

THESIS

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THE DOCTRINE OF NATIONAL-SOCIALISM.

-A PRELIMINARY STUDY-

"It is a characteristic feature
"of all great reforms that in
"the Beginning there is only one
"single protagonist to come
"forward on behalf of several
"millions of people. The final
"goal of a great reformation has
"often been the object of
"profound longing on the parts
"of hundreds of thousands for
"many centuries before, until
"finally one among them comes
"forward as a herald to announce
"the will of that multitude and
"become the standard bearer of
"the old yearning, which he now
"leads to a realisation in a
"new idea".

"Mein Kampf - Chapter XII, vol. I"

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Bibliography.

My Bibliography presents many defects which require justification. Its first gap is its incompleteness. Many basic books are not mentioned, namely those of ROSENBERG and FEDER. Further, it is too much built upon HITLER's views. Nevertheless, this may be excused on the ground that war prevents me from having within my reach many sources without which no adequate doctrinal exposé of the National Socialist Doctrine may be written. But it should be noted that HITLER's Mein Kampf and Speeches are, if not the absolute source of National Socialism, at least, the most important. Nazism is a religion. Its Holy Scriptures are HITLER'S words. Anything written about the doctrine by Nazi writers is drawn from HITLER'S work. Nobody can contradict him. Nobody can introduce new ideas without his approval. The appointment of G. FEDER as official commentator of the doctrine is symptomatic enough. If I dared to study National Socialism with HITLER'S work as the main sources, it is because of its religious aspect. Everything, related to National Socialism, is in HITLER'S books, and whatever else, is but comments./.

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PART ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Chapter One

THE ORIGINS OF NAZISM IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY.

We cannot understand Contemporary Europe, and therefore the Nazi Revolution, if we put off our mind the influence of social factors introduced by the French Revolution. This event stirred Europe and almost cut off the links between the pre-1789 and the post-1789 eras. Since that year, Europe seems to have lived a new history : a history based on almost different principles than those admitted previously. Whereas the people, during the Ancien Régime, were divided into classes and corporations based on legal

conceptions, the French Revolution rejected this outlook on Society and built up a new one on the axiom of individual freedom and equality. From 1789 and on, the Individual, became the focus of political life : it was considered per se and not through his milieu : either his family or his social or economic class.

These transformations brought in two sets of principles which were destined to perpetuate the influence of the French Revolution on Europe. They were Socialism and Nationalism. Both doctrines emerged out of the French Revolutionary era : they emerged as doctrines proposed for the rescue and domestic organization of Europe. The difference between Socialism and Nationalism is that the first doctrine puts the emphasis on the economic factor, whereas the second, on the political one, and this when they consider social life within the State. Their further evolution was determined by this starting point : economic activity is, by definition, international, since no people can live on the only products of their territory; as for domestic political activity, it is destined to be limited by the frontiers of the national territory since it is based on State Sovereignty.

This difference in the premises led to the cleavage of Society into two camps : the Socialist and the Nationalist, The Socialists are those who tend to destroy the actual Society. They refuse to accept its philosophical background and try to rebuild it on a new basis. Their revolution is waged on behalf of a single social class : the Proletariat. This trend reached its climax and perfection with MARX and ENGELS who brought the Industrial Proletariat to the consciousness of being a separate, and the most important, social class. As for the Nationalists, they considered the State as the embodiment of national aspirations : the shrine of national history, traditions and hopes for the future. The more the State is absolute, the more the Nation is in safety. To the Socialist Revolutionary Doctrine, the Nationalists opposed their conditional evolution : to be based on the national traditions. As a matter of fact, the Nationalists distrust evolution, and belief in the curative influence of the past. The Past is the best teacher : when we neglect it, we are led astray. If the French Revolution was cursed by them, in spite of owing their existence to its advent, it was on the ground that they consi-

dered it as "diabolique" having destroyed the Ancien Régime and cut off the relation between the Past and the Present.

The State of the XIXth. Century did not take into consideration the conflict between Socialists and Nationalists. It considered that beyond its scope of action. But the 1848 Revolution put in full light the destructive influence of this conflict on National Unity. The Nation was no more united. There was no more collaboration between the different elements of the people. The First European Statesman who paid due attention to this fact was BISMARCK. He elaborated in the 1880ies his so-called Social Laws which tried to remedy the misery of the have-not sections of the people- The State here behaved as a father settling a quarrel between his sons.⁽¹⁾ This movement, starting in Germany, soon became European and contributed to the elaboration of social doctrines the desire of which was to bring all the sections of the Nation to collaboration among themselves, and to lead them to conclude that they are equally sharing the gains and losses of the country.

The First World War accentuated this feeling of national unity by adding a new element : the Nation was really a unit since all the citizens *(1) and "to help effectively for the well-being of all its members (of the Nation), particularly the weak among them" (Wilhelm I's address to the Reichstag on Nov. 1890.)*

shared equally, either in the battle-fields or in the home-front, the privations and the sufferings due to war. This War actualized what was preached by some writers, namely that the Nation could live only through collaboration between all its members, that it was a real entity within which all the citizens were equal. The State tended to become an agency on behalf of all the Nation, and not only of the Capitalists. It came, as result, to regard as its duty to care for the economic security of its citizens, and to tackle social and economic problems in order to preserve national unity. The Liberal State of the XIXth. Century was dead due to the necessity of helping all the members of the Nation who were no more able to seek rescue by themselves alone. Practical necessities destroyed Socialism and Nationalism as independent factors in the life of the Nation. They got united through the action of the State which finally evolved a new doctrine in order to solve issues of a national order : economic order and distress, national unity, social peace...

To preserve national unity, the State formed a combination between Socialism and Nationalism. Through this new doctrine, the State considered the Nation as a unity by itself, and presented it, no more as a mere abstraction, but as a real entity. This

combination started, first, through State action, and this on the practical ground. Since the Socialists asked for State-intervention to improve social justice, the State would interfere, but no more on behalf of a single class, but of Society at large. Since the Nationalists asked, on their part, for State-intervention in order to put an end to anti-national agitation, the State agreed with them, but on the ground of considering Nationalism afresh and of defining it as a doctrine the aim of which is to strengthen State-powers. State-action became the uniting element of the Nation. For the Fascists, State-action, in order to come to fruition, should be considered through State supremacy; for the French Authoritarians, it should be through the recourse to the national traditions. As for the Nazis, they conceived of State-action through a new doctrine, a Weltanschauung the aim of which is to define social life anew.

This evolution of Socialism and Nationalism is perfectly shown through the working out of Hitlerism. After the collapse of 1918, HITLER studied what could be the ideals for which men are ready to die. Are they the Weltanschauungen proposed by the Reichstag Parties ? No. "I had by that time, (said H "HITLER on December 2, 1938), in 1918, discovered

"two ideals which, it seemed, could unquestionably inspire men and bring them under their spell. The socialist and the national ideals. For these two ideals men at that time were ready if necessary even to die. If an ideal can so inspire a man that he is prepared to give his life for it, then it holds within it a mighty and kindling force. And I was then resolved to take these two ideals and to fuse them into a single whole. If I succeeded in that, then the Nation might be saved. If not, the Nation would more and more tear itself to pieces, and would finally go down in impotence and ruin" (in BAYNES, HITLER'S Speeches, vol. 1, p. 91).

HITLER discovered the remedy for German resurgence. He endeavoured to find out the means of working out an adequate formulation of the new doctrine.

"I then held the view that one must define afresh the two conceptions : one must unite the two apparent extremes and thus awake an unparalleled strength on behalf of the Nation, of the whole people"... "It seemed to me possible to approach these two ideals without preconceptions, to scrutinize them from a higher standpoint and this scrutiny led me to the happy recognition that

"fundamentally both conceptions were one and the same. Thus a new idea for the people (Volks-gedanke) was born : through the intimate marriage of Nationalism and Socialism there was developed a force at which formerly the old parties scoffed but before which to-day they have surrendered" (HITLER, on 27 May, 1933, in BAYNES, op.cit.p.101).

In this evolution, Nationalism and Socialism lose their former meaning. They are no more dominated by one-sidedness, since they are no more considered from the party point of view, but from the State's. Nationalism becomes the doctrine of "one to whom duty to country or community comes before self-interest; in other words, 'one for all' , but with justice for the one where interests clash" (HITLER, on 28 September, 1930, in BAYNES, op. cit., pp.92-3). Socialism, on its turn, loses its Marxian virulence and becomes a doctrine of social solidarity. "Socialist, I define from the word 'social', meaning in the main 'social equity' - A socialist is one who serves the common good without giving up his individuality or personality or the product of his personal efficiency" (HITLER, id. id.)

The combination between Socialism and Nationalism was not formulated uniformly all over Europe though the aim was the same : the preservation of national unity. Each people gave it a form of their own in relation with their national traditions and on the basis of the intellectual atmosphere in which they were living. National-Socialism, French Authoritarianism and Fascism are but three aspects of this European evolution, but they are not identical. Each one put the stress on the element which appeals most to it and which it considered the most efficient to preserve national unity. Fascism considers State-supremacy as being the leading factor to reach the proposed aim; French Authoritarianism, on the contrary, makes appeal to national history and traditions. As for National-Socialism, it formulates out of the combination of Nationalism and Socialism a new Weltanschauung : Racialism. In National-Socialism, this European evolution reached its climax and perfection. As a matter of fact, the real difference between these three doctrines is that Fascism is interested only in State action, French Authoritarianism, in destroying the influence of the French Revolution and in leading France afterwards back to pre-1789 traditions; whereas National-Socialism evolves a doctrine the aim of which is not only to

rescue the German Nation, but to define human destiny anew; it is more comprehensive and more perfect; it does not content itself with material satisfaction and with purely political and economic patterns since it pretends to be a religious outlook grasping Man from "within". In National-Socialism, Nationalism is no more a feeling, but a Credo; Socialism, no more a one-sided party-program, but a theory of social reconstruction. In the following pages we will expose the French and the Italian versions of the attempt to preserve national unity through State action, whereas the German version will be dealt with in the second part of the Thesis under the title of the Hitlerian Doctrine.

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THE FRENCH AUTHORITARIAN SCHOOL.

In order to save France and to preserve her national unity, the French State should reject anything which unfolds the influence of the French Revolution and may precipitate evolution along its line, namely Individualism and Rationalism. If election is dangerous, it is because it involves individualism, and individualism assumes deliberate changes, hence supremacy of Reason. If Society has to evolve, it must do it with its eyes riveted on the past. Individualism is dangerous as in politics as well as in religion, that is why the Authoritarians incline towards Catholicism, because Catholicism is the symbol of discipline and continuity.

The evolution of Society should be the expression of the improvement of the status quo, Society as it is. If the executioner "is the very cornerstone of Society" (de MAISTRE), it is because he prevents changes. Real evolution is that which is determined by traditions. "Is not this the formula
"that will solve the social problem, to make the rich man a better rich man, (améliorer le riche "en tant que riche), the nobleman a better noble-

"man, the bourgeois, a better bourgeois, the
"worker, a better worker" (BOURGET, in *Outre-Mer*,
(quoted in SOLTAU, op. cit. p. 277)).

Individualism is an agent of destruction; its action
is corrosive on Society and social categories!

"... The real moral laxness is disobedience to
"authority" (de MAISTRE, in SOLTAU, *French Poli-
tical Thought in the XIXth Century*, p. 19).

What makes Individualism dangerous is
that it derives most of its arguments from Reason.

"My enemies are those who would transform France
"according to their own ideas, whereas I want to
"preserve France. In this opposition does Nation-
"alism consist" (BARRES, in *Scènes and Doctrine
(du Nationalisme*, quoted in SOLTAU, op. cit. p. 370)

Reason becomes a germ of destruction and anarchy. Those
authoritarians oppose to Reason the Instinct of Man. If
they are anti-rationalist, it is because they are
instinctivist. "We are dying from an excess of Indivi-
dualism", writes BRUNETIERE. And MAURRAS resumes :

"Political life must rest for the greater part on
"the respect and worship of unconscious habit, all
"the stronger and more valuable as they are less
" felt. It is almost impious to bring them to
"consciousness. The great misfortune of our time

"is the necessity for every citizen to have a
"deliberately formed opinion of the State"
(quoted in SOLTAU, op. cit., p.370).

It is instinct and not human reason
which should be trusted in national evolution. Reason
is weak and based on delusion. We ought to live
through our national past since instinct is rooted in
it. It is the past that determines the present.
'Progress' is dangerous because it may lead us astray,
that is outside the path of the past and of traditions.
BOURGET insists on the "inadequacy of abstract ideas",
and on "the sacredness, the fertility, the generosity
"of an action unconscious of itself, of a man
"that excels in action without trying to reason
"about it or to rationalize.^f Instinct is safe
"only when it is blind, and ceases to function
"when it is no longer blind..." (quoted in
(SOLTAU, op. cit. p. 378).

If evolution is destructive of national
unity, it is because the Nation is, for MAURRAS, a
mixture of corporations and communes historically
determined. So far as we can understand it, French
Nationalism is based on spiritual and historical
criteria, it is "un acte de foi", "un plébiscite de

est tous les jours" (RENAN, in "Qu'est^{ce} qu'une Nation?)"
If the French Nationalists reject the French Free-
Masons and Protestants, it is on the ground of their
"spiritual" refusal to fight for the French cause,
whereas the Jews may deserve to become French when
they give up their life for France, as "le Petit David"
who died in the first World-War defending the French
soil and liberties, (often spoken of by MAURRAS in
the "Action Française"). Romanism is to be rejected
as an international doctrine, only Gallicanism may be
accepted. In such a situation, Nationalism is no more
an inner feeling directed against the foreigners; it
is also against those compatriots who think differently
from MAURRAS and BARRES : "In this opposition does
Nationalism consist". If France has to be rescued, it
should be according to their own views, anything else
would be disastrous of the French cause.

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ITALIAN FASCISM.

Fascism is interested in the citizen. It deals with the Civil Society and it remains neutral before the other actions of Man. What interests Fascism is public order and political life, everything else remains, theoretically, outside its scope. The social achievements of Fascism are opportunistic and political. They are not born of an interest in the metaphysics of Man. Fascism is rather pragmatic, Nazism, emotional. The two doctrines bear the stamp of their respective achievers. The aim of Fascism is to "rescue... the State from the individual" (A. ROCCO) and to magnify the State and its rôle in the process of social life. In so doing, Fascism would preserve national unity through State supremacy.

The State, in the Fascist creed, is magnified to the status of a divine entity : its existence conditions the evolution of the epople and assures them Culture, happiness and power. The Fascist State is truly the embodiment of the national Past and Present and responsible for the national future : the vitality of the Italian Nation resides in the vitality of the

Italian State. The best account of the Fascist conception of the State is that given by MUSSOLINI in his "Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism" in the following terms :

"The foundation of Fascism is the conception of
"the State, its character, its duty and its aim.
"Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute
"in comparison with which all individuals or
"groups are relative, only to be conceived of in
"their relations to the State... The Fascist
"State is itself conscious, and has itself a will
"and a personality - thus it may be called the
" 'ethic' State"...

"... The State as conceived of and as
"created by Fascism, is a spiritual and moral
"fact in itself, since its political, juridical
"and economic organization of the Nation is a
"concrete thing : and such an organization must
"be in its origin and development a manifestation
"of the Spirit. The State is the guarantor of
"security both internal and external, but it is
"also the custodian and transmitter of the spirit
"of the people, as it has grown up through the
"centuries in language, in customs and in Faith.
"And the State is not only a living reality of
"the present, it is also linked with the past and

"above all with the future, and thus transcending
"the brief limits of individual life, it represents
"the immanent spirit of the nation..."

In other words, in order to preserve national unity
and to enable the Italian Nation to develop according
to its own genius, the Italian State should enjoy
absolute power over the Italian Citizens.

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Nevertheless, the success and the advent to power of those who supported this new conception of national unity through State intervention was not reached without resistance from the part of the old governing classes. The last phase of this evolution was dominated by the actual circumstances of post-1918 period, namely need for a new State ideology, other than the XIXth century liberalism. The refusal of the actual governing classes to meet the social reality due to the First World War consequences, brought the people aloof from them and led the people under the leadership of those who promised them reforms and a new state doctrine.

One of the most important psychological effect of the First World War was what it was called, namely by d'HARCOURT in his book "L'Evangile de la Force, le Visage de la Jeunesse du III: Reich"(ch. I) : the psychosis of despair, or Nihilism. This feeling led to the need for a new ideology; the need to readjust the social and political frame to the new situation created by the War. The people were badly schoocked when they returned from the battle-fields looking for a calm home-life. When they asked for a new social frame-work, they saw their hopes opposed

by the routine of the governing classes, by their neglect to make drastic reforms, by their unreadiness really to improve society and social life. These governing classes hoped for a return to the pre-war laissez-faire, and for this, they asked the State to act and to put an end to the workers' agitation. The people, hoping for a return to the pre-war life : its ease and prosperity, asked the State, they too, to act towards the realisation of that aim. The State became the real focus of social life. It was driven in two contradicting directions : the Liberals' status quo ante bellum, and the "activists' " reforms.

This breach between the two sections of the Nation is very well described by Gottfried BENN in his book "The Intellectuals and the New State" (written from the Hitlerian point of view) :

"We see to-day the principal positions of the
"Liberal Intelligence taken away, broken through
"on a large front by a new Intelligence, by an
"entirely new feeling on the world, well fitted
"to a Youth, more than any of its predecessors,
"came out from Darkness and gloom. A country
"defeated, fathers killed in the battlefield,
"properties mortgaged, careers everywhere filled
"up, only science is provided cheaply... On the
"political scene, the same poverty. Did the

"great intellectual personalities of the republic
"decide to leave for a while the comfort of their
"villas and to come down to the people to give
"them a public lecture, they limited their task
"to opening before their auditors attractive but
"unrealisable prospects, and to offering as
"conclusion : What do you want more ? Be quiet!
"have you not democracy that transfigures the
"face of the peoples ?

"Beautiful Democracy ! Said Youth.

"It begins by giving us nothing to put
"into our mouths, and afterwards it abandons us
"intellectually. Splendid heroes, truly, are the
"heroes of the people who, in time of danger,
"have but one care : to discover the badly-
"watched point of the frontier through which they
"may reach foreign countries, instead of girding
"their loins, taking a spade in their hands, and
"placing themselves resolutely in danger, in
"this biological danger without which there is
"no leader...

"And it is thus that this Youth took
"away its eyes from the attractive prospects,
"detached itself from the fetishes of an intelli-
"gence sunk in defeatism. It is thus that it
"knew prodigious joys, the joys of its generation,

"incomprehensible for the old. It is thus that it
"cast itself into the instinctive, into what it
"was not yet corrupted, swallowed up by thought,
"in the irrational. It is thus that it thought to
"defend itself, to arm : 'a bow drawn, there is my
"happiness'. It is thus that it developed the
"spirit of sacrifice required by an internal law.
"The symbol of the liberal era was a country-
"castle ornamented with china figurines, the
"Tuileries, a ballroom, everything destined to be
"one day taken up by assault and swept away. For
"the present Youth, the symbol is a parade : the
"Thermopyles ! "

(quoted in d'HARCOURT, op. cit. pp. 5, sqq.)

This feeling of remoteness between the
governors and the people exacerbated the need for
reforms which became the sine qua non condition of
social rest. What is important is that lack of confi-
dence of the people in their governing classes. We are
far from the time when the Kings were heartily trusted
by their subjects. Now, the subjects, becoming citi-
zens, asked for more and more reforms. Policy was to
make the people believe that they were in the best
imaginable situation, and that the reforms, slight
as they were, were drastic and basic. The Liberal

Governments lacked this quality to the utmost degree. Relying on the laissez-faire policy, they left the people alone in their searching for happiness and free to criticize the measures taken by the State.

This conception of liberty on the part of the liberal State increased the cleavage between Government and people. The link was so loose that at the first major shock, it broke. The Democrats were contented with words, with superficial reforms. They said : have you not "Democracy that transfigures the face of the peoples ? " They are interested in labels, when the people asked for revolutionizing even the bases of Society. For the ones, Democracy should be a point of arrival, for the others, only the signal for the start. The start was given by the "activist reformists" who dared to face resolutely the popular difficulties and to try to find out for them new solutions./.

Chapter Two

THE IMMEDIATE ORIGINS OF NAZISM.

In 1918, the German people were stirred by two contradicting feelings : to resist the Versailles policy, or what it was called ERFÜLLUNGSPOLITIK, policy of fulfilment, and to reform Germany from within. The protagonists of the policy of fulfilment were those who were ready to start a reforming movement in Germany; those who promised a more 'honourable' foreign policy were those who refused to engage themselves in a policy of domestic reforms. The situation was truly difficult for making up one's mind. The German people had to

sacrifice from the very beginning half of their aspirations : either the policy of fulfilment and a policy of domestic reforms, or a drastic foreign policy, but a reactionary one in the domestic field. In other words : either the Social-Democrats or the Völkisch Nationalists.

However, this problem never became acute. At no time, until STRESEMANN's death, did the two alternatives oppose violently the one the other. In the first period, from November, 1918 to January, 1923, Germany was primarily interested in settling her domestic businesses, in keeping order at home, and in being in good relations with the Allies. It was a period of expectation. From January, 1923 to Locarno, Germany was interested in solving the puzzle of Reparations. No foreign policy, nor a policy of home-reconstruction without a fair solution of this problem- Any how, the Mark-business occupied the focus of Germans' attention. From Locarno to the death of STRESEMANN' (October, 1929), both problems seemed to have lost their interest in the eyes of the people. Locarno saved the face of the Allies because of their repulsion to coerce Germany, and the German Government looked as if it had won the very last round. Economic prosperity led the German workers to look for other

things than agitation. This state of things may be illustrated by the 'statisme" of the results of elections : the Moderates ruled Germany during this period.

The great crisis in German life was the period between October, 1929 and December, 1932. Economic prosperity was gone; the Allies, having to face their own domestic difficulties, became less indulgent towards Germany. Should Germany go back to 1923 and beg the Allies' assistance, and the German people, urge their Government for reforms ? The crucial moment of this period was when BRÜNING refused to resign in 1931 after a vote of lack of confidence, and ruled on on the basis of Article 48 of Weimar Constitution : by emergency decrees. In that year the trial of force was opened between the moderates and the extremists. At that moment, the German Government lost all contact with the people. They were faced, at once for the first time, by the two burning problems : those of domestic and foreign policies. The German Government paid no,more attention, either to foreign policy or to domestic difficulties. It was interested in getting a balanced budget, when the people were asking for reforms. The Government and the people found themselves far from each other. The deflationist policy injured the prestige of BRÜNING and the moderates before the masses.

At that time two parties tried to catch the attention of the German people. Each promised them : a new foreign policy and a new domestic reconstruction. But where the Communists proposed a firm collaboration with the Soviets, the Nazis proposed to return to the German traditions, to appeal to German History, to ask the German "Blut und Boden" for help and assistance. No hope for a saviour from without, the redeemer is in the heart of every German; it is the FÜHRER who emerges out of the German soil and blood, and embodies the German Geist. It is he who is called upon to save Germany...

The Nazi language had more attraction for the Germans; it appealed to their imagination; it was more in accordance with the German genius. The Nazis proposed new solutions. They promised a drastic foreign policy, and drastic reforms at home. They united in their program the aspirations of the Social-Democrats and the Junkers, but they gave them new shapes and colours, namely they filled them with an intense feeling of conviction. The Nazi Revolution, apart from its historical trend, was a hope for the people of saving their confidence in themselves, of making appeal to a Government from which they expected a dynamic action in every field of national life.

From the actual point of view, the Nazi Revolution was certainly a revolt against a Government and a way of rule which no longer appealed to the popular imagination. In time of difficulties, only those who chose an energetic policy can get rid of the popular 'statisme' and lead the people to heroic and efficient actions.

When we said that BRÜNING paved the way for HITLER, we should add that BRÜNING was a symbol representing a whole frame of mind. HITLER, in January, 1933 did not defeat the Moderates only, but also this way of governing which consists in an out-of-date and contradicting attitude : laissez-faire in the social field, authoritarianism in the political life. The two aspects of this attitude contradict one another : when one holds power, he should accept responsibility for his actions, and interfere in social problems on behalf of the majority : the people. Because BRÜNING, viz. the Liberals, was unable to understand this aspect of the spirit of our age, he was swept away, leaving the place for a HITLER, a hundred per cent interventionist.

Many problems are still unsolved as regards Hitlerism, among which is the cause of HITLER'S success. For some writers, the real cause of HITLER'S advent to power resides in the ankylosis of German

Parliamentarianism. The Left-wing Parties neutralised by their rivalry their influence in the Reichstag; as for party traditions, they destroyed political life in Germany on behalf of Hitlerism and the Führerprinzip inside the Reichstag (sic), (Rf. G. BERNHARD, a prominent German Parliamentarian in the 1930ies, in his "Le Suicide de la République Allemande, specially pp. 140-141 of the French translation). As for FÖRSTER, he sees in the advent of HITLER to power, the rise of the German Bourgeoisie : 1933 would be the reply in Germany to what happened in 1830 in France (Rf, FÖRSTER, L'Europe et la Question Allemande, p. 359 of the French translation). A personalistic interpretation is formulated by GATHORNE-HARDY according to whom the secret of HITLER's success is in HITLER himself, ((Rf. GATHORNE-HARDY, A Short History of International Affairs, p. 356).

All these explanations, even when put together, are only partly right, because they do not take into account the reaction of the German people themselves. They argue as if the new German Government came from outside the people; as if it acted far from them, and imposed itself on Germany. The most important factors in HITLER's success reside in the soul of the German people itself. If they looked to HITLER as the

Saviour, it is because they lost every hope of being saved by the Weimar Régime. As a matter of fact, the point is : why was the Weimar Régime unable to resist the test of rule ? Why did it crumble at the first blows of its opponents ? It was not because its super-structure was not solid enough, but because its infra-structure was frail, so to speak; there were no more links between the people and the governing classes, and the people lost confidence even in themselves. Neither religion, nor political life still had any appeal for them.

The Weimar Régime was nearly an absurdity to the Germans, mainly to those who had known the Wilhelminian prosperous Germany. Its weakness was a shame for the post-war German generations, whereas Hitlerism filled up the heart of the German Youth with hope and enthusiasm; it proposed to it a Germany along the lines of German History. "The profound reason of a "Bewegung" like ours, is irrational, said a young Hitlerian to Denis de ROUGEMONT. We wanted to believe in something; we wanted to live for something. We have been grateful to him who brought us the possibility to believe. Christianity, probably due to the faults of its ministers, has long ceased to answer the need

"to believe of the majority of the people."

(quoted in MASSIS, Chefs, p. 226, in foot-note).

What is important enough is the insistence of the young man on the verb "TO BELIEVE". Hitlerism reconciled the Germans with life and gave them the possibility of belief because it linked them again with the trend of their National History.

