

CHAPTER X: THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND REICH

The depth of a fall is always measured by the difference between the level of the original position from which a body has fallen and that in which it now lies.

The same holds good for nations and States. The matter of greatest importance here is the height of the original level, or rather the greatest height that had been attained before the descent began.

Therefore, the original position is of paramount importance, and only the fall or collapse of that which is capable of rising above the general level, can impress the beholder.

The collapse of the Second Reich was all the more bewildering for those who could ponder over it and feel the effect of it in their hearts, because the Reich had fallen from a height which can hardly be imagined in these days of misery and humiliation.

The Second Reich was founded in circumstances of such dazzling splendour that the whole nation had become entranced and exalted by it. Following an unparalleled series of victories, that Reich was handed over as the guerdon of immortal heroism to the children and grandchildren of the heroes.

Whether they were fully conscious of it or not, does not matter, the Germans felt that this Reich, which did not owe its existence to the machinations of parliamentary factions, was superior to the great majority of States by reason of the nobler circumstances that had accompanied its establishment.

When its foundations were laid, the accompanying music was not the chatter of parliamentary debates, but the thunder and clash of war along the battle-front that encircled Paris.

It was thus that an act of statesmanship was accomplished whereby the Germans, princes as well as people, established the future Reich and restored the symbol of the Imperial Crown. Bismarck's State was not founded on

treason and assassination by deserters and shirkers, but by the regiments that had fought at, the front.

This unique birth and baptism of fire sufficed of themselves to surround the Second Reich with an aureole of historical splendour such as few of the older States could claim.

What a period of prosperity then began! A position of independence in regard to the outside world guaranteed the means of livelihood at home. The nation increased in numbers and in worldly wealth.

The honour of the State and thereby the honour of the people as a whole were secured and protected by an Army which was the most striking proof of the difference between this new Reich and the old German Confederation.

The downfall of the Second Reich and the German nation has been so profound that everyone seems to have been dumbfounded and rendered incapable of feeling the significance of this downfall or reflecting on it.

It seems as if people were utterly unable to picture in their minds the heights to which the Reich formerly attained, so visionary and unreal appears the greatness and splendour of those days in contrast to the misery of the present.

Bearing this in mind, we can understand why and how people become so dazed when they try to look back, to the sublime past that they forget to look for the symptoms of the great collapse which must certainly have been present in some form or other.

Naturally this applies only to those for whom Germany was more than merely a place of abode and a source of livelihood. These are the only people who have been able to feel the present conditions as really catastrophic, whereas others have considered these conditions as the fulfilment of what they had looked forward to and hitherto silently wished.

The symptoms of future collapse were definitely to be perceived in those earlier days, although very few made any attempt to deduce a practical lesson from their significance, but this is now a greater necessity than it ever was before, for just as bodily ailments can be cured only when their origin has been diagnosed, so also political disease can be treated only when it has been diagnosed.

It is obvious, of course, that the external symptoms of any disease can be more readily detected than its internal causes, for these symptoms strike the eye more readily.

This is also the reason why so many people recognise only external effects and mistake them for causes. Indeed, they will sometimes try to deny the existence of such causes, and that is why the majority of people among us recognise the German collapse only in the prevailing economic distress and the results that have followed therefrom.

Almost everyone has to bear his share of this burden and that is why each one looks on the economic catastrophe as the cause of the present deplorable state of affairs.

The broad masses of the people see little of the cultural, political, and moral background of this collapse. Many of them completely lack both the necessary feeling and the powers of understanding.

That the masses of the people should thus estimate the causes of Germany's downfall is quite understandable, but the fact that intelligent sections of the community regard the German collapse primarily as an economic catastrophe, and consequently think that a cure for it may be found in an economic solution, seems to me to be the reason why hitherto no improvement has been brought about.

No improvement can be brought about until it is understood that economics play only a secondary role, while the main part is played by political, moral, and racial factors.

Only when this is understood will it be possible to comprehend the causes of the present evils and consequently to find the ways and means of remedying them.

Therefore, the question of why Germany really collapsed is one of the most urgent significance, especially for a political movement which aims at overcoming this disaster.

In scrutinising the past with a view to discovering the causes of the German break-up, it is necessary to be careful lest we may be unduly impressed by external results that readily strike the eye and thus ignore the less manifest causes of these results.

The most facile, and therefore the most generally accepted way of accounting for the present misfortune, is to say that it is the result of a lost war, and that this is the real cause of the present distress.

Probably there are many who honestly believe in this absurd explanation, but there are many more in whose mouths it is a deliberate and conscious falsehood. This applies to all those who are now feeding at the government troughs, for the prophets of the Revolution again and again declared to the people that the result of the war would be immaterial to the great masses.

On the contrary, they solemnly assured the public that it was high finance which was principally interested in a victorious outcome of this gigantic struggle between the nations, but that the German people and the German workers had no interest whatsoever therein.

Indeed, the apostles of world conciliation habitually asserted that, far from any German downfall, the opposite was bound to take place—namely, the resurgence of the German people—once ‘militarism’ had been crushed.

Did not these self-same circles sing the praises of the Entente and did they not also lay the whole blame for the sanguinary struggle on Germany?

Would they have succeeded in doing so, had they not put forward the theory that a military defeat would have no political consequences for the German people? Was not the whole Revolution dressed up in the pretty phrase that, since it would check the victorious advance of the German banners, the German people would thus be assured of its liberty both at home and abroad? Is not that so, you miserable, lying rascals?

That kind of impudence which is typical of the Jews was necessary in order to proclaim the defeat of the Army as the cause of the German collapse, indeed the Berlin *Vorwärts*, that organ and mouthpiece of sedition, wrote on this occasion that the German nation should not be permitted to bring home its banners in triumph. Yet our collapse is attributed to the military defeat.

Of course it would be out of the question to enter into an argument with these liars who deny one moment what they said the moment before. I should waste no further words on them were it not for the fact that there are many thoughtless people who repeat all this parrot-fashion, without being necessarily inspired by any evil motives.

But the observations I am making here are also meant for our fighting followers, seeing that nowadays one's spoken words are often forgotten and their meaning distorted.

The assertion that the loss of the war was the cause of the German collapse can best be answered as follows:

It is admittedly a fact that the loss of the war was of tragic importance for the future of our country, but that loss was not in itself a cause. It was rather the consequence of other causes.

That a disastrous ending to this life and death conflict must have involved catastrophes in its train was clearly seen by everyone of insight who could think in a straightforward manner, but unfortunately there were also people whose powers of understanding seemed to fail them at that critical moment.

There were other people who had first questioned that truth and then altogether denied it, and there were people who, after their secret desire had been fulfilled, were suddenly faced with the state of affairs, that resulted from their own collaboration.

Such people are responsible for the collapse, and not the lost war, though they now want to attribute everything to this. As a matter of fact, the loss of the war was a result of their activities and not the result of bad leadership, as they would now like to maintain.

Our enemies were not cowards. They also knew how to die. From the very first day of the war they outnumbered the German Army, and the arsenals and armament factories of the whole world were at their disposal for the replenishment of military equipment.

Indeed, it is universally admitted that the German victories, which had been steadily won during four years of warfare against the whole world, were (apart, of course, from the heroism of the troops, and the magnificent organisation) solely due to the German military leadership.

That organisation and leadership of the German Army was the most mighty thing that the world has ever seen. Any shortcomings which became evident were humanly unavoidable. The collapse of that Army was not the cause of our present distress. It was itself the consequence of other faults, but this consequence in its turn ushered in a further collapse, which was more

obvious.

That such was actually the case can be shown as follows: Must a military defeat necessarily lead to such a complete overthrow of the State and the nation?

Whenever has this been the result of an unfortunate, lost war?

Are nations in fact ever ruined by a lost war and by that alone?

The answer to this question can be briefly stated by referring to the fact that military defeats are the result of internal decay, cowardice, want of character, and are a retribution for such things.

If such were not the case, then a military defeat would lead to a national resurgence and bring the nation to a higher pitch of effort.

A military defeat is not the tombstone of national life. History affords innumerable examples to confirm the truth of that statement.

Unfortunately, Germany's military overthrow was not an undeserved catastrophe, but a well-merited punishment which was in the nature of an eternal retribution.

This defeat was more than deserved by us, for it represented the greatest external phenomenon of decomposition among a series of internal phenomena, which, although they were visible, were not recognised by the majority of the people, who follow the tactics of the ostrich and see only what they want to see.

Let us examine the symptoms that were evident in Germany at the time that the German people accepted this defeat. Is it not true that in several circles the misfortunes of the Fatherland were even joyfully welcomed in the most shameful manner?

Who could act in such a way without thereby meriting vengeance for his attitude? Were there not people who went even further and boasted that they had gone to the extent of weakening the front and causing a collapse?

Therefore, it was not the enemy who brought this disgrace upon us, but rather our own countrymen. If they suffered misfortune for it afterwards, was that misfortune undeserved?

Was there ever a case in history where a people declared itself guilty of a war, and that even against its conscience and its better judgment?

No, and again no. In the manner in which the German nation reacted to its defeat we can see that the real cause of our collapse must be looked for elsewhere and not in the purely military loss of a few positions or the failure of an offensive, for if the front as such had given way and thus brought about a national disaster, then the German nation would have accepted the defeat in quite another spirit.

It would have borne the subsequent misfortune with clenched teeth, or it would have been overwhelmed by sorrow.

Regret and fury against an enemy into whose hands victory had been given by a chance event or the decree of Fate would have filled the hearts of the people, and in that case the nation, following the example of the Roman Senate, would have faced the defeated legions on their return and expressed their thanks for the sacrifices that had been made and would have urged them not to lose faith in the Reich.

Even the capitulation would have been signed under the sway of calm reason, while the heart would have beaten in the hope of the coming *revanche*.

That is the reception that would have been given to a military defeat which had to be attributed only to the adverse decree of Fortune. There would have been neither joy-making nor dancing.

Cowardice would not have been boasted of, and the defeat would not have been honoured. On returning from the front, the troops would not have been mocked at, and the colours would not have been dragged in the dust, but above all, that disgraceful state of affairs, could never have arisen which induced a British officer, Colonel Repington, to declare with scorn, "Every third German is a traitor."

No, in such a case this plague would never have assumed the proportions of a veritable flood, which, for the past five years, has smothered every vestige of respect for the German nation in the outside world.

This shows only too clearly how false it is to say that the loss of the war was the cause of the German break-up. The military defeat was in itself but the consequence of a whole series of morbid symptoms and their causes which had become active in, the German nation before the war broke out.

The collapse was the first catastrophic consequence, visible to all, of how traditions and national morale had been poisoned and how the instinct of self-preservation had degenerated. These were the preliminary causes which, for many years, had been undermining the foundations of the nation and the Reich.

It remained for the Jews, with their unqualified capacity for falsehood, and their fighting comrades, the Marxists, to impute responsibility for the downfall precisely to the man who alone had shown superhuman will-power and energy in his, effort to prevent the catastrophe which he had foreseen and to save the nation from that hour of complete overthrow and shame.

By placing responsibility for the loss of the World War on the shoulders of Ludendorff, they took away the weapon of moral right from the only adversary dangerous enough to be likely to succeed in bringing the betrayers of the Fatherland to justice.

All this was inspired by the principle which is quite true in itself—that in the big lie there is always a certain force of credibility; because the broad masses of a nation are always more easily corruptible in the deeper strata of their emotional nature than consciously or voluntarily had, and thus in the primitive simplicity of their minds they are readily fall victims to the big lie than to the small lie, since they themselves often tell small lies in little matters, but would be ashamed to resort to large-scale falsehood.

It would never come into their heads to fabricate colossal untruths, and they would not believe that others could have the impudence to distort the truth so infamously.

