

CHAPTER XI: PROPAGANDA AND ORGANISATION

The year 1921 was, from many points of view, particularly important for me and for the National Socialist Movement.

When I entered the German Labour Party, I at once took charge of the propaganda, believing this branch to be far the most important for the time being.

The first necessity was not so much to rack one's brains over problems connected with organisation as to spread out ideas among as many people as possible.

Propaganda should go well ahead of organisation and gather together the human material for the latter to work up. I have never been in favour of hasty and pedantic methods of organisation, because, in most cases, the result is merely a piece of dead mechanism and rarely a living organisation.

Organisation is a thing which derives its existence from organic life, organic evolution. When the same set of ideas have taken root in the minds of a certain number of people they tend of themselves to achieve a certain degree of order among those people and this inner development is of inestimable value.

Of course, here, as everywhere else, one must take account of those human weaknesses which make men hesitate, especially at the beginning, to submit to the control of a superior mind.

As soon as an organisation functions mechanically from above, there is always the danger that some individual who has been appointed to a certain office, but who has not yet proved his mettle and may be far from efficient, will, from motives of sheer jealousy, try to hinder abler persons from taking a leading place in the movement.

The damage that results from that kind of thing may have fatal consequences, especially in a new movement.

For this reason it is advisable first to propagate and publicly expound the ideas on which the movement is founded. This work of propaganda should continue for a certain time and should be directed from one centre.

When the ideas have gradually won over a number of people this human material should be carefully sifted for the purpose of selecting those who have, ability in leadership and of putting that ability to the test.

It will often be found that apparently insignificant persons nevertheless turn out to be born leaders.

At the same time it is quite wrong to imagine that possession of vast theoretical knowledge is a proof of capacity for leadership. The contrary is very frequently the case.

Great theorists are only very rarely great organisers, because the greatness of the theorist and founder of a system coexists in being able to discover and lay down those laws that are right in the abstract, whereas the organiser must be first and foremost a psychologist.

He must take men as they are, and for that reason he must know them, and have neither too high nor too low an estimate of human nature.

He must take account of their weaknesses, their baseness and all their various characteristics, so as to form something which will be a living organism, endowed with great and unwavering force, fit to champion an ideal and pave the way for its successful realisation.

It is still more rare to find a great theorist who is at the same time a great leader. An agitator is much more likely to prove a great leader a truth that is not palatable to many of those who deal with problems only from the scientific standpoint!

Yet this is only natural, for an agitator who shows himself capable of expounding ideas to the great masses must always be a psychologist, even though he be only a demagogue.

Therefore he will always be a much more capable leader than the contemplative theorist who, far from the madding crowd, meditates on his ideas.

To be a leader means to be able to move the masses. The gift of formulating ideas has nothing whatsoever to do with the capacity for leadership.

It would be entirely futile to discuss the question as to which is the more

important—the faculty for conceiving ideals and human aims or that of being able to realise them. Here, as so often in this world, the one would be entirely meaningless without the other.

The noblest theoretical conceptions remain without purpose or value, if the leader cannot move the masses to accept them, and, conversely, what would it avail to have all the genius and verve of a leader if the intellectual theorist does not fix the aims for which mankind must struggle?

But when the abilities of theorist, organiser and leader are united in the one person, then we have the rarest phenomenon on this earth, for it is that union which makes the great man.

As I have already said, during my early days in the Party I devoted myself to the work of propaganda. I had to succeed in gradually gathering together a small nucleus of men who became imbued with the new doctrine, thus providing the human material which was subsequently to form the first elements of an organisation. Thus the goal of the propagandist was nearly always fixed far beyond that of the organiser.

If a movement proposes to overthrow a certain order of things and set up a new one in its place, then the following principles must be clearly understood and respected by its leaders.

Every movement which has gained its human material must first divide this material into two groups, namely, adherents and members.

It is the task of the propagandist to gain adherents and it is the task of the organising body to enlist members.