National-Socialism is the synthesis and the issue of the dominant characters of Modern German History. The best account I know of this is given by the leader of Crössinse Ordensburg in his conversation with Alphonse de CHATEAUBRIANT :

" Le National-Socialisme, me dit le
"Commandant du Crössinse, reports A. de CHATEAU-
"BRIANT in his "La Gerbe des Forces", présente
"au point de vue historique, en Allemagne, autant
"d'importance qu'en France la Révolution dont
"nous disons : la Grande Révolution Française.
"Une Révolution vaut à raison du sentiment national
"qui la développe. Ce qui fait la différence
"fondamentale entre les deux Révolutions, la
"Française et la nôtre, c'est que la Française a
"une portée universelle, et que l'Allemande a
"été faite pour l'Allemagne..."

"... Le but, l'objet de notre Révolution

"a été la régénération du peuple. Non pas
"l'accession du peuple au pouvoir, mais :
"RE - GE - NE - RA - TION du peuple allemand.
"Il en est résulté que le peuple allemand sent
"maintenant son unité autrement que lorsque cette
"unité n'était qu'un fait résultant d'une
"déclaration politique et gouvernementale..."

"La Révolution Nationale-Socialiste
"n'a rien rejeté de ce qui est allemand, n'a rien
"éliminé des éléments du passé, mais les a
"appelés tous ensemble à l'oeuvre de régénération
"commune, chacun pour les richesses et pour les
"bonnes volontés qu'ils représentaient et les a
"fondus tous ensemble..." (pp. 292, sqq.)

The secret of the Nazi Revolution is within the speech of the leader of the Ordensburg : "régénération" of the people, (a socialist view), but not mere accession to power, (a nationalist view). In other words, State autocracy on behalf of an Elite for saving the German Nation. It is this authoritarian Democracy towards which inclined RATHENAU (New Society), Möller van den BRUCK (The Third Reich) and SPENGLER, (Socialism and Prussianism). Stated in RATHENAU's terms, this combination between Socialism and Nationalism would be presented as follows :

"Rule everywhere should be autocratic. Every
"government other than the autocratic is powerless
"and incompetent. Autocracy and Democracy are
"not antithesis which exclude each other; on the
"contrary they can only become operative through
"union. It is only upon a democratic basis that
"autocratic rule can and should rest; Democracy
"is only justified where it has an autocratic
"superstructure. At all times it is persons who
"have ruled, not corporate bodies and masses"
(quoted in R. d'O. BUTLER, The Roots of National-
(Socialism, p. 230).

In connection with this idea, a further
point may be raised : that to know whether this
combination between Nationalism and Socialism may be
called a doctrine, as we did previously. In other
words : are National-Socialism and Fascism doctrines
or not ? ./.

PART TWO

THE EXPOSE OF THE DOCTRINE

PRELIMINARY NOTE

In this Second Part of the Thesis, the ideas exposed belong exclusively to the Nazi writers. The author tried to convey the principles on which rests the Nazi Doctrine. His attitude was that of reflecting as faithfully as possible what he believes to be the basic conceptions in the doctrine through the writings of its responsible framers.

Three elements constitute the framework of the Hitlerian doctrine : the Führerprinzip, Racialism and Uniformity. The author exposed this doctrine under thr three symbols : Ein Führer, Ein Volk, Ein Reich. Each one of these symbols is supposed to represent one of the three elements of the doctrine. As may be remarked, these three symbols are but a propaganda slogan. If it was used it ~~was~~^{is} because it conveys lapidaryly the essence of Nazism. Nevertheless, the ranking of the three symbols is made according to their respective importance in the doctrine./.

INTRODUCTION

IS HITLERISM A DOCTRINE ?

Does it suggest, because HITLER interferes in political and social problems, that he has "a philosophy" of his own to which he obeys ? Here, two explanations are equally possible : the negative and the positive. Both are based on the outlook of the commentator on Nazism, and on how he explains its growth. The representative of the negative point of view may be such one as LASKI in his "Reflections on the Revolution of our Time". He deals with this problem under three headings : origin of Nazism, its bases, and its political trends or the causes of its success.

Professor LASKI thinks that Nazism

originated in the needs of the industrialists for putting an end to the workers' agitation. It is the last word of capitalism in decay. "WHAT, THEN, IS THE ESSENCE OF FASCISM ? IT IS THE OUTCOME OF CAPITALISM IN DECAY. IT IS THE RETORT OF THE PROPRIETARIED INTERESTS TO A DEMOCRACY WHICH SEEKS TO TRANSCEND THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IMPLIED IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY. BUT IT IS NOT MERELY THE ANNIHILATION OF DEMOCRACY. IT IS ALSO THE USE OF NATIONAL FEELING TO JUSTIFY A POLICY OF FOREIGN ADVENTURE IN THE HOPE, THEREBY, OF REDRESSING THE GRIEVANCES WHICH ARE THE INDEX TO CAPITALIST DECAY. WHEREVER FASCISM HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL, IT HAS BEEN BUILT UPON A PROTEST BY THE BUSINESS INTERESTS AGAINST THE INCREASED DEMANDS OF THE WORKERS. TO MAKE THAT PROTEST EFFECTIVE, THE BUSINESS INTERESTS HAVE, IN EFFECT, CONCLUDED AN ALLIANCE WITH SOME OUTSTANDING CONDOTTIERE AND HIS MERCENARIES WHO HAVE AGREED TO SUPPRESS THE WORKERS' POWER IN EXCHANGE FOR THE POSSESSION OF THE STATE" (LASKI, op. cit. p. 95).

To answer LASKI's interpretation of the origin of Nazism, I would say that it is too narrow a point of view to see it only as a "retort" to Marxism. Fascism has deeper roots. What is symptomatic enough is that Fascism, and Sovietism alike, arose in neo-capitalistic societies. They are not

contradictory, but two aspects of a ~~same~~ solution given to ^{the} same problem. Fascism, as well as Sovietism, originates in the needs of the people for re-adjusting social relationships. They are not spontaneous, but, on the contrary, the outcome of a long process. Their origin goes as far as the first industrial revolution : new ways of production, or new technical capitalism, make appeal to new social relationships, or new juridical capitalism. As I said before, the basis of this fact is in the man himself, not in the economic life; it is ontological, not marxian. They diverge in their outlook to the Society to come. Fascism builds it on a new social hierarchy : corporations or Führerprinzip; Sovietism, on a classless society.

Further, it is ^{superficial} ~~not through~~ to think that Fascism is ^{an Employers'} ~~Masters'~~ doctrine. A glance ^{at} the list of those who died around HITLER on November 9, 1923, for instance, suffices to convince us ^{of the error of} ~~to reject~~ LASKI's interpretation. They are : Merchant, bank official, engineering student, retired Cavalry Captain, councillor to the Supreme Provincial Court... I say : intellectuals interested in doctrines, ideas and anything that appeals to their intellect. They have, as HITLER writes in the front

of his book : " a loyal faith in the resurrection of their people". It may be that later on, Fascism got ~~in~~ ^{ed} connection with the big Industrialists; but ~~at~~ ^{at} in that moment, we are far from its starting point. Fascism is then becoming a Movement, a BEWEGUNG. Even in such a case, should we find the basic elements of Nazism in that collaboration ? What are the bases on which Nazism was built up ? LASKI's answer is : the PETIT BOURGEOIS' need for security and Industrialists' subscriptions. "... THE APPEAL OF THE FASCIST PARTY, IN ITS PREDOMINANT PUBLIC EXPRESSION, HAS BEEN AN APPEAL TO THE OPPRESSED ELEMENTS IN THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY; THE SMALL SHOP-KEEPER, THREATENED BY THE PROGRESS OF THE COOPERATIVE STORE OR THE MULTIPLE SHOP, THE UNEMPLOYED, ESPECIALLY THE UNEMPLOYED EX-OFFICER, THE SMALL MANUFACTURER JEOPARDIZED BY THE GROWTH OF CORPORATE ORGANIZATION, THE DECLASSE INTELLECTUAL, UNABLE TO FIND A CAREER IN ONE OF THE HISTORIC POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS, THE PETIT BOURGEOIS, LESS ABLE THAN AT ANY PREVIOUS TIME TO BECOME HIS OWN MASTER, IT IS TO THESE THAT, AS IT MADE ITS WAY TO POWER, THE FASCIST PARTY HAS SOUGHT TO APPEAL.

"BUT, IN EACH CASE, ALSO, THE FORMAL PROGRAMME OF THE FASCIST PARTIES HAS BEEN A FACADE TO COVER VERY DIFFERENT CONNECTIONS. A LARGE PART OF THEIR FINANCE HAS BEEN DERIVED FROM AFFILIATION MADE WITH BIG BUSINESS; AND A VITAL PART OF THEIR LEADERSHIP

HAS BEEN PLEDGED, FROM AN EARLY STAGE, TO HOSTILITY TOWARDS PROLETARIAN ASPIRATIONS. THERE HAS BEEN PENETRATION OF, OR, AT LEAST, AN UNDERSTANDING WITH, THE GOVERNMENTAL APPARATUS OF THE STATE : OFFICERS OF ITS DEFENCE FORCES, THE POLICE, AND EVEN THE MAGISTRACY AND THE CIVIL SERVICE, HAVE CONNIVED AT CONSIDERABLE ILLEGALITIES ON THE PART OF FASCISTS" (LASKI, op. cit. p. 86).

According to LASKI, Nazism is but an accidental Movement. It was forged by the big Industrialists and satisfied the petit bourgeois' need for security. Is ^{this} ~~there~~ not a contradiction ? Is this explanation satisfactory ? How can we explain that when "the small shopkeeper, threatened by the progress of the cooperative store or the multiple shop", asked for protection ^{from} the very man who is responsible for this state of things ? What is more amazing is that this man, the big industrialist, agreed ^{with} ~~upon~~ the complaint and subventioned his rival to enable him to withstand competition, to attack him and to strive to supersede him in the direction of the national life. Furthermore, this interpretation is very much like that expounded by FÖRSTER in his already quoted book.

From the historical point of view,

this outlook is yet less accurate. THYSSEN in his book "I PAID HITLER" writes in Ch. 3, Part II, that his first meeting with HITLER took place during the hard days of October, 1923, after the collapse of Passive Resistance in the Ruhr. He explains clearly that the purpose of his connection with him, was not in order to quell marxist agitation, since the Left Revolution was over at that time in Germany, but to ~~redress~~^{restore} the morale of the people, to resist French aggression... When HITLER and LUDENDORFF discussed a plan of expedition against the Communist Saxon Government, Thyssen did not take part in the conversation. As far as we can trust THYSSEN's Mem-
oires, the only writing to my mind casting any light on the connections of HITLER with the Big Industrial-ists, the raison d'être of such relations was only national. The hatred of the Nationalists was ~~en~~^{en} ~~the~~^{towards} Weimar Regime and the French. Further, it is too much to say that "the leadership (of the Fascist Parties) has been pledged, from an early stage, to hostility towards proletarian aspirations" since we know that the Nazi and Fascist parties were considered, before they came to power, as rather social-istic, though anti-marxian. The point is that the Capitalists, when they helped, financially, the Fascist Parties, ~~had~~^{did} not ^{have} in view to fight against

the workers, but to achieve some definite so-called national aims.

Has Nazism therefore doctrinal principles behind its actions ? Is there such a thing as a Nazi Doctrine ? In answering this question, we are dealing with the third item of LASKI's considerations on the "Meaning of Fascism". "MUCH EFFORT, HAS BEEN EXPENDED TO DISCOVER A PHILOSOPHY OF FASCISM. IT IS A WASTE OF EFFORT. FASCISM IS POWER BUILT UPON TERROR AND ORGANIZED AND MAINTAINED BY THE FEAR OF TERROR AND THE HOPES TO WHICH CONQUEST GIVES RISE. IT IS THE DISCIPLINING OF SOCIETY FOR A STATE OF ~~POWER~~ WAR IN WHICH MARTIAL LAW IS PERMANENT BECAUSE THE NATION IS FORCED TO SPEND ANY BRIEF PERIOD OF PEACE IN THE PREPARATION ~~FOR~~ WAR...

"THERE IS NO PHILOSOPHY, IN SHORT, IN FASCISM IN ANY OF THE FORMS IN WHICH WE HAVE KNOWN IT. ALL THE FUSTIAN OF DOCTRINE ITS EXPONENTS HAVE PRESENTED US WITH REVEAL THEMSELVES, ON EXAMINATION, AS PROPAGANDA EXPEDIENTS WHICH HAVE NO MEANING EXCEPT THEIR POWER TO BOLSTER UP THE PARTICULAR REGIME..." (LASKI, op. cit. pp. 96-97).

Here is the problem as it is settled

by LASKI. But one may wonder ~~to see~~ how could Nazism and Fascism ^{could} win the attention of the people if they ^{did not} have not a philosophic basis. "NO ONE WOULD THINK, answers LASKI, OF MAKING ELABORATE METAPHYSICAL RESEARCHES TO DISCOVER A DOCTRINAL BASIS FOR THE HABITS OF CAPONE OR "DUTCH SCHULTZ". BUT IF EITHER WERE TO HAVE SHOT HIS WAY TO THE WHITE HOUSE, WE MAY BE SURE THAT LEARNED MEN WOULD HAVE APPEARED TO FIND PHILOSOPHIC ORIGINS FOR THE HABITS THEY IMPOSED UPON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THIS IS WHAT HAS HAPPENED WITH MUSSOLINI AND HITLER. THE OUTLAW HAS BECOME THE STATE; THE OUTLAW, AS STATE, MUST PROVIDE A RATIONALE FOR HIS BEHAVIOUR, FOR WITHOUT SUCH A JUSTIFICATION ITS NAKED VIOLENCE IS OBVIOUS; AND MEN RARELY ARE LONG RECONCILED TO HABITS OF NAKED VIOLENCE" (LASKI, op. cit. pp. 108-109).

If Fascism develops a doctrine-like body of principles, this is but "propaganda expedients", unless "it would cease to be Fascism" (id. p. 114). When the strong subdues the Intellectual, he forces him to write an apology of his deeds. Sometimes, this Intellectual proposes himself for this doing. It is then "LA TRAHISON DES CLERCS", as would say J. BENDA.

LASKI's point of view is superfi-

cial. It is hasty and simplifies ~~too much~~ the problem; ~~it seems that it does not go profoundly in its study.~~ ^{too much} The point is to come to an agreement upon the meaning of the term : doctrine. What are the ~~components of a political~~ ^{constituent elements of any political} doctrine ? Premises upon which Society is proposed to be based and which will shape it anew, and political means according to which these basic principles will be achieved in the different sections of national life. In Fascism, the basis is a corporative society, the realiser is an emnipotent State. In Nazism, Führerprinzip in which is included : Racialism according to the special meaning given to Führung and Volksgemeinschaft in the Nazi Doctrine. These premises are realized by the Führer itself who is the embodiment of the Volksgeist. These principles are coherent, they are logically related the ones to the others. Further, Nazism brings new ideas to Political Science. In order to test this assumption, we have but to refer to the German publicists' writings. They evolve a new doctrine in the full sense of the word; a doctrine as internally logical as Democracy. To discuss the value of this doctrine is entirely another story. LASKI seems to have confounded his political science with his political prejudices.

It is easy to say that "the learned

men...appeared to find philosophic origins" for Nazism once in power. But reality is not along this line, unless to consider that HITLER is that learned man... Nazism, once in power, was already in possession of a complete set of doctrinal principles. The "learned men" in question came afterwards to explain and develop those principles. "MEIN KAMPF" was written ^{long} ~~far~~ before January 30, 1933. We find nowadays the German political writers constantly referring to this book, and they used to do it long before 1933.

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To deny that Nazism has a philosophy, to consider it as a "doctrineless Nihilism", is refusing resolutely to see reality. Nazism has a meaning, far more profound than that of CAPONE's gestures. It is a new way to set and explain social relationships. What is important is to study it objectively : without passing "jugements de valeur". Undoubtedly, Nazism ^{has} ~~affords~~ very hideous aspects in its realisations; yet, ^{this} ~~it~~ does not enable us to condemn it on the ground that it lacks a doctrine. Every human action is underlied ^{aid} ~~ied~~ by a philosophic principle. Every man has a Weltanschauung of his own. Even a gangster

has a doctrine justifying his activity. We may hate Nazism because of its consequences, but ~~this is far~~ ^{that is not} ~~from the point to~~ ^{the same as} assume ^{us} that it is doctrineless.

We should separate Nazi Doctrine from some results that happen to take place in the realisation of the premises. In order to understand any doctrine, we should "decant" it. Was THE GREAT TERROR implied in the doctrine of the French Revolution? ROBESPIERRE and NAPOLEON were results of it, but they vanished, and the doctrine remained. And what about Sovietism in its early days? Certainly it had not a more attractive aspect than Nazism, and yet, we cannot claim that Sovietism is ^{not} or has not a doctrine.

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Another aspect of the problem is shown by F. NEUMANN in his "BEHEMOTH" in which he writes that "THE IDEOLOGY OF NATIONAL-SOCIALISM CONTAINS ELEMENTS OF IDEALISM, POSITIVISM, PRAGMATISM, VITALISM, UNIVERSALISM, INSTITUTIONALISM - in SHORT, OF EVERY CONCEIVABLE PHILOSOPHY. BUT THE DIVERSE ELEMENTS ARE NOT INTEGRATED, THEY ARE MERELY USED AS DEVICES TO ESTABLISH AND EXTEND POWER AND

TO CARRY ON PROPAGANDA" (p. 377). "... NATIONAL SOCIALISM HAS NO POLITICAL THEORY OF ITS OWN, AND, ... THE IDEOLOGIES IT USES OR DISCARDS ARE MERE ARCANE DOMINATIONS, TECHNIQUES OF DOMINATION" (p. 381), because making appeal to the people, and "... IN ORDER TO MANIPULATE THE MASSES, IN ORDER TO CONTROL, ATOMIZE, TERRORIZE THEM, ONE MUST CAPTURE THEM IDEOLOGICALLY" (p. 380). If there is such a thing as a Nazi Doctrine, it is only a "ramassis" of spared principles.

Hitlerism cannot, at any price, make use of thought, because it is, in its very essence, unable to involve any doctrine. It is "INCOMPATIBLE WITH ANY RATIONAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, THAT IS, WITH ANY DOCTRINE THAT DERIVES POLITICAL POWER FROM THE WILL OR THE NEEDS OF MAN. WHY THAT SHOULD BE SO IS, I BELIEVE, AMPLY PROVED BY THE STRUCTURE OF NATIONAL-SOCIALIST SOCIETY. THERE EXISTS A FUNDAMENTAL ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVITY OF GERMAN INDUSTRY, ITS CAPACITY FOR PROMOTING THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE AND ITS ACTUAL ACHIEVEMENTS, AND THIS ANTAGONISM IS STEADILY DEEPENING... BETWEEN AN ECONOMY THAT CAN PRODUCE IN ABUNDANCE FOR WELFARE BUT THAT DOES SO ONLY FOR DESTRUCTION (NEUMANN, op. cit. pp. 378-9).

Hitlerism is not a political theory. It is a "conscious trick" (id. p. 379) to take over power : Machtübernahme. It develops two ways of conduct : the technique of the coup d'état : Macht-ergreifung, and means to keep power. It is essentially thought-destroying. Even if the nazi leaders wished to make use of theories, thoughts would vanish under their pens. NEUMANN admits that Hitlerism, even being incompatible with the life of spirit, contains some ideological elements, but they are used as a façade to cover ugly machinations for the time being.

Two objections may be ^{raised} ~~arisen~~ against this interpretation. 1- We should not confound between the esse of Nazism, and its bene esse. Suppose that the nazi leaders use their doctrine as a means for an end, this does not, and cannot imply that Nazism does not exist as a doctrine. It is written that we should "listen to their words and refrain to do their actions". DANTON and ROBESPIERRE served, both, the same cause, the same doctrine. The first used it as a "conscious trick" to get rich, when the second was deeply convinced of the righteousness of the French Revolutionary philosophy. In both cases, we cannot deny, because DANTON acted as

he did, that the French Revolution ~~did not~~ involve a doctrine of its own. I am persuaded that there are heartily-convinced Hitlerians in Germany, at least among the mass of the followers, and this is sufficient to bring us to believe that even in the practical life it exists a Nazi doctrine.

2- The second objection is that we cannot discuss a doctrine on the ground of its results. Because Nazi economy is mostly engaged in war-production, this does not mean that the so-called nazi doctrine is "incompatible with any rational political philosophy". It is true that "tree is judged ^{by} ~~on~~ its fruits", but, if the fruits are bad, it does not follow that the tree does not exist, or that it is incompatible with the conception of "treeness". After all, what should be the first quality of a doctrine ? Its internal sequence : its premises should be in logical accordance with themselves. We can reject nazi premises, but we cannot deny their existence. It is a fact, and nothing can prevail against a fact. The existence of a political doctrine, of any doctrine, is independent of the good-faith and the conviction of its followers. How numerous are those who betray a cause by their felony, their hypocrisy or their enthusiastic fanaticism !...

Further, we cannot judge a new doctrine through our own concepts, or on the ground of traditional canons. We should stand and study it from within, and not, becoming egocentric, to study it through our prejudices. Nazism is a new doctrine. It proposes, rightly or wrongly, new social categories. In its essence, it tries to set anew social relationships. In the Occidental World, the Individual is in the focus of Society; in Nazi Germany, ethnical community, or Volksgemeinschaft, is the first social atom. Everything is studied through this new social standard. When "The Occidentalists" reject Nazism on the ground that it suppresses the Individual, they are overlooking an important element in the discussion : that both parties are not using the same terminology. For the one, the Individual is dealt with in function of Volksgemeinschaft; for the other, it is considered per se. Hence the attacks of the LASKIES and NEUMANN'S against Nazism.

Another point is that we should not mix up the permanent elements of Nazism with its temporary ones. War production, concentration camps... are political means. They are essentially temporary. They will vanish with "the Nazi State", as the "Coalitions" with NAPOLEON. The permanent

elements are those belonging to the heart of the doctrine, those that will exist on after the collapse of HITLER, and will survive him as the Pyramids survived the PHARAOES and their tyrannical policy; Greek Thought is still illuminating the World though it was based on a Society which recommends slavery; the Roman Monuments remain when The Ceasars' persecutions passed away; Christian Thought was not injured by the Inquisition. Did not HAMMURABI's code survive the State that produced it, the State which an Assyrologue termed as being the Prussia of the Ancient World, which used to consider war as a "national industry" (MIRABEAU of Prussia), and territorial conquest, as a normal way to enlarge her provinces ? Thought is independent, for its survivance from the Society out of which it emerges./.

Chapter One

EIN FÜHRER

§- 1.

THE FÜHRERPRINZIP

It is normally considered that Racialism is the most important element in Nazism. Without Racialism, there would not be such a thing as Hitlerism. It may be so at the starting point of the evolution of the doctrine. The first point in the doctrine is Racialism. But when the doctrine evolves so as to become a comprehensive Weltanschauung, Racialism remains at the bottom, and out of it emerges a new element which gives to Nazism its distinctive shape : the Führerprinzip. This principle is, not only the most important element in Nazism, but also its real contribution to Political Thought. It is through the Führerprinzip

that all the political categories conveyed in the doctrine may be understood. Without the Führer, there would not be the Volksgemeinschaft, the Führerstaat... and all these hierarchical divisions of the Nazi State. The Führerprinzip is the last phase in the evolution of Racialism. We may conceive of Racialism without the Führerprinzip, but we cannot conceive of the Führerprinzip (according to the Nazi views) without its racial infrastructure. Without the Führerprinzip, Racialism would be chaotic; without it, it becomes a constructive conception of History along which the Third Reich will be built up.

Nazism is a logical doctrine. Its elements hold together through the Führerprinzip. It may be compared to a pyramid : the apex representing the Führer, its basis, the Volk, and its faces, symbolising the unity of the whole body. Ideally, it is the apex that bring together the faces and the basis of the pyramid. The Führerstaat, as the embodiment of the doctrine, is the pyramid : the Führer is at the top, the Volksgemeinschaft, at the basis, and the State machine between the two. It is according to this scheme that runs the following exposé of the doctrine which may be summarized, through the Führerprinzip, as follows :

At the beginning there is the Führer. The Führer, to be Führer, should have his Gefolgschaft, a following. The Gefolgschaft, in order to be in union with the Führer, should be racially homogenous, hence racial purity. As there is but one Volk, but one Volksgeist, there should be but one Führer. This principle is a necessary consequence of the premises Volk and Volksgeist. It is not dictatorship, still less ceasarism. It is the principle according to which a single official should be responsible of the State machine. The Volksgeist is unique. Its will is also unique. The Führer does not only concentrate all State-powers in his hands, he is the State itself. He holds in his hands at once the so-called three Powers. He frames the laws, he passes them and he, himself, executes them. The Führerprinzip is political monism, it is mysticism based on the union with the will of the Führer. "OUR CONSTITUTION IS THE WILL OF THE FÜHRER", declared Dr. FRANK on May, 1936 (in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 419). And HITLER's answer is : "YOU MUST FUSE YOUR WILL WITH MINE" (on 7 May, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit., p. 460)./.

§- 2.

FÜHRER AND GEFOLGSCHAFT.

Two important things are to be studied in connection with the principle of leadership : the Führer and the Volk who is behind him as Gefolgschaft. What is the Führer ? How does he emerge ? These two questions are intimately connected with the conception of the Volksgeist. HEGEL conceives of a ~~Weltgeist~~ Weltgeist, ROSENBERG, of a Volksgeist. The Volksgeist and the Volk are but one single unit. There is no Volk without a Geist, and similarly, there is no Geist without a Volk. The destruction of the one is the destruction of the other. Hitlerism considers that there are no individuals, there is but the Volk. This Volk is a living collective entity. It has rules of its own, independent of those regulating the life of its members. It has a soul of its own. It is not the totality of the individual souls. It has a proper existence. It is the soul which underlies this body

called : Volk. Unity of the Volk, unity of the Volksgeist, here is the Hitlerian monism.

