

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION
OF THE *AUFBAU*

THIS work is the first attempt at a complete transformation of German life in the sense of that mighty revolution which has been going on under our eyes since 1914. It is, in a sense, an account of the structure of the new crystal whose coming we foresee, whose forms we can deduce from the nature of the lye, from the forces that animate it, and the laws under which it works.

This remark exemplifies both the defects and the merits of such an attempt. The precise thinker would like to be shown finality, with every detail made manifest, and a timetable accurately drawn. But we are dealing with organic processes which defy accuracy of this sort. We recognize that organic processes are subject to their own internal laws, and it is from these that issue the forms which are predictable in accordance therewith. The better acquainted we are with these laws, the more fully will our predictions be confirmed by the reality. We conservative revolutionaries (for thus do I and my friends regard ourselves) are always aware that the organic process is primary, and that our schemata can be no more than sketches of what will go on within that process. In other words, when there is a conflict between life and a plan, life is always right, and the plan must be modified to suit it.

Despite these provisos and limitations, it seems expedient to draft our plan, for this will help to explain and give a meaning to what has been happening since 1914, and to all the sacrifices of wealth and blood that have been demanded of the German people during these eighteen years. It will console us, will encourage us to bear the last years of the transition, will give

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us strength to further the new developments; for awareness of what is happening, when it comes to countless Germans, will give them a sense of purpose which can accelerate the changes and make the sacrifices seem less onerous. The clearer the grasp of the direction and the better the preparations, the less resistance will there be, and the smaller the sacrifices.

It seems to us as if the tediousness of the process we term the German Revolution were an indication given by fate that the German people must systematically and deliberately prepare for the revolution, must recognize that the sacrifices of wealth and blood demanded are not more than the organism of the German people (no longer very young) can properly be expected to bear, and that the last violent act of birth can be achieved with a minimal loss of energy.

That is how the author and his friends contemplate the German situation, and they believe it to be incumbent on them to explain what they have learned from the last two decades of German history, to indicate the nature of the trend which discloses itself — and to show how its fulfilment offers the only way of restoring health to the German people. To promote such a restoration of health must assuredly be the aim of German policy.

Berlin.

Autumn, 1931.

APPENDIX II

POSTFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION OF THE *AUFBAU*

WITHIN the narrow framework of a sketch of the upbuilding of German socialism I have tried to give an account of the new order whose establishment will supply a meaning to all the sacrifices of the last two decades. I know only too well that many important details have been omitted, but I trust that the intelligent reader will be able to fill in the gaps for himself.

There is one question I have intentionally refrained from trying to answer — how realization should be or can be secured. Even when the question has been mooted, it will be plain from the (repeatedly stressed) organic nature of the process that the answer cannot be a simple one.

Still, some parts of the answer are concrete enough. Necessarily the change will occur by way of revolution. All organic new-formation demands, in the last resort, a violent act — as is seen plainly enough in birth, though here the new-formation has been completed some time before. In our view, then, the violent act is not the beginning but the end of the revolution, the end of the reconstruction of the feelings, the thoughts, and the will of the Germans.

Another signpost on this road to the German Revolution is that a system can never be overthrown by the tools belonging to that system, but only by the tools that belong to the coming system, the one destined to be victorious. He, therefore, who uses liberal weapons to defeat a liberal system, will inevitably fail. Practical political consequences of this view are that we must ruthlessly oppose any democratic choice, any participation in a coalition with the old system, any opportunist attempt

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to maintain a portion of the system or one of its essential measures.

Of great importance, finally, is it to recognize that this revolution will not be made by the masses, but by a small number of persons who are ready to take risks, who have in their minds a clear picture of the new order, who are sufficiently self-sacrificing and sufficiently pugnacious to stake their lives in the hope of making their picture a reality.

This demands strength of character; readiness to endure solitude, persecution, mental and spiritual isolation. Unless the would-be revolutionist is prepared, as were Lenin and his associates, to risk exile or a long term in Siberia, fate will not hold him worthy to share responsibility for establishing the new order.

It is my daily prayer that great numbers of Germans see this and possess the required energy, so that at length there may be established in Germany the new order on behalf of which millions of the best of my fellow-countrymen have died.

Hail Germany!

APPENDIX III

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE *AUFBAU*

NEARLY five years have passed since the first edition of this book was published.

They have been eventful years: and Adolf Hitler's rise to power on January 30, 1933, substantially forms part of the contents of my book.

It is obvious that the second edition might pay heed to many other happenings which five years ago were not so manifest as was the likelihood of Hitler's rise. If, nevertheless, little change has been needed in the second edition, this shows the general accuracy of our view of the German Revolution, and amounts to a proof of the conformity of history to law — a notion that was embodied in our Philosophical Foundations.

The purpose of this book having been to draft the Structure of German Socialism, i.e. to give a design for the New Germany (as part of what will certainly be a New Europe), polemic was needless, just as little as an architect is disposed to argue about or find justifications for this or that detail of his drawings of a new cathedral (except where argument may be needed to clear up some otherwise doubtful point).

No, what was necessary, now and again, was to show that the draft paid due heed to extant data, and yet solved all the important problems that arose. Also it was important that the author should make his meaning clear, even as an architect must clearly show what he is planning to build. But the architect is not concerned with the question whether those who examine his plans will agree with him in every detail.