Even though the facts which prove this to be so are put clearly before them, they will still doubt and waver and will continue to think that there may be some other explanation, for the grossly impudent lie always leaves traces behind it, even after it has been nailed down—a fact which all expert liars in this world and all who conspire together in the art of lying know only too well and exploit in the basest manner.

From time immemorial, however, the Jews have known better than any others how falsehood and calumny can be exploited.

Is not their very existence founded on one great lie, namely, that they are a religious community, whereas in reality they are a race?

And what a race! One of the greatest thinkers that mankind has produced has branded the Jews for all time with a statement which is profoundly and exactly true. He called the Jew "the great master of lies."

Those who do not realise the truth of that statement, or do not wish to believe it, will never be able to lend a hand in helping truth to prevail.

We may regard it as a great stroke of fortune for the German nation that its period of lingering suffering was so suddenly curtailed and transformed into such a terrible catastrophe, for if things had gone on as they were, the nation would, more slowly but more surely, have been ruined.

The disease would have become chronic; whereas, in the acute form of the disaster, it at least showed itself clearly to the eyes of a considerable number of observers.

It was not by accident that man conquered the black plague more easily than he has conquered tuberculosis. The first appeared in terrifying waves of death that shook the whole of mankind, the other advances insidiously; the first induced terror, the other gradual indifference.

The result is, however, that men opposed the first with all the energy of which they were capable, whilst they try to arrest tuberculosis by feeble means. Thus man has mastered the black plague, while tuberculosis still gets the better of him.

The same applies to diseases in nations. As long as these diseases are not of a catastrophic character, the population will slowly accustom itself to them and later succumb.

It is then a stroke of luck—although a bitter one—when Fate decides to interfere in this slow process of decay and suddenly brings the victim face to face with the final stage of the disease. More often than not the result of a catastrophe is that a cure is at once undertaken and carried through with rigid determination, but even in such a case, the essential preliminary condition is always the recognition of the internal causes which have given rise to the disease in question.

The important question here is the differentiation of the root causes from the circumstances developing out of them. This becomes all the more difficult the longer the germs of disease remain in the national body and the longer they are allowed to become an integral part of that body.

It may easily happen that, as time goes on, it will become so difficult to recognise certain definite virulent poisons as such that they are accepted as belonging to the national being, or they are merely tolerated as a necessary evil, so that drastic attempts to locate those alien germs are not held to be necessary.

During the long period of peace prior to the last war, certain evils were apparent here and there although, with one or two exception, very little effort was made to discover their origin.

Here again, these exceptions were primarily those phenomena in the economic life of the nation which were more apparent to the individual rather than the evil conditions existing in a good many other spheres.

There were many signs of decay which ought to have been given serious thought. As far as economics were concerned, it may be said that the amazing increase of population in Germany before the war brought the question of providing daily bread into a more and more prominent position in all spheres of political and economic thought and action.

Unfortunately, those responsible could not make up their minds to arrive at the only correct solution and preferred to reach their objective by cheaper methods.

Repudiation of the idea of acquiring fresh territory and the substitution for it of the mad desire for the commercial conquest of the world was bound to lead eventually to unlimited and injurious industrialisation.

The first and most fatal result brought about in this way was the weakening of the agricultural classes, whose decline was proportionate to the increase in the proletariat of the urban areas, until finally the equilibrium was completely upset.

The big barrier dividing rich and poor now became apparent. Luxury and poverty lived so close to each other that the consequences were bound to be deplorable. Want and frequent unemployment began to play havoc with the people and left discontent and embitterment behind them. The result of this was to divide the population into political classes.

Discontent increased in spite of commercial prosperity. Matters finally reached that stage which brought about the general conviction that 'things cannot go on as they are,' although no one seemed able to visualise what was

really going to happen.

These were typical and visible signs of the depths which the prevailing discontent had reached. Far worse than these, however, were other consequences which became apparent as a result of the industrialisation of the nation.

In proportion to the extent that commerce assumed definite control of the State, money became more and more of a god whom all had to serve and before whom all had to bow.

Heavenly deities became more and more old-fashioned and were laid away in the corners to make room for the worship of Mammon.

Thus began a period of utter degeneration which became especially pernicious because it set in at a time when the nation was more than ever in need of an exalted ideal, for a critical hour was threatening.

Germany should have been prepared to protect with the sword her efforts to win her own daily bread in a peaceful way.

Unfortunately, the predominance of money received support and sanction in the very quarter which ought to have been opposed to it.

His Majesty, the Kaiser, made a mistake when he raised representatives of the new financial world to the ranks of the nobility.

Admittedly, it may be offered as an excuse that even Bismarck failed to realise the threatening danger in this respect. In practice, however, all ideal virtues became secondary considerations to those of money, for it was clear that having once taken this road, the real old aristocracy would very soon rank second to the ennobled financiers.

Financial operations succeed more easily than war operations. Hence it was no longer any great attraction for a true hero or even a statesman to be brought into touch with some Jewish banker.

Real merit was not interested in receiving cheap decorations and therefore declined them with thanks. But from the standpoint of good breeding such a development was deeply regrettable.

The aristocracy began to lose more and more those racial qualities that were a condition of its very existence, with the result that, in many cases, the

term ‘plebeian’ would have been more appropriate.

A serious state of economic disruption was being brought about by the slow elimination of the personal control of vested interests and the gradual transference of the whole economic structure into the hands of joint-stock companies. In this way labour became degraded into an object of speculation in the hands of unscrupulous exploiters. The de-personalisation of property ownership increased on a vast scale. Financial exchange circles began to triumph and made slow but sure progress in assuming control of the whole of national life.

Before the war, the internationalisation of the German economic structure had already begun by the roundabout way of share issues. It is true that a section of the German industrialists made determined attempts to avert the danger, but in the end they gave way before the united attacks of money-grabbing capitalism, which was assisted in this fight by its faithful henchman, the Marxist movement.

The persistent war against German ‘heavy industries’ was the visible start of the internationalisation of German economic life as envisaged by the Marxists.

This, however, could only be brought to a successful conclusion by the victory which Marxism was able to gain in the Revolution.

As I write these words, success is attending the general attack on the German State Railways which are now to be turned over to international capitalists. Thus ‘International Social Democracy’ has once again attained one of its main objectives.

The best evidence of how far this ‘commercialisation’ of the German nation was able to progress, can be seen plainly in the fact that when the war was over, one of the leading captains of German industry and commerce gave it as his opinion that commerce as such was the only force which could put Germany on her feet again.

This sort of nonsense was uttered just at the time when France was re-establishing public education on a humanitarian basis, thus doing away with the idea that national life was dependent on commerce rather than on ideal values.

The statement which Stinnes broadcast to the world at that time caused

incredible, confusion. It was immediately taken up and has become the leading motto of all those humbugs and babblers—the ‘statesmen’ whom Fate let loose on Germany after the Revolution.

One of the worst evidences of decadence in Germany before the war was the ever-increasing habit of doing things by halves. This was one of the consequences of the insecurity that was felt all round, and it is to be attributed also to a certain timidity which resulted from one cause or another. The latter malady was aggravated by the educational system.

German education in pre-war times had an extraordinary number of weak features. It was simply and exclusively limited to the production of pure knowledge and paid little attention to the development of practical ability.

Still less attention was given to the development of individual character, in so far as this is ever possible, and hardly any attention at all was paid to the development of a sense of responsibility, to strengthening the will and the power of decision. The result of this method was not to turn out stalwart men, but rather docile creatures crammed with knowledge and to produce erudite people who had a passion for knowing everything.

Before the war, we Germans were accepted and estimated accordingly. The German was liked because good use could be made of him; but there was little esteem for him personally, on account of his weakness of character.

For those who can read its significance aright, there is much instruction in the fact that among all nationalities Germans were the first to part with their national citizenship when they found themselves in a foreign country, and there is a world of meaning in the saying that was then prevalent, that in hand one can go through the whole country.

This kind of social etiquette turned out disastrous when it prescribed the exclusive forms that had to be observed in the presence of His Majesty. These forms insisted that there should be no contract fiction whatsoever, but that everything should be praised which His Majesty condescended to like.

It was just here that the frank expression of manly dignity, and not subservience, was most needed because the monarchy as an institution was bound to fall as a result of this subservience, for such it was.

Servility in the presence of monarchs may be good enough for the professional lackey and place-hunter, in fact for all those decadent beings who

feel more at their ease in close proximity to the throne than do honest citizens.

These exceedingly ‘humble’ creatures, however, though the grovel before their lord and bread-giver, invariably put on airs of boundless superciliousness towards other mortals, which was particularly impudent when they posed as the only people who had the right to be called ‘monarchs.’

This was a gross piece of impertinence of which only despicable specimens among the newly-ennobled or yet-to-be-ennobled were capable.

These have always been just the people who have prepared the way for the downfall of the monarchy and the monarchical principle.

It could not be otherwise, for when a man is prepared to stand up for a cause, come what may, he never grovels before its representative.

A man who is serious about the maintenance and welfare of an institution will cling to it with might and main and will not be able to get over it, should that institution show certain faults and failings, and he will certainly not run around telling the world about it, as certain false democratic ‘friends’ of the monarchy have done; but he will approach His Majesty, the wearer of the crown himself, to warn him of the seriousness of the situation and persuade the monarch to act.

Furthermore, he will not take up the standpoint that it must be left to His Majesty to act as the latter thinks fit, even though the course which he would take must plainly lead to disaster.

The man I am thinking of will deem it his duty to protect the monarchy against the monarch himself, no matter what personal risk he may run in so doing. If the worth of the monarchical institution were dependent on the person of the monarch himself, then it would be the worst institution imaginable; for only in rare cases are kings found to be models of wisdom, understanding and integrity of character, though we might like to think otherwise.

This fact is unpalatable to the professional knaves and lackeys, but all upright men, and they are the backbone of the nation, repudiate the nonsensical fiction that all monarchs are wise, etc.

For such men history is history and truth is truth, even where monarchs are concerned. It is so seldom that a nation has the good luck to possess a great king who is at the same time a great man, that it ought to consider itself

fortunate if malignant Fate has not reserved for it a still more terrible lot.

It is clear that the worth and significance of the monarchical principle cannot rest in the person of the monarch alone, unless Heaven decrees that the crown should be set on the head of a brilliant hero like Frederick the Great, or a sagacious man like Wilhelm I.

This may happen once in several centuries, but hardly oftener than that. The ideal of the monarchy takes precedence over the person of the monarch, inasmuch as the meaning of the institution must lie in the institution itself.

Thus, the monarch may be reckoned in the category of those whose duty it is to serve. He, too, is but a wheel in the machine and as such he is obliged to do his duty towards it. He has to adapt himself for the fulfilment of high aims and your true ‘monarchist’ is not he who allows the wearer of the crown to commit crimes in its name, but he who prevents this.

If, therefore, there were no significance attached to the idea itself and everything merely centred around the ‘sacred’ person, then it would never be possible to depose a ruler who has shown himself to be an imbecile.

It is essential to resist upon this truth at the present time, because recently those phenomena which were in no small measure responsible for the collapse of the monarchy have appeared again.

With a certain amount of naive impudence these persons once again talk about ‘their King’—that is to say the man whom they shamefully deserted a few years ago, at a most critical, hour.

Those who refrain from participating in this chorus of lies are summarily classified as ‘bad Germans.’

They who make the charge are the same class of quitters who, in 1918, took to their heels at the very sight of a red armlet, left their Kaiser in the lurch, hastily changed their rifles for walking-sticks, took to wearing neutral-coloured ties, and disappeared from the limelight camouflaged as peace-loving citizens.

All of a sudden these champions of royalty were nowhere to be found at that time. Circumspectly, one by one, these ‘servants and counsellors’ of the Crown reappeared to resume their lip-service to royalty, but only after others had borne the brunt of the anti-royalist attack and suppressed the Revolution

for them.