The adherent of a movement is he who sympathises with and accepts its aims, while the member is he who fights for them.

The adherent is one for whom propaganda has converted to the doctrine of the movement. The member is he who will be charged by the organising body with collaborating in winning ever new adherents who will in turn become new members.

Since to be an adherent demands only passive acceptance of an ideal, whereas membership implies championing and defending it, there will never be more than two members to every ten adherents.

Adhesion is based only on comprehension, whereas membership is founded on the courage to stand up for what has been comprehended and accepted and to propound it to others.

The majority, being lazy and timid, is content with passive acceptance of a doctrine and only a minority will assume the responsibility of membership which implies readiness to defend one's opinions.

Such being the case, the propagandist must seek untiringly to acquire new followers for the movement, whereas the organising body must see to it that only the best elements among these followers are admitted to membership.

The propagandist need not trouble about the personal worth of the individual converts he has won over to the movement. He need not inquire into their abilities, their intelligence or their character.

From among these converts, however, the organising body will have to select those individuals who are most capable of actively helping to achieve victory for the movement.

The propagandist aims at inducing the whole people to accept his teaching. The organising body includes within the framework of membership only those who, on psychological grounds, will not impede the further diffusion of the doctrines of the movement.

The propagandist inculcates his doctrine upon the minds of the nation as a whole, preparing it for the time when this doctrine will triumph, whereas the organising body brings that triumph nearer by the continual, organic and combatant cohesion of those followers who have given proof of the necessary ability and will-power to carry on the struggle until victory is won. The more effectively propaganda has swayed the people as a whole and the more exclusive, rigorous and rigid the organisation, the greater the possibility of the triumph of its ideology.

It follows, therefore, that the number of adherents can never be too large, whereas the number of members is apt to become too large rather than too small.

When a whole nation has become imbued with an idea as a result of propaganda, the organising body can realise its aims with a handful of supporters.

There is, therefore, a certain fixed relationship between propaganda and organisation, and between the number of adherents and members.

If the propaganda is good the organising body may be small, while the larger the number of adherents, the smaller the number of members.

Conversely, if the propaganda be bad, the organising body must be large and if there be only a small number of adherents, the membership must be all the larger if the movement still genuinely hopes to be successful.

The first task of the propagandist is to win over people who will subsequently belong to the organising body. The first duty of the organising body is to select and train men who will be capable of carrying on the propaganda.

The second task of the propagandist is to disrupt the existing order of things and to saturate this order with the new teaching, while the second task of the organising body must be to fight for power, so that the doctrine may finally triumph.

An ideological revolution will always be most successful, if the new ideology has been taught to the entire population, or if necessary, forced upon it subsequently, whilst, on the other hand, the movement itself, the organisation, should comprise only the minimum number of persons required to man the nerve-centres of the state in question.

Put in another way, this means that in every great revolutionary movement of world-importance, the ideals of that movement must always first be propagated through the operation of propaganda.

The propagandist must never tire in his efforts to make the new ideas clearly understood, to persuade others to adopt them and to endeavour to shake their confidence in the convictions they have hitherto held.

In order that such propaganda should have a firm character, it must be based on an organisation.

The organisation gains its members from any among those followers whom propaganda has won over and will grow the more rapidly if the work of propaganda be pushed forward intensively, and it will be all the more effective if the organisation at the back of it is vigorous and strong in itself. Hence, the supreme task of the organising body is to see to it that any discord or

differences which may arise among the members of the movement will not lead to a split and thereby cramp the work within the movement.

Moreover, it is the duty of the organising body to see that the fighting spirit of the movement does not flag or die out, but that it is constantly reinvigorated and reinforced.

It is not necessary that the number of members should increase indefinitely; on the contrary, in view of the fact that only a fraction of humanity has energy and courage, a movement which increases its own organisation indefinitely must of necessity one day become weakened thereby.