Of course such a method of demonstration involves a certain coldness, a lack of impetus, a dryness of exposition. But one

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who, beyond the details, can see the great aim, one who bears within his own mind a vision of the cathedral of German socialism, one who feels the rhythm of life that pulsates beneath the abundance of social and economic details — such a one will grasp the essential spirituality of a dry architectural design, and will gain thereby the will-to-action without which knowledge and experience are no better than a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

It is the will-to-action that transforms such a design as this from 'words, words, words' into a play of motive forces, and sounds a fanfare that induces all those who wish to mould the future to get together and start building the cathedral, New Germany, New Europe.

Prague.

Spring, 1936.

APPENDIX IV

POSTFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE *AUFBAU*

THE postface to the second edition of this book cannot content itself with generalities like those of the postface to the first edition, but must start from the fact of the Hitler System, and show the downfall of that system to be an indispensable preliminary to German socialism.

There has been no change in my general attitude to the Hitler System and to the party which sustains it. As I explained in my book *Die deutsche Bartholomäusnacht* [the German Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Reso-Verlag, Zurich, 1935], the Hitler System represents the (transient) Gironde epoch of the German Revolution, the interlude of revolutionary feelings and reactionary forms, which arises spontaneously out of a progressive internal radicalization, and thereby (mostly by a detour into war) clears the ground for an epoch of revolutionary construction.

This observation supplies the task, the strategy, and the tactics of the German socialists as against the Hitler System. With uncompromising energy and with any and every means (other than those which might run counter to their own ideas), and with unswerving resolution, they must work for the overthrow of the Hitler System.

The decisive point is that this struggle can only be successful if, and in so far as, they have recognized and solved the urgent economic, social, and cultural problems. Hitler was only possible and inevitable because these urgent problems had not been solved — and Hitler will fall because he, too, has not solved them.

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It behoves us to effect the overthrow of the Hitler System; it behoves us, therefore, above all, to solve these urgent problems, and thus to inaugurate a new epoch of German and European history, whose business it is to give human life once more a meaning and a goal.

APPENDIX V

DANGER OF THE PARTITION OF GERMANY

[Translation of the first January issue in 1937 of 'Die deutsche Revolution', a bi-monthly issued as the organ of the Black Front, edited by Otto Strasser, published (then) in Prague and Copenhagen.]

DANGER OF THE PARTITION OF GERMANY

THE Hitler System will bring war, and war will bring the partition of Germany, unless a Socialist Revolution in Germany comes in time to prevent it.

With deep concern all patriotic Germans watch the opening of 1937, for their observations convince them that this will be a crucial year.

The Hitler System is, with inevitable consistency, being driven towards the end, along the road it entered on June 30, 1934 [the date of the Blood Bath].

Before this, Hitler had not yet made his choice between the two alternatives that were open to him at the beginning of that year — Socialist Revolution and Fascist War — which from the first were implicit in the nature, the theory, and the practice of the Hitler System.

On June 30, 1934, this system entered the bloody road leading to war, for by the murder of the advocates of the second revolution Adolf Hitler blocked the path that would have led to German socialism. The question whether in this matter he was driver or driven is of little consequence to our political judgment.

Since then, with somnambulist confidence, he has been

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advancing towards war, whose successive stages — armament, compulsory military service, the fortification of Rhineland, Danzig, two years' army service, the treaty between Germany and Japan — are still fresh in all men's memories.

However just and necessary it was and is, for the sake of our national freedom and the future of Germany, to shake off the fetters of the Treaty of Versailles, it was and is no less unreasonable and criminal to adopt and advocate German imperialism in place of the imperialism of those who coerced us in 1919.

Apart from the fact that one injustice is not overcome by substituting for it another injustice, every glance at German and European history shows that a forcible dictatorship will neither bring freedom and safety to our own nation, nor peace and unity to Europe.

The freedom and safety of Germany, the peace and unity of Europe are not attainable by means of the old methods of brute force, but only by means of the ideas of a new order.

The ideas that will bring about the new order that is vital to a better future and essential to our very lives are the ideas of the German Revolution, the ideas of:

National Freedom,
Social Justice,
European Collaboration.

The Hitler System's betrayal of the German Revolution is, historically and personally, a crime committed by those who now rule Germany.

It is also the source of the terrible danger which threatens Germany like a colossal nightmare, imperilling both its existence as a State and its future as a nation.

For Hitler's decision to enter the road that leads to war, his reversion to the aims and methods of Prussian reactionary capitalism and imperialism, have conjured up a new worldwide coalition against Germany — a coalition whose deadly encirclement has once already led to a complete collapse of our country.

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The almost insuperable severance of the German people from the world, the systematic leading of the populace astray by a fiendishly vertiginous propaganda, has hidden the real nature of the present situation. That situation is, in plain words, the following:

Should war ensue, no matter why or on what fronts, Germany will be faced by a worldwide coalition, led by England, France, Russia, and the Little Entente, while America, Poland, the Balkan Entente, and the Baltic Entente will constitute a reserve that will never decide for Germany, but in case of need will fight against her.

Of the reputed allies of Germany (Japan, Italy, Hungary, and Austria), it is possible that Japan will fulfil her pledges, will, that is to say, seize the chance, during the European complications, of strengthening her own position in the Far East; while the other powers named, with Italy at their head, will (in their own interest and from a sense of responsibility) remain neutral, especially during the decisive first weeks of the war.

Thus the result of the fateful and blind foreign policy of the Hitler System has been to establish a situation which, even though the German army should fight heroically and the German people prove ready for any sacrifices (provisos which, in existing circumstances, can by no means be relied upon), must inevitably result in the defeat of Germany.

Now what can this inevitable defeat of Germany mean other than the end of its political and economic independence, the end of its existence as a State. In a word, what can it mean other than the partition of Germany?