Once again they are all there, wistfully eyeing the flesh-pots of Egypt and almost bursting with devotion for the royal cause.

This will go on until the day comes when red badges are again in the ascendant. Then this whole ramshackle troupe of hangers-on of the old monarchy will scuttle off anew like mice from the cats.

If monarchs were not themselves responsible for such things, one could not help sympathising with them, but they must realise: that with such champions, thrones may be lost, but never gained.

All this devotion was a mistake and was the result of our whole system of education, which in this case brought about a particularly severe retribution.

Such lamentable trumpery was kept up at the various courts, that the monarchy was slowly becoming undermined. When the whole structure finally did begin to totter, they vanished from mortal ken.

Naturally, grovellers and lick-spittles are never willing to die for their masters. That monarchs never realise this, and seldom really take the trouble to learn it, has always been their undoing.

One visible result of a wrong educational system was the fear of shouldering responsibility and the resultant weakness in dealing with obvious, vital problems of existence.

The starting-point of this epidemic was, however, in our parliamentary institution where the shirking of responsibility was particularly fostered. Unfortunately, the disease slowly spread to all branches of everyday life and particularly affected the sphere of public affairs.

Responsibility was being shirked everywhere and this led to insufficient or half-hearted measures being taken, personal responsibility for each action being reduced to a minimum.

If we consider the attitude of various governments towards a whole series of really pernicious phenomena in public life, we shall at once recognise the fearful significance of this policy of half-measures and the lack of courage to assume responsibility.

I shall single out only a few from the large number of instances known to

me.

In journalistic circles it is a pleasing custom to speak of the press as a 'Great Power' within the State. As a matter of fact its importance is immense. One cannot easily over-estimate it, for the press continues the work of education even in adult life.

Generally speaking, readers of the press can be classified in three groups: First, those who believe everything they read; second, those who no longer believe anything; third, those who critically examine what they read and form their judgments accordingly.

Numerically, the first group is by far the largest, being composed of the broad masses of the people. Intellectually, it forms the simplest portion of the nation.

It cannot be classified according to occupation, but only into grades of intelligence. Under this category come all those who have not been born to think for themselves or who have not learnt to do so and who, partly through incompetence and partly through ignorance, believe everything that is set before them in print.

To these we must add that type of lazy individual who, although capable of thinking for himself, out of sheer laziness gratefully absorbs everything that others have thought out, modestly believing this to have been thoroughly done.

The influence which the press has on all these people who constitute the broad masses of a nation, is therefore enormous.

But somehow they are not in a position, or are not willing, personally to sift what is being served up to them, so that their whole attitude towards daily problems is almost solely the result of extraneous influence.

All this can be advantageous where public enlightenment is of a serious and truthful character, but great harm is done when scoundrels and liars take a hand at this work.

The second group is numerically smaller, being partly composed of those who were formerly in the first group and after a series of bitter disappointments are now prepared to believe nothing of what they see in print.

They hate all newspapers. Either they do not read them at all or they

become exceptionally annoyed at their contents, which they hold to be nothing but a conglomery of lies and mis-statements.

These people are difficult to handle, for they will always be sceptical of the truth. Consequently, they are useless for any form of positive work.

The third group is easily the smallest, being composed of real intellectuals whom natural aptitude and education have taught to think for themselves and who in all things try to form their own judgments, while at the same time carefully sifting what they read.

They will not read any newspaper without using their own intelligence to collaborate with that of the writer, and naturally this does not set writers an easy task. Journalists appreciate this type of reader only with a certain amount of reservation.

Hence the trash that newspapers are capable of serving up is of little danger—much less of importance to the members of this third group of readers.

In the majority of cases these readers have learnt to regard every journalist as fundamentally a rogue who sometimes speaks the truth.

Most unfortunately, the value of these readers lies in their intelligence, and not in their numerical strength an unhappy state of affairs in a period where wisdom counts for nothing and majorities for everything.

Nowadays, when the voting papers of the masses are the deciding factor, the decision lies in the hands of the numerically strongest group; that is to say the first group, the crowd of simpletons and the credulous.

It is an all-important interest of the State and a national duty to prevent these people from falling into the hands of false, ignorant or even evil-minded teachers. Therefore it is the duty of the State to supervise their education and prevent every form of offence in this respect.

Particular attention should be paid to the press; for its influence on these people is by far the strongest and most penetrating of all, since its effect is not transitory but continual. Its immense significance lies in the uniform and persistent repetition of its teaching.

Here, if anywhere, the State should never forget that all means should converge towards the same end. It must not be led astray by the will-o'-the-

wisp of so-called ‘freedom of the press,’ or be talked into neglecting its duty, and withholding from the nation that which is good and which does good.

With ruthless determination the State must keep control of this instrument of popular education and place it at the service of the State and the nation.

But what sort of pabulum was it that the German press served up for the consumption of its readers in pre-war days? Was it not the most virulent poison imaginable? Was not pacifism in its worst form inoculated into our people at a time when others were preparing slowly but surely to pounce upon Germany?

Did not this self-same press of ours instil into the public mind even in peacetime a doubt as to the sovereign rights of the State itself, thereby already handicapping the State in choosing its means of defence?

Was it not the German press that understood how to make all the nonsensical talk about ‘Western Democracy’ palatable to our people, until an exuberant public was eventually prepared to entrust its future to the League of Nations?

Was not this press instrumental in bringing about a state of moral degradation among our people? Were not morals and public decency made to look ridiculous and classed as out-of-date and banal, until finally our people also became ‘modern’?

By means of persistent attacks, did not the press keep on undermining the authority of the State, until one blow sufficed to bring this institution tottering to the ground?

Did not the press oppose with all its might every move to give the State that which belongs to the State, and by means of constant criticism injure the reputation of the Army, sabotage general conscription and demand refusal of military credits, etc.—until the success of this campaign was assured? The function of the so-called liberal press was to dig the grave for the German people and Reich. No mention need be made of the lying Marxist press.

To it the spreading of falsehood is as much a vital necessity as hunting is to a cat. Its sole task is to break the national backbone of the people, thus preparing the nation to become the slaves of international finance and its masters, the Jews.

What measures did the State take to counteract this wholesale poisoning

of the public mind? Absolutely none. The passing of a few paltry decrees, punishment meted out in a few cases of flagrant infamy, and there the matter ended.

By this policy it was hoped to win the favour of this pest by means of flattery, by a recognition of the ‘value’ of the press, its ‘importance,’ its ‘educative mission’ and similar nonsense. The Jews acknowledged all this with a knowing smile and returned thanks.

The reason for this ignominious failure on the part of the State lay not so much in its refusal to realise the danger as in the out-and-out cowardly way of meeting the situation by the adoption of faulty and ineffective measures. No one had the courage to employ any energetic and radical methods.

Everyone temporised in some way or other and instead of striking at its heart, only irritated the viper the more. The result was that not only did everything remain as it was, but the power of this institution, which should have been combated, grew greater from year to year.

The defence put up by the government in those days against a mainly Jew-controlled press that was slowly corrupting the nation, followed no definite line of action, it had no determination ‘behind it and above all, no fixed objective’ whatsoever in view.

This is where official understanding of the situation completely failed, not only in estimating the importance of the struggle, but in choosing the means and deciding on a definite plan.

They merely tinkered with the problem. Occasionally when bitten, they imprisoned one or another journalistic viper for a few weeks or months, but the whole poisonous brood was allowed to carry on in peace.

It must be admitted that all this was partly the result of extraordinarily crafty tactics on the part of Jewry on the one hand, and obvious, official stupidity or naivety, on the other.

The Jews were too clever to allow a simultaneous attack to be made on the whole of their press. One section functioned as cover for the other. While the Marxist newspaper, in the most despicable manner possible, reviled everything that was sacred, furiously attacked the State and government and incited certain classes of the community against each other, bourgeois-democratic papers, also in Jewish hands, succeeded in camouflaging

themselves as model examples of objectivity. They studiously avoided harsh language, knowing well that blockheads are capable of judging only by external appearances and are never able to penetrate to the real depth and meaning of anything. They measure the worth of an object by its exterior and not by its contents. This form of human frailty was carefully studied and understood by the press.

By this class of blockheads, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* would be acknowledged as the essence of respectability. It always carefully avoided calling a spade a spade.

It deprecated the use of every form of physical force and persistently appealed to the nobility of fighting with ‘intellectual’ weapons.

This method of fighting was, curiously enough, most popular with the least intellectual classes. That is one of the results of our defective education, which deprives young people of their natural instincts, pumps into them a certain amount of knowledge without, however, being able to give them real insight, since this requires not only diligence and goodwill, but innate understanding.

This final insight at which man must aim is the understanding of causes which are instinctive and fundamental.

Let me explain: Man must not fall into the error of thinking that he was ever meant to become lord and master of Nature.

A lopsided education has helped to encourage that illusion. Man must realise that a fundamental law of necessity reigns throughout the whole realm of Nature and that his existence is subject to the law of eternal struggle and strife.

He will then feel that there cannot be a separate law for mankind in a universe in which planets and suns follow their orbits, where moons and planets trace their destined paths, where the strong are always the masters of the weak and where the latter must obey or be destroyed.

Man must also submit to the eternal principles of this supreme wisdom. He may try to understand them but he can never free himself from their sway.

It is just for our intellectual demi-monde that the Jew writes those papers which he calls his ‘intellectual’ press. For them the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and

Berliner Tageblatt are written, the tone being adapted to them, and it is over these people that such papers have an influence.

While studiously avoiding all forms of expression that might strike the reader as crude, the poison is injected from other vials into the hearts of the clientele.

The effervescent tone and the fine phraseology lull the reader into believing that a love for knowledge and more it principle is the sole driving force that determines the policy of such papers, whereas in reality these features represent a sunning way of disarming any opposition that might be directed against the press.

Some make a parade of respectability and the imbecile public is all the more ready to believe them since the others indulge only in moderate ravings which never amount to abuse of the ‘freedom of the press’ (as this system of feeding the public on lies and poisoning the public mind is called).

Hence, the authorities are very slow indeed to take any steps against these journalistic bandits for fear of immediately alienating the sympathy of the so-called respectable press fear that is only too well founded, for the moment any attempt is made to proceed against any member of the gutter press all the others rush to its assistance at once, not indeed to support its policy, but simply and solely to defend the principles of freedom of the press and liberty of public opinion.

This outcry will succeed in intimidating the most stalwart, for it comes from the mouth of what is called decent journalism.

In this way the, poison was allowed to enter the national bloodstream and infect public life, without the government taking any effectual measures to master the course of the disease.

The ridiculous half-measures that were taken were in themselves an indication of the process of disintegration that was already threatening to break up the Reich, for an institution practically surrenders its existence when it is no longer determined to defend itself with all the weapons at its command.

Every half-measure is the outward expression of an internal process of decay which must lead to an external collapse sooner or later.

I believe that our present generation would easily master this danger, if it

were led aright, for it has gone through certain experiences which must have strengthened the nerves of all those who were not broken by them.

Certainly in days to come the Jews will raise a tremendous cry in their newspapers once a hand is laid on their favourite nest, once a move is made to put an end to this scandalous press and once this instrument which moulds public opinion is brought under State control and no longer left in the hands of aliens and enemies of the people.

I am certain that this will be easier for us than it was for our fathers. The scream of the twelve-inch shell is more penetrating than the hiss of a thousand Jewish newspaper vipers. Therefore, let them go on with their hissing.

A further example of the weak and hesitating way in which vital national problems were dealt with in pre-war Germany is the following. Hand-in-hand with the political and moral process of infecting the nation, an equally virulent process of infection had for many years been attacking the health of the nation.

In large cities particularly, syphilis steadily increased and tuberculosis kept pace with it in reaping its harvest of death in almost every part of the country.

Although in both cases the effect on the nation was alarming, it seemed as if nobody were in a position to undertake any decisive measures against these scourges.

