

CHAPTER X: THE MASK OF FEDERALISM

In the winter of 1919, and still more in the spring and summer of 1920, the young Party felt bound to take up a definite stand on a question which had already become serious during the War.

In the first volume of this book I have briefly recorded certain facts which I had personally witnessed, and which foreboded the break-up of Germany.

In describing these facts I made reference to the special nature of the Propaganda which was directed by the English as well as by the French towards reopening the breach that had existed between North and South in Germany.

In the spring of 1915 there appeared the first of a series of leaflets, the aim of which was to arouse feeling against Prussia as being solely responsible for the War.

By 1916 this kind of propaganda had been developed and perfected in a manner that was as cunning as it was poisonous.

Appealing to the basest of human instincts, this propaganda endeavoured to arouse the wrath of the South Germans against the North Germans and after a short time it bore fruit.

Persons who were then in high positions in the Government and in the Army, especially those attached to the headquarters of the Bavarian divisions, merited the just reproof of having blindly neglected their duty and failed to take the necessary definite steps to counter such propaganda, but nothing was done.

On the contrary, it did not appear to be wholly unwelcome in some quarters and probably they were short-sighted enough to think that such propaganda would not only put an end to the movement towards unification in Germany, but that it might even automatically serve to strengthen the federative states.

Scarcely ever in the course of history has such wicked neglect called down a more severe retribution.

The weakening of Prussia, which, it was hoped, would result from this

propaganda, affected the whole of Germany. It served to hasten the collapse which not only wrecked Germany as a whole, but primarily the federal states. The Revolution first broke out in the city in which the artificially created hatred against Prussia raged most violently and, as elsewhere, it took the form of revolt against the reigning House. It would be a mistake to think that the enemy propaganda was exclusively responsible for creating an anti-Prussian feeling and that there was no excuse for the people for having listened to this propaganda.

The incredible fashion in which our national economy was administered during the War through an absolutely crazy system of centralisation by means of which the whole Reich territory was brought under its control and exploited, furnished the principal grounds for the growth of anti-Prussian feeling.

The average citizen looked upon the companies formed for the collection and distribution of war-time supplies, all of which had their headquarters in Berlin, as identical with Berlin, and Berlin itself as identical with Prussia.

The average citizen did not realise that the organisation of these robber companies, which were called war-companies, was not in the hands of either Berlin or Prussia or even in German hands at all.

People recognised only the gross irregularities and the continual encroachments perpetrated by that hated institution in the metropolis of the Reich and directed their anger against Berlin and Prussia, all the more because in certain quarters nothing was done to correct this attitude, but it was even welcomed with silent satisfaction.

The Jew was far too shrewd not to understand that the infamous campaign which he had organised, under the disguise of war-companies, for plundering the German nation must eventually arouse opposition.

As long as that opposition was not directed against himself he had no reason to be afraid. Hence he decided that the best way of forestalling an outbreak of hatred against himself on the part of the enraged and desperate masses was to direct their wrath against someone else and thus to allow it to burn itself out.

Let Bavaria quarrel as much as it liked with Prussia and Prussia with Bavaria! The more bitter the strife between the two states, the greater the security of the Jew.

Thus public attention was completely diverted from the international maggot in the body of the nation; indeed it seemed to have been forgotten.

Then when there appeared to be a danger that level-headed people, of whom there were many even in Bavaria, called for reflection and the exercise of restraint, thus calming the rage against Prussia, so that the bitter struggle threatened to peter out, all the Jew in Berlin had to do was to stage a fresh provocation and await results.

Immediately all those profiting by the conflict between North and South hailed such an incident with delight and again fanned the flame of indignation until it became a blaze. It was a shrewd and expert manoeuvre on the part of the Jew, to set the different branches of the German people quarrelling among themselves, so that their attention was turned away from himself and he could exploit them all the more completely.

Then came the Revolution. Until the year 1918, or rather until the November of that year, the average German citizen, particularly the less educated lower middle classes and the workers, did not rightly understand what was happening and did not realise what must be the inevitable consequences, especially for Bavaria, of this internecine strife between the various branches of the German people.

Those sections of the people who called themselves 'national' ought to have clearly perceived these consequences on the day on which the Revolution broke out, for the moment the *coup d'état* had succeeded, the leader and organiser of the Revolution came forward in Bavaria as the defender of 'Bavarian' interests.

The international Jew Kurt Eisner, began to play off Bavaria against Prussia. This Oriental was the last person in the world fitted to defend the interests of Bavaria, since in following his profession as a newspaper reporter, he had wandered from place to place all over Germany, and of all the world, Bavaria was the place which interested him least.

In deliberately giving the revolutionary rising in Bavaria the character of an offensive against the rest of the Reich, Kurt Eisner was not by any means acting from the standpoint of Bavarian interests, but merely as the authorised representative of Jewry.

He exploited existing instincts and antipathies in Bavaria as a means of

facilitating the dismemberment of Germany. Once dismembered, the Reich would fall an easy prey to Bolshevism.