After losing a second World War, after a second Treaty of Versailles, there would only remain a powerless and disintegrated Germany, consisting of three or four dependent monarchies wholly subject to the dictatorial control of the victors.

In view of this situation, whose gravity makes us, the champions of the German Revolution, feel profoundly responsible, we have but one task:

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To make an end of the Hitler System before it has destroyed Germany.

Every patriotic German, every German socialist above all, must recognize that Germany's life and future can only be safeguarded by making an end of the Hitler System before Germany is defeated.

Today to many of our fellow-countrymen these words, these perspectives, appear to be the outcome of needless panic; and perhaps the result of a phobia against the system, inspired by the morbid hate that fills refugees.

But tomorrow, when this forecast has been shockingly fulfilled, every German who loves his country and its people, every German nationalist and every German socialist, will be aware that the warnings of the Black Front have been and are justifiable, and all will echo our war-cry:

Down with the Hitler System before Germany is defeated.

Every officer of the Reich, every manual worker, every intellectual, and every peasant will then have to choose between Hitler and Germany, and we know that they will choose Germany.

Only in that case will the overthrow of the system be achieved without causing the defeat of Germany; and to the foreign governments and their peoples we urgently proclaim: 'A new Versailles could mean nothing but a fresh disaster for us and for you, since never will Germany renounce her unity and her freedom.'

But the guarantees that Europe will demand from Germany will be: in the negative sense, the overthrow of the Hitler System; and in the positive sense, the upbuilding of German socialism and the establishment of a European Federation.

The Black Front adjures the German people and the peoples of Europe to cling, before the war, during the war, and after the war, to these three aims:

National Freedom,
Social Justice,
European Collaboration.

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NO GERMAN BLOOD FOR SPAIN

(Appeal of the Black Front to the German People)

Fellow-countrymen:

The rumours which for weeks have been spreading through Germany have of late been abundantly confirmed.

The Hitler System is selling more and more German soldiers, as mercenaries, to the Spanish generals.

Thousands upon thousands of young fellows, the best blood of Germany, are being shipped abroad, where they are fighting and dying, not to promote the national interests and the historical greatness of Germany, but on behalf of the reactionary party in a foreign civil war.

We accuse the Hitler System of this misuse of State authority, this squandering of irreplaceable national values. We accuse the Hitler System of deliberately injuring the German people, under the influence of partisan blindness and in the idiotic pursuit of prestige.

We ourselves do not take a side in the Spanish civil war. Just as we should repudiate any attempt by foreign powers to interfere in the home affairs of Germany, and would strenuously resist any invasion of our country by foreign mercenaries, so do we repudiate any German intervention in the home affairs of Spain, and most emphatically protest against the recruiting and use of German mercenaries on behalf of non-German interests.

This attitude, which must be a matter of principle for every sincere German nationalist, is reinforced by the fact that the German soldiers now being exported to Spain by the Hitler System are to be used there in favour of an economic and political reaction of the kind we ourselves have had to contend with for decades here in Germany, and to fight which is one of the main objects of genuine national socialism.

In its foreign policy of alliance with the Spanish reaction, the Hitler System is but reiterating its home policy of alliance with

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the German reaction — a policy that led to the German Massacre of St. Bartholomew on June 30, 1934, and to the betrayal of German socialism.

National and socialist considerations make the fight against the sending of German troops to Spain one of the most important duties of every genuine National Socialist.

The Black Front therefore calls upon all true Germans, and especially upon all who belong to the Reichswehr, the S.S. [Storm-Guards], and the S.A. [Storm-Troops] to resist in every possible way this anti-national and anti-socialist policy of the Hitler System, under the slogans:

No German Blood for Spain,
Hail Germany.

On behalf of the German Black Front,
Otto Strasser

A CALL TO ARMS

(Watchword for the New Year, by Otto Strasser)

For two years the policy of the Hitler System has profited by the torpidity that seized poor old Europe after the consternating experiences of 1933. The system deliberately availed itself of the dread inspired by the prospect of a German Revolution, of the National Socialist renovation and renaissance of the German people, to stupefy capitalist Europe and scare it into inert neutrality. But this torpidity necessarily passed off, the spell was necessarily broken, when the alleged German Revolution disclosed itself to be no more than a desperate attempt on the part of the dominant classes to ensnare, slow down, strangle the revolution. The plainer it became to the governments of the victors of 1919 that the Hitler-Schacht-Goering-System lacked the inspiration of the revolutionary idea, that the wind of the revolutionary storm had blown over, that there was no genuinely

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creative revolutionary conception to animate the Continent, the more resolutely did they prepare for defence. When, after June 30, 1934, it became increasingly obvious to them that Hitler was playing the same cards as those which other statesmen had played before and were now playing beside him; that armaments, alliances, devices and momentary feints, opportunist combinations and veiled intrigues, were merely the pawns of his statecraft; but that he was nowise moved by a great idea able to revolutionize the old world, to procreate a new order in political and other human affairs, characterized by new laws and competent to produce new forms — the masters of old Europe, recognizing in Hitler a sprig of their own world (degenerate, perhaps, and declassed, but still endeavouring to maintain the dominance of the bourgeoisie), saw that he was merely fighting them with familiar weapons on the familiar battlefield, and they prepared more vigorously than ever to resist.

Against the alliances of the Hitler System its adversaries first established the Franco-Russian Alliance which had nothing in common with bolshevism and communism, with Marxism and the revolution, but was merely a revival of the league, formed in 1894 and broken in 1917, between the two powers lying to the West and to the East against the hegemony of Central Europe.