In the case of syphilis especially, the attitude of the State and the public authorities was one of absolute capitulation. To combat this state of affairs measures more sweeping than those actually adopted should have been enforced.

The discovery of a remedy which was of a questionable nature and the excellent way in which it was placed on the market were of little assistance ill fighting such a scourge. Here again the only course to adopt is to attack the causes rather than the symptoms of the disease, but in this case, the primary cause is to be found in the manner in which love has been prostituted.

Even though this did not directly bring about the fearful disease itself, the nation must still suffer serious damage thereby, for the moral havoc resulting from this prostitution would be sufficient to bring about the destruction of, the nation, slowly but surely.

This Judaising of our spiritual life and mammonising of our natural instinct for procreation will sooner or later work havoc with our whole posterity.

Instead of strong, healthy children, the product of natural feelings, we shall see miserable specimens of humanity resulting from economic calculation, for economic considerations are becoming more and more the foundation and the sole preliminary condition of marriage while love looks for an outlet elsewhere.

Here as elsewhere, one may defy Nature for a certain period of time, but sooner or later she will take her inevitable revenge, and when man realises this truth, it is often too late.

Our own nobility furnishes an example of the devastating consequences that result from a persistent refusal to recognise the primary conditions necessary for normal wedlock.

Here we are face to face with the results of procreation which is, on the one hand, determined by social pressure and, on the other, by financial considerations.

The one leads to inherited debility, and the other to adulteration of the blood-strain; for all the Jewish daughters of the department store proprietors are looked upon as eligible mates to co-operate in propagating his lordship's stock, and the stock certainly looks it. All this leads to absolute degeneration.

Nowadays our bourgeoisie is making efforts to follow in the same path. Theirs will be a similar fate.

These unpleasant truths are hastily and nonchalantly brushed aside, as if by so doing the real state of affairs could also be abolished, but it cannot be denied that the population of our great towns and cities is tending more and more to avail itself of prostitution in the exercise of its amorous instincts and is thus becoming more and more contaminated by the scourge of venereal disease.

On the one hand, the visible effects of this mass-infection can be observed in our lunatic asylums and, on the other hand, alas! among the children. These are the doleful and tragic products of the steadily increasing scourge that is poisoning our sexual life. Their sufferings are the visible results of parental vice.

There are many ways of becoming resigned to this unpleasant and terrible fact. Many people go about seeing nothing or, to be more correct, not wanting to see anything. This is by far the simplest and cheapest attitude to adopt.

Others cover themselves in the sacred mantle of prudery, as ridiculous as it is false. They describe the whole condition of affairs as sinful and are profoundly indignant when brought face to face with a victim.

They close their eyes to this godless scourge in pious horror and pray to the Almighty that He—if possible after their own death—may rain down fire and brimstone as on Sodom and Gomorrah and so once again make a lasting example of this shameless section of humanity.

Finally, there are those who are well aware of the terrible results which this scourge will inevitably bring about, but they merely shrug their shoulders, fully convinced of their inability to undertake anything against this peril. Hence, matters are allowed to take their course.

Undoubtedly all this is very convenient and simple, only the fact must not be overlooked that this convenient way of approaching things can leave fatal consequences for our national life.

The excuse that other nations are not faring any better does not alter the fact of our own deterioration, except that the feeling of sympathy for other stricken nations makes our own suffering easier to bear.

But the important question that arises here is, Which nations will be the first to take the initiative in mastering this scourge, and which nations will succumb to it? This will be the final upshot of the whole situation. This will be an acid test of racial value.

The race that fails to come through the test will simply die out and its place will be taken by the healthier and stronger races, which will be able to endure greater hardships.

As this problem primarily concerns posterity, it belongs to that category of which it is said with terrible justification that the sins of the fathers are visited on their offspring unto the tenth generation. This is a consequence which follows on an infringement of the laws of blood and race. The sin against blood and race is the hereditary sin in this world and it brings disaster on every nation that commits it.

The attitude towards this one vital problem in pre-war Germany was most regrettable. What measures were adopted to arrest the infection of our youth in the large cities?

What was done to put an end to the contamination and maimonisation of sexual life among us? What was done to fight the resultant spreading of syphilis throughout the whole of our people?

The reply to this question can best be illustrated by showing what should have been done.

Instead of tackling this problem in a haphazard way, the authorities should have realised that the happiness or unhappiness of future generations depended on its solution and indeed that the nation's entire future may, perhaps needs must, depend thereon.

To have admitted this would have demanded that active measures be carried out in a ruthless manner. The primary condition would have been that the enlightened attention of the whole country should be concentrated on this terrible danger, so that every individual would realise the importance of fighting against it.

It would be futile to impose obligations of a definite character which are often difficult to bear and expect them to become generally effective, unless the public were thoroughly instructed in the necessity of imposing and accepting such obligations.

This demands a widespread and systematic method of enlightenment, and all other daily problems that might distract public attention from this great central problem should be relegated to the background.

In every case where there are exigencies or tasks that seem impossible to deal with successfully, public opinion must be concentrated on the one problem, under the conviction that the solution of this problem alone is a matter of life or death.

Only in this way can public interest be aroused to such a pitch as will urge people to combine in a great voluntary effort and achieve important results.

This fundamental truth applies also to the individual, provided he is desirous of attaining some great end. He must always concentrate his efforts on

one definitely limited stage of his progress which has to be completed before the next step be attempted.

Those who do not endeavour to realise their aims step by step, and who do not concentrate their energy on reaching the individual stages, will never attain the final objective.

At some stage or other they will falter and fail. This systematic way of approaching an objective is an art in itself and always calls for the expenditure of every ounce of energy in order to conquer step after step of the road.

Therefore, the most essential preliminary condition necessary for an attack on such a difficult stage of the human road is that the authorities should succeed in convincing the masses that the immediate objective which is now being fought for is the only one that deserves to be considered and the only one on which everything depends.

The broad masses are never able to see clearly the whole stretch of the road lying in front of them, without becoming tired and thus losing faith in their ability to complete the task.

To a certain extent they will keep the objective in mind, but they are only able to survey the whole road in small stages, as in the case of the traveller who knows where his journey is going to end, but who masters the endless stretch far better by attacking it in stages. Only in this way can he keep up his determination and reach the final objective.

It is in this way, with the assistance of every form of propaganda, that the problem of fighting venereal disease should be placed before the public—not as a task for the nation but as the main task.

Every possible means should be employed to bring the truth about this scourge home to the minds of the people, until the whole nation has been convinced that everything depends on the solution of this problem: that is to say, a healthy future or national decay.

Only after such preparatory measures have been taken—if necessary, spread over a period of many years—will public attention and public resolution be fully aroused, and only then can serious and definite measures be undertaken without the risk of these not being fully understood or of the authorities being suddenly faced with a slackening of the public will.

It must be made clear to all that a serious fight against this scourge calls for vast sacrifices and an enormous amount of work.

To wage war against syphilis means fighting against prostitution, against prejudice, against old-established customs, against current fashion, public opinion, and, last but not least, again false prudery in certain circles.

The first preliminary condition to be fulfilled, before the State can claim a moral right to fight against all these things, is that the young generation should be afforded facilities for contracting early marriages.

Late marriages have the sanction of a custom which, from whatever angle we view it, is, and will remain, a disgrace to humanity, an institution which ill befits a creature who is wont to regard himself as having been fashioned in God's image.

Prostitution is a disgrace to humanity and cannot be removed simply by academic or charitable methods. Its restriction and final extermination presupposes the removal of a whole series of contributory circumstances.

The first remedy must always be to establish such conditions as will make early marriages possible, especially for young men—for women are, after all, only the passive factor. An illustration of the extent to which people nowadays are labouring under a delusion, is afforded by the fact that not infrequently one hears mothers in so-called 'better' circles openly expressing their satisfaction at having found as a husband for their daughter, a man who has already sown his wild oats, etc.

As there is usually so little shortage of men of this type, the poor girl finds no difficulty in getting a mate of this description, and the children of this marriage are a visible result of such supposedly sensible unions.

When one realises, apart from this, that every possible effort is being made to hinder the process of procreation and that Nature is being wilfully cheated of her rights, there remains really only one question: Why is such an institution as marriage still in existence, and what are its functions?

Is it really nothing better than prostitution? Does our duty to posterity no longer play any part? Or do people not realise the nature of the curse they are inflicting on themselves and their offspring by such criminally foolish neglect of one of the primary laws of Nature?

This is how civilised nations degenerate and gradually perish.

Marriage is not an end in itself but must serve the greater end, which is that of increasing and maintaining the human species and the race. This is its only meaning and purpose.

This being admitted, then it is clear that the institution of marriage must be judged by the manner in which its allotted function is fulfilled.

Therefore, early marriages should be the rule, because thus the young couple will still have that pristine force which is the fountainhead of a healthy posterity with unimpaired powers of resistance.

Of course early marriages cannot be made the rule unless a whole series of social measures are first introduced without which early marriage cannot even be thought of.

In other words, a solution of this question, which seems a small problem in itself, cannot be brought about without adopting radical measures to alter the social background.

The importance of such measures ought to be studied and properly estimated, especially at a time when the so-called ‘social’ Republic has shown itself unable to solve the housing problem and has thus made it impossible for innumerable couples to get married. That sort of policy prepares the way for the further advance of prostitution.

Another reason why early marriages are impossible is our nonsensical method of regulating the scale of salaries, which pays far too little attention to the problem of family support.

Prostitution, therefore, can only be really seriously tackled if, by means of a radical social reform, early marriage is made easier than hitherto. This is the first preliminary necessity for the solution of this problem.

Secondly, a whole series of false notions must be eradicated from our system of bringing up and educating children, a thing which hitherto no one seems to have worried about.

In our present educational system a balance will have to be established, first and foremost, between mental instruction and physical training.

What is known as the Gymnasium to-day is a positive insult to the Greek

institution. Our system of education entirely loses sight of the fact that, in the long run, a healthy mind can exist only in a healthy body. This statement applies with few exceptions, particularly to the broad masses of the nation.

In the pre-war Germany there was a time when no one, took the trouble to think over this truth. Training of the body was criminally neglected, the one-sided training of the mind being regarded as a sufficient guarantee for the nation's greatness.

This mistake was destined to show its effects sooner than had been anticipated. It is not pure chance that the Bolshevik teaching flourishes in those regions whose degenerate population has been brought to the verge of starvation, as, for example, in the case of Central Germany, Saxony, and the Ruhr.

In all these districts there is a marked absence of any serious resistance, even by the so-called intellectual classes, against this Jewish contagion, and the simple reason is that the intellectual classes are themselves physically degenerate, not through privation, but through education.

The exclusive intellectualism of the education in vogue among our upper classes makes them unfit for life's struggle in an epoch in which physical force, and not intellect, is the dominating factor.

Thus, they are neither capable of maintaining themselves, nor of making their way in life. In nearly every case physical disability is the forerunner of personal cowardice.

The extravagant emphasis laid on purely intellectual education and the consequent neglect of physical training must necessarily lead to sexual thoughts in early youth.

Those boys whose constitutions have been trained and hardened by sports and gymnastics are less prone to sexual indulgence than those stay-at-homes who have been fed exclusively with mental pabulum.

Sound methods of education cannot, however, afford to disregard this and we must not forget that what a healthy young man demands from a woman will differ from the demands of a weakling who has been prematurely corrupted.

Thus in every branch of our education the day's curriculum must be

arranged so as to occupy a boy's free time in profitable development of his physical powers. He has no right in those years to loaf about, becoming a nuisance in public streets and in cinemas; but when his day's work, is done he ought to harden his young body so that his strength may not be found wanting when the occasion arises.

To prepare for this and to carry it out should be the function of our educational system and not exclusively to cram him with knowledge.

Our school system must also rid itself of the notion that the training of the body is a task that should be left to the individual himself. There is no such thing as freedom to sin against posterity and thus against the race.