Organisations, that is to say, memberships, which increase beyond certain limits gradually lose their fighting force and are no longer capable of backing up and turning to account propaganda on behalf of an ideal with the requisite verve and determination.

Now, the greater and more revolutionary a doctrine is, the more active will be the spirit inspiring its body of members, because the very fact of the revolutionary nature of the doctrine implies danger for its champions and this suffices to frighten away the chicken-hearted and small-minded Philistines.

In their hearts they may believe in the doctrine, but they are afraid to acknowledge their belief openly by becoming members of the movement.

By reason of this very fact, however, an organisation inspired by a genuinely revolutionary ideal will attract as members only the most active of those who have been won over by its propaganda.

It is in this activity on the part of the members, guaranteed by the process of natural selection, that we have the prerequisite conditions for the continuation of an active and spirited propaganda and also for the victorious struggle for the realisation of the ideal on which the movement is based.

The greatest danger that can threaten a movement is an abnormal increase in the number of its members, owing to its too rapid success.

So long as a movement has to carry on a hard and bitter fight, people of weak and fundamentally egotistic temperament will steer clear of it; but these will try to be accepted as members the moment the party appears likely to achieve, or has already achieved, a great measure of success.

It is for this reason that so many movements which are at first successful, slow down before reaching the fulfilment of their purpose and, from an inner weakness which cannot otherwise be explained, give up the struggle and finally disappear from the field.

As a result of the early successes achieved, so many undesirable, unworthy and especially timid individuals become members of the movement that they are finally in the majority and overrule those who are filled with the fighting-spirit, use the movement to gain their own ends, dragging it down to their own petty level and do nothing to bring about the triumph of the original idea. The fire of the first fervour dies out, the fighting spirit flags and, as the bourgeois world is accustomed to remark (and in this case with some justice) the wine has become mixed with water and then it is, of course, impossible to achieve great things.

For this reason it is necessary that a movement should, from the sheer instinct of self-preservation, close its list of membership the moment it becomes successful, while any further increase in its organisation should be undertaken only after the most careful precautions have been taken and after a painstaking sifting of those who apply for membership.

Only thus will it be possible to keep the kernel of the movement intact, fresh and sound.

Care must be taken that the conduct of the movement remains exclusively in the hands of the original nucleus, which means that this nucleus must direct the propaganda which aims at securing general recognition for the movement and is the central authority which decides what measures are to be adopted for the practical realisation of its ideals.

The organisation should not only appoint the men who formed the original nucleus of the movement to all the important positions in those parts of the country that have been won over, but should see to it that the entire governing body is composed of such elements.

This should continue until the maxims and doctrines of the party have become the foundation and substance of the new State.

Only then will it be permissible gradually to transfer the reins to the hands of the constitution of that State which the spirit of the movement has created.

But this usually happens as the result of mutual rivalry, for here it is less a question of human intelligence than of the play of the forces whose development may indeed be foreseen from the start, but not perpetually controlled.

All great movements, whether of a political or religious nature, owe their success to the recognition and adoption of these principles, and no durable success is conceivable if these laws are not observed.

As director of propaganda for the Party, I took care not merely to prepare the ground for the size of the Movement in its subsequent stages, but I also adopted the most radical type of propaganda in order to make sure that none but the best would enter the organization.

For the more radical and stirring my propaganda was, the more did it frighten away weak and wavering characters, thus preventing them from entering the first nucleus of our organisation.

Perhaps they remained followers, but they did not advertise the fact, on the contrary, they maintained a discreet silence on the subject.

Many thousands of persons then assured me that although they were in full agreement with us, they could not on any account become members of our Party. They said that the Movement was so radical that to take part in it as members would expose them to grave censure and even danger, so that nobody could take it amiss if an honest, peace-loving citizen chose to remain in the background, for the time being at least, though devoted whole-heartedly to our cause.