The systematic consolidation of the Little Entente and the greater attention now paid by France to possible allies on the margin of Central Europe, with the resumption of cordial relations between France and Poland, were further stages of the defence against Hitler's policy of armament and treaty revision. But much the most dangerous measure was the systematic rearmament of Great Britain and the whole British Empire. During the years 1933-1936, nothing but the military weakness of England made it possible for Italian and German imperialism to achieve notable advances, and created situations in which England showed herself inert, or masked inertness by a badly simulated inattention towards the demand for treaty revision

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and the pugnacity of the other side. By now, in the beginning of 1937, England is getting ready to utter decisive words in international policy.

In order to set off the increasing activity of Western Europe, in 1936 Hitler and Mussolini began a counterstroke in Spain. The enterprise initiated by Generals Sanjurjo and Franco in July of that year (an enterprise they would never have ventured at that time unless they had come to an understanding with Berlin and Rome) was designed as a preventive occupation of what was ideologically, politically, and from the military standpoint the weakest point of Western Europe and of a future Franco-British coalition; it was a stab in the back for France, a preparation for a naval campaign against Britain. Actually for the time being the affair seemed to bode well for the interventionists. England was hampered by a dislike (based upon private capitalist interests) for the prospect of socialization of the Spanish mines, disinclined for anything that might lead to the U.S.S.R. getting established in the Western Mediterranean, and, being still only in the earlier stages of rearmament, again pretended to be blind and deaf, and let the reins drop. France, under the rule of the comparatively unstable popular front, could venture nothing without British aid. Russia, at first, was as neutral as the western powers. The generals, armed by Italy and Germany, were able to drive back the badly equipped and imperfectly trained militia of the Spanish government. A triumph of the Berlineses and of the Italian revisionary policy seemed assured. After three months, however, at long last, Russia began to intervene. Whether Moscow is moved by idealist promptings, stirred up by the internal pressure of the still unsettled struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism, and wants to prevent the Spanish generals from gaining a complete victory, or is perhaps alarmed by the prospect of a political and military display on the Western European anti-Hitler front, it may be hard to decide. Anyhow the U.S.S.R. has intervened sufficiently in Spain to keep the fires of the civil war still burning

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briskly in mid-winter, so that a powerful reaction against the rebels remains possible. The military critics speak of what is going on in Spain as a 'Trial War', in which the soldiers of the great powers are fighting one another, and testing their up-to-date weapons. This remarkable civil war, fought on Spanish soil between Europeans of diverse nationalities under the command of Russian, German, and Italian officers, and using Russian, German, and Italian weapons, may develop into a general European war at any moment this year.

Hitler, who since 1934 has been captive of his own delusion, continues to believe that he has saved Europe from bolshevism, and that the nations of Europe are waiting for him to lead them upon an anti-Russian crusade, fancies that he could not find a more suitable occasion for war than this Spanish adventure. In his lunacy he overlooks the fact that between, on the one hand, the anti-bolshevik moods of the petty bourgeoisie, which throughout Europe sympathizes with the Spanish rebels, and, on the other, the motives which might induce the French, the British, and not least the Italian governments to allow themselves to be led into a decisive conflict, there lies all which he — the 'cork' of the revolution, the barometer of the German petty bourgeoisie, the idol of the masses, driven not driving, sentimentalist and somnambulist, no more than a pseudo-leader — is fundamentally incapable of understanding. The German generals understand well enough, and for weeks at Berchtesgaden have been fighting desperately against the Spanish adventure.

Whereas Mussolini continues to keep paths of withdrawal open, and should matters grow threatening would probably try to detach the fate of Italy from the fate of Germany, Hitler, mimicking the most preposterous fidelity, continues before all the world, through the mouth of Ward Price, to give General Franco pledges to the effect that Franco's cause is his own, and that no defeat of the Burgos government will be allowed. He really believes himself to be fighting against bolshevism and the

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popular front, and that the possible fall of Blum might induce France to take the side of Franco. But the very opposite is true, is absolutely certain. If Blum were to be replaced by Mandel, Chautemps, Pétain, any statesman of the Centre or the Right, France's attitude would only be stiffened, and it would become easier for Russia to invoke the aid of the Franco-Russian Alliance.

This winter Hitler's difficulties at home will be intensified to a pitch beyond anything that has been witnessed during the last few years, for they can only be paralleled by those of Germany, during the last war, between 1916 and 1918. For whereas in 1935 and 1936, after a difficult winter it was possible without serious risk to open the safety-valve of foreign policy, in March 1937 this safety-valve will probably have to take the form of war.

That will not merely be a matter of Hitler's political choice, for military considerations will likewise be operative. So bad is the prognosis for Germany that at the last moment a preventive war will very probably be begun, simply because it will be impossible to compete any longer with the heaping-up of armaments which has been going on in France, Russia, and England. For reasons that have frequently been stated here, Germany cannot now cope with it if Stalin should increase his standing army by another third of a million, if he transfers a hundred thousand more workers to the munition factories, if he places a yet larger quantity of raw materials at the disposal of the Red Army. Germany will not be able to compete should France devote her considerable gold reserve to further technical improvements in the army or to the construction of the Maginot line. Germany will have to take a back seat if England conjures up out of the ground a thousand more airplanes, gigantic battleships, whole fleets of destroyers and swift cruisers, huge squadrons of tanks. More and more risky becomes Goering's blitzkrieg in view of the titanic camps that surround Germany with inexhaustible arsenals, etc. The generals, who have

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recently discountenanced a military adventure, will soon have to decide whether to down Hitler, or to join Hitler in a leap into the dark, to venture the unknown depths of a preventive war.