The fight against pollution of the mind must be waged simultaneously with the training of the body. To-day the whole of our public life may be compared to a hot-house for the forced growth of sexual notions and excitements.

A glance at the till-of-fare provided by our cinemas, playhouses and theatres, suffices to prove that this is not the right food, especially for our young people. Hoardings and advertisement kiosks combine to attract the public in the most vulgar manner.

Anyone who has not altogether lost contact with adolescent yearnings will realise that all this must have very grave consequences. This seductive and sensuous atmosphere puts into the heads of our youth notions of which, at their age, they ought still to be ignorant.

Unfortunately, the results of this kind of education can best be seen in our contemporary youth who are prematurely grown up and, therefore, old before their time.

The courts of law throw from, time to time a distressing light on the spiritual life of our fourteen and fifteen-year-old-children.

Who, therefore, will be surprised to learn that venereal disease claims as victims at this age? And is it not a frightful scandal to see the number of young men physically weak and intellectually ruined, who have been introduced to the mysteries of marriage by the whores of the big cities?

Those who want seriously to combat prostitution must first of all assist in removing the spiritual conditions on which it thrives. They will have to

clean up the moral pollution of our city ‘culture’ fearlessly and without regard for the outcry that will follow.

If we do not drag our youth out of the morass of their present environment they will be engulfed by it. Those people who do not want to see these things are deliberately encouraging them and are guilty of spreading the effects of prostitution to the future, for the future belongs to our younger generation.

This process of cleansing our *Kultur* will have to be applied in practically all spheres. The stage, art, literature, the cinema, the press and advertisement posters, all must have the stains of pollution removed and be used in the service of a national and cultural ideal.

The life of the people must be freed from the asphyxiating perfume of our modern eroticism and also from every unmanly and prudish form of insincerity. In all these things, the aim and the method must be determined by thoughtful consideration for the preservation of our national well-being in body and soul.

The right to personal freedom comes second in importance to the duty of preserving the race.

Only after such measures have been put into practice can a medical campaign against this scourge begin with some hope of success. But here again half-measures will be valueless.

Far-reaching and important decisions will have to be made. It would be doing things by halves if incurables were given the opportunity of infecting one healthy person after another.

This would be practising that kind of humanitarianism which allows hundreds to perish in order to prevent the suffering of one individual.

The demand that it should be made impossible for defective people to continue to propagate defective offspring is a demand that is based on most reasonable grounds, and its proper fulfilment is the most humane task that mankind has to face.

Unhappy and undeserved suffering will be prevented in millions of cases, with the result that there will be a gradual improvement in national health.

A determined decision to act in this manner will at the same time provide an obstacle against the further spread of venereal disease.

It would then be a case, where necessary, of mercilessly isolating all incurables—perhaps a barbaric measure for those unfortunates—but a blessing for the present generation and for posterity.

The temporary pain thus experienced in this century can, and will, save thousands of future generations from suffering.

The fight against syphilis and its pace-maker, prostitution, is one of the gigantic tasks of mankind; gigantic, because it is not merely a case of solving a single problem, but of the removal of a whole series of evils which are the contributory causes of this scourge.

Disease of the body in this case is merely the result of a diseased condition of the moral, social, and racial instincts.

If, for reasons of indolence or cowardice, this fight is not fought to a finish, we may imagine what conditions will be like five centuries hence. Little of God's image will be left in human nature, except to mock the Creator.

What has been done in Germany to counteract this scourge? If we think calmly over the answer we shall find it distressing.

It is true that in governmental circles the terrible and injurious effects of this disease were well known, but the counter-measures which were officially adopted were ineffective and a hopeless failure.

They tinkered with cures for the symptoms wholly regardless of the cause of the disease. Prostitutes were medically examined and controlled as far as possible, and when signs of infection were apparent they were sent to hospital.

When outwardly cured, they were once more let loose on humanity. It is true that 'protective legislation' was introduced which made sexual intercourse a punishable offence for all those not completely cured, or for those suffering from venereal disease.

This legislation was correct in theory, but in practice, it failed completely. In the First place, in the majority of cases women will decline to appear in court as witnesses against men who have robbed them of their health.

Women would be exposed far more than men to uncharitable remarks in such cases, and one can imagine what their position would be if they had been infected by their own husbands.

Should women in that case bring a charge? Or what should they do? In the case of the man there is the additional fact that he is frequently unfortunate enough to run up against this danger when he is under the influence of alcohol.

His condition makes it impossible for him to assess the qualities of his ‘amorous beauty,’ a fact which is well known to every diseased prostitute and makes her single out men in this ‘ideal’ condition for preference.

The result is that the unfortunate man is not able to recollect later on who his compassionate benefactress was, which is not surprising in cities like Berlin and Munich.

Many such cases are visitors from the provinces who, held helpless and enthralled by the magic charm of city life, become an easy prey for prostitutes.

Finally, who is able to say whether he has been ‘infected or not? Are there not innumerable cases on record where an apparently cured person has a relapse and does untold harm without knowing it?

Therefore, in practice, the results of these legislative measures are negative. The same applies to the control of prostitution, and, finally, even medical treatment and cure are today still unsafe and doubtful.

One thing only is certain, the scourge has spread further and further in spite of all precautionary measures, and this alone suffices definitely to prove and substantiate their inefficacy.

Everything else that was undertaken was just as ineffectual as it was absurd. The spiritual prostitution of the people was neither arrested nor was anything whatsoever undertaken in this direction.

Those, however, who do not regard this subject as a serious one would do well to examine the statistical data of the spread of this disease, study its growth in the last century and contemplate the possibilities of its further development. The ordinary observer, unless he were particularly stupid, would experience a cold shudder if the a certain historical value, rather than the products of not merely artistic but even mental degeneration bordering on the futile.

Here, in the cultural sphere, the signs of the coming political collapse first became manifest.

The Bolshevisation of art is the only cultural form of life and the only spiritual manifestation of which Bolshevism is capable.

Anyone to whom this statement may appear strange need only take a glance at those lucky States which have become Bolshevised and, to his horror, he will there recognise those morbid monstrosities which have been produced by insane and degenerate people.

All those artistic aberrations which, since the beginning of the present century, have been classified under the names Cubism and Dadaism, are manifestations of art which have come to be officially recognised by the State itself.

This phenomenon made its appearance even during the short-lived period of the Soviet Republic in Bavaria. At that time one might easily have recognised how all the official posters, propaganda pictures and newspapers, etc., showed signs not only of political, but also of cultural decadence.

About sixty years ago a political collapse such as we are experiencing to-day would have been just as inconceivable as the cultural decline which has been manifested in Cubist and Futurist pictures ever since 1900.

Sixty years ago an exhibition of so-called Dadaist ‘experiences’ would have been an absolutely preposterous idea. The organisers of such an exhibition would then have been certified fit for the lunatic asylum, whereas to-day they are appointed presidents of art societies.

At that time such an epidemic would never have been allowed to spread. Public opinion would not have tolerated it, and the government would not have remained silent, for it is the duty of a government to save the people from being driven into such intellectual madness.

Intellectual madness would have resulted from a development that followed the acceptance of this kind of art. It would have marked one of the worst changes in human history, for it would have meant that a retrogressive process had begun to take place in the human brain, the final stages of which would have been unthinkable.

If we study the course of our cultural life during the last twenty-five

years we shall be astonished to note how far we have already gone in this process of retrogression.

Everywhere we find the presence of those germs which give rise to protuberant growths that must sooner or later bring about the ruin of our culture. Here we find undoubted symptoms of slow corruption, and woe to the nations that are no longer able to bring that morbid process to a halt! In almost all the various fields of German art and culture these morbid phenomena may be observed. Here everything seems to have passed the culminating point of its excellence and to have entered the curve of a hasty decline.

At the beginning of the century the theatres seemed already degenerate and ceased to be cultural factors, except the Court theatres, which opposed the prostitution of the national art.

Apart from these, and a few other praiseworthy exceptions, the plays produced on the stage were of such a nature that people would have benefited by not visiting them at all.

A sad symptom of internal decay was manifested in the fact that it was impossible to allow adolescents to frequent most of these so-called 'centres of art,' a brazen admission that this was so, being the notice exhibited at the entrance-doors: Adults only.

Let it be borne in mind that these precautions had to be taken in regard to institutions whose main purpose should have been to promote the education of the youth and not merely to provide amusement for sophisticated adults.

What would the great dramatists of other times have said of such measures and, above all, of the conditions which made these measures necessary? How exasperated Schiller would have been, and how Goethe would have turned away in disgust!

But what are Schiller, Goethe and Shakespeare when confronted with the heroes of our modern German literature? Old, frowsy, out-moded and finished, for it was typical of this epoch that not only were its own products bad, but that it reviled everything that had been really great in the past.

This is a phenomenon that is very characteristic of such epochs. The more vile and miserable the men and products of an epoch, the more they will hate and denigrate the ideal achievements of former generations.

What these people would like best would be to destroy completely every vestige of the past, in order to do away with that sole standard of comparison which prevents their own daubs from being looked upon as art.

Therefore the more lamentable and wretched the products of each new era, the more it will try to obliterate all the memorials of the past. Any real innovation that is for the benefit of mankind can always face comparison with the best of what has gone before, and frequently even serves to reveal the true value of the latter.

There is no fear that modern productions of real value will look pale and worthless beside the monuments of the past. What is contributed to the general treasury of human culture often fulfils a part that is necessary in order to keep the memory of old achievements alive, because this memory alone is the standard whereby our own works are properly appreciated.

Only those who have nothing of value to give to the world, but pretend that they have much to bestow, will oppose everything that already exists and would have it destroyed at all costs. This holds good not only for new phenomena in the cultural domain, but also in politics. The more inferior new revolutionary movements are, the more will they try to denigrate the old forms.

Here again the desire to palm off their shoddy products as great and original achievements leads them into a blind hatred against everything which belongs to the past and which is superior to their own work.

As long as the historical memory of Frederick the Great, for instance, still lives, Friedrich Ebert can arouse only a problematic admiration. The relation of the hero of Sans Souci to the former publican of Bremen may be compared to that of the sun to the moon, for the moon can shine only after the direct rays of the sun have left the earth.

Thus we can readily understand why it is that all the new moons in human history have hated the fixed stars. In the field of politics, if Fate should happen temporarily to place the ruling power in the hands of these nonentities, they are not only eager to defile and revile the past, but at the same time they will use any means to evade criticism of their own acts.

The Law for the Protection of the Republic, which the new German State enacted, may be taken as an example illustrating this truth.

One has good reason to be suspicious in regard to any new idea, or any

doctrine or philosophy, any political or economic movement, which tries to deny everything that the past has produced or to represent it as inferior and worthless.

Such an antipathy is usually due to a sense of inferiority or to malicious intention. Any new movement which is really beneficial to human progress will always have to begin its constructive work at the level at which the last stones of the structure have been laid.

It need not blush to utilise those truths which have already been established, for all human culture, as well as man himself, is only the result of one long line of development, where each generation has contributed its share in the building of the whole structure.

The meaning and purpose of revolutions cannot be to tear down the whole building, but to take away what has not been well fitted into it or is unsuitable, and to fill in the gap thus caused, after which the main construction of the building will be carried on.

Only thus will it be possible to talk of human progress, for otherwise the world would never be free of chaos, since each generation would feel entitled to reject the past, and to destroy all the work of the past, as the necessary preliminary to any new work of its own.

The saddest feature of the condition in which our whole civilisation found itself before the War was the fact that it was not only barren of any creative force to produce its own works of art and civilisation but that it hated, defiled and tried to efface the memory of the superior works produced in the past. About the end of the last century people were less interested in producing new significant works of their own—particularly in the fields of dramatic art and literature—than in defaming the best works of the past and in presenting them as inferior and antiquated.