The tactics employed by him were continued for a time after his death. The Marxists, who had always derided the individual German states and their princes, now suddenly appealed, as an 'Independent Party', to those sentiments and instincts which had their strongest roots in the houses of the reigning princes and in the individual states.

The fight waged by the Bavarian Soviet Republic against the military contingents that were sent to free Bavaria from its grasp was represented by the Marxist propagandists as being primarily the Bavarian workers' struggle' against 'Prussian militarism.'

This explains why it was that the Soviet Republic in Munich did not have the same effect there as in the other German districts. Instead of recalling the masses to a sense of reason, it led to increased bitterness and anger against Prussia.

The art of the Bolshevik agitators, in representing the suppression of the Bavarian Soviet Republic as a victory of 'Prussian militarism' over the 'anti-militarist' and 'anti-Prussian' people of Bavaria, bore rich fruit. Whereas at the elections for the Bavarian Legislative Diet in Munich, Kurt Eisner did not have ten thousand followers and the Communist Party less than three thousand, after the fall of the Bavarian Republic, the two parties together could reckon on nearly one hundred thousand voting in their favour.

It was at this time that I began my own struggle against the folly of inciting one branch of the German people against the other. I believe that never in my life did I undertake a more unpopular task than I did when I took my stand against the anti-Prussian agitation.

During the Soviet regime in Munich great public meetings were held at which hatred against the rest of Germany, but particularly against Prussia, was roused to such a pitch that a North German would have risked his life in attending one of those meetings.

These meetings often ended in wild shouts of 'Away from Prussia,' 'Down with Prussia,' 'War against Prussia,' and so on.

This feeling was openly expressed in the Reichstag by a particularly brilliant defender of Bavarian sovereign rights, when he said: 'Rather let us

die Bavarians than rot as Prussians.’

Only those who attended some of the meetings held at that time can realise what it implied for me personally, when, for the first time and surrounded by only a handful of friends, I raised my voice against this folly at a meeting held in the Münchener Lowenbrau-Keller.

My war comrades stood by me then. It is easy to imagine how we felt when we were howled at and threatened by a raging crowd, which was beyond all control and composed of men who, while we had been defending our country, had for the most part been deserters and shirkers skulking in billets behind the lines or at home.

It is true that such episodes turned out to be of advantage to me. My small band of comrades felt for the first time absolutely united with me and readily swore to stand by me to the death.

These clashes, which were constantly repeated throughout the year 1919, seemed to become more violent soon after the beginning of 1921.

There were meetings I remember especially one in the Wagnersaal in the Sonnenstrasse in Munich, during the course of which my group, now grown much larger, had to defend itself against assaults of the most violent character.

It happened more than once that dozens of my followers were manhandled, thrown to the floor and stamped upon by the attackers and were finally thrown out of the hall more dead than alive.

The struggle upon which I had embarked, first on my own, and supported only by my war-comrades, was now continued by the young Movement, I might say almost as a sacred mission.

I am proud of being able to say to-day that we depending almost exclusively on our followers in Bavaria-were responsible for putting an end, slowly but surely, to the coalition of folly and treason. I say ‘folly and treason’ because, although convinced that the masses who joined in it meant well but were stupid, I cannot consider such simplicity as an extenuating circumstance in the case of the organisers and their abettors.

I looked upon them then, and still look upon them to-day, as traitors in the pay of France. In one case, that of Dorten, history has already pronounced judgment.

The situation became specially dangerous at that time by reason of the fact that they were very astute in their ability to cloak their real tendencies, by insisting primarily on their federative intentions and claiming that these were the sole motives for their actions.

Of course, it is quite obvious that the agitation against Prussia had nothing to do with federalism.

Surely 'federal activities' is not the phrase with which to describe an effort to dissolve and dismember another federal state, for an honest federalist (in whom it is not hypocrisy to quote the formula used by Bismarck to define his idea of the Reich) could not in the same breath express the desire to cut off portions of the Prussian State, which was created or at least completed by Bismarck, nor could he publicly support such a separatist attempt.

What an outcry would have been raised in Munich if some Prussian conservative party had declared itself in favour of detaching Franconia from Bavaria, or had publicly demanded or taken steps to promote such a separatist policy.

Nevertheless, one cannot but feel sympathy for the genuine federalists who did not see through this infamous swindle, for they were its principal victims.

By distorting the federalist idea in such a way, its own champions prepared its grave. One cannot make propaganda for a federal form of government within the Reich by debasing, abusing and besmirching the essential element of such a political structure, namely Prussia, and thus making such a state impossible as a member of the federation.

It is all the more, incredible by reason of the fact that the fight carried on by those so-called federalists was directed against that section of the Prussian people which was the last that could be regarded as being connected with the November democracy.

For the abuse and attacks of these so-called federalists were not levelled against the authors of the Weimar Constitution—the majority of whom were South Germans or Jews—but against those who represented the old conservative Prussia, which was the antithesis of the Weimar Constitution.

The fact that those who directed this campaign were careful not to touch the Jews is not to be wondered at and perhaps gives the key to the whole

riddle.