Two factors are essential in the existence of the Volk : Soil and Blood. Blood carries within it the inner forces of the Volk. Through the Blood, the Volk lives its spiritual life. The Blood is for the Volk what memory is for man : the depository of his knowledge. The Blood underlies the cultural life of the Volk. But when the Volk exteriorises its activity and enters in contact with the Soil, its Geist does no more express its personality through Blood and Kultur, but through the Führer. The Führer is the physical embodiment of the Volksgeist when the Volk, obeying an inner impulse, tries to subdue its physical environment. Führer and Kultur are the sword and the spirit of the Volk. This embodiment recalls us what happens in the Thibet when the Great Lama dies : his soul, which is the Weltgeist, enters immediately the body of the child who is given birth in the same moment of the Lama's death. The Führer contains within himself all the vital forces of the Volk. He represents its physical unity, as Kultur its spiritual one. The Führer is not a mere symbol of power. He is more than that. He is above all contingencies and temporal life. He is the expression

of the vitality of the Volk. The Führer is the appointee of the Volksgeist. He is not a self-made man, "un soldat de fortune" who, succeeding in his career, is elected Leader of the country. There is nothing like that. "HE IS HIS OWN BEST EVIDENCE, HIS WITNESS IS WITHIN" (quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 414) says a Nazi writer. "LE FÜHRER, N'EUT-IL PAS DE DISCIPLES, FUT-IL SOLITAIRE ET INCONNU, QUE LA VOIX DE LA RACE PARLERAIT PAR SA BOUCHE, QUE LE SCEAU DU DESTIN SERAIT SUR LUI" (A. RIVAUD, Le Relèvement de l'Allemagne, p. 126). The Führer imposes his personality on the Volk; nobody can resist him, nobody can prevent his advent. Once the Geist incarnates itself in the body of the coming-to-be Führer, this person becomes the only responsible of the life of the Volk. "THROUGH HIS OWN PERSONALITY, writes BAYNES, HE AWAKES THE UNQUESTIONING ABSOLUTE LOYALTY OF THE PEOPLE AS HIS FOLLOWERS. HE IS NO REPRESENTATIVE TO WHOM THE PEOPLE HAS GIVEN A MANDATE : HE IS THE INCARNATION OF THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE, AND IT IS ONLY THROUGH HIS INTERPRETATION THAT THE PEOPLE IS LED TO A FULL REALIZATION OF ITSELF. HE IS WHAT HE IS THROUGH THE PEOPLE WHOSE BLOODKNIT COMMUNITY HE INTERPRETS : THE PEOPLE RECOGNIZES ITS OWN CALLING THROUGH HIS LEADERSHIP" (op. cit., p. 414).

This way to appoint the Führer has

nothing to do with the old Biblical doctrine of the divine appointment of Kings. The Führer emerges out of the heart of the people. He is at once a member of the people, a Genoss, and their Commander. His body is the shrine in which lives the Volksgeist. The divinely appointed king is not sharing God's divinity. God selects him to lead his people, but this appointment does not essentially transcend him. SAÜL remains SAÜL, with his qualities and defects... The Führer is above every human weakness. He is elected by the Volksgeist, but in the same time he is sharing by definition the "esse" of this Geist. He is the Volks-Geist on earth.

This conception of the Führer carries essentially within it the conception of the following of the Führer, his Gefolgschaft. As there is no Volk without a Soul, there is too no Führer without a Gefolgschaft. As soon as the Führer proclaims his appointment, the Volk becomes a Gefolgschaft. It is an unavoidable result. The Gefolgschaft is not constituted only by the Führer's followers. All the Volk becomes such. If there is any reluctance on the part of somebody to "folgen" the new appointee, the task of the Führer is to bring him within his obedience. Führer and Gefolgschaft are the two aspects of the same entity. They are the two elements of the same

conception : the Führerprinzip. There are indispensable the one to the other.

When the Volksgeist appoints the Führer to incarnate it on earth, and when the Volk constitutes itself in Gefolgschaft, a further basic transformation occurs to the Volk. The Volk, before these events, happen, ^{was} is unconscious of its unity, physical as well as spiritual. It ^{led} was a herd-like sporadic life. No unity of its aspirations, no consciousness of its value, no due importance is given to its inner life : the Blood which is the cause of its Kultur, no due importance is given to its external life, the Soil, which underlies its political history. When the Führer is appointed, the Volk takes immediately conscious ^{ness} of itself, and its members become ^{of} solidary the ones ~~with~~ the others. They become united and they follow their Führer. In that moment, Gefolgschaft and Führer unite to form a Volksgemeinschaft.

The distinction between Volk and Volksgemeinschaft is essentially spiritual. It is not accidental and due to external changes. The Volksgemeinschaft is the Volk led by the Führer. This "Führung" is joyfully and consciously accepted by the Volk. The Volk is no more alone in the World, dismembered and chaotic. The Volksgeist is no more passive and taking

no care of its Volk, its body. The links between them are strengthened anew. The Volksgeist becomes again "maîtresse du corps qu'elle anime". The Volk recognizes its Geist, and the Geist, its Volk.

As we see, the central point in the life of the Volk is the emergence of the Führer. He comes to existence when the Volk forgets its traditions and destroys its links with its "Blut und Boden"-life. When the Volk does no more obey its instincts and refuse to follow its natural leaders, the Volksgeist ^{designates} appoints, in due time, a Führer whose mission is to bring back the Volk to the essence of its past, and to constitute it again in a Volksgemeinschaft.

The Führerprinzip is essentially monistic; and ^{like} as any monistic doctrine, it is mystical. It recalls strangely Buddhism and its interpretation of History. When the people surrender themselves to the evil, God, (it means the Weltgeist which groups the vital spiritual forces of the World), sends to them a Prophet, a Teacher, to lead them back in the right road. This principle is at the basis of all the Hitlerian doctrine. Without it, the doctrine disappears, and what it remains is only an unorganic racialism.

What are the relations between the Führer and its Gefolgschaft ? The emergence of the Führer has a decisive influence on the Volk, its organization and social life. The relations between them are strongly impregnated with the personality of the Führer. Two characters are the starting point and the bases of these relations : 1- The Führer is still a member, a Genoss, of the Volksgemeinschaft, 2- The mutual confidence between the Führer and his Gefolgschaft.

The Führer, ^{in spite of} though his transcendental mission, is still a Genoss of the Volksgemeinschaft. He realizes in himself a hypostatic union-like between his simple human nature and the new attributes conferred on him by his holy appointment. He is at once an ordinary member of the ethnical community and an extraordinary leader elected by the Volksgeist to lead the people. The Führer is Primus inter pares. As a Volkgenoss, he has the same duties towards his Volk as any other member. As a Führer, his duties are transcended and become of a higher quality. His social rôle becomes a mission.

This union in one person of two different attributes makes the relations between the Führer

and the Gefolgschaft of a special nature. The Führer is not a President, nor a Dictator. He has not to order to be obeyed. The Gefolgschaft^{halt} trusted him so much^e that obedience becomes loyalism, I mean an automatic yes. There is no room for coercion in their relations. The Gefolgschaft constitutes a Vertrauens-Gemeinschaft, a community of mutual confidence. The Führer, when he is fulfilling his mission, obeys his instincts. He is the spokesman of the Volksgeist, his will, or what it seems to be so, is its will, he only transmits its orders. Obeying the Führer, is obeying one's self, since the Volksgeist is everybody's Geist. The Volk organized in Volksgemeinschaft becomes like an organism : when the members make a movement, they are obeying the whole organism, and not any spino-cerebral center. When a Volkgenoss obeys the "order" of the Führer, he is, in reality, obeying his own will, since the Führer expresses but the will of the Volksgeist. Obedience, loyalism... are identical to ROUSSEAU's liberty that consists to obey the general will because the general will expresses the will of every individual.

In such a situation, the Gefolgschaft cannot ^{fail} ~~not~~ to trust its Führer. Their relations are that of a believer praying ^{to} his god. The Volkgenossen surrender their will to their Führer. They agree

beforehand to be conducted by him, to obey him, to be loyal to him. Since they recognized his mission and Führung, they constitute his Gefolgschaft. They are rather apostles than followers. Their confidence in him is blind, because it is instinctive; it is joyful because it is voluntary. There are no more ruler and ruled, there is only a Volksgemeinschaft sharing in common what they have, and what they expect to have. When the early christians surrendered themselves to the rule of the Christian Community, the first thing they used to do was to share their wealth with their "brothers" in Christ". This primitive form of communism is the characteristic of the social life of the Volksgemeinschaft; the confidence of the Christians in the Apostles is also the characteristic of the relations of the Gefolgschaft with its Führer.

What is noteworthy is that the relations of the Gefolgschaft with the Führer are not based on a rational basis. Reason is adequate only for individual actions, it does not ~~more~~ ^{fit} in the activity of the group. Instinct is the supreme source of wisdom. It is the indispensable link within the Volksgemeinschaft. Instinct alone can reach the depths of the Volksgeist, Reason is a sophisticated instinct. Reasoning is sophistry. A true Volkgenoss is ^{he} ~~him~~ who trusts his instincts in his social life. The instinct

is at the basis of the relations between Führer and Gefolgschaft. What is important is subconsciousness and not consciousness . Consciousness and Reason may be corrupted, and that what happened in several times. Instinct draws its vitality from the Volksgeist. It is directly related to it : it is anchored in it, hence its prevalence over Reason. Instinct, being an attribute of man as a Volkgenoss, is above contingency, whereas Reason, being an attribute of man as an independent being, is essentially perishable and temporal ./.

§- 3. FÜHRERPRINZIP AND ORGANIZATION.

The organization of the State ^{is in} ~~goes~~ ^{harmony with} along the Führerprinzip. As the Führer is the embodiment of the Volksgeist, he should, and he is effectively, in contact with every member of the Community. There ^{is} ~~are~~ no need for a State machine and officials. Every Volkgenoss should refer directly to the Führer. This direct link between the Führer and his Gefolkschaft is based on the community of blood. Bloodknit underlies this direct relationship. The Volksgeist is the way through which the Führer communicates with the Volk. But when "... THE COMMUNITY OF FOLLOWERS INCREASES, DIRECT COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE HEAD AND THE INDIVIDUAL FOLLOWERS BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE. THIS INTERCOURSE MUST THEN TAKE PLACE THROUGH AN INTERMEDIARY APPARATUS INTRODUCED INTO THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MOVEMENT. THUS IDEAL CONDITIONS OF INTER-COMMUNICATION CEASE, AND ORGANIZATION HAS TO BE INTRO-

DUCED AS A NECESSARY EVIL..." (Mein Kampf, p. 197).

Practical life has its necessities. The followers, becoming numerous, can no more be ruled directly and by a single leader. Organization becomes indispensable, but on the ground that "THE PROBLEM OF THE INNER ORGANIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT IS NOT ONE OF PRINCIPLE BUT OF EXPEDIENCY" (Mein Kampf, p. 196). The ^{few} ~~least~~ sub-leaders, or unter-führer, the best. "THE BEST KIND OF ORGANIZATION IS NOT THAT WHICH PLACES A LARGE INTERMEDIARY APPARATUS BETWEEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MOVEMENT AND THE INDIVIDUAL FOLLOWERS BUT RATHER THAT WHICH WORKS SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE SMALLEST POSSIBLE INTERMEDIARY APPARATUS" (Mein Kampf, p. 196). Since "... IT IS THE TASK OF SUCH AN ORGANIZATION TO TRANSMIT A CERTAIN IDEA WHICH ORIGINATED IN THE BRAIN OF ONE INDIVIDUAL TO A MULTITUDE OF PEOPLE..." (Mein Kampf, p. 196), the greater an organization is, the less efficient it becomes. The essence of the ideas transmitted loses its value when the administrative machine is too large. "FROM ANY AND EVERY VIEWPOINT, THE ORGANIZATION IS ONLY A NECESSARY EVIL. AT BEST IT IS ONLY A MEANS OF REACHING CERTAIN ENDS. THE WORST HAPPENS WHEN IT BECOMES AN END IN ITSELF" (Mein Kampf, p. 196). The task of the Führer is to prevent the organization to become an end in itself.

He should constantly control it, hence the necessity to diminish its size.

A further condition should be also fulfilled in order to bring organization to fruition: the selection of the appointees. The real value of any organization depends on the value of the unterführer in charge. Two conditions are prerequisite: intelligence and Loyalism. By intelligence it is meant intelligent discipline. A Volkgenoss should be intelligent, but his intelligence should be in relation with the instincts of the people, the Volksgeist. Reasonableness is not intelligence because it leads to individual activity. Instinctiveness is the most valuable quantity of an intelligent man. Loyalism is the attitude of the Volk constituted in Gefolgschaft. Loyalism is devotion to the Volksgemeinschaft, readiness to defend it and to die for it; it is to be constantly behind the Führer, ready to serve him, to respond to his appeal, because he is the representative of the community, its leader and organizer. By these two qualities organization can be prevented to become an evil. "BY ITS VERY NATURE, AN ORGANIZATION CAN EXIST ONLY IF LEADERS OF HIGH INTELLECTUAL ABILITY ARE SERVED BY A LARGE MASS OF MEN WHO ARE EMOTIONALLY DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE" (Mein Kampf, p. 255).

Intellectualism among the masses is an evil. It may become destructiveness. An argumentative Gefolgschaft is very difficult to lead. " TO MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE IN A COMPANY OF TWO HUNDRED MEN WHO ARE EQUALLY INTELLIGENT AND CAPABLE WOULD TURN OUT MORE DIFFICULT IN THE LONG RUN THAN IN A COMPANY OF ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY LESS GIFTED MEN AND TEN WHO HAVE HAD A HIGHER EDUCATION" (Mein Kampf, p.255).

If the first quality of the leaders is consciousness of their qualities, that of a Gefolgschaft is discipline. Intelligence ^{at} in the top, discipline ^{at} in the bottom. The masses are asked but to answer : yes. The Führer is not interested to lead a group of intellectuals. His mission is to synchronise (gleichem) the instincts of the masses with the Volksgeist he incarnates. Here is the secret of the Führung, the basis of the Führerstaat. "... THE STRENGTH OF A POLITICAL PARTY NEVER CONSISTS IN THE INTELLIGENCE AND INDEPENDENT SPIRIT OF THE RANK-AND-FILE OF ITS MEMBERS BUT RATHER IN THE SPIRIT OF WILLING OBEDIENCE WITH WHICH THEY FOLLOW THEIR INTELLECTUAL LEADERS. WHAT IS OF DECISIVE IMPORTANCE IS THE LEADERSHIP ITSELF" (Mein Kampf, p. 256). "OUR ORGANIZATION IS BUILT UP ON DISCIPLINE, AND I HAVE NO WISH TO SEE THIS ORGANIZATION BROKEN

UP BY A FEW SWOLLEN-HEADED LITTERATEURS" (HITLER to Otto STRASSER, quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 466).

The masses have not to reason, but to follow : to follow their Führer blindly and fanatically. The best modality of discipline is fanaticism : "THE FUTURE OF A MOVEMENT IS DETERMINED BY THE DEVOTION, AND EVEN INTOLERANCE, WITH WHICH ITS MEMBERS FIGHT THEIR CAUSE. THEY MUST FEEL CONVINCED THAT THEIR CAUSE ALONE IS JUST, AND THEY MUST CARRY IT THROUGH TO SUCCESS, AS AGAINST OTHER SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SAME FIELD" (Mein Kampf, p. 198).

In order to be obeyed, the Führer should have two basic qualities : passion and will-to-power. To be passionate is the sign of divine selection. It is through passion that the Führer enters in contact with the Volksgeist. Passion is rooted in the instinctive life of man. "HE WHO IS NOT CAPABLE OF PASSIONATE FEELING AND SPEECH WAS NEVER CHOSEN BY PROVIDENCE TO BE THE HERALD OF ITS WILL" (Mein Kampf, p. 69). Passion is a divine gift. But to make one's passion constructive, one should unite it with will-to-power. Passion gives energy, will-to-power, the purpose to reach. The union of these two qualities is the indispensable requirement

for the fulfilment of a leader's mission. "THE WILL TO BE A LEADER IS NOT A SUFFICIENT QUALIFICATION FOR LEADERSHIP. FOR THE LEADER MUST HAVE THE OTHER NECESSARY QUALITIES. AMONG THESE QUALITIES WILL-POWER AND ENERGY MUST BE CONSIDERED AS MORE SERVICEABLE THAN THE INTELLECT OF A GENIUS..." (Mein Kampf, p. 198).

The two poles of the Volksgemeinschaft are the Führer and his Gefolgschaft. As ^{long} ~~far~~ as the followers are not numerous, the contact between the Führer and his Gefolgschaft may be directly established. But as they grow too much, indirect relationship alone becomes possible. The best way to get this indirect contact is through mass-meetings. Mass-meetings are chosen because they create in the Führer and the Gefolgschaft the spiritual atmosphere within which the union is achieved between them. Both Führer and masses are passionate. Once in presence, they are easily synchronized and the Führer may easily control them. Passion, will-to-power and discipline are realised through mass-meetings. "THE BROAD MASSES OF POPULATION ARE MORE AMENABLE TO THE APPEAL OF RHETORIC THAN TO ANY OTHER FORCE. ALL GREAT MOVEMENTS ARE POPULAR MOVEMENTS. THEY ARE THE VOLCANIC ERUPTIONS OF HUMAN PASSIONS AND EMOTIONS, STIRRED INTO ACTIVITY BY THE RUTHLESS GODDESS DISTRESS OR BY THE TORCH OF THE SPOKEN WORD CAST INTO THE MIDST OF THE PEOPLE.

IN NO CASE HAVE GREAT MOVEMENTS BEEN SET AFOOT BY THE SYRUPY EFFUSION OF AESTHETIC LITTERATEURS AND DRAWING-ROOM HEROES.

"THE DOOM OF A NATION CAN BE AVERTED ONLY BY A STORM OF GLOWING PASSION; BUT ONLY THESE WHO ARE PASSIONATE THEMSELVES CAN AROUSE PASSION IN OTHERS. IT IS ONLY THROUGH THE CAPACITY FOR PASSIONATE FEELING THAT CHOSEN LEADERS CAN WIELD THE POWER OF THE WORD WHICH, LIKE HAMMER BLOWS, WILL OPEN THE DOOR TO THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE" (Mein Kampf, p. 69).

The means used to synchronize the mass with the Führer is the spoken-word. The spoken-word comes from the heart of the orator. It is subject to his innate qualities, his instincts; he does not think over it. The mass is passionate, the orator too. The spoken-word "... IS THE ONLY MEANS CAPABLE OF PRODUCING REALLY GREAT REVOLUTIONS, WHICH CAN BE EXPLAINED ON GENERAL PSYCHOLOGICAL GROUNDS" (Mein Kampf, p. 262). The spoken-word emphasizes the subconscious life of the people. It is alone responsible for "... the formidable events which have changed the aspect of the world... (and) not... the written ... word" (Mein Kampf, p. 262). That is why the Führer should be a passionate orator, otherwise he would not be an effective conductor of the people lacking any contact with them.

There is a continuous relation between the speaker and his hearers. "AN ORATOR RECEIVES CONTINUOUS GUIDANCE FROM THE PEOPLE BEFORE WHOM HE SPEAKS. THIS HELPS HIM TO CORRECT THE DIRECTION OF HIS SPEECH; FOR HE CAN ALWAYS GAUGE, BY THE FACES OF HIS HEARERS, HOW FAR THEY FOLLOW AND UNDERSTAND HIM, AND WHETHER HIS WORDS ARE PRODUCING THE DESIRED EFFECT" (Mein Kampf, pp. 262-263). The Führerprinzip ^{is here} is at its best. The Führer alone reasons, the people accepts the ideas transmitted. The Führer is master of his hearers. He follows the evolution of their sentiments; he detects them; he is constantly attentive to get from them the effect desired. They are not left alone. The Führer is constantly watching over them, because "one MUST ALSO REMEMBER THAT OF ITSELF THE MULTITUDE IS MENTALLY INERT..." (Mein Kampf, p. 263). This is the basis of the superiority of the Führer over the mass. "HE WILL ALWAYS FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE GREAT MASS IN SUCH A WAY THAT FROM THE LIVING EMOTION OF HIS HEARERS THE APT WORD WHICH HE NEEDS WILL BE SUGGESTED TO HIM AND IN ITS TURN THIS WILL GO STRAIGHT TO THE HEARTS OF HIS HEARERS" (Mein Kampf, p. 263). The Führer, as an orator, is in the position of a prophet expressing directly the will of the Volksgeist to his Gefolgschaft. He moulds

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in the same time, the Volk in the pattern he wishes. The Volk becomes a raw material, a paste, ready to take willingly any form he wishes to give it.

A mass-meeting has a further result on the individuals assembled. "MASS DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE GRAND SCALE NOT ONLY REINFORCE THE WILL OF THE INDIVIDUAL BUT THEY DRAW HIM STILL CLOSER TO THE MOVEMENT AND HELP TO CREATE AN ESPRIT DE CORPS" (Mein Kampf, p. 267). This esprit de corps is the first condition to keep the people united. It preserves the Volksgemeinschaft from dismemberment, and the Volks-Geist from corruption. Without mass-demonstrations the people may drop again in the evil of individualism, and forget that they are but Volkgenossen of the German Race. "THE MAN WHO APPEARS FIRST AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A NEW DOCTRINE... HAS NEED OF THAT REINFORCEMENT WHICH COMES FROM THE CONSCIOUSNESS THAT HE IS A MEMBER OF A GREAT COMMUNITY. AND ONLY A MASS DEMONSTRATION CAN IMPRESS UPON HIM THE GREATNESS OF THIS COMMUNITY" (Mein Kampf, p. 267). Furthermore, these mass-demonstrations are the only opportunities given to the Führer to get in direct contact with the people. The Führer has either to be left alone with his eventual inspiration, or to connect himself with the people: what is the only sure way to lead them and to instruct

them along the line of the will of the Volksgeist. A member of the ethnical community, left alone, "FEEL(S) HIMSELF EMBARRASSED AND HAS NEED OF... REINFORCEMENT..." (Mein Kampf, p. 267). He does not know what to do. He cannot ask directly the Führer for help. Is it possible for him, in such conditions, to find truth? No. But, "IF, WHILE STILL SEEKING HIS WAY, HE IS GRIPPED BY THE FORCE OF MASS-SUGGESTION WHICH COMES FROM THE EXCITEMENT AND ENTHUSIASM OF THREE OR FOUR THOUSAND OTHER MEN IN WHOSE MIDST HE FINDS HIMSELF; IF THE MANIFEST SUCCESS AND THE CONCENSUS OF THOUSANDS CONFIRM THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE OF THE NEW TEACHING AND FOR THE FIRST TIME RAISE DOUBT IN HIS MIND AS TO THE TRUTH OF THE OPINIONS HELD BY HIMSELF UP TO NOW.- THEN HE SUBMITS HIMSELF TO THE FASCINATION OF WHAT WE CALL MASS-SUGGESTION. THE WILL, THE YEARNING AND INDEED THE STRENGTH OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE IN EACH INDIVIDUAL. A MAN WHO ENTERS SUCH A MEETING IN DOUBT AND HESITATION LEAVES IT INWARDLY FORTIFIED; HE HAS BECOME A MEMBER OF A COMMUNITY" (Mein Kampf, p. 267).

The mass demonstrations are not an expediency^t to connect the Führer with his Gefolgschaft, they are an end in themselves. Held year after year in the same place, they become a symbol. This symbol will be of great imporatanee, because it asserts the

unity of the people. The people will be then united in their aspirations, their Weltanschauung and their life. The Gefolgschaft will regularly come to this meeting-place to proclaim its union and its faith in its Führer. "... TOO MUCH EMPHASIS CANNOT BE LAID ON THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING ONE GEOGRAPHIC CENTRE AS THE CHIEF SEAT OF THE MOVEMENT. ONLY THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH A SEAT OR CENTRE AROUND WHICH A MAGIC CHARM SUCH AS THAT OF MECCA OR ROME IS WOVEN, CAN SUPPLY A MOVEMENT WITH THAT PERMANENT DRIVING FORCE WHICH HAS ITS SOURCES IN THE INTERNAL UNITY OF THE MOVEMENT AND THE RECOGNITION OF ONE HEAD AS REPRESENTING THIS UNITY.

"WHEN THE FIRST GERMINAL CELLS OF THE ORGANIZATION ARE BEING FORMED CARE MUST ALWAYS BE TAKEN TO INSIST ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PLACE WHERE THE IDEA ORIGINATED. THE CREATIVE, MORAL AND PRACTICAL GREATNESS OF THE PLACE WHENCE THE MOVEMENT WENT FORTH AND FROM WHICH IT IS GOVERNED MUST BE EXALTED TO A SUPREME SYMBOL, AND THIS MUST BE HONOURED ALL THE MORE ACCORDING AS THE ORIGINAL CELLS OF THE MOVEMENT BECOME SO NUMEROUS THAT THEY HAVE TO BE REGROUPED INTO LARGER UNITS IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE ORGANIZATION" (Mein Kampf, p. 197).

In ^{the} Nuremberg meetings, the Führer-

Prinzip is "exalted to a supreme symbol". It is completely realised in all its different aspects. The Volk is assembled before the Führer as his Gefolgschaft, blindly following him, joyfully trusting him, fanatically hailing him. The ^{platform} Tribune reaches its supreme force : it becomes the Sinai ^{from} ~~over~~ the top ^{of} from which the Volksgeist speaks, through the Führer, to the Volksgemeinschaft. It is the triumph of the spoken-word, the most vital link between the Führer and his Gefolgschaft. Organization is annihilated, and direct relationship is established. Mass-meeting is the real nazi conception of organization. It takes the place of State-machine^a and prevents organization ^{from} ~~to~~ become an evil. _{ing}./.

§. 4-

POWERS OF THE FÜHRER.

The nature of the power of the Führer depends on the nature of their source. The Führer is the appointee of the Volksgeist which he incarnates physically. The Volksgeist is the sum total of the instincts of the people; it dominates the people and is alone responsible for the way along which to rule them. The Führer, in order to be able to fulfil his mission, should enjoy full authority over his Gefolgschaft : he is its supreme and sole master, his will is irrevocable. Three qualities form the essence of his power : it is sui generis, personal, unlimited.

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THE POWER OF THE FÜHRER IS SUI GENERIS.

It is not comparable to the power enjoyed by the Fascist Dictator, a constitutional Sovereign, or a Proletarian Ruler. The Führer imposes, himself, his personality ^{on} ~~over~~ the people, and the people, instinctively and willingly, constitute themselves in ^a Gefolgschaft. There are no election or mutual agreement. The appointment of the Führer is beyond any human control. He is the Volksgenos ~~s~~ entrusted by the Volksgeist, because he is the ^{most fitted} ~~best~~ among the Volksgenossen to conduct the Volksgemeinschaft. The Führer cannot decline his mission. He is like the Christ in Gesthemani : his shoulders are over-loaded by the importance of his mission, and yet, he has to accept it. Since the time of his selection, the Führer transcends every thing in the world; he is above the need to ask for investiture by the people; "he is his own best evidence, his witness is within" say the nazi writers (already quoted). "THROUGH HIS OWN PERSONALITY, writes BAYNES, HE AWAKES THE UNQUESTIONING ABSOLUTE LOYALTY OF THE PEOPLE AS HIS FOLLOWERS" (op. cit. p. 414).

The Führer's power does not resemble that of religious prophets. His mission, therefore his power, is at once religious and political. He has not only to rule the people along a definite political doctrine, but also, he has to reform even religiously the life of his people. "EVEN WHEN IT WAS ONLY SEVEN MEMBERS STRONG IT ALREADY PROCLAIMED TWO PRINCIPLES : 1- IT WANTED TO BE A PARTY WITH A REAL WELTANSCHAUUNG, AND 2- IT AIMED AT GAINING SOLE POWER IN GERMANY AND THAT AIM WAS TO BE REALIZED WITHOUT COMPROMISES..." (HITLER on September, 1934, in BAYNES, op. cit. p.142). His mission is ontological : it has to reform human nature as such, to reform it politically and metaphysically. The Führer is at the same time a religious and a political reformer, his mission transcends even that of Christ who limited his action to the religious sphere. The power of the Führer is sui generis in its source and its aim.