As if this period of disgraceful decadence was capable of accomplishing anything! The efforts made to conceal the past from the eyes of the present afforded clear evidence of the fact that these apostles of the future acted from an evil intent.

These symptoms should have made it clear to all that it was not a question of new, though wrong, cultural ideas, but of a process which was undermining the very foundations of civilisation.

It threw the artistic feeling which had hitherto been quite sane into utter confusion, thus spiritually preparing the way for political Bolshevism. If the creative spirit of the Periclean age be manifested in the Parthenon, then the Bolshevik era is manifested by a cubist mask.

In this connection attention must be drawn once again to the want of courage displayed by one section of our people, namely, by those who, in virtue of their education and position, ought to have felt themselves obliged to take up a firm stand against this outrage against our culture, but they refrained from offering serious resistance and surrendered to what they considered the inevitable.

This inaction of theirs was due, however, to sheer funk lest the apostles of Bolshevik art might raise a rumpus; for those apostles always violently attacked everyone who was not ready to recognise them as the choice spirits of artistic creation, and they tried to strangle all opposition by saying that it was the product of Philistine and backwater minds.

People trembled in fear lest they might be accused by these yahoos and swindlers of lacking artistic appreciation, as if it would have been a disgrace not to be able to understand and appreciate the effusions of those mental degenerates or cunning rogues.

Those cultural disciples, however, had a very simple way of presenting their own effusions as works of the highest quality.

They offered incomprehensible and manifestly crazy productions to their amazed contemporaries as what they called ‘an inner experience.’

Thus they forestalled all adverse criticism, at very little cost indeed. Of course, nobody ever doubted that there could have been inner experiences like that; but some doubt ought to have arisen as to whether or not there was any justification for exhibiting these hallucinations of psychopaths or criminals to the sane portion of human society.

The works produced by a Moritz von Schwind or a Bocklin were also the fruits of an inner experience, but these were the experiences of divinely gifted artists and not of buffoons. This situation afforded a good opportunity of studying the miserable cowardliness of our so-called intellectuals who shirked the duty of offering serious resistance to the poisoning of the sound instincts of our people.

They left it to the people themselves to formulate their own attitude towards this impudent nonsense. Lest they might be considered as understanding nothing of art, they accepted every caricature of art, until, they finally lost the power of judging what was really good or bad.

Taken all in all, there were superabundant symptoms to show that a diseased epoch had begun.

Still another critical symptom has to be considered. In the course of the nineteenth century our towns and cities began more and more to lose their character as centres of civilisation and became more and more centres of habitation.

In our great modern cities the proletariat does not show much attachment to the place where it lives. This feeling results from the fact that their dwelling-place is nothing but an accidental abode, and is also partly due to the frequent change of residence which is forced upon them by social conditions.

There is no time for the growth of any attachment to the town in which they live. Another reason lies in the cultural barrenness and superficiality of our modern cities. At the time of the German Wars of Liberation our German towns and cities were not only small in number, but also very modest in size.

The few that could really be called great cities were mostly the residential cities of princes; as such they had almost always a definite cultural value and also a definite cultural aspect.

Those few towns which had more than fifty thousand inhabitants were, in comparison with modern cities of the same size, rich in scientific and artist, treasures. At the time when Munich had a population of not more than sixty thousand souls it was already well on the way to becoming one of the first centres of German art.

Nowadays, almost every industrial town has a population at least as large as that, without having anything of real value to call its own. They are agglomerations of tenement houses and congested dwelling-houses, and nothing else.

It would be a miracle if anybody should grow sentimentally attached to such a meaningless place. Nobody can grow attached to a place which offers only just as much, or as little, as any other place would offer, which, has no character of its own and where obviously pains have been taken to avoid

everything that might have any resemblance to an artistic appearance.

But this is not all. Even the great cities become more barren of real works of art the more they increase in population. They assume more and more a neutral atmosphere and present the same aspect, though on a larger scale, as the wretched little factory towns.

Everything that our modern age has contributed to the cultural aspect of our great cities is absolutely deficient. All our towns are living on the glory and the treasures of the past.

If we take away from the Munich of to-day everything that was created under Ludwig I, we should be horror-stricken to see how meagre has been the output of important artistic creations since that time.

One might say much the same of Berlin and most of our other great towns.

The following is the essential thing to be noticed. Our great modern cities have no outstanding monuments that dominate the general aspect of the city and could be pointed to as the symbols of a whole epoch, yet almost every ancient town had a monument erected to its glory.

It was not in private dwellings that the characteristic art of ancient cities was displayed, but in the public monuments which were not meant to have a transitory interest but an enduring one.

This was because they did not represent the wealth of some individual citizen but the greatness and importance of the community.

It was under this inspiration that those monuments arose which bound the individual inhabitants to their own town in a manner that is often almost incomprehensible to us to-day.

What struck the eye of the individual citizen was not a number of mediocre private buildings, but imposing structures that belonged to the whole community.

In contradistinction to these, private dwellings were of only very secondary importance indeed.

When we compare the size of those ancient public buildings with that of the private dwellings belonging to the same epoch, then we can understand the

great importance which was attached to the principle that those works which reflected and affected the life of the community should take precedence of all others.

Among the broken arches and vast spaces that are covered with ruins from the ancient world the colossal monuments which still arouse our wonder have not been left to us from the commercial palaces of those days but from the temples of the gods and the public edifices that belonged to the State.

The community itself was the owner of those great edifices. Even in the pomp of Rome during the decadence it was not the villas and palaces of the citizens that occupied the most prominent place, but rather the temples and the baths, the stadia, the circuses, the aqueducts, the basilicas, etc., which belonged to the State and therefore to the people as a whole.

In medieval Germany also, the same principle held good, although the artistic outlook was quite different. In ancient times the theme that found its expression in the Acropolis or the Pantheon was now clothed in the form of the Gothic Cathedral.

In the medieval cities these monumental structures towered gigantically above the swarm of smaller buildings, with their framework walls of wood and brick, and they remain the dominant feature of these cities even to our own day, although they are becoming more and more obscured by the tenement houses.

They determine the character and appearance of the locality. Cathedrals, city halls, corn-exchanges, forts, are the outward expression of an idea which has its counterpart only in the ancient world.

The dimensions and quality of our public buildings to-day are in deplorable contrast to the edifices that represent private interests.

If a similar fate should befall Berlin as befell Rome, future generations might gaze upon the ruins of some Jewish department stores or joint-stock hotels and think that these were the characteristic expressions of the culture of our time.

In Berlin itself, compare the shameful disproportion between the buildings which belong to the Reich and those which have been erected for the accommodation of trade and finance.

The funds that are voted for public buildings are in most cases inadequate and really ridiculous. They are not built as structures that were meant to last, but mostly for the purpose of answering the need of the moment.

No higher idea influenced those who commissioned such buildings.

At the time the Berlin Schloss was built, it had quite a different significance to that which the new library has for our time, seeing that one battleship alone represents an expenditure of about sixty million marks, whereas less than half that sum was allotted for the building of the Reichstag, the most imposing structure erected for the Reich, which should have been built to last for ages.

Yet, in deciding the question of internal decoration, the august House voted against the use of stone and ordered that the walls should be covered with stucco.

For once, however, the parliamentarians made an appropriate decision on that occasion, for wooden heads would be out of place between stone walls.

The community as such is not the dominant characteristic of our contemporary cities, and therefore it is not to be wondered at if the community does not find itself architecturally represented. Thus we must eventually arrive at a veritable civic desert which will finally be reflected in the total indifference of the individual citizen towards his own city.

This is also a sign of our cultural decay and general break-up.

Our era is entirely preoccupied with petty materialistic considerations, or rather it is entirely preoccupied with the question of money.

Therefore, it is not to be wondered at if, with the worship of such an idol, the sense of heroism should entirely disappear, but the present is only reaping what the past had sown.

All these symptoms which preceded the final collapse of the Second Reich must be attributed to the lack of a definite and uniformly accepted *Weltanschauung* and the general uncertainty of outlook consequent on that lack.

This uncertainty showed itself when the great questions of the time had to be considered one after another and a decisive policy adopted towards them.

This lack is also accountable for the habit of doing everything by halves, beginning with the educational system, the shilly-shallying, the reluctance to undertake responsibility and, finally, the cowardly tolerance of evils that were even admitted to be destructive.

Visionary humanitarianism became the fashion. By weakly submitting to these aberrations and sparing the feelings of the individual, the future of millions of human beings was sacrificed.

An examination of the religious situation before the War shows that the general process of disruption had extended to this sphere also. A great part of the nation itself had, for a long time past, ceased to have any convictions of a uniform and practical character in their ideological outlook on life.

In this matter the point of primary importance was by no means the number of people who renounced their church membership, but rather the widespread indifference.

While the two Christian denominations maintained missions in Asia and Africa, for the purpose of securing new adherents to the faith, these same denominations were losing millions and millions of their adherents at home in Europe.

These former adherents either gave up religion wholly as a directive force in their lives, or they adopted their own interpretation of it.

The consequences of this were specially felt in the moral life of the country. In parenthesis it may be remarked that the progress made by the missions in spreading the Christian faith abroad was very modest in comparison with the spread of Mohammedanism.

It must be noted, too, that the attack on the dogmatic principles underlying ecclesiastical teaching increased steadily in violence, and yet this human world of ours would be inconceivable without the practical existence of a religious belief.

The great masses of a nation are not composed of philosophers. For the masses of the people especially, faith is absolutely the only basis of a moral *Weltanschauung*. The various substitutes that have been offered have not shown any results that might warrant us in thinking that they might usefully replace the existing denominations, but if religious teaching and religious faith are to be accepted by the broad masses as active forces in their lives, then the

absolute authority of the doctrines of faith must be the foundation of all reality.

There may be a few hundreds of thousands of superior men who can live wisely and intelligently without depending on the general standards that prevail in everyday life, but the millions of others cannot do so.

Now, the place which general custom fills in everyday life, corresponds to that of general laws in the State and dogma in religion.

The purely spiritual idea is of itself a changeable thing that may be subjected to endless interpretations. It is only through dogma that it is given a precise and concrete form without which it could not become a living faith.

Otherwise, the spiritual idea would never become anything more than a mere metaphysical concept, or rather a philosophical opinion.

Accordingly, the attack on dogma is comparable to an attack on the general laws on which the State is founded, and so this attack would finally lead to complete political anarchy if it were successful, just as the attack on religion would lead to a worthless religious nihilism.

The political leader should not estimate the worth of a religion by taking some of its shortcomings into account, but should ask himself whether there be any practical substitute which is obviously better. Until such a substitute is available only fools and criminals would think of abolishing the existing religion.

Undoubtedly, no small amount of blame for the present unsatisfactory religious situation must be attributed to those who have encumbered the ideal of religion with purely material accessories and have thus given rise to an utterly futile conflict between religion and science.

In this conflict, victory will nearly always be on the side of science, although after a bitter struggle, while religion will suffer heavily in the eyes of those who cannot penetrate beneath mere superficial learning.

The greatest damage of all has come from the practice of abusing religious conviction in order to further political aims. Most severe measures should be adopted against these miserable swindlers who look on religion merely as a means that can be exploited to serve political interests, or rather commercial ends.

The impudent and loud-mouthed liars who do this make their profession of faith before the whole world in stentorian tones so that all poor mortals may hear—not that they are ready to die for it if necessary, but rather that they may live all the better.

They are ready to sell their faith for any political quid pro quo. For ten parliamentary mandates they would ally themselves with the Marxists, who are the mortal foes of all religion, and for a seat in the Cabinet they would go the length of wedlock with the devil, if the latter had not still retained some traces of decency which would lead him to refuse. If religious life in pre-war Germany had a disagreeable savour in the mouths of many people, this was because Christianity had been lowered to base uses by political parties that called themselves Christian and because of the shameful way in which they tried to identify the Catholic Faith with a political party.