Before the Revolution, the Jew was successful in distracting attention from himself and his war-companies by inciting the masses, and especially the Bavarians, against Prussia; similarly, he felt obliged, after the Revolution, to find some way of camouflaging his new marauding campaign, the scope of which had increased tenfold.

Again he succeeded, in this case by provoking the so-called ‘national’ elements in Germany against one another—the conservative Bavarians against the Prussians, who were just as conservative.

He acted again with extreme cunning, inasmuch as he, who held the destiny of Germany in his hands, was behind acts of provocation so crude and tactless that the victims became incensed again and again—never against the Jew, but always against their own fellow-Germans.

The Bavarian did not see the Berlin of four million industrious and efficient working people, but only the lazy and decadent Berlin which haunts the worst quarters of the West End, and yet antipathy was not directed against the West End of Berlin but against the ‘Prussian’ city. I was often driven to despair.

The ability which the Jew displays in turning public attention away from himself and directing it elsewhere can be observed at the present time.

In 1918 there was nothing like an organised anti-Semitic feeling. I still remember the difficulties we encountered the moment we mentioned the word Jew. We were either confronted with dumb-struck faces or else met with lively antagonism.

The efforts we made at the time to point out to the public its real enemy seemed to be doomed to failure, but then things began to change for the better, though only very slowly.

The *Schutz and Trutzbund* (Watch and Ward League) was defectively organised, but at least it had the great merit of opening up the Jewish question once again.

In the winter of 1918–1919 a kind of anti-Semitism slowly began to take root. Later on, the National Socialist Movement presented the Jewish problem in a new light.

Taking the question beyond the restricted circles of the upper classes and small bourgeoisie we succeeded in transforming it into the vital motive of a great popular movement, but the moment we were successful in placing this problem before the German people in the light of an idea that would unite them in one struggle, the Jew reacted.

He resorted to his old tactics. With amazing alacrity he, sowed the seeds of discord within the *völkisch* movement itself and started a rift there.

The raising of the ultramontane question and the resulting quarrels between Catholic and Protestant presented, under the conditions then prevailing, the only possibility of diverting public attention to other matters and staving off a concentrated attack upon the Jews. The men who dragged our people into this controversy can never make amends for the crime they then committed against the nation.

Anyhow, the Jew has attained his ends. Catholics and Protestants are fighting one another to their heart's content, while the enemy of Aryan humanity and of all Christendom is laughing up his sleeve.

Just as it was once possible to occupy the attention of the public for several years with the struggle between federalism and unification, wearing out its energy in this mutual friction, while the Jew trafficked in the freedom of the nation and sold our country to the masters of international high finance—so in our day he has succeeded again, this time by raising strife between the two German religious denominations, while the foundations on which both rest are being eaten away and destroyed through the poison injected by international and cosmopolitan Jewry.

Look at the injuries which our people are suffering daily as a result of being contaminated with Jewish blood. Bear in mind the fact that this poisonous contamination can be eliminated from the national body only after the lapse of centuries, if ever.

Think further of how the process of racial degeneration is debasing and in some cases even destroying the fundamental Aryan qualities of our German people, so that our cultural creative ability as a nation is gradually decreasing and we are running the danger, at least in our great cities, of sinking to the level on which Southern Italy is to-day.

This pestilential adulteration of the blood, of which hundreds of

thousands of our people take no account, is being systematically practised by the Jew to-day. Systematically these Swarthy parasites within our national body corrupt our innocent fair-haired girls and thus destroy something which can never be replaced in this world.

The two Christian denominations look on with indifference at the profanation and destruction of a noble and unique creature who was given to the world as a gift of God's grace.

As regards the future of the world, it does not matter which of the two triumphs, the Catholic or the Protestant faith, but it does matter whether Aryan humanity survives or perishes.

Yet the two Christian denominations are not contending against the destroyer of Aryan humanity, but are trying to destroy one another.

It is the sacred duty, particularly of those who adopt a patriotic attitude, to see to it that within the framework of their own particular denomination, they do not render mere lip-service to God, but actually fulfil the Will of God and do not allow His handiwork to be debarred, for it was by the Will of God that man was created in a certain image and endowed with certain characteristics and certain faculties.

Whoever destroys His work, wages war against God's creation and God's will. Therefore, everyone should endeavour, each in his own denomination, of course, and should consider it as his first and most solemn duty, to hinder any and every one whose conduct tends, either by word or deed, to overstep the limits of his own religious community and to raise a quarrel with those of another denomination.

For, in view of the religious schism that exists in Germany, to attack the essential characteristics of one denomination must necessarily lead to a war of extermination between the two Christian denominations.

There can be no comparison between our position and that of France, Spain or Italy. In those three countries one may, for instance, make propaganda for the side that is fighting against clericalism or ultramontanism, without thereby incurring the danger of a national rift among the French, Spanish or Italian people.

In Germany, however, that cannot be done, for here the Protestants would also take part in such a movement and thus the defence, which elsewhere only

Catholics organise against clerical interference by their own prelates in political matters, would assume with us the character of a Protestant attack against Catholicism.