HIS POWER IS PERSONAL.

The Führer, Adolf HITLER, is chosen by the Volksgeist to conduct the German Volk. He is himself the appointee, and he has to exercise by himself the powers bestowed on him. He cannot delegate any part of his power to anybody. His power is a part of nature, of the essence of his being; it is not an accidental quality in him, a "bene esse", it is a sine qua non condition of his existence as a Führer : an "esse" of his nature. If he was elected by the Volksgeist to fulfil a mission, it was because he got the inherent qualities for this doing. As no one can intervene between him and the Volksgeist, so, no one can intervene between him and his Gefolgschaft. A delegation of power ^{de}stru^{ct}s his power, because the appointment is not made by a human body, but by a superhuman Sovereign. The Führer cannot delegate his power to anybody, because delegation means appointment or resignation, and the Volksgeist alone can dismiss the incapable Führer and replace him by an other one. The Führer may designate a successor, but this one will be Führer only when the Volksgeist will sanction this delegation in case of death of the former Führer. Meanwhile the successor is only a lieut-

nant or a regent whose duty is to wait for the coming Führer.

As a matter of fact, Führung is only entrusted to a Führer, whereas, Government, or Statecraft, is independent of it. The two powers are distinct the one from the other. They are essentially different and autonomous. From January 30, 1933 to August 1, 1934, there were in Germany a Führer and a Reichspräsident. the two powers coexisted without conflicting ⁱⁿ their privileges. There were the appointee of the Volksgeist and that ^{selected by} of the Volksgenossen. HITLER in appointing GÖRING as his successor acted as Reichspräsident, and not as Führer. When HITLER took the decision (August 1, 1934) to cumulate both titles of Führer and Chancellor, he did not declare that the two attributes fused together. This union is, on the contrary, of a hypostatical nature.

Using the French administrative terminology, we may add, that the distinction between Führung and statecraft goes deeper than the distinction between the nature of the three traditionally recognized powers in the State. Führung is a power of decision. Only the Führer has the privilege and the possibility to decide on the way to follow. He alone has

the right to initiate law, the Reichstag has only the right to discuss motions presented to it by the Speaker (law of September 15, 1935). The Speaker is an unter-führer; he is appointed by the Führer to preside over the Reichstag and to communicate to it the decisions of the Führer. Unter-führer has a power of execution. He executes the will of the Führer. The appellation of unter-führer is misleading because this official does not at any rate share the power of decision of the Führer : he is "an agent of execution". "THERE ARE NO DECISION MADE BY THE MAJORITY VOTE, BUT ONLY BY RESPONSIBLE PERSONS. AND THE WORD "COUNCIL" IS ONCE MORE RESTORED TO ITS ORIGINAL MEANING. EVERY MAN IN A POSITION OF RESPONSIBILITY WILL HAVE COUNCIL-LORS AT HIS SIDE, BUT THE DECISION IS MADE BY THAT INDIVIDUAL PERSON ALONE" (Mein Kampf, p. 252).

The appointment of sub-leaders does not mean that the monism of the Führerprinzip drops. It is even not an expediency. These sub-leaders are in relation with the Chancellor of the Reich who, in his turn, receives his directives from the Führer. There is no confuſion between Führung and Statecraft but through the hypostase^{is} of Adolf HITLER who is at once Führer of the German Volksgemeinschaft and Chancellor of the German State. He is the apex of this pyramidal architecture.

HIS POWER IS UNLIMITED.

The power of the Führer does not know limitation. Its limits are within itself. The nature of the mission of the Führer requires such a wide power. This power cannot be limited by any other power, otherwise it ceases to be sui generis and personal. There ~~is~~, not only ^{is no} a superior power over the Führung, but no other power may be compared to it. The Führer stands alone before the Volk, and he ~~does~~ shares nothing of his power with anybody. This exclusivism and self-limitation are inherent in the definition of the Führung itself. "THE MAN WHO BECOMES LEADER IS INVESTED WITH THE HIGHEST AND UNLIMITED AUTHORITY, BUT HE ALSO HAS TO BEAR THE LAST AND GRAVEST RESPONSIBILITY" (Mein Kampf, p. 196).

The Führer incarnates the Volksgeist and as such his power is unlimited. The Führer does not only create laws, he is the Law. "THE LAW AND THE WILL OF THE FÜHRER ARE ONE" declared GÖRING to the New-York Times correspondent on 13 July, 1934 (quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 518). HESSE writes in the VÖLKISCHER BEOBACHTER (17 May 1936) : "THE LAW WELLS UP FROM THE POPULAR CONSCIOUSNESS, BUT THE INCARNATION

OF THE PEOPLE'S SPIRIT IS THE FÜHRER" (quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 513). When the Führer utters a judgment, the law is created. "WE NATIONAL-SOCIALISTS, WRITES GÖRING, BELIEVE THAT, IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS, ADOLF HITLER IS INFALLIBLE, JUST AS THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BELIEVES THAT, IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS, THE POPE IS INFALLIBLE... HIS WILL IS MY LAW" (quoted in CATLIN, The Anglo-Saxon Tradition, p. 272).

There must not be, and there could not be, difference between the Führer and the people inspired by him : it is a ~~petition of principles~~ ^{contradiction in terms} to be termed Volksgenoss and to be ~~in difference~~ ^{at variance} with the Führer. "THE REICHSGERICHT HAS PRONOUNCED (Frankfurter Zeitung, 16 May, 1936) THAT ANY POLITICAL DISAGREEMENT ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE NATIONAL-SOCIALIST WELTANSCHAUUNG IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR MEMBERS OF THE PARTY INSPIRED BY THE SPIRIT OF THE FÜHRER : ANY SUCH DIFFERENCE OF OPINION CAN ARISE ONLY WHERE THE FÜHRER HAS NOT AS YET GIVEN JUDGMENT" (quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 513).

As long as there is no disagreement between the Volk and the Führer, "THE SOURCES OF GERMAN LEGISLATION ARE 'STATUTES, THE FORMER CUSTOMARY LAW, THE ORDER OF THE FÜHRER, THE WORD OF THE FÜHRER"

(GÜRTNER, minister of Justice, in Frankfurter Zeitung, 17 October, 1937, quoted in BAYNES, op. cit, p. 518), otherwise there is no more room for a Führung. " A LEADERSHIP, proclaimed HITLER on 15 January, 1936, WORTHY OF THE NAME MUST HAVE THE COURAGE TO MAKE ITS WILL THE WILL OF THE NATION - OR ELSE ABDICATE. THERE IS ONLY ONE CENTRAL POWER, AND IT CONFERS AUTHORITY AND SOVEREIGNTY" (BAYNES, op. cit., p. 461). When HITLER executed RÖHM and his followers without a trial, "AT THAT HOUR, (HE) WAS RESPONSIBLE ^{for} OF THE DESTINY OF THE GERMAN NATION, AND (HE) WAS FOR THAT THE SUPREME JUSTICE (GERICHTSHERR) OF THE GERMAN VOLK" (HITLER on 13 July, 1934, quoted in Gerhart RIEGNER, Le Pouvoir du Führer, Chancelier en Allemagne, Revue du Droit Public, 1935). "ET LE PROFESSEUR CARL SCHMITT, ^{says} resumes G. RIEGNER in the same article, LEGISTE OFFICIEL DU GOUVERNEMENT, ECRIVAIT QUELQUES JOURS PLUS TARD DANS UN ARTICLE PARU DANS LA DEUTSCHE JURISTEN ZEITUNG : 'LE VERITABLE CHEF EST TOUJOURS AUSSI UN JUGE". This does not mean that the Führer is an arbitrary ruler. Dr. FRANK, a member of the Cabinet, writes in the Völkischer Beobachter on 1 February, 1934, that "ADOLF HITLER HAS FROM THE FIRST DECLARED THAT HIS WISH IS THAT THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST STATE SHOULD BE A RECHTSTAAT : IT MUST NEVER BE POSSIBLE FOR NATIONAL SOCIALISM TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH ANY ARBITRARY RULE" (quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 518).

When the Führer invites the people to a referendum, this does not mean that the people are invited to sanction the will of the Führer and to share ^{power} with him ~~power~~. The referendum has but one aim : to create around and within the people the adequate spiritual atmosphere to enable them to follow on the Führer. It is a spiritual mass-meeting ^{held} all over the country. It is a positive affirmation that the Führer is their true leader, and that they are still behind him : trusting him and ready to serve him.

This unlimited power does not forbid the Führer to seek for advice. "TOOK AT MY SCHEDULE OF APPOINTMENTS DAY IN AND DAY OUT, declares HITLER to the New-York Times correspondent on 10 July, 1933, AND YOU WILL SEE I RECEIVE SUGGESTIONS, PRAISE, ^{AND} ~~NAD~~ OBJECTIONS, NOT ONLY FROM FRIENDS AND PARTY MEMBERS, BUT FROM ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE. SEEKING HONEST CRITICISM IS PART OF MY DUTY" (in BAYNES, op. cit, p.429). This is a right of the people to communicate with their Government because "... BESIDES THE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT TO ACT, writes HITLER to BRÜNING on 13 December, 1931, THE GOVERNED HAD THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS. BESIDES THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNED TO RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT, THERE IS ALSO THE DUTY OF

OF THE GOVERNMENT TO PAY THE MOST FAVOURABLE ATTENTION TO THE CRITICISMS OF THE GOVERNED" (quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 496).

Criticism is permitted as long as the Führer is ^{considering} ~~in reflection over~~ a measure to be taken, provided that the critics are honest and good-ⁱⁿattended. "THERE SHOULD BE NOT, AND THERE IS NO 'PLACE FOR 'THE PROFESSIONAL CRITICS WHO PRACTICED CRITICISM FOR ITS SAKE AND DID NOT EXPLAIN HOW IMPROVEMENTS COULD BE MADE. THE GOVERNMENT WAS GRATEFUL FOR GOOD AND USEFUL SUGGESTIONS. BUT HE DEPRECATED A FORM OF CRITICISM WHICH CRITICIZED EVERYTHING EXCEPT ITSELF. IF THE GOVERNMENT AFTER FULL CONSIDERATION ANNOUNCES A MEASURE, THEN EVERY ONE MUST SUPPORT IT" (HITLER on 20 September, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit, p. 506).

The difference between the duty of the people and that of the Führer is that the first is essentially limited, whereas the second is limited from within. Criticism, ^{is} a duty, ~~and as such, it~~ has its limitation within itself. "THE RIGHT TO CRITICIZE MUST BE RECOGNIZED AS AN OBLIGATION TO TRUTH, AND TRUTH CAN ONLY BE FOUND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE TASK OF MAINTAINING A PEOPLE'S

LIFE. NEVER MUST CRITICISM BE AN END IN ITSELF. HE WHO FREES CRITICISM FROM THE MORAL DUTY OF PLACING ITSELF IN THE SERVICE OF A GENERAL, RECOGNIZED, AND PURSUED LIFE-TASK IS TREADING THE PATH WHICH LEADS TO NIHILISM AND ANARCHY. IT IS COMPLETELY OUT OF THE QUESTION THAT UNDER THE COVER OF CRITICISM SUPPORT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ACTIVITIES WHICH ONE CAN ONLY CHARACTERIZE AS TREASON TO THE INTERESTS OF A PEOPLE'S OWN LIFE"(HITLER, on 6 April, 1933, in BAYNES? OP. cit. p. 500).

The power of the Führer is limited but from within : by the Führer himself. He is his *own* self-limitation. He may deal with any matter, he may decide on everything. His decision is supreme and irrevocable. His will is the real and only source of law; once expressed "then, every one must support it". He is the law, one should obey him, and not the law or the Constitution, writes Ulrich SCHEUNER of the University of Jena in Revue du Droit Public, 1937. As there is nobody between him, as Führer, and the people, as Gefolgschaft, there is also nobody to prevent him to make his will the positive source of law, and him, the supreme jurisdiction of the German Volk./.

§- 5.

FÜHRERPRINZIP AND DEMOCRACY.

Is the Führerprinzip opposed to Democracy, or is it a new form of Democracy ? Democracy is an end and not a method of Government. This end may be reached through different ways. The Führer-Prinzip is one of these methods. It is opposed to the Parliamentary way of Government on the theoretical ground, as well as on the practical one. The Führerprinzip is basicly^{al} opposed to Parliamentarianism, because the latter is opposed at once to the historical process and the German frame of mind. The Führerprinzip is the German definition of Democracy.

The Führerprinzip, as it proceeds from the Weltgeist, is intimately connected with the trend of World History. The trend of World History runs along authoritarianism. "THE PRINCIPLE UNDERLYING ALL NATURE'S OPERATIONS IS THE ARISTOCRATIC PRINCIPLE AND IT BELIEVES THAT THIS LAW HOLDS GOOD

EVEN DOWN TO THE LAST INDIVIDUAL ORGANISM. IT SELECTS INDIVIDUAL VALUES FROM THE MASS AND THUS OPERATES AS AN ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE..." (Mein Kampf, p. 215). If Authoritarianism is the principle along which the World is governed, it is because it is rooted in the heart of men. What the West calls "Democracy", it is only a sham government, and essentially transitory : "DEMOCRATIC ERAS IN WORLD-HISTORY HAD ALWAYS BEEN MERE INTERIM PHENOMENA : AFTER A SHORT TIME THEY HAD BEEN FOLLOWED BY PERIODS IN WHICH ONCE MORE AUTHORITY TOOK IN HAND FOR CENTURIES THE ORDERING OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR CONDUCT" (HITLER, on 30 June, 1933, in Baynes, op. cit. p. 455).

In order to be able to fulfil his mission, the Führer should enjoy unlimited powers, otherwise he would cease to be Führer. Effectiveness is based on the keen feeling of responsibility. Deliberation is a ~~phantom~~^{not} of authority. The Führer should stand alone in the front of his people. "THE STRONG IS STRONGER^t WHEN ALONE" (mein Kampf, title ch. VIII, vol II.). Leadership is incompatible with a deliberative form of Government. "CONFRONTED WITH SUCH A PHENOMENON, A MAN WHO IS ENDOWED WITH REAL QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP WILL BE TEMPTED TO REFRAIN FROM TAKING PART IN POLITICAL LIFE; BECAUSE UNDER THESE CIRCUM-

STANCES THE SITUATION DOES NOT CALL FOR A MAN WHO HAS A CAPACITY FOR CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMANSHIP BUT RATHER FOR A MAN WHO IS CAPABLE OF BARGAINING FOR THE FAVOUR OF THE MAJORITY. THUS THE SITUATION WILL APPEAL TO SMALL MINDS AND WILL ATTRACT THEM ACCORDINGLY" (Mein Kampf, p. 55).

German Democracy is opposed to Western Democracy. The Western Democracy is parliamentary; it is the Government through the masses : the majority. The German Democracy, according to Dr. DIETRICH, Chief of the Reich Press Organization, "AS AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE... IS REALLY THE MOST MODERN DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY" (8 September, quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 459). It is the rule of the people by the most able men. There is no chance for place-hunters to rule over the country. The weakness of Parliamentarianism is that there is no room for personal responsibility (Mein Kampf, p. 54). Responsibility is the best safeguard of the State against political "careerists" :

Parliamentarian Democracy affords a very hideous spectacle because every one may discuss of any thing. "AS A CONTRAST TO THIS KIND OF DEMOCRACY WE HAVE THE GERMAN DEMOCRACY, WHICH IS A TRUE DEMOCRACY; FOR HERE THE LEADER IS FREELY CHOSEN AND IS OBLIGED TO ACCEPT FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL HIS

ACTIONS AND OMISSIONS. THE PROBLEMS TO BE DEALT WITH ARE NOT PUT TO THE VOTE OF THE MAJORITY; BUT THEY ARE DECIDED UPON BY THE INDIVIDUAL, AND AS A GUARANTEE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THOSE DECISIONS HE PLEDGES ALL HE HAS IN THE WORLD AND EVEN HIS LIFE" (Mein Kampf, pp. 60-61).

This inner feeling of responsibility has as result, or is the cause, to make of a minority the real mover of World-History. "WORLD HISTORY IS MADE BY MINORITIES IF THE NUMERICAL MINORITIES REPRESENT IN THEMSELVES THE WILL AND ENERGY AND INITIATIVE OF THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE" (Mein Kampf, p. 252) To be ready to accept responsibility is a symptomatic sign : it shows that the ruler is the elected of the Volksgeist and that he carries his rule under its aegis. The aim of the State and its raison d'être, is not only to maintain the well-being of the people, but also and mainly to protect them as a Volksgemeinschaft. "SINCE WE SEE IN THE PEOPLE THE PERMANENT, THE EXISTENTIAL BASIS, WE SEE IN IT THE SOLE END" (HITLER, on September, 1935, in BAYNES, p. 441), that is why "... THE TASK OF THE GOVERNMENT IS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE PEOPLE, THE PROTECTION OF THE RACE AND CARE FOR THE RACE; ALL ITS OTHER TASKS ARE CONDITIONED BY THIS PRIMARY DUTY.

THE TOTALITARIAN STATE WILL MAKE NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LAW AND MORALITY. IT IS ONLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THIS FIXED WELTANSHAUUNG THAT JUSTICE CAN BE OR CAN BE ALLOWED TO BE INDEPENDENT" (HITLER, on 3 October, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 523). The best man to achieve this task is unmistakably the Führer. Authoritarianism becomes an imperative necessity because the goal is of the greatest importance. Only the Führer with his unlimited powers can succeed since "THE MAN WHO HAS NOT THE COURAGE TO SHOULDER RESPONSIBILITY FOR HIS ACTIONS IS NOT FITTED TO BE A LEADER. ONLY A MAN OF HEROIC MOULD CAN HAVE THE VOCATION FOR SUCH A TASK" (Mein Kampf, p. 196), and this man is the Führer.

The new contribution of the German Democracy is to have ^{assigned} ~~fixed~~ to the State a new duty : to protect the people, hence, ~~the~~ German Democracy can not be parliamentarian. Parliamentarianism is supposed to be rooted in the people, in reality it is not : it is an imitation of Government. "THE RISE AND THE ASTONISHING FINAL VICTORY OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT WOULD NEVER HAVE HAPPENED IF THE PARTY HAD EVER FORMULATED THE PRINCIPLE THAT IN OUR RANKS EVERY ONE CAN DO AS HE LIKES. THIS WATCHWORD OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM LED ONLY TO INSECURITY, INDISCIPLINE, AND AT LENGTH TO THE DOWN FALL

AND DESTRUCTION OF ALL AUTHORITY. WHILE WE DENY THE PARLIAMENTARY-DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE, WE CHAMPION MOST DEFINITELY THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE ITSELF TO DETERMINE ITS OWN LIFE. IN THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE ANY TRUE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, BUT WE SEE IN IT A PERVERSION, IF NOT A VIOLATION, OF THAT WILL. THE WILL OF A PEOPLE TO MAINTAIN ITS EXISTENCE APPEARS FIRST AND IN ITS MOST USEFUL FORM IN ITS BEST BRAINS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE SELF-ASSURANCE OF THE LEADERS OF THE WHOLE ORGANIZATION IN THEIR DECISIONS SHOULD AROUSE IN THE MEMBERS AND FOLLOWERS OF THE PARTY AN UNTROUBLED CONFIDENCE. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT EVEN WISE MEN SHOULD NOT IN QUESTIONS OF SPECIAL DIFFICULTY BE ABLE TO REACH COMPLETE CLARITY. BUT IT MEANS A CAPITULATION OF ALL LEADERSHIP IF IT HANDS OVER PRECISELY THESE QUESTIONS TO PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND ALLOWS THE PUBLIC TO STATE ITS VIEWS" (HITLER on 1 September, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 505).

Führung is opposed to popular representation, because "IN THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE ANY TRUE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE BUT WE SEE IN IT A PERVERSION, IF NOT A VIOLATION, OF THAT WILL (HITLER, id. id.) . The best statemanship is that which ^{runs parallel with} ~~goes along~~ the will of the

Volksgeist. Führung alone can afford this evidence, when popular representation "... means capitulation of all leadership". As a matter of fact the most characteristic difference between a Führerstaat and a Western Democratic State consists in the fact that "THE GERMAN PEOPLE HAS ELECTED A SINGLE DEPUTY AS ITS REPRESENTATIVE WITH 38 MILLION VOTES. THIS IS PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OURS AND THE CONDITIONS EXISTING IN OTHER COUNTRIES. IT MEANS THAT I (A. HITLER) FEEL MYSELF JUST AS RESPONSIBLE TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE AS WOULD ANY PARLIAMENT. I ACT ON THE TRUST THEY HAVE PLACED IN ME AND I CARRY OUT THEIR MANDATE " (HITLER ON 21 May, 1935, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 456).

One may wonder how can the Nazis claim to be democrat when they emphasize so much the authoritarian aspect of the Führung. The answer is that the people know that this form of Democracy is the best framework of their liberty. "THE FORMATION OF SUCH AN AUTHORITATIVE LEADERSHIP IS MORALLY JUSTIFIED AND TOLERABLE FOR A PROUD PEOPLE IF IT IS ENTRUSTED TO THE MOST CAPABLE SONS OF THE PEOPLE, REGARDLESS OF THEIR ORIGIN OR THEIR SOCIAL POSITION... IN THIS STATE THE POOREST CHILD, IF HE IS EVIDENTLY DESTINED FOR HIGHER THINGS, MUST BE ABLE TO REACH THE HIGHEST POSITION OF ALL. WHEN THIS IS SO, THERE

WILL NEVER BE CONFLICT BETWEEN LEADERSHIP AND PEOPLE, FOR EVERY PEASANT, EVERY WORKMAN WILL ALWAYS KNOW THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF ALL IS ALSO HIS LEADERSHIP, SINCE THE LEADERS ARE HIS OWN FLESH AND BLOOD? (HITLER on 12 September, 1938, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 623). The Führerstaat is the best guarantee to the people for their liberties because it recognizes that its "... CHIEF CONCERN... (IS) TO DISCOVER WAYS AND MEANS WHEREBY INDUSTRY, VIGUOUR, ENTERPRISE, INSIGHT, COURAGE, AND PERSEVERANCE, WHEREVER THEY REVEAL THEMSELVES IN A PERSONALITY, MAY FIND THE UPWARD PATH SMOOTHED AND MADE EASY FOR THEM" (id. id.)

German Democracy is firmly rooted.

It is the real outcome of the German life which "runs its course between Führung and Gefolgschaft" (HITLER, on September, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 473). It is invincible because it knows how to ^{blend} melt popular support with authoritarian traditionalism. "POPULAR SUPPORT IS THE FIRST ELEMENT WHICH IS NECESSARY FOR THE CREATION OF AUTHORITY. BUT AN AUTHORITY RESTING ON THAT FOUNDATION ALONE IS STILL QUITE FRAIL, UNCERTAIN AND VACILLATING. HENCE EVERYONE WHO FINDS HIMSELF VESTED WITH AN AUTHORITY THAT IS BASED ONLY ON POPULAR SUPPORT MUST TAKE MEASURES TO IMPROVE AND CONSOLIDATE THE FOUNDATIONS OF THAT AUTHORITY BY THE

CREATION OF FORCE. ACCORDINGLY WE MUST LOOK UPON POWER, THAT IS TO SAY, THE CAPACITY TO USE FORCE, AS THE SECOND FOUNDATION ON WHICH ALL AUTHORITY IS BASED . THIS FOUNDATION IS MORE STABLE AND SECURE, BUT NOT ALWAYS STRONGER, THAN THE FIRST. IF POPULAR SUPPORT AND POWER ARE UNITED TOGETHER AND CAN ENDURE FOR A CERTAIN TIME, THEN AN AUTHORITY MAY ARISE WHICH IS BASED ON A STILL STRONGER FOUNDATION, NAME- LY, THE AUTHORITY OF TRADITION. AND, FINALLY, IF PO- PULAR SUPPORT, POWER AND TRADITION ARE UNITED TOGE- THER, THEN THE AUTHORITY BASED ON THEM MAY BE LOOKED UPON AS INVINCIBLE" (Mein Kampf, pp. 286-7).

This new form of Democracy leads, along ^{with} the Führerprinzip, to a fresh definition of personal liberty. There are two kinds of freedom. The liberal freedom consists in recognizing to every one equal rights in life : it is based on civil equality. The weak and the strong, the Aryan and the non-aryan..., have the same rights. The German conception of liberty is different. It is not, to begin with, granted. It is won by fighting. Liberty is a reward deserved after a gallant struggle. "THE WEAPONS OF THESE BOURGEOIS SINGERS OF FREEDOM WERE, AT WORST, ONLY PEN AND INK. BUT FROM THE NA- TIONAL SOCIALISTS A THOUSAND PRIVATIONS WERE DEMAND-

ED. FROM THEIR STRUGGLES ALONE REAL FREEDOM GRADUALLY CAME, A FREEDOM WHICH WAS NOT A RESULT OF POETICAL EFFUSION BUT THE OUTCOME OF HARD POLITICAL FIGHTS, AND THOSE FIGHTS DID NOT CONSIST OF ESSAYS OR LEADING ARTICLES..."(HITLER, on September, 1937, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 595).

In order to deserve liberty one should be able to defend it against aggressors, and mainly to achieve with it something constructive. Liberal freedom is destructive because it consists in criticism. Achievement and capacity are essentially the qualities of the fighter who is not afraid to use force in due time. "IT IS NOT THE LUKEWARM AND THOSE WHO ARE NEUTRAL WHO MAKE HISTORY BUT THE MEN WHO ACCEPT BATTLE" (HITLER on 22 April, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 223). If Parliamentarianism is the sign of decay, it is because the strong is prevented, by "the political jobber" (HITLER), to carry on his work and to achieve his plans. (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 54) A Parliament is a "talking-shop"(HITLER) where fighting is waged through speeches (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 52). "AMONG THE INSTITUTIONS WHICH MOST CLEARLY MANIFESTED UNMISTAKABLY SIGNS OF DECAY, EVEN TO THE WEAK-SIGHTED PHILISTINE (IS)... THE PARLIAMENT..." (Mein Kampf, p. 51). The Parliament is the best

representative symbol of this Liberal freedom the logical outcome of which is weakness of the State. That is why the first duty of the National Socialist Party is to destroy Parliamentarianism, sign of decadence, and forerunner of marxism (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 53), and "AGAINST THE LIBERAL CATCHWORD 'FREEDOM OF CRITICISM', (TO) SET AS ... WATCHWORD 'FREEDOM OF ACHIEVEMENT AND OF CAPACITY" (HITLER on June 6, 1937, in Baynes, op. cit. p. 498)./.

Chapter two

EIN VOLK

§- 1.