This substitution was fatal. It procured some worthless parliamentary mandates for the party in question, but the Church suffered damage thereby.

The consequences of that situation had to be borne by the whole nation, for the laxity that resulted in religious life set in at a juncture when everything was beginning to lose stability and vacillate, and the traditional foundations of custom and of morality were threatening to fall asunder.

Yet all those cracks and clefts in the social organism might not have been dangerous if no grave burdens had been laid upon it; but they became disastrous when the internal solidarity of the nation was the most important factor in withstanding the storm of big events.

In the political field also, observant eyes might have noticed certain faults in the Reich which foretold disaster unless some alteration and correction took place in time.

The lack of orientation in German policy, both domestic and foreign, was obvious to everyone who was not purposely blind.

The best thing that could be said about the practice of making compromises is that it seemed outwardly to be in harmony with Bismarck's saying that politics is the art of accomplishing the possible, but Bismarck was a slightly different man from the Chancellors who followed him.

This difference allowed the former to apply that formula to the very essence of his policy, while in the mouths of the others it took on an utterly

different significance.

When he uttered that phrase, Bismarck meant to say that in order to attain a definite political end all possible means should be employed, or at least that all possibilities should be investigated, but his successors saw in that phrase only a solemn declaration that one is not necessarily bound to have political principles or any definite political aims at all.

The political leaders of the Reich at that time had no far-seeing policy. Here again, the necessary foundation was lacking, namely, a definite *Weltanschauung*, and those leaders also lacked that clear insight into the laws of political evolution which is a necessary quality in political leadership.

Many people who took a gloomy view of things at that time condemned the lack of ideas and lack of orientation which were evident in directing the policy of the Reich. They recognised the inner weakness and futility of this policy, but such people played only a secondary role in politics.

Those who had the government of the country in their hands were quite as indifferent to principles of civil wisdom laid down by thinkers like Houston Stewart Chamberlain as are our political leaders to-day. These people are too stupid to think for themselves, and they have too much self-conceit to take from others the instruction which they need. Oxenstierna gave expression to a truth which has lasted since time immemorial, when he said that the world is governed by only a particle of wisdom, and it can be said of practically every higher government official that he represents but a tiny atom of this particle.

Since Germany became a Republic even this modicum is wanting, and that is why they had to promulgate the Law for the Defence of the Republic, which prohibits the holding of such views or the expression of them.

It was fortunate for Oxenstierna that he lived at that time and not in this wise Republic of our day. Even before the war that institution which should have represented the strength of the Reich—the parliament, the Reichstag—was widely recognised as its weakest feature. Cowardliness and fear of shouldering responsibilities were associated together there to perfection.

One of the silliest notions that one hears expressed to-day is that in Germany the parliamentary system has proved a failure since the Revolution.

This might easily be taken to imply that the case was different before the Revolution, but in reality the parliamentary system can never function except to

the detriment of the country, and it functioned thus in those days when people saw nothing or did not wish to see anything.

The German downfall is to be attributed in no small degree, to this system, but that the catastrophe did not take place sooner is not to the credit of the Reichstag, but rather to those who opposed the influence of this institution which, during peace time, was digging the grave of the German Nation and the German Reich.

From the immense mass of devastating evils that were due either directly or indirectly to the Reichstag, I shall select the one most intimately typical of this institution which was the most irresponsible of all time.

The evil I speak of was seen in the appalling shilly-shally and weakness in conducting the internal and external affairs of the Reich. It was attributable in the first place to the action of the Reichstag and was one of the principal causes of the political collapse.

Everything subject to the influence of this parliament was done by halves, no matter from what aspect you may regard it. The foreign policy of the Reich in the matter of alliances was an example of shilly-shally. They wished to maintain peace, but in doing so, they steered straight for war.

Their Polish policy was also carried out by half-measures. It acted as an irritant, but achieved no positive results. It resulted neither in a German triumph nor a Polish conciliation, and it made enemies of the Russians.

They tried to solve the Alsace-Lorraine question through half-measures. Instead of crushing the head of the French hydra once and for all with the mailed fist and granting Alsace-Lorraine equal rights with the other German states, they did neither the one nor the other.

Anyhow, it was impossible for them to do otherwise, for they had among their ranks the greatest traitors to the country, such as Herr Wetterlé of the Centre Party.

But still the country might have been able to bear with all this provided the half-measure policy had not victimized that force on which, as the last resort, the existence of the Reich depended, namely, the Army.

The crime committed by the so-called German Reichstag in this regard was sufficient of itself to draw down upon it the curses of the German nation

for all time. On the most miserable of pretexts these parliamentary party-henchmen filched from the hands of the nation and threw away, the weapons which were needed to maintain its existence and thereby defend the liberty and independence of our people.

If the graves on the plains of Flanders were to open to-day the blood-stained accusers would arise, hundreds of thousands of our best German youth who, thanks to those conscienceless parliamentary criminals were delivered, badly trained or only half-trained, into the arms of Death.

Those youths and other millions of the killed and mutilated were lost to the Fatherland simply and solely in order that a few hundred deceivers of the people might carry out their political manoeuvres and their exactions, or even continue to recite their doctrinaire theories.

By means of the Marxist and democratic press, the Jews spread the colossal falsehood about ‘German militarism’ throughout the world and tried to inculpate Germany by every possible means, while at the same time the Marxist and democratic parties refused to assent to the measures that were necessary for the adequate training of our national defence forces.

The appalling crime thus committed by these persons ought to have been obvious to everybody who foresaw that in case of war the whole nation would have to be called to arms and that, because of the mean huckstering of these noble ‘representatives of the people,’ as they called themselves, millions of Germans would have to face the enemy ill-equipped and insufficiently trained.

But, even apart from the consequences of the crude and brutal lack of conscience which these parliamentarian rascals displayed, it was quite clear that the lack of properly trained soldiers at the beginning of a war would most probably lead to the loss of the said war; and this probability was confirmed in a most terrible way during the course of the World War.

Therefore, the German people lost the struggle for the freedom and independence of their country because of the half-hearted and defective policy employed during times of peace in the organisation and training of the defensive strength of the nation.

The number of recruits trained for the land forces was too small, but the same half-heartedness was shown in regard to the Navy and made this weapon of national self-preservation more or less ineffective.

Unfortunately, even the naval authorities themselves were contaminated with this spirit of half-heartedness. The tendency to build the ship on the stocks somewhat smaller than that just launched by the British showed little foresight and less genius.

A fleet which cannot be brought to the same numerical strength as that of the probable enemy ought to compensate for this inferiority by the superior fighting power of the individual ship.

It is the weight of the fighting power that counts and not any sort of traditional quality. As a matter of fact, modern technical development is so advanced and so well-proportioned among the various civilised States that it must be looked on as practically impossible for one Power to build vessels which would have a superior fighting quality to that of the vessels of equal size built by the other Powers.

It is even less feasible to build vessels of smaller displacement which will be superior in action to those of larger displacement. As a matter of fact, the smaller proportions of the German vessels could be maintained only at the expense of speed and armament. The phrase used to justify this policy was in itself evidence of the lack of logical thinking on the part of the naval authorities who were in charge of these matters in times of peace. They declared that the German guns were definitely superior to the British, so that the German 28 cm. gun was just as effective as the British 30.5 cm. gun.

But that was just why they should have adopted the policy of building 30.5 cm. guns also; for it ought to have been their object not to achieve equality, but superiority, in fighting strength.

If that were not so, then it would have been superfluous to equip the land forces with 42 cm. mortars, since the German 21 cm. mortar was far superior to any high-angle guns which the French possessed at that time and consequently the fortresses could probably have been taken by means of 30.5 cm. mortars.

The army authorities calculated correctly, the naval authorities unfortunately failed to do so. If they were willing to forego superiority of armaments as well as of speed, this was because of the fundamentally false ‘principle of risk’ which they adopted.

The naval authorities, even in times of peace, renounced the principle of

attack and thus had to follow a defensive policy from the very beginning of the war, but by this attitude they renounced also the chances of final success, which can be achieved only by taking the offensive. A vessel of slower speed and weaker armament will be crippled and battered by an adversary that is faster and stronger at a distance which gives the latter an advantage.

A large number of cruisers have been through bitter experiences of this kind. How wrong the ideas prevalent among the naval authorities in times of peace were, was proved during the war.

They were compelled to modify the armament of the old vessels and to equip the new ones with better armament whenever there was a chance to do so.

If the German vessels in the Battle of Jutland had been of equal size, the same armament and the same speed as the British, the British Fleet would have gone down under the tempest of German 38 cm. shells, which hit their mark more accurately and were more effective.

Japan had followed a different kind of naval policy. There, as a matter of principle, care was taken to create with every single new vessel a fighting force that would be superior to that of the eventual adversaries, but because of this policy, it was afterwards possible to use the fleet for the offensive.

While the army authorities refused to adopt such fundamentally erroneous principles, the Navy—which unfortunately had more representatives in parliament—succumbed to the spirit that ruled there.

The Navy was not organised on a strong basis, and it was later used in an unsystematic and irresolute way. The immortal glory which the Navy won, in spite of these drawbacks, must be entirely credited to the good work, the efficiency and incomparable heroism of officers and crews.

If its former commanders-in-chief had been, inspired with a like degree of genius, all the sacrifices would not have been in vain.

It was probably the very parliamentarian skill displayed by the chief of the Navy during the years of peace which later became the cause of the fatal collapse, since parliamentarian considerations had begun to play a more important role in the construction of the Navy than fighting considerations.

The irresolution, the weakness and the failure to adopt a logically

consistent policy, which is typical of the parliamentary system, contaminated the naval authorities.

As I have already emphasised, the military authorities did not allow themselves to be led astray by such fundamentally erroneous ideas.

Ludendorff, who was then a colonel on the General Staff, led a desperate struggle against the criminal vacillations with which the Reichstag treated the most vital problems of the nation, and in most cases voted against them.

If the fight which this officer then waged remained unsuccessful, this must be ascribed to the parliament and partly also to the wretched and weak attitude of the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg.

Yet those who are responsible for Germany's collapse do not hesitate now to lay the blame on the shoulders of the one man who took a firm stand against the neglectful manner in which the interests of the nation were managed, but one falsehood more or less makes no difference to these born tricksters. Anybody who thinks of all the sacrifices which this nation has had to bear, as a result of the criminal neglect of those irresponsible individuals; anybody who thinks of the number of those who died or were maimed unnecessarily; anybody who thinks of the deplorable shame and dishonour which has been heaped upon us and of the illimitable distress into which our people are now plunged—anybody who realises that all this had to happen in order to prepare the way to a seat in parliament for some unscrupulous placehunters and “pushers”, will understand that such hirelings can be called by no other name than that of rascal and criminal, for otherwise those words would have no meaning.

In comparison with traitors who betrayed the nation's trust, every other kind of twister may be looked upon as an honourable man.

It was a peculiar feature of the situation that all the real faults of the old Germany were exposed to the public gaze only when the inner solidarity of the nation could be injured by doing so. Then indeed unpleasant truths were openly proclaimed in the ears of the broad masses, while many other things were at other times shamefully hushed up or their existence simply denied, especially at times when an open discussion of such problems might have led to an improvement.

The higher government authorities knew little or nothing of the nature and

use of propaganda in such matters. Only the Jew knew that by an able and persistent use of propaganda, heaven itself can be presented to the people as if it were hell and, vice versa, the most miserable kind of life can be presented as if it were paradise.

The Jew knew this and acted accordingly, but the German, or rather his government, did not have the slightest suspicion of it.

During the war, the heaviest of penalties had to be paid for that ignorance. Over against the innumerable drawbacks which I have mentioned here and which affected German life before the war there were many outstanding features on the positive side.