What may be tolerated by the faithful belonging to one denomination even when it seems unjust to them, will at once be indignantly rejected and opposed on *a priori* grounds if it should come from the militant leaders of another denomination.

This is so true that even men who might be ready and willing to fight for the removal of manifest grievances within their own religious denomination will drop their own fight and turn their activities against the outsider, the moment the abolition of such grievances is counselled or demanded by one who is not of the same faith.

They consider it unjustifiable, inadmissible and incorrect for outsiders to meddle in matters which do not concern them. Such attempts are not excusable even when they are inspired by a feeling for the supreme interests of the national community, because even in our day religious sentiment still has deeper roots than all feeling for political and national expediency.

This cannot be changed by setting one denomination against another in bitter conflict. It can be changed only if, through a spirit of mutual tolerance, the nation can be assured of a future, the greatness of which will gradually operate as a conciliating factor in the sphere of religion also.

I have no hesitation in saying with regard to those men who to-day seek to embroil the *völkisch* movement in religious quarrels, that they are worse enemies of my country than any internationally-minded Communist.

The National Socialist Movement has set itself the task of converting those Communists, but anyone who goes outside the ranks of his own movement and tends to divert it from the fulfilment of its mission, is acting in a manner that deserves the severest condemnation. He is acting as a champion of Jewish interests, whether consciously or unconsciously does not matter, for it is to the interest of the Jews to-day that the energies of the *völkisch* movement should be frittered away in a religious conflict, because it is beginning to be dangerous for the Jews.

I have purposely used the phrase about 'frittering away' the energies of the movement, because no one but he who is entirely ignorant of history could

imagine that this movement can to-day solve a question which the greatest statesmen have tried for centuries to solve, and tried in vain.

Anyhow, the facts speak for themselves. The men who suddenly discovered in 1924, that the highest mission of the *völkisch* movement was to fight ultramontaniam, have not succeeded in smashing it, but they did succeed in splitting the *völkisch* movement.

I have to guard against some immature brain in the *völkisch* movement thinking that it can accomplish what even a Bismarck failed to do.

It will always be one of the first duties of those who are directing the National Socialist Movement to oppose unconditionally any attempt to place the National Socialist Movement at the service of such a conflict.

Anybody who conducts propaganda with that end in view must be expelled forthwith from its ranks.

As a matter of fact, we succeeded until the autumn of 1923 in keeping our Movement aloof from such controversies. The most devout Protestant could stand side by side with the most devout Catholic in our ranks, secure in the knowledge that his religious convictions would be respected.

The bitter struggle which both waged in common against the wrecker of Aryan civilisation taught them mutual respect and esteem; and it was, moreover, just at that time that our Movement had to engage in a bitter strife with the Centre Party not on religious grounds, but on national, racial, political and economic issues.

The success we then achieved showed that we were right, and it speaks against those who to-day think they know better.

In recent years things have gone so far that *völkisch* circles, in the god-forsaken blindness of their religious strife, could not recognise the folly of their conduct even in the light of the fact that atheist Marxist newspapers advocated the cause of one religious denomination or the other, according as it suited them—so as to inculcate now the one party and now the other by the repetition of remarks which were often incredibly foolish, thus fanning the fire to keep the blaze at its highest.

To a people like the Germans, whose history, has so often shown them capable of fighting for phantoms to the point of complete exhaustion, every

slogan of this kind is a mortal danger.

By these slogans the attention of our people has too often been diverted from the real problems affecting their very existence.

While we were exhausting our energies in religious wars, other countries were acquiring their share of the world, and while the *völkisch* movement is debating with itself whether the ultramontane danger be greater than the Jewish, or vice versa, the Jew is destroying the racial basis of our existence and thereby annihilating our people.

As regards that kind of *völkisch* champion, I pray with all my heart on behalf of the National Socialist Movement and therefore of the German people, ‘Lord, preserve us from such friends, that we can more easily deal with our enemies.’

The controversy over federation and unification, so cunningly propagated by the Jews in 1919–1920 and thereafter, forced National Socialism, which repudiated the quarrel, to take up a definite attitude in relation to the essential problems bound up with it.

Ought Germany to be a federated or a united State?

What is the practical significance of these terms?

To me it seems that the second question is more important than the first, because it is fundamental to the understanding of the whole problem and also because the answer to it may help to clear up confusion and therefore have a conciliating effect.

What is a federation of states? By a federation of states we mean a union of sovereign states which, of their own free will, and by virtue of their sovereignty come together and create a collective unit, ceding to that unit as much of their own sovereign rights as will render the existence of the union possible and will guarantee it.

The theoretical formula is not put wholly into practice by any federation of states that exists to-day, least of all by the American Union, where it is impossible to speak of original sovereignty in regard to the majority of the states.

Many of them were not included in the federal complex until long after it

had been established. The states that make up the American Union are mostly in the nature of greater or smaller territories, limited for technical administrative purposes, their boundaries having in many cases been fixed in the mapping office.

Originally, these states did not and could not possess sovereign rights of their own, since they did not combine to form the Union, but it was, on the contrary, the Union which created a number of these so-called states.