But to down Hitler means to open the doors for the second revolution. The generals will not do this so long as Blomberg is supreme. Germany's fate today rests with Blomberg, with the life-or-death powers which, under Hitler's patronage, have been entrusted to the three dictators, Goering, Schacht, and Blomberg. The enormous powers which Hitler has granted to his vassal Blomberg is the leaden weight that paralyses the once influential Reichswehr. No longer can the Reichswehr decide against Hitler and for Germany; or, rather, it could only do so after Blomberg's fall. More and more improbable is it that an evolutionary possibility will be found, and decision by war looms as a bitter necessity.

In this war the new home political fronts will soon appear. The overwhelming odds that will face Germany in the struggle, the inevitable desertion of her expected allies, 'betrayal' by those friends upon whom Hitler and the people (deceived by Goebbels) count, the disastrous defeats that will certainly await the German army after its effective opening manœuvres, become plainer than they were in 1914 after the catastrophe on the Marne — plainer and more fulminant, for Germany no longer has ample reserves of men and stores of munitions for years of campaigning. This discloses the true situation of the German people, and demands a clear decision from the nation. In view of the millions of soldiers who will march against Germany from east and west and south, overshadowed by the bombing squadrons that will scatter death and destruction upon our towns and factories, stifled and strangled by a blockade that will cut us off from three-fourths of the world and deprive us of the raw materials most indispensable to war, the German people will have to choose between perishing, on the one hand, or, on the other, overthrowing the present system, and, under

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the sign of socialist renaissance, seeking enrolment in the community of western nations.

For this reason Hitler's mobilization must also be the signal for our own. For this reason we call the people to arms when Hitler calls them. We call them against Hitler, against the murderous Angel of Death to whom Hitler sacrifices Germany's young men, against pestilence and fire to which he will deliver Germany's towns and fields. We summon the people on behalf of Germany, on behalf of socialism, and in order to save Europe. During these years that are pregnant with fate we shall have no illusions, and we shall take the inevitable course of declaring war against Hitler when Hitler declares war; and to our comrades who in a few months will have to take up arms, we now have but two words to say:

'Get ready.'

APPENDIX VI

HUTTENBRIEF

MANIFESTO OF THE BLACK FRONT TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE

[Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1533) was inspired throughout his short adult career by the aim of promoting a political and religious renaissance of Germany. His chief weapon was the pen, his chief medium consisted of letters, and he was probably one of the main authors of the famous *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*. His letters have become proverbial, and it was natural that the champions of the German Revolution in the twentieth century should claim to be speaking in the name of the man who laboured on behalf of a German — a European — Revolution four hundred years ago.]

GREGOR STRASSER, THE HARBINGER OF GERMAN SOCIALISM

ON June 30, 1934, was murdered by Goering's orders (though Adolf Hitler, in the notorious Reichstag speech of July 13, 1934, frankly proclaimed his own responsibility) the man who, in conjunction with Moeller van den Bruck, may be regarded as chief herald and pioneer of German socialism — Gregor Strasser.

Through him alone it was that millions of Germans of both sexes made acquaintance with the new idea of national socialism. Hundreds of thousands of the members of the National Socialist Party knew him personally, the tall and vigorous man with a striking head, lucid eyes, and a powerful voice, who indefatigably preached the gospel of national socialism all over the country.

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Tens of thousands had watched from close at hand his unceasing efforts on behalf of the party whose organization in North Germany was exclusively, and elsewhere in the Reich mainly, his work, which was done with that rare mingling of personal cordiality and unstinted zeal for toil that enabled him to move persons and master things. Thousands valued him as a friend, a helper in time of trouble, a leader into a new intellectual and spiritual world.

Not that he was ever a 'leader' in that superficial, arrogant, Byzantine style which later became typical of the party, when its soul had vanished and form had become all-important, demanding worship from idolaters. No, he was a leader of the spirit, a leader of the heart, a leader of endeavour.

It is not only because Gregor Strasser had so outstanding a personality that we wish to put a portrait of him before the nation to keep his memory fresh and vivid, but even more because his clear-sighted pursuit of an aim should never be forgotten, because his firmness of will should be a perennial warning, a promise, an example, and a consolation.

For in spite of, nay because of, Hitler's monstrous treason to the German people, it is needful, instructive, and comforting to keep our eyes fixed upon the lofty aim that was once put forward as that of the National Socialist Party, that National Socialist Party which in practice the Hitler System has so shamelessly betrayed, so basely desecrated.

German comrades and fellow-countrymen, sometime National Socialists and now party members, examine the books and writings, the speeches and pamphlets of Gregor Strasser, immerse yourselves in their words and their sense, read the 'inalterable' program of twenty-five points, and then turn back to consider what the Hitler System has actually been doing. In that way you will be enabled to grasp all the desolation of the German present.

You will perceive the most abominable fraud ever perpetrated upon believers, and you will understand why the henchmen of

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this system had the teacher and herald of German socialism put to death.

Like an inkling of the doom that awaited him sound the words which Gregor Strasser used as dedication for his master-work, *Kampf um Deutschland* [Fight for Germany]:

*At one with them in will,
I consecrate this book
to those who have died
for the movement*

In very truth it was for this German socialism that the fighters in the troubles of the post-war period went to their tombs. They died for the coming Germany of national freedom and social justice.

They did not die to promote the economic dictatorship of Schacht, Krupp, and Kirdorff; to establish the control of peoples' minds by Goebbels, Himmler, and Goering; to have our souls enslaved by Streicher, Rosenberg, and Kerrl.