This was all to the good. If all those men, who in their hearts did not approve of the Revolution, had joined our Movement as members at that time, we could regard ourselves to-day as a pious confraternity and not as a young Movement inspired with the spirit of combat.

The lively and combative form which I gave to all our propaganda at that time fortified and guaranteed the radical tendency of our Movement, and the result was that, with few exceptions, only men of radical views were disposed to become members.

It was due to the effect of our propaganda that, within a short period of time, hundreds of thousands of citizens not only became convinced in their hearts that we were right, but wished us victory, although personally they were

too timid to make sacrifices for that victory or even to fight for it.

Up to the middle of 1921 the mere gaining of followers sufficed and was of value to the Movement, but in the summer of that year, certain events happened which made it seem opportune for us to bring our organisation into line with the manifest successes which the propaganda had achieved.

An attempt made by a group of patriotic visionaries, supported by the chairman of the Party at that time, to take over the management of the party led, to the failure of this little intrigue, and, as the result of a motion carried unanimously at a general meeting of the members, the entire management of the Party was entrusted to me.

At the same time a new statute was passed investing the chairman of the movement with absolute responsibility, abolishing the system of resolutions in committee and introducing in its stead a system of division of labour which, since that time, has worked excellently.

From August 1st, 1921, onwards, I undertook the internal reorganisation of the Party and was supported by a number of excellent men.

I shall mention them and their work individually in a postscript to the present work. In my endeavour to utilise the results gained by propaganda to the advantage of the organisation and thus to stabilise them, I had to abolish completely a number of established practices and introduce regulations which none of the other parties either possessed or recognised.

In the years 1919–20 the Movement was controlled by a committee elected at meetings of the members, held in accordance with the constitution.

The committee was composed of a treasurer and an assistant-treasurer, a secretary and an assistant-secretary and, at the head of it, a chairman and a vice-chairman. In addition to these there were a members' representative, the director of propaganda, and various assessorial members. Comically enough, the committee embodied the very principle against which the Movement itself wanted to fight with all its energy, namely, the principle of parliamentarianism.

It was evident that from the smallest local groups to the district and regional groups, the state groups and finally the supreme directorate for the Reich, the principle adopted incorporated the selfsame system under which we were all suffering and continue to suffer.

It was imperative to change this state of affairs forthwith, if this bad foundation in the internal organisation was not to jeopardise the Movement and render the fulfilment of its high mission impossible.

The sessions of the committee at which minutes were read out, and at which resolutions were passed according to the vote of the majority, presented the picture of a miniature parliament.

Here there was no such thing as personal responsibility, the same absurdities and paradoxes prevailed as in the great representative bodies of the State.

Names were presented to this committee for appointment as secretaries, treasurers, members of the organisation, propaganda agents and God knows what else.

Every single question was discussed by the committee as a whole and put to the vote. Accordingly, the director of propaganda voted on a question that concerned the man who had to do with the finances, and the latter, in his turn, voted on a question that concerned only the organising side as such, the organiser voting on a subject that had to do with the secretarial department, and so on.

Why select a special man for propaganda, if treasurers, secretaries, members' representatives etc., had to deliver judgment on questions concerning it?

To a person of common sense that sort of thing seems as incomprehensible as it would be if, in a large manufacturing concern, the board of directors or technical experts belonging to other departments and other branches were called upon to decide questions which had nothing to do with their own particular job.

I refused to countenance this kind of folly and after a short time I ceased to appear at the meetings of the committee. I did nothing except attend to my own department of propaganda and I did not permit any of the others to poke their noses into my activities. Conversely, I did not interfere in the affairs of others.

When the new statute was approved and I was appointed chairman, I had the necessary authority and also the corresponding right to make short shrift of all that nonsense.

In the place of decisions by majority vote of the committee, the principle of absolute responsibility was introduced.

The chairman is responsible for the whole control of the Movement. He apportions the work to be done among the members of the committee subordinate to him and for special work he selects other individuals.

