rather to conserve, reinforce and deepen the foundations of opinions already formed.

All really great historical revolutions were not produced by the written word; at most, they were accompanied by it.

It is out of the question to think that the French Revolution could have been carried into effect by philosophising theories had it not been for an army of agitators headed by demagogues of a pronounced type who inflamed popular passion that had been already aroused, until that volcanic eruption finally broke out which convulsed the whole of Europe.

The same is true of the greatest revolutionary movement of our own day, namely, the Bolshevist Revolution in Russia, which was not the outcome of Lenin's writings, but of the oratorical activities of innumerable agitators, great and small, who stirred up hatred.

The masses of illiterate Russians were not fired to communist revolutionary enthusiasm by reading the theories of Karl Marx, but by the promises of paradise made to the people by thousands of agitators in the service of a single idea. It has always been so, and it always will be so.

It is typical of our pig-headed intellectuals, who live apart from the practical world, to think that a writer must of necessity be superior in intelligence to an orator.

This point of view was once effectively illustrated by a critique, published in a certain national paper which I have already mentioned, where it was stated that one is often disillusioned by reading the speech of an acknowledged great orator in print.

That reminded me of another article which fell into my hands during the War. It dealt with the speeches of Lloyd George, who was then Minister of Munitions, and examined them in a painstaking way under the microscope of criticism.

The writer made the brilliant statement that these speeches showed inferior intelligence and learning and that, moreover, they were banal and commonplace productions.

I happened to get hold of some of these speeches, published in pamphlet form, and had to laugh at the fact that an ordinary German quill-driver did not in the least understand these psychological masterpieces in the art of influencing the masses.

This man criticised these speeches solely according to the impression they made on his own arrogant mind, whereas the one aim of the great British demagogue was to produce the maximum effect upon his audiences and, in the widest sense, on the lower classes throughout the length and breadth of, Britain.

Looked at from this point of view, that British statesman's speeches were most wonderful achievements, precisely because they showed an astounding knowledge of the mentality of the broad masses of the people. For that reason their effect was really overwhelming.

Compare with them the futile stammerings of a Bethmann-Hollweg. On the surface the latter's speeches were undoubtedly more intellectual, but they actually proved the man's inability to speak to his own people, whom he did not understand.

Nevertheless to the stupid average brain of the German writer, who had, of course amassed a great deal of learning, it seemed only natural to judge the speeches of the British statesman—which were made for the purpose of influencing the masses—by the impression which they made on his own mind, fossilised as it was by learning and to compare them to the brilliant but futile talk of the German statesman, which of course had a greater appeal for him.

That the genius of Lloyd George was not only equal, but a thousandfold superior to that of a Bethmann-Hollweg, is proved by the fact that he found for his speeches that form and expression which opened the hearts of his people to him and made that people carry out his will absolutely.

The primitive quality of these speeches, the originality of his expressions, his choice of clear and simple illustration, prove the superior political capacity of the British spokesman.

One must never judge the speech of a statesman to his people by the

impression which it leaves on the mind of a university professor, but by the effect it produces on the public, and this is the sole criterion of the orator's genius.

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

However important the literature of the Movement may be, it is, nevertheless, at present more important as a means of providing leaders of the upper, as well as of the lower grades, with a uniform course of instruction, than for the purpose of converting antagonistic masses.

It was only in very rare cases that a convinced and devoted Social Democrat or Communist was induced to gain an insight into our *Weltanschauung* or to study a criticism of his own by procuring and reading one of our pamphlets or even one of our books.

Even a newspaper is rarely read if it does not bear the stamp of party opinions. Moreover, the reading of newspapers helps little, because the general picture given by a single number of a newspaper is so confused and produces such a fragmentary impression that it really does not influence the occasional reader.

Where a man has to count his pennies, it cannot be assumed that, exclusively for the purpose of being objectively informed, he will become a regular reader or subscriber to a paper which opposes his views. Scarcely one man in ten thousand will do this.

Only after he has already joined a movement will he regularly read the party organ of that movement, more especially for the purpose of keeping himself informed of what is happening in the movement.

It is quite different with the 'spoken' leaflet. Especially if it be distributed gratis it will be taken up by one person or another, all the more willingly if its display title refers to a question about which everybody is talking at the moment.

Perhaps someone after having read through such a leaflet more or less carefully, will have his eyes opened to the existence of new points of view, a new mental attitude, and even a new movement.

But, at best, this will only serve as a slight impulse and will not establish a firm conviction, because the leaflet can do no more than arouse interest and attract attention, and can only be effective if the reader subsequently gains more definite and thorough information, the only road to which is via the mass meeting.

Mass meetings are also necessary for the reason that, in attending them, the individual who, about to join the new movement, feels himself alone and is easily scared of acting singularly acquires for the first time the feeling of a great community, which has a strengthening and encouraging effect on most people.

The same man will, as a member of a company or battalion, surrounded by his companions, march with a lighter heart to the attack than if he had to march alone. In the crowd he feels himself in some way sheltered, though in reality there are a thousand arguments against such a feeling.

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

The man who appears as the first representative of a new doctrine in his place of business or in his factory is bound to have to face obstacles and has need of that strength which comes from the consciousness that he is a member of a great community, and only a mass demonstration can impress upon him the greatness of this community.

If, on leaving the shop or mammoth factory, in which he feels very small indeed, he enters a cast assembly for the first time and sees around him thousands upon thousands of men who hold the same opinions;

- if, while still seeking his way, he is gripped by the force of mass suggestion which comes from the excitement and enthusiasm of three or four thousand other men in whose midst he finds himself; and

- if the manifest success and the consensus of thousands confirm the truth and justice of the new teaching and for the first time raise in his mind doubt as to the truth of the opinions held by himself up to now, then he submits himself to the fascination of what we call mass suggestion.

The will, the yearning and indeed the strength of thousands of people are in each individual. A man who enters such a meeting in doubt and hesitation

leaves it inwardly fortified; he has become a member of a community.

The National Socialist Movement should never forget this, and it should never allow itself to be influenced by those bourgeois blockhead, who think they know everything, but who have foolishly gambled away a great State, together with their own existence and the supremacy of their own class.

They are extraordinarily clever, they can do everything, and they know everything, but there was one thing which they failed to do, namely, to save the German people from falling into the clutches of Marxism.

In that they failed miserably and their present high opinion of their prowess is mere conceit, for their pride and their stupidity are fruits of the same tree.

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