That is why we pledge ourselves to these dead; why we pledge ourselves to Gregor Strasser who, having been the harbinger of German Socialism, became its martyr; why we solemnly swear:

The Hitler System shall perish.
German Socialism shall survive.

Otto Strasser

FIGHT FOR GERMANY

by Gregor Strasser

Editorial Introduction: Gregor Strasser's own words will demonstrate, better than we could hope to do by anything that we could write, his creative importance to German socialism.

We therefore extract from his Kampf um Deutschland, published in 1932 by the official Eher-Verlag, the following passages which incor-

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porate his guiding principles, and adjure all genuine National Socialists to compare with the aims of National Socialism, as thus expounded, the actual deeds of the Hitler System.

We National Socialists are socialists, genuine, national, German socialists. We repudiate any attempt to tone down this idea by using the word 'social reformer' instead of the word 'socialist'. This change of wording represents nothing but a hypocritical attempt to hide the most glaring defects of the capitalist economic system. Or at best it can be regarded as the endeavour of compassionate and honourable persons to cure, by covering them up with plaster, the festering sores on the body of our economic life and of our people. We are 'socialists', and not mere 'social reformers', and we do not hesitate to say it, although the Marxians have so painfully distorted the meaning of the former term.

What do we mean when we call ourselves National Socialists; and why are we National Socialists?

We start from the idea that a nation is made up of persons who have a community of fates. Now to have a community of fates signifies that there must be a community of needs, and if there is a community of needs there must be a community of bread.

The nationalist movement joins us in recognizing that there is a community of fates and a community of needs, but calls a halt when we say this necessarily means a community of bread. A community of bread signifies that the land, its treasures, and its powers, are the property of the entire people, of the entire nation. That is the significance of the misleading Marxian expression 'ownership of the means of production'. For not any one class, not even the working class, owns the means of production. The owner is the nation as a whole. (Pp. 72-73.)

That denotes revolution — an economic revolution? Certainly it does. We want this economic revolution, just as Baron

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vom Stein once wanted an economic revolution, and made it, to secure the national freedom of the German people. For what else but an immense economic revolution was the widespread liberation of the serfs — a revolution which the feudal magnates of those days would certainly have described (if the word had already existed) as 'bolshevik', and which they did describe as 'a danger to the State' — even as our National Socialist demand is now described in capitalist circles. Only thanks to the economic revolution of the liberation of the serfs, only through the incorporation of the newly established system of estates into the calcified organism of the State, were freed the mighty forces that were requisite; only thanks to this did the Prussia of 1806 become the Prussia of 1812 and the Germany of 1870. Moreover it is our profound conviction that in no other way than by the liberation of the fourth estate, by the incorporation of the German working class into the organism of the German nation, can the Germany of 1918 be transformed into the free Germany of a near and the Great Germany of a more distant future. (Pp. 74-75.)

We National Socialists perceive that there is a fateful and causal tie between the national liberty of our people and the economic emancipation of the German workers. We have recognized that the capitalist economic system with its exploitation of those who are economically weak, with its robbery of the workers' labour-power, with its unethical way of appraising human beings by the number of things and the amount of money they possess, instead of by their internal value and their achievements, must be replaced by a new and just economic system, in a word by German socialism. The basic idea of socialism which, though Hebraically falsified, materialistically degraded, and demagogically caricatured, nevertheless lives on in the minds of millions upon millions of social-democratic and communist workers, that ancient Teutonic notion of joint ownership by the whole tribe, by the whole nation, of the entire

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means of production, of the land, which the individual who tills it holds only in 'entail', as a usufructuary entrusted with his farm by the community — such is the rock-bottom upon which our wish to refashion economic life is grounded. This conviction, which is so deeply rooted in individual hearts that even a capitalistically inclined person really accepts it in his inmost self, supplies the motive force to our National Socialist idea of economics, society, and the State. (Pp. 101-102.)

We have to learn that work is more than possession, that achievement is more than dividends. The most deplorable legacy of the capitalist economic system is that it has taught us to judge all things by the standards of money, ownership, possession. The decay of a people is a necessary outcome of applying such a standard of value, for selection by ownership is the mortal foe of the race, of blood, and of life. We have no shadow of doubt that under National Socialism this privilege of ownership will be annulled, and that the liberation of the German worker will go so far as to include a share in profit, a share in ownership, and a share in management. But we shall not have escaped from the old standard of value if we leave matters there, without insisting upon that revolution in the mind which impels us to our assault upon the spirit of the present system. We deliberately change from valuation by ownership to valuation by achievement, this latter being our sole standard. For us achievement is the main point, not dividend, just as we consider responsibility, rather than wealth or display, to be the climax of human endeavour. Here we have a new outlook, a new religion for economic life. Thanks to this the worship of the golden calf will come to an end; the differences between human beings and the differences between their rights will be differences between their achievements, differences in the degrees of their responsibility, differences that come from God and are therefore sacred. (Pp. 132-133.)

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In the people's movement there is much talk about the crystallizing of a new leadership, and this touches upon what I have just been saying. But the methods that have been suggested for coming to a decision as to the best leaders, such as examination of the blood, and what not, seem to my practical mind rather dubious, as to their possibility, their use, and their effect. There is another plan, an Old-German, a Prussian plan, of which my friend Pfeffer has reminded me, and which seems to me admirable. I mean, choice based upon the army.