THEORY OF RACIALISM

Racialism is not a scientific theory. It was not worked out to be tested in laboratories. It is rather an ontological theory. Its scope is beyond scientists'. It is within the speculations of Philosophers and Sociologists. It is a premiss, or even an axiom, which one can neither ^{ve}proof, nor ^{ve}disproof. "THERE ARE CERTAIN TRUTHS, writes HITLER on "Race and People", WHICH STANDS OUT SO OPENLY ON THE ROADSIDES OF LIFE, AS IT WERE, THAT EVERY PASSER-BY MAY SEE THEM. YET, BECAUSE OF THEIR VERY OBVIOUSNESS, THE GENERAL RUN OF PEOPLE DISREGARD SUCH TRUTHS OR AT LEAST THEY DO NOT MAKE THEM THE OBJECT

OF ANY CONSCIOUS KNOWLEDGE. PEOPLE ARE SO BLIND TO SOME OF THE SIMPLEST FACTS IN EVERY-DAY LIFE THAT THEY ARE HIGHLY SURPRISED WHEN SOMEBODY CALLS ATTENTION TO WHAT EVERYBODY OUGHT TO KNOW" (Mein Kampf, p. 160). When Dr. GÜNTHER tries to find for Racialism scientific bases, this means that he likes to demonstrate that science does not infirm it, but quite on the contrary, clearly explains it. Racialism is for Hitlerism, what materialistic dialectic is for marxism : it is a means of reasoning that transcends Science.

Racialism considers matter from above. It deals with man from the metaphysical point of view. It proposes a solution to the relations between Matter and Spirit. "MAN IS A BEING WITH A SOUL, said HITLER on 30 January, 1937, : THAT MEANS THAT MATERIAL PROBLEMS HAVE TO BE BROUGHT INTO RELATION WITH THE SOULS OF THE PEOPLE" (in BAYNES, op. cit. vol. II, p. 1750). Its explanation is not materialistic. According to Racialism, Spirit is not an epiphenomenon of Matter; but Matter is idealized on the ground that it is, no more an auxiliary to the soul, but an indispensable companion to it. The Soul has no meaning, no effect, without Matter. There is no relationship between Soul and Matter since they are intimately

unified. Matter becomes equal to Spirit : they form a perfect combination in which both have an equal importance.

Racialism is monism of an original kind. It is monism based on relations, and not on a single entity. This monism of relations is explained by the fact that the union between Matter and Spirit is so perfect, that their relations become indivisible in themselves, and can be studied only through their effects. These effects are/^{not} due to Matter, or Spirit but to their union. Man becomes a simple entity : simple refers to his external effects, and not to his components.

Man is then constituted of two elements : Soul and Matter. Soul is without the reach of man. As for Matter, it is essentially under his control. The first task of man towards his Matter is to safeguard its unity. Racial purity is the sine qua non condition for racial monism. Soul is, by definition, simple; it remains as such as long as it is directly related to the Volksgeist. Matter is endangered by racial mixture. "THE SIN AGAINST BLOOD AND RACE... BRINGS DISASTER ON EVERY NATION THAT COMMITS IT" (Mein Kampf, p. 142). The task of the

State and the purpose of the law are to protect and maintain racial purity.

If the Führerprinzip is the basic ^{method} ~~rule~~ *for the rescue and administration of Germany.* ~~to rescue Germany and to administer her,~~ Racialism is the doctrine without which no Führerprinzip may be applied. Racialism purifies the country and makes it fit for the Führerprinzip, that is why we considered that the Führerprinzip is the ^{point of arrival} ~~starting point~~ in the doctrine. From this point of view, Racialism becomes a means to an end, and it is really so on the political ground. As for the Führerprinzip it is a premiss, the law of nature. (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 55).

Nevertheless, Racialism has a higher significance. It is like Religion which is, on one side, an element of sociology, but, on the other side, ~~it~~ has a wider scope than that. Racialism transcends political life. It is an ontological doctrine. It tries to deal with man from within and to project its shadow on the world ^{with} out. It tries to explain the genesis of man and his Kultur, the rise and decay of States. It refuses to consider man as ^{an} ~~date~~ of universal nature. For the Nazis, there are many types of men : to each of them corresponds a special form of racialism.

The Hitlerian Racialism is based on the interaction of Spirit and Matter. The Spirit is constituted by the Volksgeist and the German Soil. Germany is not a geographical term, she is of the essence of the German Racialism and Idealism. It is the melting-pot in which fused German Kultur and traditions, the German hero-worship with the German History; Racialism is everything related to the past of the Volksgemeinschaft. It is an introverted religion the centre of which is "Blutt und Boden". Germany would ^{attempt} seek for her rescue by herself. That is what is called : AUFNORDUNG, or the Nordic Mes-sianism. "THE YOUTH WHO GROWS UP IN GERMANY, writes Martin HIERONIMI in the magazine DURCHBRUCH (The Passage), the organ of the German Faith Movement, BELIEVES IN GOD, BUT IT CONSIDERS A SHAME TO SEEK FOR HIM, THIS GOD, IN A FOREIGN AND REMOTE LAND, UNDER CYPRESS-TREES AND PALM-TREES, WHEN, IN THE HOMELAND, HE MANIFEST HIMSELF IN A WONDERFUL WAY. THE REVELATION OF GOD, IT IS IN OUR FATHERLAND THAT WE FIND IT, IN THE LAW OF GROWING UP AND DEATH OF NATURE, IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE, IN THE HEROIC ANNALS OF OUR GERMAN MYTHOLOGY, IN THE ME-MORIAL OF THE DEAD\$ OF THE GREAT WAR. IT IS IN THE FELDHERRNHALLE THAT GOD REVEALS HIMSELF TO US. IN THE BLOOD, IN THE SOIL, GOD HAS GIVEN US THE TWO

SOURCES FROM WHICH EVERYTHING FLOW, HIS TWO SACRAMENTS IN THE TRUEST SENSE OF THE TERM. WHOEVER ^{denies} ~~NEGATES~~ THE SANCTITY OF BLOOD AND SOIL ^{denies} ~~IS A NEGATOR~~ OF GOD. ADOLPHE HITLER IS MORE TO OUR EYES THAN REISHSCANZELLOR. HE IS IN THE SAME TIME FÜHRER AND REDEEMER OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE. WHEN EVERYTHING SEEMS TO BE LOST, WE STILL BELIEVE IN HIM. WHEN EVERYBODY DESPAIRS, WE PUT OUR HOPES IN HIM... (quoted in R. d'HARCOURT, l'Evangile de la Force, p. 53).

This Racialism becomes a refuge for the German Youth. It becomes the new faith which put their hearts on fire. It unites all the Germans into one single being; it is truly the best means to realise the unity of the Volksgeist on earth. The Germans ~~do~~ no more look at each other as separated beings, but as a one single entity, they depersonalise themselves and become like cells : living together in a hypostatic union. The "Filioque" is realized on behalf of a whole people. This aspect of the doctrine is called Vermassung, it means : transformation of the individual soul into a collective one. "NO A GERMAN WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO SAY THAT THERE IS FOR HIM A MOMENT IN HIS LIFE WHEN IT IS POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO BE ABANDONED TO HIMSELF" (HITLER at Nü-

remberg, 1935, quoted in d'HARCOURT, op. cit.). The institution, the aim of which is to realise this Ver-massung is the Ordensburgen, or as they are called : Kern von Menschen, nucleus of men. These men will be the embodiment of Racialism the aim of which is to emphasize the internal "tonus" through physical education.

At the beginning, Racialism started as a scientific theory, its aim was to explain the genesis of man. With the Hitlerian School of Thought, reason was replaced by emotion, and science, by religiosity. Racialism was no more regarded as an anthropological theory, but as a mystical philosophy : it is a reaction against the West, its ways of life and thought. Germany rejects the Western frame of mind, and, as RATHENAU writes in his 'New Society', found herself, in order to rescue herself from despair, in the obligation ^{of} to rely on herself alone. Racialism appears as the Weltanschauung able at once to lift up the Germans' moral^e, and to restore their self-confidence. They charge it ^{with} of their national pride and their religious emotions.

Racialism is the Catachombs in which

new Germany seek for shelter. Here again Martin
HIERONIMI will be our guide. He writes in the review
Volk im Werden (People in becoming) what follows :

" THE COLLAPSE OF THE WESTERN VALUES HAS SECULARISED,
LAICISED THE SOUL OF THE GERMAN YOUTH. OF THIS YOUTH
WHO ^{belong} DO NO MORE BELONG TO ANY RELIGION, WHO ^{are} IS BETWEEN
RELIGIONS, THE GREATER PARTY DOES NOT COME BACK, AND
DOES NOT TURN TOWARDS THE NEW RELIGIONS, TOWARDS THE
GERMAN FAITH, AT LEAST IN ITS ACTUAL FORM. IS IT AS-
TONISHING THAT, IN SUCH CONDITIONS, ONE ^{has} ~~HAVE~~ BEEN
ABLE TO PROCLAIM THAT THE NATIONAL-SOCIALIST IDEA WAS
AN ERSATZ OF RELIGION... HERE IS UNDER WHAT COLOUR
APPEARS TO ME TO-DAY THE MORAL POSITION OF THE BEST
ELEMENTS OF OUR YOUTH, THIS ^{half} INTER-RELIGIOUS YOUTH
WHOM I JUST ^{spoke} ~~CAME~~ TO SPEAK OF : FAITHLESS ^{as to} IN THE
CHRISTIAN TRADITION, BUT AT THE SAME TIME DISDAINING
TO RECOURSE TO NEW RELIGIOUS CONSTRUCTIONS ^{have} ~~OF A~~ TOO
MUCH ~~WEEK~~ ^{and} ARBITRARY, THEY ^{keep} ~~STICK~~, WITH A MYSTICAL
FERVOUR, ~~TO~~ THE RACIST IDEA, THE NATIONAL-SOCIALIST
IDEA. THIS IDEA, THEY HAVE CHARGED ~~IT~~ WITH RELIGIOUS
PASSION, ~~EXCITE~~ FREED FROM METAPHYSICAL SPECULATIONS
WHICH HAD LOST ALL VALUE ⁱⁿ ~~TO~~ THEIR EYES, THEY HAVE
PLACED THE WHOLE STRENGTH OF THEIR FAITH IN THE IMME-
DIATE TASKS GERMANY PROPOSED TO THEM... THESE YOUNG
MEN ARE NOT GOD-LESS, BUT THEY SEARCH AFTER GOD IN
THE ^{soil nearest at hand} ~~MOST NEIGHBOUR OFFERED~~ SOIL : IN THE ENDEAVOUR

CON SACRED ^{at} TO THE LIVING WORLD... THE FAITH IN GERMANY BECAME, IN ITS ULTIMATE MEANING, A METAPHYSICAL FAITH" (quoted in d'HARCOURT, op. cit. pp. 49...).

Considered from this point of view, Racialism escapes scientific criticism. GÜNTHER vanishes and with him his scientific speculations. To study Hitlerian Racialism as an anthropological theory is misleading. It is essentially an emotional point of view underlaid by metaphys^{cs}ism. Racialism is before all a cry of revolt and of distress; it is a manifestation of an inferiority complex of a distinct kind : turned into super-national pride, intellectual self-sufficiency and distrust of the West./.

~~during their existence~~. Racialism, after all, is humanitarianism; its ultimate result ^{being} is human progress. Mankind is not worthy of "mannes" without Racialism. "... WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE HIGHEST AIM OF HUMAN EXISTENCE IS... THE CONSERVATION OF THE RACE" (Mein Kampf, p. 63). Everything is subordinated to this goal. All weapons should be used. "IF THE RACE IS IN DANGER OF BEING OPPRESSED OR EVEN EXTERMINATED THE QUESTION OF LEGALITY IS ONLY OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE" (Mein Kampf, p. 63). The aim justifies the means, and the aim is the decisive *factor of human destiny*

§. 2-

THE GENESIS OF MAN

The genesis of man is twofold : 1- The creation of man does not correspond to a single ancestor, the ADAM of the Bible. 2- There is a fundamental inequality between the different human races. Humanity gr^w up according to a phylogenic process : many human types appeared on earth, each one being independent from the other. The first characteristic of this phylogenesis is inequality. "THEREFORE ON THE VÖLKISH PRINCIPLE WE CANNOT ADMIT THAT ONE RACE IS EQUAL TO ANOTHER. BY RECOGNIZING THAT THEY ARE DIFFERENT, THE VÖLKISH CONCEPT SEPARATES MANKIND INTO RACES OF SUPERIOR AND INFERIOR QUALITY" (Mein Kampf, p. 215). The best one is the Nordic Race, or the

Aryans. World History runs along the line of the relationships between human races : shall they combine or not ? But human progress depends on the preservation of the Aryan racial purity, which is the fundamental trend of human history.

Racialism achieved its final statement through the writings of three authors : GOBINEAU, H. St. CHAMBERLAIN AND ROSEMBERG. Their ideas did not conflict ~~the~~ one with ^{an} ~~the~~ other, but on the contrary, they combined perfectly ⁱⁿ giving to Hitlerian Racialism a unity of its own. GOBINEAU's first proposition consists in the fact that the basic cause of the decay of a society is its racial impurity, the devaluation of its blood. Decay occurs when "LE PEUPLE N'A PLUS LE MEME SANG DANS LES VEINES PARCE QUE, PAR SUITE DE METISSAGES CROISES SUCCESSIFS, SA VALEUR A CHANGE, ET QU'IL N'A PAS ETE CAPABLE DE CONSERVER LA RACE DE SES FONDATEURS" (quoted in SOROKIN, Contemporary Sociological Theories, p.174).

This theory, defining ^{racial purity} ~~racial purity~~, was widened by CHAMBERLAIN who added to it the notion of the allied races. CHAMBERLAIN maintained the premiss of GOBINEAU, but he considered that a Race consists of different allied peoples;

racial purity does not consist in preventing racial mixtures at large, but ^{in being} ~~to be~~ able to secure happy combinations of allied bloods. The Aryans are but the offspring of the combination of the Nordic Races. This new notion of racial purity was adopted by the framers of the Nüremberg Laws of 1935. The English, for instance, are considered as an allied people, and alliance with them is not considered as prejudicing the racial purity of the Germans.

As for ROSENBERG, he united the conception of the Volksgemeinschaft with that of the Volksgeist. Every Race has its Geist. The value of the Volksgeist and Blood are but two aspects of the same question. "SOUL MEANS RACE SEEN FROM INSIDE; AND INVERSELY, RACE IS THE EXTERNAL ASPECT OF SOUL" (ROSENBERG, quoted in H. LICHTEMBERGER, L'Allemagne Nouvelle, p. 135).

This idea of a Racial Soul, or Volks-Geist, is at the basis of the necessity of racial purity. Cross-breeding prevents the Volksgeist ^{from} ~~to~~ developing its qualities because its actions depends on the homogeneity of the Volk. "WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE JEWISH RACE HAS LAWS OF ITS OWN, AND WE WISH THAT, IN THE SCOPE ^{that} ~~IT~~ BELONGS TO IT, IT DEVELOP A CULTURE CORRESPONDING TO ITS VOLKSGEIST (racial soul); WE REFUSE TO EUROPEANISE THE COLOURED, AND WANT TO AS- ~~SEEK~~

guarantee to them
~~SURE HIM~~ THE MAINTENANCE OF HIS ^{own} ETHNICAL ORIGINALITY
UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE WHITE-MAN. BUT WE OPPOSE
THE THESIS OF CROSS-BREEDING BETWEEN DISSIMILAR RACES.
THE NATURAL LAWS, AS THEY MANIFEST THEMSELVES IN THE
LIFE OF PLANTS AND ANIMALS, ARE ALSO VERIFIED IN ^{THE}
HUMAN SPECIES : THE MIXING UP OF RACES DOES NOT GIVE
BIRTH TO A NATION, BUT TO AN ETHNICAL CHAOS" (ROSEN-
BERG, quoted in H. LICHTENBERGER, op. cit. p. 144).

Racial purity is idealized; with it
Racialism transcends science and falls within the
scope of ontology. Racial purity becomes the means
through which the Volksgeist realises itself on earth,
and develops the innate characters of the people.
Polluted people are no more able to have Kultur of
their own; they are in decay because their Volksgeist
has lost its contact with the material world. Its
manifestations exist potentially waiting for a purifi-
cation of the race to be realised, hence the necessity
of a selection. W. DARRE, the former Minister of
Agriculture, develops in his Book "New Nobility of
Blood and Soil" a complete theory of selection we
will expose now. The points stressed on are : 1- de-
finition of selection, 2- its philosophical basis,
and, 3- its aim.

Selection is the means used to preserve racial purity. As it is defined by W. DARRE, "... SELECTION (is) A MEASURE TO OBTAIN PURPOSELY A DESCENDANCE WHICH BE NOT INFERIOR IN VALUE TO ITS PRODUCER, AND SUSCEPTIBLE OF IMPROVEMENT IN THE COURSE OF TIME" (op. cit. p. 229). And further, "SELECTION IS THE UTILISATION OF REALITIES FOR FUTURE" (W. DARRE, op. cit. p. 237). Selection is based on the assumption that "THE SOUL IS THE SENSE OF THE BODY, AND THE BODY IS THE MANIFESTATION OF THE SOUL" (L. KLAGE, quoted in W. DARRE, op. cit. p. 176). The philosophical basis is deduced from the axiom that the union between Matter and Spirit is so intimate, that they become practically a single entity. If Spirit is unseizable, Matter, on the contrary, is within the reach of Man. Selection is a new doctrine of knowledge and of the relations between Matter and Spirit. "BY THE MOVEMENT OF BODY, ITS EXPRESSION, ITS ANSWER TO THE EXTERNAL EXCITATIONS OF ANY KIND, THE ANIMICAL PROCESSUS WHICH LEADS TO THIS MOVEMENT BECOMES AN EXPRESSION IN THE SPACE, THE BODY BECOMES THEN AN EXPERIMENT-FIELD FOR THE SOUL. THE SOUL IS NOT THE BODY, BUT IT POSSESSES IT " (CLAUSS, quoted in DARRE, op. cit. p. 176).

Since Matter and Spirit are so intimately linked, moral life is therefore dominated by this union. That is why the whole juridical conceptions and the social institutions should be based on a selective policy. The Germans, ^{whether} ~~let them be~~ before Christ or in the Middle Ages, behaved along the line of preserving their racial purity. The best instances are their matrimonial régime and the law of inheritance. Granted these two philosophical data, K. H. BAUER formulated the two following principles of a new Ethics : 1- "BECOME WHAT YOUR NATURAL DISPOSITIONS MAKE YOU".

2- "KEEP WHAT NATURE PUTS IN YOU".

(quoted in DARRE, op. cit. p.180).

The raison d'être of Ethics is no more a transcendental effect; it is merely practical and positivist. But it ^would be misleading to conceive of the Selective Ethics as being materialistic because it tends to influence Spirit through Matter. "WHAT IS IMPORTANT, ~~IT~~ IS NOT TO MAKE SPIRIT DOMINATE MATTER, BUT TO BELIEVE ^{one is allowed} ~~TO BE PERMITTED~~, SINCE ONE POSSESSES SPIRIT, TO NEGLECT THE LAWS OF MATTER" (DARRE, op. cit. p. 175). One cannot hold the principle of the domination of Matter by Spirit as true only "AS FAR AS THE

SOUL CAN SUCCEED ⁱⁿ TO SUBORDINATE ^{ing} MATTER" (DARRE, op. cit. p. 174). "Any SOUL CAN ACT PLAINLY ONLY IN AND THROUGH A BODY COMFORMED TO THE RACE" (Prince F-W. von LIPPE, quoted in DARRE, op. cit. p. 175).

Matter is not the mere ^{clothing} envelop of the Soul, it is its external manifestation : it is only through it that the Soul can act on the external world, and the external world, on it. Matter is alone within the reach of man. Man has therefore to use it to reach the Soul. "UNDER WHATEVER FORM ONE IMAGINES THE ESSENCE OF SOUL, ONE CANNOT IN ANY CASE NEGLECT THE LAWS OF MATTER" (DARRE, op. cit. p. 175). Moral life is conditioned by this action on the Soul through Matter. "IN ACCEPTING THE IDEA OF SELECTION TO CREATE OUR NEW NOBILITY, WE DO NOT BRING ANYTHING ANIMAL AND UNWORTHY OF MAN IN THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE. WE PROPOSE BUT TO CONNECT OURSELVES WITH THE BEST SPIRITUAL AND MORAL TRADITION OF OUR ANCESTORS..." (DARRE, op. cit. p. 183).

Selection is possible even in our world where cross-breeding became so general. Racial characters do not mix up "chemically", so to speak, in order to form a new set of racial characters. The combination is only physical, and the racial charac-

ters. ~~They~~ behave as if they are "solid". "FIRST, THE BLENDING OF RACES WOULD BE SOMETHING COMPARABLE TO COFFEE WITH MILK OR ~~TO THE~~ LIMONADE, IN OTHER WORDS, IT WOULD BE A TRUE "MIXTURE" IN THE PHYSICAL MEANING, AN EMULSION WHERE EACH MATTER HAS ITS SHARE IN THE WHOLE BODY WITHOUT LOSING ~~BY THE BLENDING~~ ITS PROPERTIES... ^{by the blending} THE HEREDITARY DISPOSITIONS DO NOT MIX UP... THEY 'FORM GROUPS' IN EACH NEW-BORN CHILD" (DARRE, op. cit. p. 229). Selection has to ^{facilitate} ~~make~~ ease the formation of such groups.

The starting point of selection is inequality among men. Races are essentially unequal, and each one has a scale of values of its own. "SELECTION ADMITS MORE OR LESS TACITLY AS A FACT THE HEREDITARY INEQUALITY AMONG MEN" (DARRE, op. cit. p. 173). This inequality may be also observed among men of the same Race. Inequality is the Golden Rule of life. Selection ^{tries} ~~has an aim~~ to give to the best human types the greatest possibilities in this world, and to consider the other men as human "wastes" to be eliminated. "BY ITS ATTACHMENT TO SELECTION AND BY ITS CLASS-PRIVILEGES, THE OLD GERMAN MATRIMONIAL LAW HAS ACT^{ed} AS A FILTER, FOR IT ADMITTED ONLY TESTED BLOOD TO FULL PROCREATION OF CHILDREN. IT BEHAVED, ON THE OTHER SIDE, AS A PROTECTIVE ELEMENTS OF THIS

SAME BLOOD IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIFE, IN ORDER THAT THE FOUNDATION OF FAMILIES AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN DID NOT SUFFER FROM ANYTHING. THIS OLD GERMAN MATRIMONIAL LAW MADE THE STRENGTH OF THE ELITE IN KEEPING ALOOF THE 'SUB-MEN' OF THE SOCIAL ORDER, IN REDUCING SENSIBLY THEIR PROCREATIVE POSSIBILITY, AND EVEN SOMETIMES IN ELIMINATING IT" (DARRE, op. cit. p.169).

A further condition for the success of selection is to have an end in mind. This end determines the means to be used. Without an end, the zoologist cannot achieve the idea underlaid in "Nuremberg laws" passed by the State to protect the Race against cross-breeding. When we defined Selection (page: 209), we used the term : PURPOSELY. "THE WORD 'PURPOSELY' IS HERE THE ESSENTIAL POINT. IT MEANS THAT ONE SHOULD KNOW THE AIM FOR WHICH HE SELECTS. THERE MUST THEREFORE BE AN AIM FOR SELECTION. A SELECTION WITHOUT AN AIM WOULD CONSTITUTE A CONTRE-SENS, SELECTION IN EACH CASE REPRESENTING THE UTILISATION, IN THE PROSPECT OF A COMING AIM, THE VALUE OF A GIVEN PROTOPLASMA" (DARRE, op. cit. p. 229). The ideal proposed to the German people is the Nordic Man. This is the principal contribution of GÜNTHER to Raciology, This Nordic Man is, not only the best type of the Aryans, he is also the depository of the Deutschtum,

of this German Kultur, this essence of "Germanity" which makes the Aryans the best types of Mankind. "TO ENDEAVOUR, BY ALL THE POSSIBLE MEANS, TO OBTAIN THAT THE BLOOD WHICH IS CREATIVE IN THE BODY OF OUR PEOPLE, ^{that is} IT MEANS THE NORDIC BLOOD, BE CONSERVED AND MULTIPLIED, FOR IT IS ON THIS THAT DEPENDS THE CONSERVATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANIS" (DARRE, op. cit. p. 241).

Furthermore, a racial policy cannot secure the victory of the Nordic Man over the sub-man if there is not there a whole State doctrine supposed to create a favourable milieu in which this Nordic Man feels himself at his ease. "ONE SHOULD ^{not} REFRAIN TO BELIEVE THAT THE DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES OF THE STATE WOULD BE RESOLVED IN THE FUTURE IF A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF NORDIC CHILDREN WERE BORN... ONE CANNOT CULTIVATE A RACE ^{by} IN CONSERVING ITS COMPLETE VALUE WITHIN A DEFAVOURABLE MILIEU..." (DARRE, op. cit. p. 241). The best milieu is a State framed ^{according to} along the racial conception of the World. "THE THIRD REICH WE ARE SEEKING FOR, IS NOT REALISABLE ONLY BY SELECTION HAVING A DETERMINED BODY IN MIND. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE FOR OUR DUTY TO MAKE THE MIND OF THE FUTURE GERMAN YOUTH IMPRESSED BY THE TRUE GERMAN CONCEPTIONS OF THE STATE... IN ORDER TO GIVE THE

GERMAN PEOPLE A GERMANISM REALLY EXEMPLARY" (DARRE, op. cit. p. 256). The aim of "PARTICULAR EDUCATION (is to create) A CLASS OF FÜHRER, CONSCIOUS AND PROUD OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES" (DARRE, op. cit. pp. 256-7). This favourable milieu will be created by National-Socialism once in power. At that very moment alone the genesis of man may be considered as over. Man, I mean the German, is then created./.

~~factor of human destiny. The necessity to a State is rooted in this fact.~~

When we speak of Race, we do not mean every kind of race. Only one Race is worth-living : the Aryans. The Aryans' contributions are the creation of the State and Civilization. If they have been chosen for the high mission to lead humanity it is because they got in them the required qualities. These qualities fit in the necessities of life : fight to defend the Volksgemeinschaft and to preserve its racial purity. The basic quality which enables man to deserve life is self-sacrifice on behalf of the community. "THIS MENTAL ATTITUDE, WHICH FORCES SELF-INTEREST TO RECEDE INTO THE BACKGROUND IN FAVOUR OF THE COMMON WEAL, IS THE FIRST PREREQUISITE FOR ANY KIND OF REALLY HUMAN CIVILIZATION" (Mein Kampf, p. 168).