Therefore the sovereign rights, often very comprehensive, which were left, or rather granted, to the various territories, correspond not only to the whole character of the Confederation, but also to its vast area, which is almost equivalent to the size of a continent.

Consequently, in speaking of the United States of America one must not consider them as sovereign states, but as states enjoying certain rights, or perhaps one ought to say powers, which have been granted to them and guaranteed under the constitution.

Nor does our definition adequately express the condition of affairs in Germany, although it is true that in Germany the individual states existed as states before the Reich and that the Reich was formed from them.

The Reich, however, was not formed by the voluntary and equal co-operation of the individual states, but rather because the state of Prussia gradually acquired a position of hegemony over the others.

The difference in territorial area alone precludes any comparison between the German states and the American Union.

The great difference in territorial area between the very small German states which then existed and the larger, and, in a still more pronounced degree, the largest, demonstrates the inequality of their achievements and shows that they could not have played an equal part in founding the Reich and in shaping the federal Empire.

In the case of most of these individual states it cannot be maintained that they ever enjoyed real sovereignty, unless we choose to regard the phrase 'sovereign state' as being merely an official designation.

As a matter of fact, not only developments in the past, but also in our own time wiped out several of these so-called 'sovereign states' and thus

proved in the most definite way how frail these structures were.

I cannot deal here with the historical question of how these individual states came to be established, but I must call attention to the fact that hardly in any case did their frontiers coincide with the ancestral tribal frontiers of their inhabitants. They were purely political phenomena which for the most part emerged during the darkest period in the history of the German Empire and they represented both cause and effect in that, process of exhaustion and partition of our Fatherland.

The constitution of the old Reich took all this into account, at least to a certain degree, in so far as the individual states were not accorded equal representation in the Federal Council, but a representation proportionate to their respective areas, their actual importance and the role which they played in the formation of the Reich.

Only in very few cases can it be asserted that the sovereign rights which the individual states renounced in order to render possible the foundation of the Reich were ceded voluntarily, since, for the most part, they did not exist in reality. In other instances they were simply done away with under the pressure exerted by the more powerful Prussia.

The principle followed by Bismarck was not, to give to the Reich what he could take from the individual states, but to demand from the individual states only what was absolutely necessary for the Reich. A moderate and wise policy!

On the one, hand, Bismarck showed the greatest regard for customs and traditions; on the other hand his policy secured for the new Reich, from its foundation onwards, a great measure of love and willing co-operation.

It would, however, be a fundamental error to attribute Bismarck's decision to any conviction on his part that the Reich had thus acquired such rights of sovereignty as would suffice for all time. That was far from being Bismarck's idea.

On the contrary, he wished to leave it to the future to settle what would be difficult to carry through at the moment and might not have been readily agreed to by the individual states. He trusted to the levelling effect of time and to the pressure exercised by the process of evolution, the steady action of which appeared to him more effective than an attempt to break the resistance

which the individual states offered at the moment.

By adopting this policy, he showed his mastery of the art of statesmanship. As a matter of fact, the sovereignty of the Reich has continually increased at the cost of the sovereignty of the individual states.

The passing of time has achieved what Bismarck hoped it would. The German collapse and the abolition of the monarchical form of government necessarily hastened this development.

The German federal states, which had not been grounded on ethnological foundations, but arose rather out of political conditions, were bound to lose their importance the moment the monarchical form of government and the dynasties connected with it were abolished. For it was to the spirit inherent in these that the individual states owed their political origin and development.

Thus deprived of their internal *raison d'être*, many of these petty states renounced all right to survival and were induced for purely practical reasons to fuse with their neighbours, or else they joined the more powerful states of their own free will.

This proved in a striking manner how extraordinarily frail was the actual sovereignty these small states enjoyed, and it proved too, how lightly they were esteemed by their own citizens.

Though the abolition of the monarchical regime and its representatives had dealt the federal character of the Reich a hard blow, still more destructive, from the federal point of view, was the acceptance of the obligations that resulted from the 'peace' treaty.

It was only natural and logical that the federal states should lose all sovereign control over their finances, the moment the Reich, in consequence of a lost war, was subjected to financial obligations which could never have been met by means of individual agreements concluded with the individual states.

The subsequent steps which led the Reich to take over the postal services and railways were the inevitable result of the enslavement of our people which had begun with the peace treaties.

The Reich was forced to obtain sole possession of more and more resources, in order to be in a position to meet the obligations resulting from increased extortion.

The form in which the powers of the Reich were thus extended to embrace the federal states was often ridiculously stupid, but in itself the procedure was logical and natural.

The blame for this must be laid at the door of those men and those parties that failed in the hour of need to concentrate all their energies in an effort to bring the War to a victorious issue.

The guilt lies with those parties which, especially in Bavaria, catered for their own egotistic interests during the War, and refused to the Reich what the Reich had to requisition in a tenfold greater measure when the War was lost. The retribution of history!

Rarely has the vengeance of Heaven followed so closely on the crime, as it did in this case. Those same parties which, a few years previously, placed the interests of their own states—especially in Bavaria—before those of the Reich, had now to look on passively while the pressure of events forced the Reich, in its own interests, to abolish the existence of the individual states. They were the victims of their own defaults.