Each of these gentlemen must bear sole responsibility for the task assigned to him. He is subordinate only to the chairman, whose duty is to supervise the general collaboration, selecting the personnel and giving general directions as to how co-operation is to be achieved.

This principle of absolute responsibility has gradually become a matter of course within the Movement, at least in so far as the management of the Party is concerned.

In the small local groups and perhaps also in the regional and district groups it will take yet a long time before the principle can be thoroughly imposed, because the timid and inefficient are naturally opposed to it.

For them the idea of bearing absolute responsibility for an action opens up an unpleasant prospect and they feel more at ease and safer if, faced with a difficult decision, they have the support of the majority on a so-called committee.

But it seems to me a matter of absolute necessity to take a decisive stand against that view, to make no concessions whatsoever to this fear of responsibility, even though it will take some time before we can attain this concept of duty and ability in leadership, which will place in positions of authority only those who possess the necessary gifts and are selected for the work.

In any case, a movement which has to fight against the absurdity of parliamentary institutions must itself be immune from them. Only thus will it have the requisite strength to carry on the struggle.

It is absolutely certain that a movement which, in an era in which the majority principle holds good in every sphere of life, adopts as its fundamental principle that of leadership (and consequently the assumption of responsibility by the leaders), will one day succeed in abolishing and triumphing over existing conditions.

This idea made it necessary to reorganise our Movement internally. The logical development of this reorganisation brought about a clear-cut distinction between the economic section of the Movement and the general political management. The principle of personal responsibility was extended to all the administrative branches of the party and inevitably had a regenerating effect, by liberating them from political influences and allowing them to operate solely on economic principles.

In the autumn of 1919, when I joined the Party, there were only six members. The Party had neither an office, officials, forms, a stamp, nor printed material of any sort. The committee first held its sittings in a restaurant in the Herrengasse and then in a café in the Gasteig.

This state of affairs was intolerable, so I at once took action in the matter. I went around to several restaurants and hotels in Munich with the idea of renting a room in one of them for the use of the Party.

In the old Sterneckerbräu im Tal, there was a small vault-like room which in earlier times had served the Bavarian Counsellors of the Holy Roman Empire as a tap-room when they foregathered.

It was dark and dismal and accordingly well suited to its ancient uses, though less suited to the new purpose it was now destined to serve. The little street on which its one window looked out was so narrow that even on the brightest summer day the room remained dim and sombre.

This became our first office. As the rent came to only fifty marks per month, (then an enormous sum for us) we could not expect very much and we dared not complain even when the wooden wainscoting was removed a few days before we took possession. This panelling had been specially put up for the Imperial Counsellors. The place began to look more like a tomb than an office.

Still it marked an important step forward. By degrees, we had electric light installed and later on a telephone. A table and some borrowed chairs were put in, open bookshelves, and afterwards, a cupboard. Two sideboards, which belonged to the landlord, served to store our leaflets, placards, etc.

As time went on, it proved impossible to direct the course of the Movement merely by holding a committee meeting once a week.

The current business administration of the Movement could not be

regularly attended to unless we had a salaried official, but at that time it was very difficult for us to arrange anything of the kind.

The Movement had still so few members that it was hard to find among them a suitable person for the job, who would be content with very little for himself and would at the same time be ready to meet the manifold demands which the Movement would make on his time and energy.

After a long search we discovered a soldier who consented to become our first business-manager. His name was Schüssler, an old war-time comrade of mine. At first he came to our new office every day between six and eight o'clock in the evening, later on he came from five to eight and subsequently for the whole afternoon; finally, it became a full-time job and he worked in the office from morning until late at night.

He was an industrious, upright and thoroughly honest man, who was exceedingly painstaking and a loyal supporter of the Movement. He brought with him a small Adler typewriter of his own—it was the first typewriter to be used in the service of the Party. Subsequently, the Party bought it, paying for it in instalments.