Self-sacrifice transcends any other quality. It is ^{the real contribution of the Aryans to civilization} ~~so important that it determined, and still determines, the existence of the State.~~ "THE READINESS TO SACRIFICE ONE'S PERSONAL WORK AND, IF NECESSARY, EVEN ONE'S LIFE FOR OTHERS SHOWS ITS MOST HIGHLY DEVELOPED FORM IN THE ARYAN RACE. THE GREATNESS OF THE ARYAN IS NOT BASED ON HIS INTELLECT-

UAL POWERS, BUT RATHER ON HIS WILLINGNESS TO DEVOTE ALL HIS FACULTIES TO THE SERVICE OF THE COMMUNITY. HERE THE INSTINCT FOR SELF-PRESERVATION HAS REACHED ITS NOBLEST FORM; FOR THE ARYAN WILLINGLY SUBORDINATES HIS OWN EGO TO THE COMMON WEAL AND WHEN NECESSITY CALLS HE WILL EVEN SACRIFICE HIS OWN LIFE FOR THE COMMUNITY" (Mein Kampf, p. 168).

Self-sacrifice is the very essence of Humanity. The greatest, and the most valuable contribution of the Aryans is their stress upon this spirit. It is because they are so spirited, that they have become the sine qua non condition of human progress. "THE FUNDAMENTAL SPIRIT OUT OF WHICH THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY SPRINGS IS THE CONTRA-DISTINCTION OF 'EGOTISM' AND WE CALL IT 'IDEALISM'. BY THIS WE MEAN TO SIGNIFY THE WILLINGNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO MAKE SACRIFICES FOR THE COMMUNITY AND HIS FELLOW-MEN" (Mein Kampf, p. 169).

The Aryans were soldiers. Their Idealism is this quality of military life without which no army can hold. It is not ~~this~~ sentimental Idealism which leads to passiveness, but it is the Idealism which underlies every great action. "IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO INSIST AGAIN AND AGAIN THAT

IDEALISM IS NOT MERELY A SUPERFLUOUS MANIFESTATION OF SENTIMENT BUT RATHER SOMETHING WHICH HAS BEEN, IS AND ALWAYS WILL BE, A NECESSARY PRECONDITION OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION; IT IS EVEN OUT OF THIS THAT THE VERY IDEA OF THE WORD 'HUMAN' ARISES. TO THIS KIND OF MENTALITY THE ARYAN OWES HIS POSITION IN THE WORLD. AND THE WORLD IS INDEBTED TO THE ARYAN MIND FOR HAVING DEVELOPED THE CONCEPT OF 'MANKIND'; FOR IT IS OUT OF THIS SPIRIT ALONE THAT THE CREATIVE FORCE HAS COME WHICH IN A UNIQUE WAY COMBINED ROBUST MUSCULAR POWER WITH A FIRST-CLASS INTELLECT AND THUS CREATED THE MONUMENTS OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION" (Mein Kampf, p. 169).

§- 3.

THE GENESIS OF THE STATE

The first characteristic of the State according to the basis of the Führerprinzip, is to be an expediency. This expediency originates out of a necessity : racial self-preservation. "IN PRINCIPLE, THE STATE IS LOOKED UPON ONLY AS A MEANS TO AN END AND THIS END IS THE CONSERVATION OF THE RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MANKIND" (Mein Kampf, p. 215). Racial purity is the underlying cause for the existence of the State, and the condition of human progress. That is why the State, once in existence, transcends the stage of mere expediency and, thanks to its aim, reaches that of an indispensable social machine.

Racial purity is at once the causal origin and the raison d'être of the State. Its emergence is not due to a mere accident, but springs out of the ^{deepest} ~~heartest~~ need of mankind : preservation of the Race. Everything in the World should have as its aim the safeguard of racial purity. "THE INSTINCT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ONE'S OWN SPECIES IS THE PRIMARY CAUSE THAT LEADS TO THE FORMATION OF HUMAN COMMUNITIES. HENCE THE STATE IS A RACIAL ORGANISM, AND NOT AN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO IS SO GREAT AS TO BE INCOMPREHENSIBLE TO OUR CONTEMPORARY SO-CALLED 'STATEMEN' "(Mein Kampf, p. 93).

The State is an agent of war, and not of well-being. It ~~ah~~ has to meet reality where everything corresponds to a fight : fight against nature, fight against enemies. "HE WHO WOULD LIVE MUST FIGHT. HE WHO DOES NOT WISH TO FIGHT IN THIS WORLD, WHERE PERMANENT STRUGGLE IS THE LAW OF LIFE, HAS NOT THE RIGHT TO EXIST" (Mein Kampf, p. 163). Life, like freedom, is a reward, the best evidence of strength. The weak will be destroyed and swept away by the strong. "BEFORE THE DAWN OF HISTORY,

POWER AND COURAGE WERE THE HIGHEST VIRTUES OF MANKIND" writes RATHENAU. Man begins first to fight, then after, to enjoy life. War and success are evidences of fitness for existence. The world belongs to heroic races. "BUT IF A PEOPLE BE DEFEATED IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ITS HUMAN RIGHTS THIS MEANS THAT ITS WEIGHT HAS PROVED TOO LIGHT IN THE SCALE OF DESTINY TO HAVE THE LUCK OF BEING ABLE TO ENDURE IN THIS TERRESTRIAL WORLD.

" THE WORLD IS NOT THERE TO BE POSSESSED BY THE FAINT-HEARTED RACES" (Mein Kampf, p. 63).

The State is essentially an Aryan institution. It is due to the readiness of the Aryans to sacrifice their life for the common weal. The first manifestation of self-sacrifice is the creation of the State. The individual resigns his freedom on behalf of the community. His aim is no more self-benefit, but service : to serve his community even at the cost of his life. The State is the symbol of racial unity. It represents the will-to-power of the people. As a matter of fact, if the first task of the State is to preserve the Race from cross-breeding, its further task is to find for it the necessary Lebensraum on which to live. The real Racialism is that which unites "Blut und Boden" . Racial purity cannot be preserved if there

there is not there the land from which the people alone may draw their livelihood. This means conquest, and conquest presupposes State. Hence a further element in the genesis of the State.

Conquest is the essential condition for living. How can a Race exist if it has not a sufficient area for its subsistence. "... WE ARE SENT INTO THIS WORLD WITH THE COMMISSION TO STRUGGLE FOR OUR DAILY BREAD, AS CREATURES TO WHOM NOTHING IS DONATED AND WHO MUST BE ABLE TO WIN AND HOLD THEIR POSITION AS LORDS OF THE EARTH ONLY THROUGH THEIR OWN INTELLIGENCE AND COURAGE" (Mein Kampf, p. 359). A Race has the land it deserves. The more it is courageous and conquest-minded, the more it deserves, and it has, lands. Imperialism is the motto of the foreign policy of the State. "FOR NO NATION ON EARTH POSSESSES A SQUARE YARD OF GROUND AND SOIL BY DECREE OF A HIGHER WILL AND IN VIRTUE OF A HIGHER RIGHT. THE GERMAN FRONTIERS ARE THE OUTCOME OF CHANCE AND ARE ONLY TEMPORARY FRONTIERS THAT HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED AS THE RESULT OF POLITICAL STRUGGLES WHICH TOOK PLACE AT VARIOUS TIMES" (Mein Kampf, p. 359).

The relations of the Volkstaat with other States should be based on the preoccupation,

on the part of the State, to find new territories for the Race. If domestic life may be viewed as mainly involving economic problems, inter-state relations are but an alternation between peace and war. "NO ECONOMIC POLICY IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT A SWORD, NO INDUSTRIALIZATION WITHOUT POWER" (HITLER, on 10 April, 1923, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 43). That is why "THE FOREIGN POLICY OF A PEOPLE'S STATE MUST FIRST OF ALL BEAR IN MIND THE DUTY OF SECURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE RACE WHICH IS INCORPORATED IN THIS STATE. AND THIS MUST BE DONE BY ESTABLISHING A HEALTHY AND NATURAL PROPORTION BETWEEN THE NUMBER AND GROWTH OF THE POPULATION ON THE ONE HAND AND THE EXTENT AND RESOURCES OF THE TERRITORY THEY INHABIT, ON THE OTHER. THAT BALANCE MUST BE SUCH THAT IT ACCORDS WITH THE VITAL NECESSITIES OF THE PEOPLE" (Mein Kampf, p. 354).

This necessity put the people in a permanent situation of war. As long as the people grow up in number, they need new territories, hence new conquests, otherwise, it would be the decline of the people concerned. The 'healthy proportion' rule should be respected, unless the people will fall under subjection. "WHAT I CALL A HEALTHY PROPORTION IS THAT IN WHICH THE SUPPORT OF A PEOPLE'S IS GUARANTEED BY THE RESOURCES OF ITS OWN SOIL AND

SUB-SOIL. ANY SITUATION WHICH FALLS SHORT OF THIS CONDITION IS NONE LESS UNHEALTHY EVEN THOUGH IT MAY ENDURE FOR CENTURIES OR EVEN A THOUSAND YEARS. SOONER OR LATER, THIS LACK OF PROPORTION MUST OF NECESSITY LEAD TO THE DECLINE OR EVEN ANNIHILATION OF THE PEOPLE CONCERNED" (MeinKampf, p. 354).

Racial purity and Imperialism are two interchangeable terms. In order to preserve the one, the State should take into consideration the other. Racial purity appeals to conquest; conquest, to be successful, needs a racially healthy people. When a state takes off its mind these fundamental principles, it is fatally going to its ruin. "THE ULTIMATE AND MOST PROFOUND REASON OF THE GERMAN DOWNFALL IS TO BE FOUND IN THE FACT THAT THE RACIAL PROBLEM WAS IGNORED AND THAT ITS IMPORTANCE IN THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS WAS NOT GRASPED. FOR THE EVENTS THAT TAKE PLACE IN THE LIFE OF NATIONS ARE NOT DUE TO CHANCE BUT ARE THE NATURAL RESULTS OF THE EFFORTS TO CONSERVE AND MULTIPLY THE SPECIES AND THE RACE, EVEN THOUGH MEN MAY NOT BE ABLE CONSCIOUSLY TO PICTURE TO THEIR MINDS THE PROFOUND MOTIVES OF THEIR CONDUCT" (Mein Kampf, p. 1607).

~~The maintenance of the State and its~~

§- 4.

THE GENESIS OF KULTUR

The most important function of the State is within the spiritual domain : the preservation of the Kultur. Its value depends on its fulfilment of this task. Kultur emerges out of the sword, and the spiritual mission of the State consists in defending it from destruction, and thus, in preserving untouched racial purity. ~~"THEREFORE, THE WORTH OF A STATE CAN BE DETERMINED ONLY BY ASKING HOW FAR IT ACTUALLY SUCCEEDS IN PROMOTING THE WELL-BEING OF A DEFINITE RACE AND NOT BY THE ROLE WHICH IT PLAYS IN THE WORLD AT LARGE. ITS RELATIVE WORTH CAN BE ESTIMATED READILY AND ACCURATELY; BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE ITS ABSOLUTE WORTH, BECAUSE THE LATTER IS CONDITIONED NOT ONLY BY THE STATE BUT ALSO BY THE QUALITY AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE THAT BELONG TO THE INDI-~~

~~VIDUAL STATE IN QUESTION.~~

~~"THEREFORE, WHEN WE SPEAK OF THE HIGH MISSION OF THE STATE WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE HIGH MISSION BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE AND THAT THE BUSINESS OF THE STATE IS TO USE ITS ORGANIZING POWERS FOR THE PURPOSE OF FURNISHING THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS WHICH ALLOW THIS PEOPLE FREELY TO UNFOLD ITS CREATIVE FACULTIES" (Mein Kampf, p. 222).~~

The primitive racially pure State had two characteristics : courage and the absence of Kultur. This State had but one aim : to enlarge its Lebensraum. Intelligence was not its characteristic, on the contrary it despised the intellectuals. The Führer is not a philosopher, but a man of decision and action. First act ! Life resides in action. Conquest is an aspect of life : it is rather its sine qua non aspect. What is self-sacrifice ? Action on behalf of the Community. The cultivated man came long after the soldier. The primitive Volksgemeinschaft was a military community who^{ich} expressed its vitality through action. Action and conquest are interchangeable terms, since the law of history is fight at the service of the Race.

Kultur is not autonomous. It was not purposely created. Kultur is a by-product of action. As long as the Aryans lived alone, racially pure, they did not produce Kultur. But the urge for conquest led them to mix up with other peoples. Kultur then arouse like the spark when kicking two siles the one against the other. "AND THUS IT IS THAT A GREAT AND SIGNIFICANT ARYAN CIVILIZATION DID NOT ARISE WHERE ARYANS ALONE WERE LIVING IN RACIAL PURITY, BUT ALWAYS WHERE THEY FORMED A VITAL ASSOCIATION WITH RACES OTHERWISE CONSTITUTED, AN ASSOCIATION FOUNDED NOT ON MIXTURE OF BLOOD BUT ON THE BASIS OF AN ORGANIC COMMUNITY OF PURPOSE" (HITLER on September, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 466).

Kultur is due to conquest and not to cross-breeding. This should be noted. The sin against race "brings disaster on every nation that commits it" (Mein Kampf, p. 142). Conquest and racial purity go together. Racial impurity is destructiveness. It

destroys the urge for conquest in man, ^{therefore its Kultur} and makes him weak. "... ~~THE LOSS OF RACIAL PURITY WILL WRECK INNER HAPPINESS FOR EVER. IT DEGRADES MEN FOR ALL TIME TO~~ ^{Racial purity is the sine qua non condition of the Aryan superiority. It is an end in itself, and the condition for the preservation of Kultur and its maintenance -} ~~COME. AND THE PHYSICAL AND MORAL CONSEQUENCES CAN NEVER BE WIPED OUT.~~

~~"IF THIS UNIQUE PROBLEM BE STUDIED AND COMPARED~~

WITH THE OTHER PROBLEMS OF LIFE WE SHALL EASILY
RECOGNIZE HOW SMALL IS THEIR IMPORTANCE IN COMPARISON
WITH THIS. THEY ARE ALL LIMITED TO TIME, BUT THE PRO-
BLEM OF THE MAINTENANCE OR LOSS OF THE PURITY OF THE
RACIAL BLOOD WILL LAST AS LONG AS MAN HIMSELF LAST"
(Mein Kampf, p. 186). The ~~main~~ problem is to
conquer without loss of racial purity. Under this con-
dition only can Kultur be created.

In the first moment after conquest
takes place, the Aryans became conscious of their
duties as conquerors. They behaved, not as tyrannical
masters, but as men keen to fulfil their civilization
and mission, *and to develop their "faculty of cultural creativeness" (Mein Kampf, p. 221).* "UNCONSCIOUSLY IN THE MASTER-PEOPLE
THERE GREW UP EVER MORE CLEARLY AND VITALLY A RECOG-
NITION OF THE ETHICAL DEMAND THAT THEIR SUPREMACY
MUST BE NO ARBITRARY RULE BUT MUST BE CONTROLLED BY
A NOBLE REASONABLENESS. THE CAPACITY TO SUBDUE OTHERS
WAS NOT GIVEN TO THEM BY PROVIDENCE IN ORDER TO MAKE
THE SUBJECTS FEEL THAT THE LORDSHIP OF THEIR CONQUEROR
WAS A MEANINGLESS TYRANNY, A MERE OPPRESSION : THAT
CAPACITY WAS GIVEN THAT THROUGH THE UNION OF THE
CONQUEROR'S GENIUS WITH THE STRENGTH OF THE CONQUERED
THEY MIGHT CREATE FOR BOTH ALIKE AN EXISTENCE WHICH
BECAUSE IT WAS USEFUL WAS NOT DEGRADING TO MAN "
(HITLER, on September, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. p.466)

This union between the Aryans and the other peoples is profitable to both of them. An aryan conquest is essentially constructive. It ^{creates} ~~causes~~ essentially Kultur, just because their 'action' is based on self-sacrifice. What makes a community productive is not its density, but the readiness of its members to serve the group. Action is essentially, for the Aryans, a collective effort. Further, this self-sacrifice spirit acts too on behalf of non-~~aryan~~ peoples. As a matter of fact, Kultur is due to self-sacrifice, on behalf at once of the Aryans and those conquered by them. "... THE ARYAN ALSO HAS DOMINATED OTHER PEOPLES. BUT HOW ? HE ENTERED ON THE LAND, HE CLEARED THE FORESTS; OUT OF WILDERNESS HE HAS CREATED CIVILIZATIONS, AND HE HAS NOT USED THE OTHERS FOR HIS OWN INTERESTS, HE HAS, SO FAR AS THEIR CAPACITIES PERMITTED, INCORPORATED THEM INTO HIS STATE AND THROUGH HIM ART AND SCIENCE WERE BROUGHT TO FLOWER. IN THE LAST RESORT IT WAS THE ARYAN AND THE ARYAN ALONE WHO COULD FORM STATES AND COULD SET THEM IN THEIR PATH TO FUTURE GREATNESS" (HITLER, on 28 July, 1922, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 30).

The benefit drawn by the conquered people from their subjection by the Aryans is Kultur. This does not mean that they have created a Kultur. This happens only through the Aryans. The conquered people are only the depository of Kultur. Kultur is essentially Aryan. As long as the Aryans keep their influence on them, they will remain able to have a Kultur. But, if racial purity of the conquering races is prostituted, Kultur will be wiped out until adequate conditions will bring it again to existence. The rise and the decline of a Kultur may be depicted as follows :

"ARYAN TRIBES, OFTEN ALMOST RIDICULOUSLY SMALL IN NUMBER, SUBJUGATED FOREIGN PEOPLES AND, STIMULATED BY THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE WHICH THEIR NEW COUNTRY OFFERED THEM (FERTILITY, THE NATURE OF THE CLIMATE, etc...), AND PROFITING ALSO BY THE ABUNDANCE OF MANUAL LABOUR FURNISHED THEM BY THE INFERIOR RACE, THEY DEVELOPED INTELLECTUAL AND ORGANIZING FACULTIES WHICH HAD HITHERTO BEEN DORMANT IN THESE CONQUERING TRIBES. WITHIN THE COURSE OF A FEW THOUSAND YEARS, OR EVEN CENTURIES, THEY GAVE LIFE TO CULTURES WHOSE PRIMITIVE TRAITS COMPLETELY CORRESPONDED TO THE CHARACTER OF THE FOUNDERS, THOUGH MODIFIED BY ADAPTATION TO THE PECULIARITIES OF THE SOIL AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJUGATED PEOPLE. BUT FINALLY THE CONQUERING RACE OFFENDED AGAINST THE

PRINCIPLES WHICH THEY FIRST HAD OBSERVED, NAMELY, THE MAINTENANCE OF THEIR RACIAL STOCK UNMIXED, THEY BEGAN TO INTERMINGLE WITH THE SUBJUGATED PEOPLE. THUS THEY PUT AN END TO THEIR OWN SEPARATE EXISTENCE; FOR THE ORIGINAL SIN COMMITTED IN PARADISE HAS ALWAYS BEEN FOLLOWED BY THE EXPULSION OF THE GUILTY PARTIES" (Mein Kampf, p.165).

Racial purity is at once profitable to the Aryans and the conquered people. Without it, both will lose their Kultur which "becomes fossilized" (id. id.). In order to make Kultur emerge again out of this racial chaos, the State should, through selection, try "to separate" aryan blood from that of the other. Aryan blood never ceases its influence : its action is radioactive, so to speak. What is important is to give it a chance to operate individually, because "... THE CREATIVE CAPACITIES AND POWERS FREQUENTLY HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL CERTAIN CONDITIONS STIMULATE THEM TO ACTION" (Mein Kampf, p. 166). These conditions can be afforded only by selection.

One may wonder, since the danger is so great for the Aryans to have relations with inferior races, why do they not coöperate among themselves alone ? The answer is that inferior races are a pre-

requisit for the emergence of Kultur. The slaves hold, in the genesis of Greek culture, a place of an equal importance to that held by the Thinkers. Without them there would not be such a thing as a Kultur. "FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUPERIOR TYPES OF CIVILIZATION THE MEMBERS OF INFERIOR RACES FORMED ONE OF THE MOST ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITES. THEY ALONE COULD SUPPLY THE LACK OF MECHANICAL MEANS WITHOUT WHICH NO PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE FIRST STAGES OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION WERE NOT BASED SO MUCH ON THE USE OF TAME ANIMALS AS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF HUMAN BEINGS WHO WERE MEMBERS OF AN INFERIOR RACE.

"ONLY AFTER SUBJUGATED RACES WERE EMPLOYED AS SLAVES WAS A SIMILAR FATE ALLOTTED TO ANIMALS, AND NOT VICE VERSA, AS SOME PEOPLE WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE. AT FIRST IT WAS THE CONQUERED ENEMY WHO HAD TO DRAW THE PLOUGH AND ONLY AFTERWARDS DID THE OX AND HORSE TAKE HIS PLACE. NOBODY ELSE BUT PULING PACIFISTS CAN CONSIDER THIS FACT AS A SIGN OF HUMAN DEGRADATION. SUCH PEOPLE FAIL TO RECOGNIZE THAT THIS EVOLUTION HAD TO TAKE PLACE IN ORDER THAT MAN MIGHT REACH THAT DEGREE OF CIVILIZATION WHICH THESE APOSTLES NOW EXPLOIT IN AN ATTEMPT TO MAKE THE WORLD PAY ATTENTION TO THEIR RIGMAROLE" (Mein Kampf, p. 167).

§- 5.

The VOLK, CITIENS AND SUBJECTS

The Volk is the racial raw material out of which is constituted the Volksgemeinschaft. It is a group of men of the same race living together on the same piece of land. There is but one tie between them : the blood-knit. No political unity, nor a social one, only a some kind of "organic" relations between the different members of the group. The greatest event in the history of the Volk is the emergence of the Führer. At this moment the whole evolution of the Volk changed^s its direction. Thanks to the Führer, a some kind of coherence is introduced in the Volk. Chaos is replaced by order, and racial dismemberment, by political and social unity.

If the emergence of the Führer was so decisive, it is because it corresponds to an essential need in the Volk. The first thing to be done by the Volk, unconsciously and instinctively so to speak, is to preserve its racial purity. Only strength may secure it and enables the Volk to resist the temptation of bastardization. But strength without an adequate Lebensraum is destructive. At this very moment emerges the Führer. He comes to lead his people to new lands; to establish their supremacy over the inferior races, and then after, to enable them to create Kultur. Without Führer, the Volk would remain a human cattle, seeking only for its daily livelihood.

A Volk led by a Führer is no more a Volk. It becomes a Gefolgschaft. A Gefolgschaft is a homogeneous and ordered group of men having the same mission in the World. They are united by their blood and their destiny. The symbol of their unity is the Führer. The Führer is like a totem : he defines anew and limits the Volk. The Gefolgschaft is known by its Führer, and the Führer is followed by ~~its~~ his Gefolgschaft. Führer and Gefolgschaft are united. Their union takes a new name : Volksgemeinschaft.

The Volksgemeinschaft is ^a new social group and category. Its first characteristics are : racial purity and unique Führung. Both conceptions determine a new division in the people. The people are no more divided according to juridical definitions. A new notion is brought in the political life of the group, or rather, an old one is taken up again, but from a new point of view. In order to belong to the group one should be racially pure and a member of the Race : he should be a Volksgenos. "ONLY THOSE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE NATION CAN BE CITIZENS. ONLY THOSE WHO ARE OF GERMAN BLOOD, WITHOUT REGARD TO RELIGION, CAN BE MEMBERS OF THE GERMAN NATION. NO JEW CAN, THEREFORE, BE A MEMBER OF THE NATION" (art. 4 of the Programme of February 24, 1920, in POLLOCK, HITLER Decrees)

According to this view, those who live within the frontiers of the German "Boden" are divided into three groups : the Citizens, the Subjects and the Aliens. The Citizen and the Subject have a quality in common : to be born on German soil. The Aliens are those who are to be radically excluded out of the Volksgemeinschaft. These three persons have each one different rights and duties towards the State.

The Citizen is a persona grata for the State. "ALONE IS CITIZEN OF THE REICH, THE GERMAN WHO IS OF GERMAN OR ALLIED BLOOD, AND WHO PROVES BY HIS BEHAVIOUR THAT HE INTENDS AND HAS THE REQUIRED QUALITY TO SERVE FAITHFULLY THE GERMAN PEOPLES AND REICH" (art. 2, §- 1 of the Law passed on 15 September, 1935 concerning The City-Right or Reichsbürgerschaft). Three conditions are then necessary to be considered as German Citizen : to be racially pure, to have the required qualities to serve the Reich, to serve it faithfully. If the German State is so careful in granting the City-Right, it is because "THE REICH CITIZEN IS THE ONLY HOLDER OF ALL THE POLITICAL RIGHTS..." (art. 2, §. 3, id.). The conditions required are in proportion to the privileges granted. That is why "ON THE OCCASION OF CONFERRING A DIPLOMA OF CITIZENSHIP THE NEW CITIZEN MUST TAKE A SOLEMN OATH OF LOYALTY TO THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE STATE... IT SHALL BE A GREATER HONOUR TO BE A CITIZEN OF THIS REICH, EVEN AS A STREET-SWEEPER, THAN TO BE THE KING OF A FOREIGN STATE" (Mein Kampf, p. 247). The best diploma of loyalty to the State is membership in the Nazi Party.

As for the Subjects and the Aliens, they enjoy a lower status. "... THE BIRTH WITH^{IN} THE CONFINES OF THE STATE GIVES ONLY THE STATUS OF A SUBJECT. IT DOES NOT CARRY WITH IT THE RIGHT TO FILL ANY POSITION UNDER THE STATE OR TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL LIFE, SUCH AS TAKING AN ACTIVE OR PASSIVE PART IN ELECTIONS" (Mein Kampf, p. 247). The Subject is a German whose blood is not pure. The Subjects are granted "the German nationality" or Staatsangehörigkeit, (Law of 15 September, 1935). They are not Volksgenossen, and can not be conferred the Staatsbürgerschaft, or City-Rights.

These new juridical conceptions of political and national links are based on the need to preserve racial purity, it means, to preserve the Volksgemeinschaft from destruction. Without racial purity there can be neither Führung, nor State and Kultur. The German blood is indissolubly linked with the German honour; to pollute the first is to destroy the latter. That is why the law passed on 15 October, 1935 is entitled : Law on the Protection of the German Blood and Honour. Due to these new conceptions, all the essence of law is changed. "RECHT, write the Nazi

jurists, IS THAT WHICH PROFITS THE PEOPLE, AND UNRECHT IS THAT WHICH HARMS IT" (BAYNES, op. cit. p. 515).

Even those principles which underlaid law since the Romans got to be changed and based on a new basis : the Volk and its interest. "FOR US, ALL IS FALSE AND SENSELESS WHICH DOES NOT PROFIT THE GERMAN PEOPLE, declares the Kultur Minister of Bavaria SCHEMM, FOR US EVERYTHING IS A CRIME WHICH INJURES THE PEOPLE EVEN ALTHOUGH IT WERE PARALLEL WITH THIS THERE RUNS ANOTHER REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLE : IF THE RECHTS-STAAT - the State acknowledging the rule of law - HAD REGARDED AS THE BASIS OF ITS JUDICIAL SYSTEM THE MAXIM NULLA POENA SINE LEGE - THE NATIONAL-SOCIALISTS HAVE PROCLAIMED ITS OPPOSITE : KEIN VERBRECHEN OHNE STRAFE - NO CRIME MUST GO UNPUNISHED - AND THE DETERMINATION OF THAT WHICH CONSTITUTES A CRIMINAL ACT RESTS WITH THE UNCORRUPTED CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE" quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. pp. 515-6).