It is an unparalleled act of hypocrisy to complain to the electorate (for it is only to the electorate that our contemporary parties address their propaganda) of the loss suffered by the individual states in being deprived of certain of their sovereign powers, while, at the same time, these selfsame parties vied with each other in pursuing a policy of favouring the fulfilment of the Versailles obligations—a policy of which the final outcome will be a profound alteration in the internal structure of the Reich.

Bismarck's Reich was free and unhampered by any obligations towards the outside world. Bismarck's Reich never had to shoulder such heavy and entirely unproductive obligations as those imposed on Germany under the Dawes Plan.

Even at home the authority of Bismarck's Reich was confined to dealing with only a few absolutely essential matters. It was, therefore, possible for the Reich to dispense with the necessity for financial control over the federal states and to live on their contributions.

It goes without saying that, on the one hand, the preservation of certain of their sovereign rights and, on the other, the relatively small financial tribute which the federal states had to pay to the Reich induced them to welcome its

existence. But it is untrue and unfair to state now, as certain propagandists do that the federal states were antagonistic to the Reich merely because of their financial subjection to it. That is not the true state of affairs. The lack of sympathy for the political idea embodied in the Reich is not due to the loss of sovereign rights on the part of the individual states.

It is much more the result of the deplorable fashion in which the present regime acts as the representative of the German people.

Despite all the celebrations in honour of the national flag and the constitution, the present Reich has failed to arouse the enthusiasm of any section of the people and the Law for the Protection of the Republic may prevent outrages against republican institutions, but it will not gain the devotion of one single German.

The excessive care displayed by the Republic in attempting to protect itself against its own citizens by means of laws and sentences of imprisonment, constitutes the most damning and most humiliating criticism of all republican institutions as such.

For yet another reason it is untrue to say, as certain parties do to-day, that the waning popularity of the Reich is due to its encroachment upon certain sovereign rights which the individual states had heretofore enjoyed.

Supposing the Reich had not extended its authority over the individual states, there is no reason to believe that it would find more favour among those states, if the general obligations remained as heavy as they now are.

On the contrary, if the individual states to-day had to pay contributions to the amount required by the Reich in order to fulfil the provisions of the dictates designed to reduce Germany to slavery, the hostility towards the Reich would be infinitely greater.

For then not only would it prove difficult to collect the respective contributions due to the Reich from the federal states, but coercive methods would have to be employed in making the collections.

The Republic, having accepted the peace treaties and having neither the courage nor the intention to break them, must reckon with the obligations which the peace treaties have imposed on it.

The responsibility for this situation lies solely with those parties who

preach unceasingly to the patient electoral masses the necessity of maintaining the autonomy of the federal states, while at the same time they advocate and demand that the Reich should pursue a policy which must necessarily lead to the suppression of even the very last of those so-called 'sovereign' rights.

I say 'necessarily' because the present Reich has no other possible means of bearing the burden of charges which an insane domestic and foreign policy have laid on it.

The wedge is being driven ever deeper and every new debt which the Reich contracts, through the criminal way in which the interests of Germany are represented *vis-à-vis* foreign countries, necessitates the exertion of fresh and stronger pressure at home. This again entails the progressive abolition of all the sovereign rights of the individual states in order to prevent the germs of opposition from becoming active or even from coming into being.

The chief characteristic difference between the policy of the present Reich and that of former times lies in this: The old Reich gave freedom to its people at home and showed itself strong towards the outside world, whereas the Republic shows itself weak towards the foreigner and oppresses its own citizens at home.

In both cases one attitude determines the other. A vigorous national state does not need to make many laws for the interior, because of the affection and loyalty of its citizens.

The international servile state can live only by coercing its citizens to render it the services it demands, and it is a piece of impudence for the present regime to speak of 'free citizens.'

They existed only in the Germany that is gone. The present Republic is a colony of slaves at the beck and call of the foreigner. At best it has subjects, but not citizens.

Hence it does not possess a national emblem, but only a trade mark, introduced and protected by official decrees and legislative measures.

This symbol, which is the Gessler's cap of German Democracy, will always remain alien to our people.

The Republic having no sense of tradition or respect for past greatness, dragged the emblem of the past in the mire, but it will be surprised to discover

one day how superficial is the devotion of its subjects to their own emblems. The Republic has given itself the character of an *intermezzo* in German history.

This State is bound to restrict the sovereign rights of the individual states more and more, not only for general reasons of a financial character, but also on principle, for by enforcing a policy of financial blackmail. In order to squeeze the last ounce of substance out of its people, it is forced also to deprive them of their last remaining rights, lest the general discontent may one day flare up into open rebellion.

We National Socialists would reverse this formula and would adopt the following fundamental principle: A strong national Reich which in its foreign policy represents and protects the interests of its citizens in the highest possible degree can allow freedom to reign at home without trembling for the safety of the State.