We needed a small safe in order to keep our papers and register of members out of harm's way, not to hold our funds, which were then non-existent. On the contrary, our financial position was so hopeless that I often had to dip into my own personal savings.

After eighteen months had passed our business quarters had become too small, so we moved to a new place in the Cornelius Strasse.

Again our office was in a restaurant, but instead of one room we now had three smaller rooms and one large room with counters. At that time this appeared a wonderful thing to us. We remained in these premises until November 1923.

In December 1920, we acquired the *Völkischer Beobachter*. This newspaper which, as its name implies, championed the *völkisch* cause, was now to become the organ of the National Socialist German Labour Party.

At first it appeared twice weekly; but at the beginning of 1923 it became a daily paper, and at the end of August in the same year it began to appear in the form now so well known.

As a complete novice in journalism I then learned many a lesson for which I had to pay dearly. In contrast to the enormous number of papers in Jewish hands, there was at that time scarcely any important newspaper that defended the *völkisch* cause.

This state of affairs ought to have provided us with food for thought. As I have often seen from experience, the reason for that state of things was, to a great extent, attributable to the incompetent way in which the business side of the so-called *völkisch* newspapers was managed.

These were conducted too much according to the view that political opinion should be taken into consideration before efficiency—quite a mistaken attitude, inasmuch as political opinion should not be paraded, but should find expression in efficient work.

The man who does valuable work for the nation expresses thereby the soundness of his political opinions, whereas another who merely talks about his opinions and does nothing that is of real value to the nation is detrimental to any real political opinion, and his attitude is also prejudicial to his particular political party.

The *Völkischer Beobachter* was a so-called *völkisch* paper as its name indicates. It had all the good qualities, but still more the errors and weaknesses, inherent in all *völkisch* institutions.

Though the reading-matter was excellent, the business side was conducted on very inefficient lines. Here also the underlying idea was that a *völkisch* newspaper ought to be subsidized by contributions from people holding *völkisch* views, and the fact was ignored that it had to make its way in competition with the others and that it was dishonest to expect the subscriptions of good patriots to make up for the mistakes and inefficiency of the management of the undertaking. I took care to alter these conditions promptly, for I recognised the danger inherent in them. Luck was on my side inasmuch as it brought me a man who, since that time, has rendered incalculable service to the Movement, not only as business-manager of the newspaper, but also as business-manager of the Party.

In 1914, during the War, I made the acquaintance of Max Amann, who was then my superior officer and is to-day general business-manager of the Party.

During four years of war I had occasion to observe the unusual ability, diligence and rigorous conscientiousness of my future collaborator. In the summer of 1921 I applied to my old regimental comrade, whom I met one day by chance, and asked him to become business-manager of the Movement.

At that time the Movement was passing through a grave crisis and I had reason to be dissatisfied with several of our officials, with one of whom I had had a very bitter experience.

Amann then held a good position with good prospects. After long hesitation he agreed to my request, but only on condition that he would not be at the mercy of incompetent committees and would be responsible to one master, and one only.

It is to the inestimable credit of this first business-manager of the Party, whose commercial knowledge is extensive and profound, that he brought order and probity into the various business concerns of the Party.

Since that time these have remained exemplary and cannot be equalled, or excelled, by any other branches of the Movement. But as often happens in life, great ability provokes envy and disfavour; that was to be expected in this case and had to be put up with.

From 1922 onwards we followed definite guiding principles as regards the commercial development of the Movement as well as in connection with its organisation.

There already existed a central filing system, where the names and personal data of all the members were noted. The finances of the Party had been rendered sound.

The current expenditure had to be covered by the current receipts and special receipts were used only for special expenditure.

Thus, notwithstanding the difficulties of the time, the Movement remained practically free of debt, except for a few small current accounts. Indeed there was a steady increase in the funds.

Things were managed as in a private business. The personnel employed held their jobs by virtue of their efficiency and could not in any way take cover behind their professed loyalty to the Party.