The individual ceases to exist as such in the social life. He is an object of law as far as he is a member of the Community. The Administrative Court of Saxony built up (18 January, 1935) civil responsibility on a new basis. If a person

should be ^{furnished} sanctioned, he will be, not on the ground that he caused damages to somebody else, but because his civil fault provoked social trouble which endangers social peace. "FROM NOW ON, declares GÖRING, THE PRIMACY OF LAW DOES NO MORE BELONG TO THE INDIVIDUAL BUT TO THE COMMUNITY" (quoted in RIVAUD, Le Relèvement de l'Allemagne, p. 255). This is the only reality since the Volksgemeinschaft becomes the only social reality at the expense of the Volksgenossen.

The difference between a Citizen and a Subject is based on a twofold principle :

1- Citizenship or City-Right cannot, at any rate, be acquired by a non-Aryan. One is born a German Citizen, and he is it according to his racial purity. This idea underlies the Association of the Germans in Foreign Countries. The centre of this association is at Stuttgart. A German remains a Volksgenoss even if he adopts another nationality. He may lose his German Citizenship only through racial mixture. That is why the law of 21 March, 1933 considers the Germans in the Foreign Countries responsible for their actions towards the Reich if their activity proves to be prejudicial to their Home-Country. It is again personality of law against territoriality of law.

As for the Subject, he may at any time cease to belong to the German Reich : he belongs to the German Rechtsgemeinschaft, and not, as the Citizen, to the Volksgemeinschaft. "A SUBJECT, states HITLER, IS AT ANY TIME FREE TO CEASE BEING A SUBJECT AND TO BECOME A CITIZEN OF THAT COUNTRY TO WHICH HE BELONGS IN VIRTUE OF HIS NATIONALITY" (Mein Kampf, p. 247).

2- The second difference between the Citizen and the Subject is that the first is forced to be "useful", in the full sense of the word, to his country. To be useful is to fulfil entirely his duty as Citizen, and to share intimately the views of the Party and its Weltanschauung without any mental restrictions. This quality lacking suffices to deprive the Citizen of his Völkish status. "THE CITIZEN HAS PRIVILEGES WHICH ARE NOT ACCORDED TO THE ALIEN. HE IS THE MASTER IN THE REICH. BUT THIS HIGH HONOUR HAS ALSO ITS OBLIGATIONS. THOSE WHO SHOW THEMSELVES WITHOUT PERSONAL HONOUR OR CHARACTER, OR COMMON CRIMINALS, OR TRAITORS TO THE FATHERLAND, CAN AT ANY TIME BE DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP. THEREWITH THEY BECOME MERELY SUBJECTS OF THE STATE" (Mein Kampf, p.247).

According to this view, a woman is considered, as long as she does not get married, a Subject of the State ^{in spite of} ~~although~~ her racial purity. Marriage is the raison d'être of woman. It is her real status. Two events may bring change in her status and in consequence, confer on her German Citizenship : they are marriage and economic independence. The second event is a mere expediency due to the over-number of women in relation to that of men after 1918. "THE GERMAN GIRL IS A SUBJECT OF THE STATE BUT WILL BECOME A CITIZEN WHEN SHE MARRIES. AT THE SAME TIME THOSE WOMEN EARN THEIR LIVELIHOOD INDEPENDENTLY HAVE THE RIGHT TO ACQUIRE CITIZENSHIP IF THEY ARE GERMAN SUBJECTS" (Mein Kampf, p. 247)./.

§- 6.

POLICY FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE VOLK

The task of the State is to defend the Race. The two dangers the Volk has to face are Judaism and Marxism, because they are inherently opposed to the German Weltanschauung. As a matter of fact, the History of the World may be schematised as the story of the opposition made by the Jews' destructiveness to the Aryans' achievements. Racialism is but the story of this rivalry. It intends to put an end to the power of the Jews in preventing them to mix up with the Aryans. Marxism is the last means used by the Jews to undermine aryan society. "IF NATURE DOES NOT WISH THAT WEAKER INDIVIDUALS SHOULD MATE WITH THE STRONGER, SHE WISHES EVEN LESS THAT A SUPERIOR RACE SHOULD INTERMINGLE WITH AN INFERIOR ONE; BECAUSE

IN SUCH A CASE ALL HER EFFORTS, THROUGHOUT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YEARS TO ESTABLISH AN EVOLUTIONARY HIGHER STAGE OF BEING, MAY THUS BE RENDERED FUTILE" (Mein Kampf, p. 162).

The key-pillar of the Führerstaat is Führung. The Jews worked out Marxism in which the Führerprinzip is replaced by the dictatorship of the masses. It is radically opposed to the law of nature, the aristocratic principle, hence its destructiveness and the necessity to defend the Volk against the Jews and their offspring Marxism. "THE JEWISH DOCTRINE OF MARXISM REPUDIATES THE ARISTOCRATIC PRINCIPLE OF NATURE AND SUBSTITUTES FOR IT THE ETERNAL PRIVILEGE OF FORCE AND ENERGY, NUMERICAL MASS AND ITS DEAD WEIGHT. THUS IT DENIES THE INDIVIDUAL WORTH OF THE HUMAN PERSONALITY, IMPUGNS THE TEACHING THAT NATIONHOOD AND RACE HAVE A PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE, AND BY DOING THIS IT TAKES AWAY THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE AND HUMAN CIVILIZATION. IF THE MARXIST TEACHING WERE TO BE ACCEPTED AS THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE LIFE OF THE UNIVERSE, IT WOULD LEAD TO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ALL ORDER THAT IS CONCEIVABLE TO THE HUMAN MIND. AND THUS THE ADOPTION OF SUCH A LAW WOULD PROVOKE CHAOS IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE GREATEST ORGANISM THAT WE KNOW, WITH THE RESULT THAT THE INHABITANTS OF THIS EARTHLY PLANET WOULD FINALLY DISAPPEAR" (Mein Kampf, p. 46).

If the Jews presented Marxism as opposed to National-Socialism, it is because it would be the best weapons with which to destroy German Kultur. Civilisation is due to strong personalities, not to multitude. Marxism replaces the Individual by Multitude, and personal responsibility, by Parliamentarianism, and so, German Civilisation would disappear. (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 181).

One may wonder why did the Jews conceive of such means to compete with the Aryans. Why did they not propose a new Weltanschauung to replace "constructively" the Aryan philosophy for the benefit of whole Mankind ? The answer is that the Jews lack the qualities without which no people can create a Kultur : namely, self-sacrifice and racial purity. "FOR, THOUGH AMONG THE JEWS THE INSTINCT OF SELF-PRESERVATION HAS NOT BEEN WEAKER BUT HAS BEEN MUCH STRONGER THAN AMONG OTHER PEOPLES, AND THOUGH THE IMPRESSION MAY EASILY BE CREATED THAT THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS OF THE JEW ARE AT LEAST EQUAL TO THOSE OF OTHER RACES, THE JEWS COMPLETELY LACK THE MOST ESSENTIAL PRE-REQUISITE OF A CULTURAL PEOPLE, NAMELY THE IDEALISTIC SPIRIT. WITH THE JEWISH PEOPLE THE READINESS FOR SACRIFICE DOES NOT EXTEND BEYOND THE SIMPLE

INSTINCT OF INDIVIDUAL PRESERVATION. IN THEIR CASE THE FEELING OF RACIAL SOLIDARITY WHICH THEY APPARENTLY MANIFEST IS NOTHING BUT A VERY PRIMITIVE GREGARIOUS INSTINCT, SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH MAY BE FOUND AMONG OTHER ORGANISMS IN THIS WORLD. IT IS A REMARKABLE FACT THAT THIS HERD INSTINCT BRINGS INDIVIDUALS TOGETHER FOR MUTUAL PROTECTION ONLY AS LONG AS THERE IS A COMMON DANGER WHICH MAKES MUTUAL ASSISTANCE EXPEDIENT OR INEVITABLE" (Mein Kampf, p. 170).

These ^{defects} ~~defaults~~ lead the State to follow a defensive policy against them. A ruthless policy should be followed against the Jews. "THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS COMING TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE JEWS. IT MUST BE THE HARD-AND-FAST 'EITHER-OR' "(Mein Kampf, p. 121). This 'Either-Or' policy will decide on the future of Germany. Judaism and Bolshevism are intermingled. To combat the one is to combat the other, therefore to defend the Germans. This point of view should underly every policy for the protection of the Race. "ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL REASONS FOR THE LEGISLATION IN GERMANY IS THE NECESSITY TO COMBAT BOLSHEVISM. THIS LEGISLATION IS NOT ANTI-JEWISH, BUT PRO-GERMAN. THE RIGHTS OF GERMANS ARE THEREBY TO BE PROTECTED AGAINST DESTRUCTIVE JEWISH INFLUENCES" (HITLER to BAILLIE, of the United Press, in the Völkischer Beobachter of 28 November, 1935, quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. pp. 732-3).

Two measures have been taken to put into execution these principles for the defence of the Volksgemeinschaft. The law promulgated on 28 February, 1933 was passed in order "to, protect the people and the State" against the violence and destruction of the Communists. The Law of July 14, 1933 is constructive in the sense that only the National-Socialist Party was declared legally constituted, whereas the other political parties were dissolved. Only one Weltanschauung, that of the Führer. The protection against the Jews was led along the racial line : to prevent them to take part in the social life of the German people; no more inter-racial marriages. The so-called Jewish thought is destroyed in burning the Jewish authors' books. The Jews are forbidden to hoist the German colours, to meet Germans in public as well in private places... The Jews, and their offspring Marxism, are extirpated from Germany./.

Let no one speak of justice and individual freedom. All these theoretical conceptions will vanish before the necessity to preserve racial purity. The Government has not to secure institutions which may harm the German people. "... THE TASK OF THE GOVERNMENT IS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE PEOPLE,

THE PROTECTION OF THE RACE AND CARE FOR THE RACE; ALL ITS OTHER TASKS ARE CONDITIONED BY THIS PRIMARY DUTY. THE TOTALITARIAN STATE WILL MAKE NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LAW AND MORALITY. IT IS ONLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THIS FIXED WELTANSCHAUUNG THAT JUSTICE CAN BE OR CAN BE ALLOWED TO BE INDEPENDENT" (HITLER, on October 3, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 523).

The law has but one aim : to be the best and surest means in the hands of the Führer on behalf of the Race. "THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION... HAS GIVEN TO LAW WHETHER AS A THEORETICAL SCIENCE OR IN ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION A CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS STARTING-POINT : THE TASK WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE MUST SET BEFORE ITSELF IS TO CO-OPERATE IN MAINTAINING THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE AND IN PROTECTING IT FROM THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH THROUGH THEIR UN-SOCIAL TENDENCIES (als Asoziale) EITHER SEEK TO ESCAPE THEIR DUTIES TO THE COMMUNITY OR OFFEND AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY. THEREFORE FROM HENCEFORTH IN GERMAN LAW, AS IN OTHER SPHERES, ABOVE PERSON AND ABOVE PROPERLY STANDS THE PEOPLE" (HITLER, on 30 January, 1937, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 526).

The struggle against Jews and Marxists should be ruthlessly carried out. Even the prospect of a civil war should not stop the Government to put such a policy in execution. "A REALLY NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OUGHT THEN TO HAVE WELCOMED DISORDER AND UNREST IF THIS TURMOIL WOULD AFFORD AN OPPORTUNITY OF FINALLY SETTLING WITH THE MARXISTS, WHO ARE THE MORTAL ENEMIES OF OUR PEOPLE. IF THIS PRECAUTION WERE NEGLECTED, THEN IT WAS SHEER FOLLY TO THINK OF RESISTING, NO MATTER WHAT FORM THAT RESISTANCE MIGHT TAKE.

"... IT MUST ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED THAT IN MANY INSTANCES A HARDY AND HEALTHY NATION HAS EMERGED FROM THE ORDEAL OF THE MOST BLOODY CIVIL WARS, WHILE FROM PEACE CONDITIONS WHICH HAD BEEN ARTIFICIALLY MAINTAINED THERE OFTEN RESULTED A STATE OF NATIONAL PUTRESCENCE THAT REEKED TO THE SKIES. THE FATE OF A NATION CANNOT BE CHANGED IN KID GLOVES..." (Mein Kampf, p. 374).

There is but one policy for Germany to defend her Volk : the destruction of the Jews and their Weltanschauung, Marxism. This policy should be realised at any cost, otherwise the German people, endangered, spiritually and organically by bastardization, would be annihilated as a Kultur-creator, and

a sub-race. The fight against Jews and Marxism should be based on spiritual bases, otherwise it is doomed to fail. Force alone is useless; ideas alone, helpless; their union made the attack irresistible. "THE APPLICATION OF FORCE ALONE, WITHOUT MORAL SUPPORT BASED ON A SPIRITUAL CONCEPT, CAN NEVER BRING ABOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF AN IDEA OR ARREST THE PROPAGATION OF IT, UNLESS ONE IS READY AND ABLE RUTHLESSLY TO EXTERMINATE THE LAST UPHOLDERS OF THAT IDEA EVEN TO A MAN, AND ALSO WIPE OUT ANY TRADITION WHICH IT MAY TEND TO LEAVE BEHIND" (Mein Kampf, p. 103).

Further, application of force alone may bring undesirable reaction among the people who witness it. "AS A MATTER OF FACT, EVERY PERSECUTION WHICH HAS NO SPIRITUAL MOTIVES TO SUPPORT IT IS MORALLY UNJUST AND RAISES OPPOSITION AMONG THE BEST ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION; SO MUCH TO THAT THERE ARE DRIVEN MORE AND MORE TO CHAMPION THE IDEAS THAT ARE UNJUSTLY PERSECUTED" (Mein Kampf, p. 103). In order to succeed and annihilate a doctrine, a spirit must support force, and both must be aggressive. The doctrine which is on the defensive would be finally wiped out. The best defence is attack. "FOR THIS REASON ALONE A WELTANSCHAUUNG WHICH IS OF AN AGGRESSIVE CHARACTER IS MORE DEFINITE IN PLAN AND MORE POWERFUL AND

DECISIVE IN ACTION THAN AN WELTANSCHAUUNG WHICH TAKES UP A MERELY DEFENSIVE ATTITUDE. IF FORCE BE USED TO COMBAT A SPIRITUAL POWER, THAT FORCE REMAINS A DEFENSIVE MEASURE ONLY SO LONG AS THE WILDERNESS OF IT ARE NOT THE STAND ART-BEARERS AND APOSTLES OF A NEW SPIRITUAL DOCTRINE" (Mein Kampf, p. 104). That is why the Nazis/^{are} led to oppose their doctrine to Marxism in order to destroy it.

The aim of education is to destroy the noxious doctrine in proposing a new and more constructive one. The stake of the game is this alternative : " THAT EVERY ATTEMPT TO COMBAT A WELTANSCHAUUNG BY MENS OF FORCE WILL TURN OUT FUTILE IN THE END OF THE STRUGGLE FAILS TO TAKE THE FORM OF AN OFFENSIVE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ENTIRELY NEW SPIRITUAL ORDER OF THINGS. IT IS ONLY IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO WELTANSCHAUUNGEN THAT PHYSICAL FORCE, CONSISTENTLY AND RUTHLESSLY APPLIED, WILL EVENTUALLY TURN THE SCALES IN ITS OWN FAVOUR". (Mein Kampf, p. 104).

This concep^ction of the struggle against Jews and Marxism is realised by the conjunction of force^s represented by the Concentration Camps and the Propaganda Minsitry. This union proved

to be the best solution to cure Germany from her two deadly dangers : Judaism and Marxism. Propaganda and Concentration Camps are, by definition, transitory measures. They are but "auxiliary principles". As soon as Germany entirely surrenders to the National Socialist Weltanschauung, they cease to be helpful. At this stage of the national evolution, they are bound to disappear. (Rf. p. 130 in fine). The constructive aspect of Propaganda and Concentration Camps is shown through Education./.

§- 7.

EDUCATION

The first aim of Education is to educate the growing generations along the National Socialist doctrine, and so, to prevent them to fall under the influence of Marxism. Its technical point of view is that Youth keeps within it the hopes of the future. "... I AM FIRMLY CONVINCED TO-DAY, writes HITLER, that, GENERALLY SPEAKING, IT IS IN YOUTH THAT MEN LAY THE ESSENTIAL GROUNDWORK OF THEIR CREATIVE THOUGHT, WHEREVER THAT CREATIVE THOUGHT EXISTS..." (Mein Kampf, p, 23). Education should be achieved along two distinct lines : to forge Youth physically and to inculcate it with the National Socialist Weltanschauung. To get Youth ready and able to live according^{to} the Völkish doctrine, its soul and body should be equally trained.

The first step of education is physical training. A child cannot be spiritually healthy if he is not physically fit to endure life. Physical health is the prerequisite condition for intellectual education. Physical training has, further, a moral effect. A strong body can resist more easily sexual propensities than the intellectual whose body is weak. "THE EXTRAVAGANT EMPHASIS LAID ON PURELY INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION AND THE CONSEQUENT NEGLECT OF PHYSICAL TRAINING MUST NECESSARILY LEAD TO SEXUAL THOUGHTS IN EARLY YOUTH. THOSE BOYS WHOSE CONSTITUTIONS HAVE BEEN TRAINED AND HARDENED BY SPORTS AND GYMNASTICS ARE LESS PRONE TO SEXUAL INDULGENCE THAN THOSE STAY-AT-HOMES WHO HAVE BEEN FED EXCLUSIVELY WITH MENTAL PABULUM" (Mein Kampf, p. 145).

Physical education meets the essential need of life : self-defence. No one can resist aggression, and man is naturally aggressive, if he is unable to defend himself. Sport should train man along this line : to teach him how to protect himself. Boxing is the best sport for this purpose. It develops reflexive actions which are at the basis of self-defence. "THERE IS ONE KIND OF SPORT WHICH SHOULD BE SPECIALLY ENCOURAGED, ALTHOUGH MANY PEOPLE WHO CALL THEMSELVES

VÖLKISH CONSIDER IT BRUTAL AND VULGAR, AND THAT IS BOXING... THERE IS NO OTHER SPORT WHICH EQUALS THIS IN DEVELOPING THE MILITANT SPIRIT, NONE THAT DEMANDS SUCH A POWER OF RAPID DECISION OR WHICH GIVES THE BODY THE FLEXIBILITY OF GOOD STEEL... BUT, ABOVE ALL, A HEALTHY YOUTH HAS TO LEARN TO ENDURE HARD KNOCKS..." (Mein Kampf, p. 230).

The State fulfils its educative mission in "steeling" the bodies of the young men. The ideal of the State is to make of them ardent fighters ready to defend their views by themselves. A vigorous nation alone is worth-living, the other, constituted by effeminate intellectuals, is sterile. "... IT IS NOT THE PURPOSE OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE TO EDUCATE A COLONY OF AESTHETIC PACIFISTS AND PHYSICAL DEGENERATES. THIS STATE DOES NOT CONSIDER THAT THE HUMAN IDEAL IS TO BE FOUND IN THE HONOURABLE PHILISTINE OR THE MAIDENLY SPINSTER, BUT IN A DAREFUL PERSONIFICATION OF MANLY FORCE AND IN WOMEN CAPABLE OF BRINGING MEN INTO THE THE WORLD" (Mein Kampf, p. 230). Considered from this point of view, military training is the ideal education because it contains within it the best elements of the education asked for by Nazism " (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 232).

Physical training does not mean exclusion of intellectual education. But, what is characteristic is that physical education has but profits for man, whereas man should be more careful in dealing with the intellectual one. There are two kinds of intellectual education : the general culture and specialisation. The first one is useful and fruitful; the second, pernicious. The State should encourage general culture at the expense of the latter, because it is more human and formative. "A CLEAR-CUT DIVISION MUST BE MADE BETWEEN GENERAL CULTURE AND THE SPECIAL BRANCHES. TO-DAY THE LATTER THREATEN MORE AND MORE TO DEVOTE THEMSELVES EXCLUSIVELY TO THE SERVICE OF MAMMON. TO COUNTER-BALANCE THIS TENDENCY, GENERAL CULTURE SHOULD BE PRESERVED, AT LEAST IN ITS IDEAL FORMS. THE PRINCIPLE SHOULD BE REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED, THAT INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS, TRADE AND COMMERCE, CAN FLOURISH ONLY SO LONG AS A FOLK COMMUNITY EXISTS WHOSE GENERAL SYSTEM OF THOUGHT IS INSPIRED BY IDEALS, SINCE THAT IS THE PRELIMINARY CONDITION FOR A FLOURISHING DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENTERPRISES I HAVE SPOKEN OF. THAT CONDITION IS NOT CREATED BY A SPIRIT OF MATERIALISTIC EGOTISM BUT BY A SPIRIT OF SELF-DENIAL AND THE JOY OF GIVING ONE'S SELF IN THE SERVICE OF OTHERS" (Mein Kampf, pp. 257-8).

In order to be constructive, general culture should comprehend subjects of study intimately related to the life of man. History is the essential element of general culture. The 'why' of this conception of general culture is that it can generate ideal for which man uses to sacrifice himself. Education without ideal is sterile and noxious. Technological education is materialistic because it is tended towards profits. "IT IS A CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR MATERIALISTIC EPOCH THAT OUR SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION SHOWS A GROWING EMPHASIS ON WHAT IS REAL AND PRACTICAL : SUCH SUBJECTS, FOR INSTANCE, AS APPLIED MATHEMATICS, PHYSICS, CHEMISTRY, ETC... OF COURSE THEY ARE NECESSARY IN AN AGE THAT IS DOMINATED BY INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY AND CHEMISTRY, AND WHERE EVERYDAY LIFE SHOWS AT LEAST THE EXTERNAL MANIFESTATIONS OF THESE. BUT IT IS A PERILOUS THING TO BASE THE GENERAL CULTURE OF A NATION ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THESE SUBJECTS. ON THE CONTRARY, THAT GENERAL CULTURE OUGHT ALWAYS TO BE DIRECTED TOWARDS IDEALS. IT OUGHT TO BE FOUNDED IN THE HUMANIST DISCIPLINES AND SHOULD AIM AT GIVING ONLY THE GROUND WORK OF FURTHER SPECIALIZED INSTRUCTION IN THE VARIOUS PRACTICAL SCIENCES. OTHERWISE WE SHOULD SACRIFICE THOSE FORCES THAT ARE MORE IMPORTANT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE NATION THAN ANY TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE. IN

THE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT THE STUDY OF ANCIENT HISTORY SHOULD NOT BE OMITTED. ROMAN HISTORY, ALONG GENERAL LINES, IS AND WILL REMAIN THE BEST TEACHER, NOT ONLY FOR OUR OWN TIME BUT ALSO FOR THE FUTURE. AND THE IDEAL OF HELLE~~C~~NIC CULTURE SHOULD BE PRESERVED FOR US IN ALL ITS MARVELLOUS BEAUTY. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PEOPLES SHOULD NOT PREVENT US FROM RECOGNIZING THE COMMUNITY OF RACE WHICH UNITES THEM ON A HIGHER PLANE. THE CONFLICT OF OUR TIMES IS ONE THAT IS BEING WAGED AROUND GREAT OBJECTIVES. A CIVILIZATION IS FIGHTING FOR ITS EXISTENCE. IT IS A CIVILIZATION THAT IS THE PRODUCT OF THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, AND THE GREEK AS WELL AS THE GERMAN FORMS PART OF IT" (Mein Kampf, p. 237).

The focus of education is Racialism. If History is so recommended it is because it shows the evolution of the Volk throughout the ages. History traces back the racial ties of the Germans with the other predecessor Aryans. It shows the links between the Greeks and the Romans and the differences between the different peoples, and thus, it strengthens the assumption of Racialism. History is Racialism at work : it is its external expression, whereas Racialism is the trend of History.

A further point should be stressed upon in education. A strong body and a general culture are quite insufficient if the young man lacks character. Character is this quality which enables a strong body to profit culture, and vice versa, It is the natural tie between them. The importance of character is to bring physical strength and culture to an efficient collaboration. "IN ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THE PEOPLE'S STATE WILL HAVE TO ATTACH THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER, HAND-IN-HAND WITH PHYSICAL TRAINING...

"ALL IN ALL, THE COWARDLY LACK OF WILL-POWER AND THE INCAPACITY FOR MAKING DECISION ARE CHIEFLY RESULTS OF THE ERRONEOUS EDUCATION GRIVENCES IN OUR YOUTH" (Mein Kampf, p. 234).

When the young generations become adult, the School is no more fit to influence them. At this moment, Propaganda, in the new meaning given it by the Totalitarian State, will do the work. Its aim is to unite the aspirations of the people, to put them in fire for national issues, to lead them behind the Führer, to enlighten them in national problems. It should honour the great German Men and propose them as examples because they are the best represent-

atives of the national spirit. A further aim also of Propaganda is to win over the masses to the national cause and to save them from Marxism. No great revolution was made without the support of the masses (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 69). As the secret of a revolution is a new idea developed for the masses (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 295), it is through Propaganda that the masses may understand it and be gained to it.

In order to be educative, Propaganda should be addressed to the people (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 107). It must appeal to their feeling and not to their reasoning (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 108). The slogans are the best means for Propaganda : they are presented in a popular form and ~~is~~ unrelentingly repeated. Press, Cinema and Radio should be controlled by the State, and used for educating the people (Rf. Mein Kampf, pp.145-6). The importance of the Press along this line is derived from the fact that the people believes everything they read (Rf. Mein Kampf, p. 138). Propaganda reaches its very aim when, through it, "... HEAVEN ITSELF CAN BE PRESENTED TO THE PEOPLE AS IF IT WERE HELL, AND VICE VERSA, THE MOST MISERABLE KIND OF LIFE CAN BE PRESENTED AS IF IT WERE PARADISE" (Mein Kampf, p. 156). At that moment, the State can fulfil its mission because it is become the real and sole master of the people./.

§- 8.