As a preliminary to the use of this method, service in the army must be voluntary — a privilege and not a duty. The practical plan would be to provide by law that every German citizen must do State service for a year. What I propose is that during this year he should not be set to roadmaking or some other sort of mass-labour, but should be taught a handicraft, so that there should be no grown-up Germans who had not received at least one year's training in some craft or other. But the choice of the best would be left to apply to those who, after the year's 'civil service', chose to volunteer for the army. Army service would last several years, and, apart from this, it would only attract self-sacrificing persons, inasmuch as it would involve the chance of being exposed to the perils of war, and would therefore call for the heroic virtues. But, I repeat, to adopt service in the army would be left voluntary and unconstrained. Who can doubt that those Germans who volunteered for military service, which would take them away from private life for at least twice as long as the civil service did, would give no practical advantages for vocational life, but which besides being much harder work, would entail upon the volunteer all the risks of war — who can doubt, I say, that such Germans as these volunteers would be the best Germans, racially the best, whose achievements on behalf of the State now and in the future would enormously transcend those of the average man? (Pp. 134-135.)

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The souls of human beings are overshadowed by a terrible hopelessness. Fixed values have been crumbling away. People don't know what to cling to, and vainly seek a centre of gravity, which they have lost in morals, and cannot find in religion. 'Relativity' has become the shibboleth of modern culture, the relativity of all things, of all knowledge, of all feelings. Vainly does the sufferer try to escape the dull anxiety of an uneasy conscience, try to mask and to excuse his instability with the aid of psychoanalysis. The core has been gnawed at until very little of it remains.

This is the sorest wound, perhaps incurable. For it is a profound truth that moral health is indispensable to the social and political stability of a people. Don't let the reader misunderstand me when I use the word 'moral'. Morality cannot be established upon any other foundation than the soul, cannot be sustained by any reputedly inalterable commandments, even though to begin with these commandments were fortified with a sort of 'extract of the soul'. We are not concerned here with the dogmatic morality proclaimed by an estate or by a religion, but with the harmony that prevails (or should prevail) between eternal nature and that which is divine in man. The form, therefore, is temporal, like man himself; but the content, the soul, is eternal. (Pp. 137-138.)

You German workers number fifteen millions. With your dependents you comprise 85% of the German people. Why, then, should you tolerate having to suffer all through life, every hour of every day, from the most horrible anxiety about the morrow, the dread whether next pay-day, or on the first of next month, you will still have enough money to provide you and yours with food, clothing, and shelter.

Why should you put up, year after year, with the most poignant anxiety about old age, having continually to ask yourselves: 'What on earth shall I do when I am no longer able to work?' Why do you endure having all the joys of life — the

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founding of a family, the upbringing of happy, healthy children — poisoned by the tyranny of a system that mercilessly exploits you, and treats you as slaves? Why should you stand having life's lesser pleasures — reverie in a wood, choosing a toy for the baby — spoiled, once more, by the tyranny of money?

Why do you put up with this servile existence which robs you of human dignity; cuts you off from the happiness of life; and converts that life of yours, which according to the eternal laws of nature and the eternal rights of man ought to be a psalm of praise to the Almighty, into a scream of hatred for the devil, a wail of sorrow and despair, of poverty and disgust and death.

Why do you bear it, brothers and sisters?

Because they lie to you and cheat you, cloud your vision so that you fail to see the enemy who afflicts you with all your woes. Because your hearts and brains are so drugged that you quarrel with one another instead of joining forces against that enemy: the unemployed has a grudge against the employed; the manual operative against the brainworker; the townsman against the agricultural labourer; the countryman against the official; and so on and so forth. Because you let them incite you against one another: the communists against the social democrats, both of them against the 'bourgeois'; the soldier against the civilian; the Red Front men against those who wear the Swastika. But aren't you comrades, comrades in misfortune, 'brothers of the chain'? Is not the same whip cracked in the ears of you all, are not you scourged by the same dread of poverty? Are not your lives unhappy enough already, without these quarrels? Are not you universally defrauded of the Rights of Man? (Pp. 146-148.)

We should not be socialists if we were unwilling to fight against the class-rule of the capitalist system, which permits a class of citizens whose only title is one of ownership to decide the lives and the deaths of the great majority of their fellow-citizens. But we should not be nationalists if we were not no

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less passionately determined to repudiate the hateful attempt to turn matters upside-down at the will of the brutalized masses of those who have hitherto been under the harrow, and are now unable to recognize the impossibility of detaching the fortunes of one class (be it a small minority or a large majority) from the fortunes of the nation. For here is our great discovery, that true socialism is identical with true nationalism, both being equally hostile to the class rule of a privileged bourgeoisie and the class rule of the proletariat.

What do we want, then? Neither the 'bourgeois' nor yet the 'proletarians' — neither the bourgeois State nor yet the proletarian State. We want a new kind of man, we want the State of these new human beings who evoke in its pristine purity from the bourgeoisie the idea of nationalism which issues from the depths of the blood; and evoke from the proletariat the idea of socialism, redoubled in strength by the injustice the proletarians have suffered. We want all the champions from both camps who have discovered within themselves the synthesis that bridges the formidable abyss which now yawns between the two camps; that synthesis of the new idea which teaches us to be socialists because we are nationalists, and to be nationalists because we are socialists.

Like a fate it lowers over German history, which is an outflow of the struggle of the German soul on behalf of itself and to find itself — this surge of mutual hatreds, this murderous struggle of brother against brother for the sake of an idea which remains unknown to most of the combatants until, after the most fearful birthpangs, it is born in the synthesis which was something new and nevertheless embodied what was best in both the contesting parties: in the Guelph-Ghibelline synthesis of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation; in the Papist-Lutheran synthesis of the lesser German empire which secured its definitive configuration through Bismarck; in the Bourgeois-Proletarian synthesis of the coming Third Reich of national liberty and social justice. (Pp. 165-166.)