On the other hand, a strong national government can encroach to a considerable degree on the liberties of the individual subject as well as on the liberties of the constituent states without thereby weakening the ideal of the Reich; and it is justified in so doing, if in these particular acts and measures the individual citizen recognises a means of promoting the prestige of the nation as a whole. It is a fact that the tendency in every state throughout the world is towards uniformity, and Germany will prove no exception in this respect.

Even to-day it is absurd to talk of the sovereignty of individual states because this has already become impossible on account of the ridiculously small size of so many of these states.

In the sphere of commerce, as well as in that of administration, the importance of the individual states has been steadily decreasing.

Modern means of communication and mechanical progress have gradually reduced distance and space. What was once a state is to-day only a province and the territory covered by a modern state had once the importance of a continent.

The purely technical difficulties connected with the administration of a State like Germany are not greater than those connected with the government of a province like Brandenburg a hundred and twenty years ago.

To-day it is easier to cover the distance from Munich to Berlin than it

was to cover the distance from Munich to Starnberg a hundred years ago. Thanks to modern means of transport, the whole territory of the Reich to-day is smaller than that of certain German federal states at the time of the Napoleonic wars.

To close one's eyes to the consequences of these facts is to live in the past. There always were, there are, and always will be, men who do this. They may retard, but they cannot stop the wheels of history.

We National Socialists must not close our eyes to the logical consequences of these facts. Here again we must not permit ourselves to be misled by the hollow phrases of our so-called national bourgeois parties.

I say 'hollow phrases,' because these same parties do not seriously believe that it is possible for them to carry out their proposals, and because they themselves are chiefly responsible for the present state of affairs.

Especially in Bavaria, the demand for de-centralisation is no more than a party move behind which there is no serious resolve.

Whenever these parties had to pass from the realm of phrase-making into that of practical deeds they failed miserably. On every occasion on which the Reich 'robbed' the Bavarian State 'of sovereign rights,' it met with no real resistance apart from a senseless and revolting outcry.

Indeed, when anyone seriously opposed the madness that was shown in carrying out this system of centralisation he was condemned by those same parties as disloyal to the present State.

They slandered, condemned and persecuted him until he was either shut up in prison or illegally deprived of the right of public speech.

These facts should serve to convince our followers of the profound hypocrisy which characterizes these so-called federalist circles. To a certain extent they use the federalist doctrine just as they use religion-merely as a means of promoting their own base party interests.

A certain uniformity, especially in the field of transport appears logical. But we National Socialists feel it our duty to oppose with all our might such a development in the modern State, especially when the measures proposed are solely for the purposes of screening and rendering possible a disastrous foreign policy.

Just because the present Reich has undertaken the nationalisation of the railways, the postal and telegraph services, the finances, etc., not from the elevated standpoint of national politics, but in order to have in its hands the means and security for the execution of a policy of unrestricted fulfilment of its pledges, we National Socialists must take every step that seems suitable to obstruct and, if possible, to prevent such a policy.

We must fight against the present system of centralising institutions that are vitally important for the existence of our people, because this system is being adopted solely to facilitate the payment of milliards and the transference of pledges to the foreigner in accordance with our post-war foreign policy. For this reason the National Socialist Movement has to take up a stand against any such attempt.

A second reason why we must oppose such centralisation is because in domestic affairs it helps to reinforce a system of government which in all its manifestations has brought the greatest misfortunes on the German nation.

The present Jewish-Democratic Reich, which has become a veritable curse to the German people, is seeking to negate the force of the criticism offered by all the federal states which have not yet become imbued with the spirit of the age, and is trying to carry out this policy by reducing them to complete insignificance.

We National Socialists, on the other hand, have every reason for attempting not only to establish the opposition of those individual states on the basis of a constitutional force which promises to be successful, but to make their struggle against centralisation as a whole the expression of higher national German interests in a wide sense.

Therefore, while the Bavarian People's Party, acting from its own narrow and particularist standpoint, fights to maintain the 'special rights' of the Bavarian state, we must utilise this particular attitude in the service of higher national interests which are at variance with those of the November Democracy.

A third reason for opposing a centralising process of that kind arises from the certain conviction that to a great extent this so-called 'Reichisation' does not make for unification at all and still less for simplification.

In many cases it is adopted simply as a means of removing from the

sovereign control of the individual states certain institutions and of placing these in the hands of the revolutionary parties. Never in the course of German history has flagrant favouritism played so great a part as in the democratic republic. A great deal of this mania for centralisation is the work of those parties which once promised that they would open the way for the promotion of talent, intending thereby to fill posts and offices entirely with their own partisans.

Since the foundation of the Republic the Jews especially have been obtaining positions in the economic institutions taken over by the Reich and also positions in the national administration, so that the one and the other have become the preserves of Jewry.

For tactical reasons, this last consideration obliges us to watch with the greatest attention any further move in the direction of centralisation and fight it at every step.

But in doing this our standpoint must always be that of a lofty national policy and never of pettifogging particularism.

This last observation is necessary, lest the opinion might gain ground among our own followers that we do not accredit to the Reich the right of incorporating in itself a sovereignty which is superior to that of the constituent states.