If we take an impartial survey, we must admit that most of our drawbacks were in great measure prevalent also in other countries and among the other nations, and very often in a worse form than with us, whereas among us there were many real advantages which the others did not have.

Chief among Germany's advantages was the fact that, of all the European nations, the German nation was almost the only one which had made a great effort to preserve the national character of its economic structure and for this reason was less subject than other countries to the power of international finance, though indeed there were many untoward symptoms in this regard also, and yet this advantage was a perilous one and turned out later to be one of the chief causes of the World War. Even if we disregard this advantage of national independence in economic matters, there were certain other positive features of our social and political life which were of outstanding excellence.

These features were represented by three institutions which were constant sources of regeneration. In their respective spheres they were models of perfection and efficiency.

The first of these was the constitution as such and the manner in which it had been developed in Germany in modern times. Of course we must except those monarchs who, as human beings, were subject to the failings which afflict this world and its children.

If we were not so tolerant in these matters, then the case of the present generation would be hopeless, nor if we take into consideration the personal capabilities and character of the representative figures in our present regime, it would be difficult to imagine a more modest level of intelligence and moral

character.

If we measure the ‘valise’ of the German Revolution by the personal worth and calibre of the individuals whom this revolution has presented to the German people since November 1918, then we may feel ashamed indeed in thinking of the judgment which posterity will pass on these individuals, when the Law for the Protection of the Republic can no longer silence public opinion.

Coming generations will surely decide that the intelligence and integrity of our new German leaders were in inverse ratio to their boasting and their vices.

It must be admitted that the monarchy had become alien in spirit to many citizens and especially to the broad masses. This resulted from the fact that the monarchs were not always surrounded by, let us say, the highest intellect and certainly not always by persons of the most upright character.

Unfortunately, many of them preferred flatterers to honest-spoken men and hence received their ‘information’ from the former. This was a source of grave danger at a time when the world was passing through a period in which many of the old conditions were changing and when this change was affecting even the traditions of the Court.

The average man or woman could not have felt any particular enthusiasm when, for example, at the close of the century, a princess in uniform and on horseback had the soldiers file past her on parade.

Those high circles had apparently no idea of the impression which such a parade made on the minds of ordinary people, else such unfortunate occurrences would not have taken place.

The sentimental humanitarianism—not always very sincere—which was professed in those high circles was often more repulsive than attractive.

When, for instance, the Princess X condescended to taste the products of a soup-kitchen and found them excellent, as usual, such a gesture might have made an excellent impression in times long past, but on this occasion it had the opposite effect to that which was intended, for, even if we take it for granted that Her Highness did not have the slightest idea that, on the day she sampled it, the food was not quite the same as on other days, it sufficed that the people knew it.

Even the best of intentions thus became an object of ridicule or a cause of exasperation.

Descriptions of the proverbial frugality practised by the monarch, his much too early rise in the morning and the drudgery he had to go through all day long until late at night, and especially the constantly expressed fears lest he might become undernourished—all this gave rise to ominous remarks on the part of the people.

Nobody was keen to know what and how much the monarch ate or drank. Nobody grudged him a full meal, or the necessary amount of sleep.

Everybody was pleased when the monarch, as a man and a personality, brought honour on his family and his country and fulfilled his duties as a sovereign. All the legends which were circulated about him helped little and did much damage.

These and such things, however, are mere bagatelles: What was much worse was the feeling, which spread throughout large sections of the nation, that the affairs of the individual were being taken care of from above and that he did not need to bother himself with them.

As long as the government was really good, or at least moved by goodwill, no serious objections could be raised, but the country was destined to disaster when the old government, which had at least striven for the best, was replaced by a new regime which was not of the same quality.

Then the docile obedience and infantile credulity which formerly offered no resistance was bound to be one of the most fatal evils that can be imagined.

In contrast to these and other defects there were, however, certain qualities which undoubtedly had a positive effect.

First of all, the monarchical form of government guarantees stability in the direction of public affairs and safeguards public offices from the speculative turmoil of ambitious politicians.

Furthermore, the venerable tradition which this institution possesses, arouses a feeling which gives it weight and authority.

Beyond this there is the fact that the whole corps of officials, and the Army in particular, are raised above the level of political party obligations,

and still another positive feature was that the supreme rulership of the State was embodied in the monarch, as an individual person, who could serve as the symbol of responsibility which a monarch has to bear more seriously than any anonymous parliamentary majority. Indeed, the proverbial honesty and integrity of the German administration must be attributed chiefly to this fact. Finally, the monarchy fulfilled a high cultural function among the German people, which made amends for many of its defects.

The German residential cities have remained, given in our time, centres of that artistic spirit which now threatens to disappear and is becoming more and more materialistic.

The German princes gave a great deal of excellent and practical encouragement to art and science, especially during the nineteenth century. Our present age certainly has nothing of equal worth.

During that process of disintegration which was slowly extending throughout the social order, the most positive factor was the Army. This was the strongest source of education which the German people possessed.

For that reason all the hatred of our enemies was directed against this defender of our national self-preservation and our liberty. The strongest testimony in favour of this unique institution is the fact that it was derided, hated and fought against, but also feared, by worthless elements all round.

The fact that the international profiteers who gathered at Versailles, further to exploit and plunder the nations, directed their enmity specially against the old German Army, proved once again that it deserved to be regarded as the institution which protected the liberties of our people against the forces of the International Stock Exchange.

If the Army had not been there to sound—the alarm and stand on guard, the aims of the Versailles representatives would have been carried out much sooner.

There is only one word to express what the German people owes to this Army—everything!

It was the Army that still kept a sense of responsibility alive among the people when this quality had become very rare and when the habit of shirking every kind of responsibility was steadily spreading.

This habit had grown up under the evil influences of parliament, which was itself the very model of irresponsibility.

The Army trained the people to personal courage at a time when the virtue of timidity threatened to become an epidemic and when the spirit of sacrificing one's personal interests for the good of the community was considered as something that amounted almost to weak-mindedness.

At a time when only those were estimated as intelligent who knew how to safeguard and promote their own egotistic interests, the Army was the school through which individual Germans were taught not to seek the salvation of their nation in the false ideology of international fraternisation between Negroes, Germans, Chinese, French and English, etc., but in the strength and unity of their own national being.

The Army developed the individual's powers of resolute decision, and this at a time when a spirit of indecision and scepticism governed human conduct. At a time when the wiseacres were everywhere setting the fashion, it needed courage to uphold the principle that any command is better than none.

This one principle represents a robust and sound style of thought, of which not a trace would have been left in the other branches of life if the Army had not furnished a constant source of this fundamental strength.

A sufficient proof of this may be found in the appalling lack of decision which our present government authorities display. They cannot shake off their mental and moral lethargy and decide on some definite line of action, except when they are forced to sign some new dictate for the exploitation of the German people.

In that case they decline all responsibility, while at the same time they sign everything which the other side places before them, and they sign with the readiness of an official stenographer.

Their conduct is here explicable, on the ground, that, in this case, they are not under the necessity of coming to a decision, for the decision is dictated to them.

The Army imbued its members with a spirit of idealism and developed their readiness to sacrifice themselves for their country and its honour, while greed and materialism dominated in all the other branches of life.

The Army united a people which was split up into classes, and in this respect had only one defect, which was the one-year term of voluntary military service, a privilege granted to those who had passed through the higher grade schools.

It was a defect, because the principle of absolute equality was thereby violated, and those who had a better education were thus placed outside the cadres to which the rest of their comrades belonged. The reverse would have been better.

Since our upper classes were really ignorant of what was going on in the body corporate of the nation and were becoming more and more estranged from the life of the people, the Army would have accomplished a very beneficial mission if it had refused to discriminate in favour of the so-called intellectuals, especially within its own ranks.

It was a mistake that this was not done, but can we in this world of ours find any institution that has not at least one defect? And in the Army, the good features were so absolutely predominant that the few defects it had, were far below the average that generally arises from human weakness.

The greatest merit of the Army of the old Reich was that, at a time when the person of the individual counted for nothing and the majority was everything, it placed individual personal values above majority values.

By insisting on its faith in personality, the Army opposed that typically Jewish and democratic apotheosis of the power of numbers.

The Army trained what at that time was most sorely needed, namely, real men. During a period when men were falling prey to effeminacy and laxity, three hundred and fifty thousand vigorously trained young men went forth from the ranks of the Army each year.

In the course of their two years training they had lost the softness of their young days and had developed bodies as tough as steel. The young man who had been taught obedience for two years was now fitted to command. The trained soldier could be recognised even by his walk.

This was the great school of the German nation, and it was not without reason that it drew upon its head all the bitter hatred of those who wanted the Reich to be weak and defenceless, because they were jealous of its greatness and were themselves possessed by a spirit of rapacity and greed.

The rest of the world recognised a fact which many Germans did not wish to see, either because they were blind to facts or because, out of malice, they did not wish to see it.

This fact was that the German Army was the most powerful weapon for the defence and freedom of the German nation and the best guarantee for the livelihood of its citizens.

There was a third institution of positive worth, which has to be considered apart from the monarchy and the Army. This was the unrivalled civil service in the old Germany.

German administration was better organised and better carried out than the administration of other countries. There may have been objections to the bureaucratic routine of the officials, but from this point of view, the state of affairs was similar, if not worse, in the other countries.

The other States did not have the wonderful solidarity which this organisation possessed in Germany, nor were their civil servants of that same high level of scrupulous honesty.

It is certainly better to be a trifle over-bureaucratic, honest and loyal than to be over-sophisticated, modem and of an inferior type of character and, as often happens today, ignorant and inefficient.

If it be insinuated to-day that the German administration of the pre-war period may have been excellent so far as bureaucratic technique went, but that from the practical business point of view it was incompetent, I can only give the following reply: What other country in the world possessed a better-organised and administered business enterprise than the German State Railways, for instance?

It was left to the Revolution to destroy this model organisation, until the time was ripe for it to be taken out of the hands of the nation and ‘nationalised,’ in the sense which the founders of the Republic had given to that word, namely, making it subservient to the International Stock Exchange capitalists, who were the wire-pullers of the German Revolution.

The most outstanding trait in the civil service and the whole body of the civil administration was its independence of the vicissitudes of government, the political mentality of which could exercise no influence on the attitude of the German State officials.

Since the Revolution, this situation has been completely changed. Efficiency and capability have been replaced by the test of party adherence; and independence of character and initiative are no longer appreciated as positive qualities in a public official. They rather tell against him.

The wonderful might and power of the old Reich was based on the monarchical form of government, the Army and the civil service, of these three foundations rested that great strength which is now entirely lacking, namely, the authority of the State, for the authority of the State cannot be based on the babbling that goes on in parliament or in the provincial diets, upon laws made to protect the State, or upon sentences passed by the law courts to frighten those who have had the hardihood to deny the authority of the State, but only on the general confidence which the management and administration of the community establishes among the people.

This confidence is, in its turn, nothing else than the result of an unshakable inner conviction that the government and administration of a country is inspired by disinterested and honest goodwill and of the feeling that the Spirit of the law is in complete harmony with the moral convictions of the people.

In the long run, systems of government are not maintained by terrorism but by the belief of the people in the merits and sincerity of those who are there to administer and promote public interests.

Though it is true that in the period preceding the war certain grave evils tended to infect and corrode the inner strength of the nation, it must be remembered that the other States suffered even more than Germany from these drawbacks, and yet those other States did not fail and break down when the time of crisis came.

If we remember further that those defects in pre-war Germany were outweighed by great positive qualities, we shall have to look elsewhere for the real cause of the collapse, and it did lie elsewhere.

The ultimate and most profound reason of the German downfall is to be found in the fact that the racial problem was ignored and that its importance in the historical development of nations was not grasped, for the events that take place in the life of nations are not due to chance but are the natural results of the effort to conserve and multiply, the species and the race, even though men may not be able consciously to picture in their minds the profound motives of

their conduct.