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GREGOR STRASSER'S LEGACY

MUNICH, FEBRUARY 6, 1933

MANY thanks for your letter of the 3rd inst. I am always glad to hear from you, and to know that the group holds firmly together. It is my hope and my earnest wish that the 'Strasser Case' will not lead to any change in this respect. The newspapers will have kept you acquainted with the political situation in Germany. In the end I and my political views have won, for I felt that, whatever happened, the N.S.D.A.P. [National Socialist Party] ought to be incorporated in the State. This has happened, in part because of my direct efforts, and to some extent because the party was afraid of me. To all appearance I may seem to have been left out in the cold, but inwardly I don't feel this, for the renunciation of all economic ministries (which are in the hands of the arch-reactionary Hugenberg), and of the Prussian instruments of power (which are in the hands of the much-reviled Papen), may indeed promote the national aims of the National Socialists, but will not further what we call German socialism — and that, I am firmly convinced, is what the future will demand. My time will come when in Germany the power of the great financiers and the great landowners has to be broken; no matter whether it is done with the aid of the N.S.D.A.P. by currency methods, or by establishing the political front in a new form and with new energies.

What perturbs me rather, from time to time at least, is the fact that, by various intrigues, some of the subordinate leaders, ambitious or otherwise shady persons, have been dragging my name and honour in the mire by unprecedented misstatements and infamies. But I shall keep my end up all right, and after a while even exasperated people will come to understand the reasons that have moved me and the general soundness of my conduct. The conversation that was arranged for has been postponed by Hitler. Since meanwhile he has become Chan-

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cellor, it is very difficult for me to make the first move, since I might be suspected of place-hunting — the last thing in the world I should ever dream of. To conclude, never in my life have I shunned a fight, or avoided doing whatever my convictions made me feel to be essential.

Yours,

GREGOR STRASSER

AIMS AND METHODS OF THE BLACK FRONT

NO ONE who reads and takes to heart the glowing utterances quoted, in this *Huttenbrief*, from Gregor Strasser's masterwork *Kampf um Deutschland* will be inclined to wonder that for this genuine National Socialist there was not likely to be a place in the Hitler-Hugenberg-Papen cabinet of 1933.

Historically inevitable will also appear the dismissal of Gregor Strasser from his offices in December 1932, since the depriving of this socialist champion of power was, for such men as Schröder, Papen, Hugenberg, and Schacht, a needful preliminary to the seizure of power by the Hitlerian party.

This was as plain to Gregor Strasser as it could be to anyone else. In the letter printed above this (to a party-friend who has recently placed the original at my disposal) Gregor Strasser explicitly foresaw that the Hitler System would never establish German socialism, and that this task would be incumbent upon Germany in the future.

In this legacy of his to the German people, Gregor Strasser, besides mentioning some of the chief items — such as breaking the power of financial capital, dividing up the large landed estates, drawing the teeth of Prussia — indicates the path to be taken in order, in a new way and with enhanced energy, to march forward and ensure the victory of German socialism.

Here we have the unique purpose of the Black Front, which

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has deliberately gone on with the campaign of Gregor Strasser, in his sense and towards his goal, but in a new way and with enhanced energy.

It can no longer be our main concern to stir up the masses of the German people and inspire them with a longing for German socialism.

What we need today is to get together and train a well-informed, trusty, and energetic elite which will elaborate the revolutionary sentiments of the masses, clarify the minds of these as to the ends to be attained, making them ready and willing to fight against the Hitler System, because that, under present conditions, is the only way of advancing towards German socialism.

No longer can we proclaim the need for the narrow confines of a political party, with the inevitable dangers of presumption, exclusiveness, and dictatorship.

Our present need is to proclaim the unified action of the popular community, in the sense of the watchword 'Gregor Strasser — Schleicher — Leipart', which in former days sounded like a promise of new times, but tomorrow will be the manifest expression of the creative will of revolutionary youth, soldierly purpose, and socialist longing — and as such will convey a promise of fulfilment to the German people.

No longer will it suffice in meetings and speeches, in essays and other writings, to voice the promises of German socialism — vague in content, incomprehensible in form, obscure in configuration.

What we now need is an unambiguous and lucid scheme for the upbuilding of German socialism, such a scheme as forms the program of the Black Front. We need a clear and carefully thought-out statement of the economic, social, and cultural aims of New Germany, a description of the forms it will assume, an account of its inner technique and functioning.

Here we have the aims and method of the Black Front, which can be enumerated as follows:

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Economic Field: Destruction of the private capitalist and State-capitalist economic system, and upbuilding of the new order of German socialism; nationalization of the German popular economy, under the economic form of life, with an aim at the effective deproletarianization of the German people.

Home Policy: Overthrow of the party dictatorship and the establishment of a political system legally based upon self-government by the estates; a new subdivision of Germany into provinces with federalized administration and a supreme centralized federal government.

Cultural Field: Break the idol of the 'totalitarian State', enthrone the true faith; establish freedom of conscience; restrict the partial truths of 'blood and soil' to their proper fields of application; recognize the value of the spirit, the value of the soul, the value of religion.

Foreign Policy: Repudiate every kind of imperialism; effectively recognize a European federation on the basis of national freedom and the popular development of all nations and minorities.

To sum up: A New Germany in a New Europe, on the basis of

National Freedom,
Social Justice,
European Collaboration.

As groundworks and provisos of
The Rebirth of the West.