A good National Socialist proves his loyalty by the readiness, diligence and efficiency with which he discharges whatever duties are assigned to, him, in performing whatever work is allotted to him within the national community. The man who does not fulfil his duty in the job he holds cannot boast of a loyalty against which he actually transgresses.

Adamant against all kinds of influence, the new business-manager of the party firmly maintained the standpoint that there were no sinecure posts in the party administration for followers and members of the Movement who did not want to work.

A movement, which fights energetically against the corruption introduced into our civil service by the various political parties must be immune from that vice in its own administrative department.

It happened that some men were taken on to the staff of the paper who had formerly been adherents of the Bavarian People's Party, but whose work showed that they were excellently qualified for the job.

The result of this experiment was, generally speaking, eminently satisfactory. It was owing to this honest and frank recognition of individual efficiency that the Movement won the hearts of its employees more readily and more profoundly than had ever been the case before.

Subsequently these men became good National Socialists and remained so, not only professedly, but proved to be so by the steady, honest and conscientious work which they performed in the service of the new Movement.

Although a well-qualified party member was preferred to another who had equal qualifications, but did not belong to the Party, nobody obtained a post merely by reason of the fact that he was a member of the Party.

The rigid determination with which our new business-manager applied these principles and gradually put them into force, despite all opposition, turned out to be of great advantage to the Movement.

To this we owe the fact that it was possible for us, during the difficult period of the inflation, when thousands of businesses failed and thousands of newspapers had to cease publication, not only to keep the commercial department of the Movement going and finance its activities, but also to make steady progress with the *Völkischer Beobachter*. At that time it came to be ranked among the big newspapers.

The year 1921 was of further importance by reason of the fact that, as chairman of the party, I slowly but steadily succeeded in putting a stop to criticism and interference by numerous members of committee with regard to various business concerns of the Party.

This was important, because we could not get a capable man to take on a job if nincompoops were constantly allowed to butt in, pretending that they knew better, whereas in reality they left only chaos behind them.

Then these wiseacres retired, for the most part quite modestly, to seek another field for their supervisory and animating activities.

Some men seemed to have a mania for finding fault with everything and were, so to speak, always in a permanent state of pregnancy with magnificent plans, ideas, projects and methods.

Naturally, their great aim and ideal was always the formation of a committee which, in its supervisory capacity, would be in a position to poke its nose into the efficient work being done by others.

Many of these committee fiends failed to realise that it is offensive and contrary to the spirit of National Socialism if unauthorised people constantly interfere in the work of really competent persons.

During those years I felt it to be my duty to safeguard against such annoyance all those who were performing good work or were entrusted with responsible task, to give them support so that they were guaranteed a free hand in their day's work.

The best means of rendering innocuous those committees, which either did nothing or hatched impracticable decisions, was to give them some real work to do. It was then amusing to see how the members would silently fade away and were soon nowhere to be found.

It made me think of that great institution of the same kind, the Reichstag. How quickly its members would evanesce, if they were put to some real work instead of talking, especially if each member were made personally responsible for the work assigned to him.

I always demanded that, as in private life so in the Movement, we should not abandon the search until the best, most honest and manifestly most competent person had been found for the position of official manager or leader,

as the case might be, in every business concern of the Movement.

Once installed in his position he should be given absolute authority and full freedom of action in regard to his subordinates and at the same time be called upon to assume full responsibility towards his superiors.

Nobody was placed in a position of authority over subordinates unless he himself was more competent than they to perform the work entrusted to them. In the course of two years I put my views more and more into practice, so that to-day, at least as far as the higher positions of authority in the Movement are concerned, they are accepted as a matter of course.

The manifest success of this attitude was shown on November 9th, 1923. Four years previously, when I entered the Movement, it did not possess even a rubber stamp.

On November 9th, 1923, the Party was dissolved and its property confiscated. This, including all objects of value and the newspaper, amounted to more than one hundred and seventy thousand gold marks.