As regards this right we cannot, and must not, entertain the slightest doubt. Since for us the State is nothing but a vessel and its contents (that is to say, the nation, the people) the essential factor, it is clear that every other interest must be subordinated to the supreme interests of the nation.

In particular, we cannot accredit to any other state a sovereign power and sovereign rights within the confines of the nation and the Reich, which represents the nation.

The absurdity which some federal states commit by maintaining ‘representatives’ abroad and among themselves must, and will, cease.

Until this happens we cannot be surprised if certain foreign countries are dubious about the political unity of the Reich and act accordingly.

The absurdity of these ‘representatives’ is all the greater because they do harm and do not yield the slightest advantage. If the interests of a German

abroad cannot be protected by the minister of the Reich, how much less can they be protected by the minister of some small federal state which appears ridiculous in the framework of the present world-order?

The real truth is that these small federal states are envisaged as points of attack in connection with any attempt to bring about disintegration, engineered either from within or from without the German Reich, which attempts are always pleasing to a certain foreign State.

We National Socialists must not allow some noble but degenerate family to obtain for one of its semi-moribund scions a ministerial post abroad with the idea that he might thrive in pastures new.

Even in the days of the old Reich our diplomatic representatives abroad were such a sorry lot that further experiments of that kind are highly undesirable. It is certain that in the future the importance of the individual states will be transferred to the sphere of our cultural policy.

Ludwig I, the monarch who did most to make Bavaria an important centre was not an obstinate particularist with anti-German tendencies, but was as much devoted to the ideal of a greater Germany as he was to art.

His first consideration was to use the powers of the state to develop the cultural position of Bavaria and not its political power and in doing this he produced better and more durable results than if he had followed any other line of conduct.

Up to this time Munich was a provincial capital of no great importance, but he transformed it into the metropolis of German art and by doing so he made it an intellectual centre which even to-day binds Franconia to Bavaria, though the Franconians are of quite a different temperament.

If Munich had remained as it was formerly, what has happened in Saxony would have been repeated in Bavaria, with the difference that Nürnberg, the Bavarian counterpart of Leipzig, would have become, not a Bavarian, but a Franconian, city.

It was not the cry of 'Down with Prussia' that made Munich great. What made this a city of importance was that the King wished to present it to the German nation as an artistic masterpiece that had to be seen to be appreciated, and it was both seen and appreciated. Therein lies a lesson for the future.

The importance of the individual states in the future will no longer lie in their political or constitutional power.

I look on them rather as important Germanic ethnological and cultural political centres, but even here, time will perform its levelling work. Modern travelling facilities shuffle people together in such a way that tribal boundaries will fade out and even the cultural picture is gradually beginning to assume a more uniform pattern.

The Army must definitely be kept clear of the influence of the individual states. The coming National Socialist State must not fall back into the error of the past by imposing on the Army a task which is not within its sphere and should never be assigned to it.

The German Army is not meant to be a school for the preservation of provincial idiosyncrasies, but a school in which all Germans will learn to understand and adapt themselves to each other's ways.

Whatever tends to have a separating influence in the life of the nation ought to be made a unifying influence in the Army.

The Army must raise the German boy above the narrow horizon of his own little native province and make him conscious that he is part of the nation.

The youth must learn to know, not the confines of his own district, but those of his Fatherland, because it is the latter that he will have to defend one day.

It is, therefore, absurd to have the German youth do his military training in his own native district. During that period he ought to learn to know Germany. This is all the more important to-day, since young Germans no longer travel during their years of apprenticeship as they once used to do, thus enlarging their horizon.

In view of this, is it not absurd to leave the young Bavarian recruit in Munich, the Franconian in Nürnberg, the recruit from Baden in Karlsruhe, the Wurtemberger at Stuttgart and so on?

Would it not be more sensible to show the Bavarian the Rhine and the North Sea, the native of Hamburg the Alps and the lad from East Prussia the mountains of Central Germany?

The character proper to each region ought to be maintained in the troops, but not in the barracks. We may disapprove of every attempt to achieve uniformity, but not as regards the Army. On the contrary, even if we were opposed to any such tendency, we would be bound to welcome it in this specific case, apart from the fact that, in view of the size of the present Army of the Reich, it would be absurd to maintain federal divisions.

Moreover, we regard the uniformity which has been achieved in the Reich Army as something which we must retain even in future when we re-establish the national Army.

Finally, a new and triumphant ideal should burst every chain which tends to paralyse its activity in promoting its ideas.

National Socialism must claim the right to impose its principles on the whole German nation, without regard to what were hitherto the confines of federal states.

We must educate the German nation in our ideology and principles. As the Churches do not feel themselves bound or limited by political frontiers, so the National Socialist ideology cannot be confined to any of the federal states which constitute our Fatherland.

The National Socialist doctrine is not meant to serve the political interests of the individual federal states, but to dominate the whole German nation.

It must determine the life of the whole people and shape that life anew. For this reason we must imperatively demand the right to overstep boundaries that have been traced by a political development which we repudiate.

The more complete the triumph of the National Socialist ideology, the greater will be the liberty which it can concede to the individual within the State.