The ROLE OF WOMAN

The rôle of woman in social life is determined by her nature. Woman is destined to motherhood. The aim of her life is to increase the number of the citizens, to take care of her children, and to educate them along national principles. Woman is, in one sense, the auxiliary of man. She does not complete with him. Woman and man are destined by nature to complementary social life. In this they form a perfect unit. The more man is virile, the more he is along the natural line of his essence. As for woman, her essence is her "womanliness". She is a sweet creature, the sweetest. Her value resides in this. "THERE WILL NEVER BE IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMANY WOMEN'S BATTALIONS AS THERE HAVE BEEN IN MARXIST COUNTRIES. WOMAN HAS ALWAYS RESPECTED THE COURAGEOUS, BOLD, DETERMINED MAN, AND MAN HAS ALWAYS ADMIRERD AND BEEN DRAWN TOWARDS THE

WOMANLY WOMAN. THOSE ARE THE TWO CONTRASTS WHICH ATTRACT EACH OTHER IN LIFE. AND WHEN GOOD FORTUNE ALLOWS TWO SUCH PERSONS TO FIND EACH OTHER, THEN THERE IS NO LONGER ANY QUESTION OF EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, FOR NATURE SUPPLIES THE ANSWER : IT IS NOT AN EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, IT IS A UNITY. MAN AND WOMAN REPRESENT TWO QUITE DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS : IN MAN THE UNDERSTANDING IS DOMINANT, BUT MORE STABLE THAN THAT IS EMOTION WHICH IS THE MARK OF WOMAN" (HITLER, on 13 Septembre, 1935, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 531).

The relations between woman and man are not those between master and servant. This inequality is rather ontological and falls within the scope of the natural order of things. Woman and man are the two aspects of nature. Their conjunction is the basis on which Mankind builds up its future. Their union is so essential that if they start competing, the World will be destroyed. The healthy development of Mankind depends ^{on} of their collaboration. Their rivalry is the most dangerous evil which threatens harmony between them. The importance of their collaboration is based on the fact that racial purity and health depend on it. Their collaboration is a völkish necessity.

Man has to defend the State against foreign enemies, and to enlarge his Lebensraum. Woman has to take care of her home. Her kingdom is the house in which she lives with her husband and children. Man has to take care of the material future of the Race. Woman, of its spiritual one : to preserve racial purity and to make it healthier. The future of the Race is in the hands of Youth, it means, Woman. "THE PROGRAMME OF OUR NATIONAL SOCIALIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS IN TRUTH BUT ONE SINGLE POINT, AND THAT POINT IS THE CHILD - THAT TINY CREATURE WHICH MUST BE BORN AND SHOULD GROW STRONG, FOR IN THE CHILD ALONE THE WHOLE LIFE-STRUGGLE GAINS ITS MEANING... IT IS A GLORIOUS SIGHT, THIS GOLDEN YOUTH OF OUR : WE KNOW THAT IT IS THE GERMANY OF THE FUTURE WHEN WE SHALL BE NO MORE. WHAT WE CREATE AND CONSTRUCT, THAT YOUTH WILL MAINTAIN. FOR YOUTH WE WORK; IT IS THAT FACT WHICH GIVES ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO ALL THIS EFFORT OF OURS. AND SINCE WE RECOGNIZE THIS GOAL WHICH NATURE HERSELF HAS SET BEFORE US IN ALL ITS LAPIDARY SIMPLICITY, FOR US, THE WORK OF BOTH SEXES NATURALLY FINDS ITS TRUE AND LOGICAL SETTING, NO LONGER IN CONFLICT BUT IN THE COMMON STRUGGLE FOR THE REALITIES OF LIFE" (HITLER to Anne O'HARE McCORMICK, the New-York Times correspondent on 10 July, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. pp. 530-1)-.

Woman and man are to be educated along the same Weltanschauung. But whereas man fulfils his mission on earth through outdoor activity, woman, is destined to home life. She has not to share political life. "WE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS HAVE FOR MANY YEARS PROTESTED AGAINST BRINGING WOMAN INTO POLITICAL LIFE; THAT LIFE IN OUR EYES WAS UNWORTHY OF HER" (HITLER to Anne O'Hare McGORMICK, already quoted...). The education of the girl should be directed towards her social rôle : the education of the children she will have. "THE PEOPLE'S STATE WILL HAVE TO DIRECT THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS JUST AS THAT OF BOYS AND ACCORDING TO THE SAME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES. HERE AGAIN SPECIAL IMPORTANCE MUST BE GIVEN TO PHYSICAL TRAINING, AND ONLY AFTER THAT MUST THE IMPORTANCE OF SPIRITUAL AND MENTAL TRAINING BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. IN THE EDUCATION OF THE GIRL THE FINAL GOAL ALWAYS TO BE KEPT IN MIND IS THAT SHE IS ONE DAY TO BE A MOTHER" (Mein Kampf, p.233). Health before ^{intellect} reason, because the child is the raison d'être of woman. She gives him health, and his father, reason and wealth. Man works for the present, Woman, for the future : in their collaboration the weltanschaulich interests are defended./.

Chapter Three

EIN REICH

§- 1.

INTRODUCTION.

Dealing with the problem of the organization of the Reich, the Hitlerian Doctrine considers it as usually from the monistic point of view. As there are but one Führer, but one Volk, then it should be also but one Reich. The Reich is the "Boden" without which racial purity could not be preserved. The unity of the "Boden" is nearly as important as the unity of the Führung and that of the Volk. This state of things determines the domestic and foreign policies of the Reich. In order to achieve this unity of the Reich,

the different States should disappear leaving the place for a one centralised State, otherwise the German Reich would be pluralistic : it means a contradiction of terms. In such a case, the Third Reich, the indispensable condition for the rebirth of Germany, will not be created and the German people will not be able to transcend their present difficulties, and to achieve their mission.

The aim of the National Socialist State is to unify the German people and the German Reich and to make of them one single unit. The point is that as there is but one Volksgeist there is no, more room for several "nationalities" and several "States" within the Reich. Since "... THE STATE ITSELF IS BUT ONE OF THE FORMS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE 'VÖLKIC' LIFE; IT IS SET IN MOTION AND DOMINATED BY THE IMMEDIATE EXPRESSION OF THE 'VÖLKIC' VITAL WILL, (Lebenswillens), THE PARTY, THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT ..." (HITLER, on September, 1935, in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 450).

Two sets of measures are taken in order to unify people and State. The first set contains political measures the aim of which is to make of Berlin the real centre of the political life of Germany. The second set contains ideological measures and it tends

to mould the Volksgemeinschaft along the principles of Hitlerism. But what should be noted is that these measures do not convey centralisation according to the French acception of the term, or administrative centralisation, but according to the fact that a one single Weltanschauung underlies the State actions and machine. Hitlerism becomes the only source to inspire State measures and laws. Hitlerian centralisation goes in deapth, the French one, in surface./.

§- 2.

ONE PEOPLE

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One STATE

The first question to be answered is how to obtain a united people ? This aim will be achieved through education. This does not mean academic education as we studied it previously, but social and political education. First of all comes the "Hitler-Jugend" in all its degrees. At this stage, Youth is going to be ^{"gegleichen"} uniformised on the ground of the official ideology of the State. All the German Youth has its mind patterned in the same mould. The children are educated in the same spirit, along the same principles.

The second moment in this social "Gleichschaltung" is the "Arbeitsdienst". It is one of the most important factors in the process to unite the German people. In this "Dienst", manual work is at its apogee. It is through it that all the social

differences vanish. Many declarations by important Nazi personalities stressed upon this fact. When KRUPP's son spent ^{do} six months with a humble child of the people, he cannot help ^{noticing} ~~himself to note~~ that both belong to the same Volk. Effectively, added those Nazi leaders, what we notice in Germany now encourages us to expect great results out of the "Arbeitsdienst".

The "Kraft durch Freude" organization is the logical result of the "Arbeitsdienst". It tends to afford to the workers ^{those} amenities of life ^{which} the wealthy people can get through their money. The "KdF" worker may listen to the great singers ^{whom} the rich applaud; he can be present at opera-representations; he can travel throughout Germany, getting acquainted with the Homeland, as ^{only} use to do the rich; he may pretend even to visit the Azores and the Scandinavian countries. "Kraft durch Freude" put within the reach of the workers material happiness without which no nation can be united.

A third step in this process is education "by" the Army. The Army is considered by the Nazis as the School par excellence. "THE GERMAN ARMY DOES NOT EXIST FOR THE PURPOSE OF BEING A SCHOOL IN WHICH TRIBAL PARTICULARISMS ARE TO BE CULTIVATED AND PRESERVED, BUT

RATHER AS A SCHOOL FOR TEACHING ALL THE GERMANS TO UNDERSTAND AND ADAPT THEIR HABITS TO ONE ANOTHER. 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 SET HIM WITHIN THE BROAD PICTURE OF THE NATION. THE YOUTH MUST LEARN TO KNOW NOT THE CONFINES OF HIS OWN REGION, BUT THOSE OF THE FATHERLAND, BECAUSE IT IS THE LATTER THAT HE WILL HAVE TO DEFEND ONE DAY" (Mein Kampf, p. 318). The best thing to say about the educative mission of the Army is conveyed in HITLER's sentences : "THE SOLDIER MUST BE THE SUPPORTER OF THE 'VÖLKIC' IDEA" (said on September, 1930, in his evidence at the Leipzig trial, quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 552).

The~~s~~ Army embodies the National Socialist doctrine by its racial purity, its organization, its discipline, its self-sacrifice... Everything noble in the German people is in the Army. The Führer-Prinzip and its offspring the Führung are represented by the General Staff. Self-sacrifice, which is the characteristic of the Aryans, is the raison d'être of the Army. The great shame of Weimar ^{the} R~~B~~gime ^{was} is not to have such an Army. The great defect of German education

during this period is not to have been based on the Army. A people without an Army is a people without an ideal, because the Army represents ~~their~~ moral strength. A strong Army is a safeguard and the symbol of German unity.

The first consequences drawn ^{from} ~~out of~~ this principle are the law of February 5, 1934 stating that "state citizenship ceases to exist, (and that) there is only one German citizenship - national citizenship" (in POLLOCK, op. cit. p. 25). Particularism is abolished. There are no more Bavarians or Prussians, Southern or Northern Germans, there are but German Citizens : the Volksgenossen who are alone to have the privilege to serve in the Army and to defend the Reich. Social equality is also achieved through education and labour-organization. "Monism" is the real symbol of new Germany.

The unification of the Reich is based on the principle of "safeguarding the unity of Party and State" (Law of December 1, 1933). National Socialist monism is bound to become the underlying principle of the Reich. "AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMAN WORKER'S PARTY HAS BECOME THE BEARER OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

AND IS INSEPARABLY CONNECTED WITH THE STATE" (art. 1).
If BISMARCK failed to unite the Reich, it was because he tried to do it on political bases, and not on the Völkish idea. HITLER took into consideration a new starting point : he proposed a new Weltanschauung.

When the Germans are invited to take part in an election, they do it on the ideological ground. They vote as National Socialists. This idea is prevalent in their minds; it crushes their particularism and their local political parties. A new idea *has* invaded their political life, it makes them overlook *every* anything, but their new ideology. "THE APPEARANCE OF A NEW AND GREAT IDEA WAS THE SECRET OF SUCCESS IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OWES ITS TRIUMPH TO AN IDEA. AND IT WAS ONLY THE IDEA THAT ENABLED FASCISM TRIUMPHANTLY TO SUBJECT A WHOLE NATION TO A PROCESS OF COMPLETE RENOVATION"

"BOURGEOIS PARTIES ARE NOT CAPABLE OF SUCH AN ACHIEVEMENT" (Mein Kampf, p. 295).

Germany becomes a Volkstaat, a single State with a single Volk : it is the Third Reich in which new ideals are brought to existence. The National Socialist party has but one Führer, the Reich should have then but one political mover : the Führer. The

Third Reich is the Führerstaat. Volksstaat and Führer-Staat prevent Germany to go on in her political divisions; they forbid her to behave as "peoples" when national issues are involved. When HITLER abolished the Reichsrat (February 1, 1934), he acted as the Führer who listened to the orders of the Volksgeist : when the cause disappears (political divisions), its effects are bound to disappear too (different States and nationalities...).

The unification of the State is based on the two following laws of April 7, 1933, creating the Statthalter, and of January 1, 1934, reforming municipal administration. The powers of the Statthalter and of the Bürgermeister are intended to strengthen that of the Central Power. The Different States became but administrative *constituencies* circumscriptions : even their boundaries may be altered. The Statthalter represents the Central Power and has to enforce its orders. Appointed by the Reichpräsident he loses his links with the provincial authorities, and if he communicates with them, he does as a high-official making his inferiors know the will of the Sovereign. This does not mean that the Statthalter has not power of his own. But if he has, it is as a delegate of the Central Power. He is the Imperial "Préfet" of the Third Reich; his power is

based on his loyalism to the Führer. On 22 March, 1934 HITLER, speaking of the position and duties of the Reichsstatthalters under the law of 30 January, 1934, said : "THEY ARE NOT THE ADMINISTRATORS OF THE SEPARATE STATES, THEY EXECUTE THE WILL OF THE SUPREME LEADERSHIP OF THE REICH; THEIR COMMISSION COMES NOT FROM THE STATES BUT FROM THE REICH. THEY DO NOT REPRESENT THE STATES OVER AGAINST THE REICH, BUT THE REICH OVER AGAINST THE STATES. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE REICH DEMANDS A SINGLE CLEAR AND PERMANENT ORGANIZATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION WITH LOGICAL ARTICULATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS UNDER A CENTRAL REICH-AUTHORITY. NATIONAL SOCIALISM HAS AS ITS HISTORIC TASK TO CREATE THE NEW REICH AND NOT TO PRESERVE THE GERMAN STATES. THE REICHSSTATTHALTERS ARE THUS PRIMARILY THE SUPPORTERS OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST IDEA" (in BAYNES, op. cit. pp. 275-6).

The Bürgermeister is no more elected, but appointed. What is symptomatic enough is that the representative of the Party in the district (the Gau-Leiter) is empowered to give his opinion concerning the choice of the Bürgermeister. This law of 30 January, 1935 is the best symbol of the "Gleichschaltung" policy of the Third Reich on behalf of the new Weltanschauung. The local liberties that represent the

real liberties of the people are from now on dominated by a new set of principles. "C'EST DONC A JUSTE TITRE, writes M. AUBRY, commenting this law, QUE LE PREAMBULE DE LA LOI DU 30 JANVIER 1935 DECLARE QU'ELLE DOIT ETRE CONSIDERE COMME UNE LOI FONDAMENTALE DE L'ETAT NOUVEAU" (in Revue du Droit Public, year 1934).

One people, one State ! Liberal Germany is dead, that Germany who^{she} accepted the division of the people into several political units; she is dead too from the ideological point of view, since the people is remodelled, and social uniformity becomes the result of Hitlerian monism. There are no more individuals, but the Volksgemeinschaft. "THERE ARE NO ISOLATED INDIVIDUALS, ONLY COMMUNITY MEMBERS WHO ARE ORGANIC PARTS OF THE WHOLE, WHO ARE INCLUDED IN THE TOTALITY OF THE POLITICAL NATION AND UNITED IN ITS COMMON OPERATIONS AS PARTS OF THE WHOLE" (in HÜBER, Verfassung, quoted in SPENDER, the Government of Mankind, p. 353). National Socialism is at its apogee. All differences, of any kind whatsoever, disappear, and it remains but the uniformed Volksgemeinschaft.

A further ideological principle to unite the German people is to unify their Weltanschauung so ^{that} as all the Volksgenossen would be united on the intel-

lectual and spiritual ground too. There should be but one party, otherwise the rule of the Reich would run along successive compromises. " A GOVERNMENT CANNOT TAKE ITS INSTRUCTIONS AND ORDERS FROM 30 OR 40 PARTIES. UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS IT CANNOT MAKE DECISIONS, IT CAN MAKE ONLY COMPROMISES", said HITLER on 17 August, 1934 (in BAYNES, op. cit. pp. 453-4). A people whose members think differently are not united. A spiritually and intellectually - scattered people are rather a dismembered people. A real Volksgemeinschaft is that whom intellectual and spiritual unity is the symbol of its physical one, and vice versa-.

There is but one way to unite the Weltanschauung of a people : a ^{single} unique Party whose characteristic is fanaticism. Its adherents "... MUST FEEL CONVINCED THAT THEIR CAUSE ALONE IS JUST, AND THEY MUST CARRY IT THROUGH TO SUCCESS, AS AGAINST OTHER SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SAME FIELD" (Mein Kampf, p. 198). This Party should be alone behind the Völkish idea : loneliness is considered here from its absolute meaning. "IT IS QUITE ERRONEOUS TO BELIEVE THAT THE STRENGTH OF A MOVEMENT MUST INCREASE IF IT BE COMBINED WITH OTHER MOVEMENTS OF A SIMILAR KIND. ANY EXPANSION RESULTING FROM SUCH A COMBINATION WILL OF COURSE MEAN AN INCREASE IN EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT, WHICH SUPERFICIAL OBSERVERS MIGHT CONSIDER AS ALSO AN ~~INXX~~ INCREASE OF

POWER; BUT IN REALITY THE MOVEMENT THUS ADMITS OUTSIDE ELEMENTS WHICH WILL SUBSEQUENTLY WEAKEN ITS CONSTITUTIONAL VIGOUR" (Mein Kampf, p. 198).

The evil of such a combination is not due to practical necessities, but it is drawn from a metaphysical premiss. There is but one intermediary between the Volksgeist and its Volk : the Führer. The Führer cannot tolerate a similar party by that he leads. " THOUGH IT MAY BE SAID THAT ONE MOVEMENT IS IDENTICAL IN CHARACTER WITH ANOTHER, IN REALITY NO SUCH IDENTITY EXISTS. IF IT DID EXIST THEN PRACTICALLY THERE WOULD NOT BE TWO MOVEMENTS BUT ONLY ONE. AND WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCE MAY BE, EVEN IF IT CONSIST ONLY OF THE MEASURE IN WHICH THE CAPABILITIES OF THE ONE SET OF LEADERS DIFFER FROM THOSE OF THE OTHER, THERE IT IS. IT IS AGAINST THE NATURAL LAW OF ALL DEVELOPMENT TO COUPLE DISSIMILAR ORGANISMS, OR THE LAW IS THAT THE STRONGER MUST OVERCOME THE WEAKER, AND, THROUGH THE STRUGGLE NECESSARY FOR SUCH A CONQUEST, INCREASE THE CONSTITUTIONAL VIGOUR AND EFFECTIVE STRENGTH OF THE VICTOR" (Mein Kampf, pp. 198-9).

It is not sufficient to be a Volksgenos, this is a passively-acquired quality. One

should be National Socialist by choice, otherwise ~~he~~ ^{one} is not a real "Citizen". In many instances the Nazi leaders expressed this idea : before being a German, one should be a National Socialist. The French Authoritarian School stated that one is "Frenchman" before being "Man". Now, this idea is more narrowly stressed on. "THE UNITY OF THE GERMANS MUST BE SECURED THROUGH A NEW WELTANSCHAUUNG, SINCE CHRISTIANITY IN ITS PRESENT FORM WAS NO LONGER EQUAL TO THE DEMANDS WHICH WERE TO-DAY MADE ON THOSE WHO WOULD SUSTAIN THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE" (HITLER, on 27 August, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. pp. 377-8). The unity of the people is expressed, not through social or political institutions, but through a doctrine, the only to be accepted by the Germans : the National Socialist Doctrine./.

§- 3.

FOREIGN POLICY

The basic principle of HITLER's Foreign Policy is that war is the real trend of International Relations. As there cannot be several leaders in Germany, so, there cannot be several leading nations in World Affairs. It is for the sake of Humanity to be ruled but by one Race, and this Race should be the Aryan Race. Racialism is now seen from outside. With Germany, domestic policy becomes the basis of Foreign Policy. Properly speaking, there is no such a thing as International Relations, because this assume equality between the nations. Equality vanishes when the interest of the Race is involved. There is but one solution : to see the Aryans rule over the World. "A GENUINE INTERNATIONAL IS ONLY POSSIBLE THROUGH THE VICTORY OF THE IDEA OF OUR RACE OVER ALL OTHERS, AND NOT THROUGH THE DISSOLUTION OF ALL OPINIONS INTO A COLOURLESS MASS! LET US BE SCEPTICS AT LEAST AND THROW OUT THE OLD

IDEOLOGIES. THERE ARE NO RECONCILIATIONS IN REAL HISTORY... " (SPENGLER, quoted in R. d'O. BUTLER, op. cit, p. 254). This will only happen through force. "I AM, said HITLER, AGAINST PACIFISM, FOR I AM IN FAVOUR OF POWER. FOR IN POWER LIES STRENGTH, AND STRENGTH IS THE ETERNAL MOTHER OF RIGHT, AND RIGHT IS THE VERY ROOT OF LIFE" (in BAYNES, op. cit. vol. II, p. 1749).

The Nazi Foreign Policy is essentially ^{the} an offspring and the continuation of the Nazi Domestic Policy. It is based on an internally strong State, the pre-requisite condition of a strong sword in International Affairs. "THE FORGING OF THIS SWORD IS A WORK THAT HAS TO BE DONE THROUGH THE DOMESTIC POLICY WHICH MUST BE ADOPTED BY A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. TO SEE THAT THE WORK OF FORGING THESE ARMS IS ASSURED, AND TO RECRUIT THE MEN WHO WILL BEAR THEM, THAT IS THE TASK OF THE FOREIGN POLICY" (Mein Kampf, p. 336). The State should be absolutely powerful over the citizens; there should not be room for heterogeneous opinions among the people. If one single political Party is authorised it is not only because "uniformity" is a principle of Nazism, but because also uniformity is at the root of State-power. "... OUR TASK TO-DAY IS TO MAKE OUR NATION POWERFUL ONCE AGAIN BY RE-ESTABLISHING A STRONG AND

INDEPENDENT STATE. THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH A STATE IS THE PRERESUISITE AND NECESSARY CONDITION WHICH MUST BE FULFILLED IN ORDER THAT WE MAY BE ABLE SUBSEQUENTLY TO PUT INTO PRACTICE A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH WILL SERVE TO GUARANTEE THE EXISTENCE OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE FUTURE, FULFILLING THEIR NEEDS AND FURNISHING THEM WITH THOSE NECESSITIES OF LIFE WHICH THEY LACK" (Mein Kampf, p.335).

The destiny of a people does not "... DEPEND ON SOLEMN IMPRECATIONS BEFORE THE THRONE OF THE ALMIGHTY GOD OR ON PIOUS HOPES IN A LEAGUE OF NATIONS, BUT ONLY BY THE FORCE OF ARMS" (Mein Kampf, p. 345). The force of arms ! That is the basis of ruling. Seen from without, this principle means war. War is the final test for the Nations. It is through it that a Nation deserves existence and independence. "THE FACT THAT A NATION HAS ACQUIRED AN ENORMOUS TERRITORIAL AREA IS NO REASON WHY IT SHOULD HOLD THAT TERRITORY PERPETUALLY. AT MOST, THE POSSESSION OF SUCH TERRITORY IS A PROOF OF THE STRENGTH OF THE CONQUEROR AND THE WEAKNESS OF THOSE WHO SUBMIT TO HIM. AND IN THIS STRENGTH ALONE LIVES THE RIGHT OF POSSESSION. IF THE GERMAN PEOPLE ARE IMPRISONED WITHIN AN IMPOSSIBLE TERRITORIAL AREA AND FOR THAT REASON ARE FACE TO FACE WITH A MISERABLE FUTURE, THIS IS NOT BY THE COMMAND OF DESTINY, AND THE REFUSAL TO ACCEPT SUCH A SITUATION IS BY NO MEANS A VIOLATION OF DESTINY'S

LAWS. FOR JUST AS NO HIGHER POWER HAS PROMISED MORE TERRITORY TO OTHER NATIONS THAN TO THE GERMAN, SO IT CANNOT BE BLAMED FOR AN UNJUST DISTRIBUTION OF THE SOIL. THE SOIL ON WHICH WE NOW LIVE WAS NOT A GIFT BESTOWED BY HEAVEN ON OUR FOREFATHERS. BUT THEY HAD TO CONQUER IT BY RISKING THEIR LIVES. SO ALSO IN THE FUTURE OUR PEOPLE WILL NOT OBTAIN TERRITORY, AND THEREWITH THE MEANS OF EXISTENCE, AS A FAVOUR/^{from} ANY OTHER PEOPLE, BUT WILL HAVE TO WIN IT BY THE POWER OF A TRIUMPHANT SWORD" (Mein Kampf, p. 360).

A further aspect of the Nazi Foreign Policy is the Führerprinzip applied to International Affairs. Since the assumption that the Aryans' existence is on behalf of Mankind at large, and its civilization, they deserve full power over the other Nations. It is not void ambition, but human necessity. If the Aryans are doomed to disappear, ^{the} human mission ^{of Mankind on this planet} is then over ~~on this planet~~. Racialism is but the doctrine derived from this principle. If the Aryans ask for supremacy over the World, it is in order to be able to fulfil their mission as the destined Kultur-creator. Nazi Diplomacy runs along this axiom. Germany does not seek power on her selfish behalf, but for the sake of Mankind. German and World interests are intermingled so as to hurt the one is damaging the other. Germany should become a World-Power or she should cease to

exist. "THE GERMAN NATION COULD ASSURE ITS OWN FUTURE ONLY BY BEING A WORLD POWER. FOR NEARLY TWO THOUSANDS YEARS THE DEFENCE OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS WAS A MATTER OF WORLD HISTORY, AS ~~SEE~~ CAN BE SEEN FROM OUR MORE OR LESS SUCCESSFUL ACTIVITIES"(Mein Kampf, p. 354). With this on the foreground of our mind, we may understand the real meaning of the motto : DEUTSCHLAND ÜBER ALLES ! It is not national pride, but the White Man's burden.

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Germany is a nomocratic State. It is based on a doctrine and ruled according to it. In its first phase, this doctrine considers International Relations as steps to prepare its advent and to enable Germany to rule over the World. Whence this happened, International Law will cease to be necessary and useful. Private Law will absorb it, as it occurred in the Middle-Ages when Christendom was the only reality in European affairs. The other Races will be considered as aliens whose status will be defined by internal organic laws. National Socialism/^{will}replace Christinaity

and it will be in such a condition that it will dominate Europe. Its scope is world-wide. It is interested in every aspect of man's activity, and in every phase of World History. International Law will lose its autonomy and *raison d'être*. National Socialism is the doctrine to pave the way for Germany to rule over the World./.

APPENDIX

The NAZI ECONOMIC SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION

The basic principle of the Nazi economic system is Maurrassian, and may be stated as follows : Politics first ! Politics is prior to economics. Politics determines and rules economics. As HITLER said in his speech delivered at the Industry Club in Düsseldorf on January 27, 1932 : "... IT WAS NOT GERMAN BUSINESS WHICH CONQUERED THE WORLD AND THEN CAME THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN POWER, BUT IN OUR CASE, TOO, IT WAS THE POWER-STATE (Machtstaat) WHICH CREATED FOR THE BUSINESS WORLD THE GENERAL CONDITIONS FOR ITS SUBSEQUENT PROSPERITY... ECONOMIC SYSTEMS IN COLLAPSE HAVE ALWAYS AS THEIR FORERUNNER THE COLLAPSE OF THE *State*

AND NOT VICE VERSA -... THERE CAN BE NO FLOURISHING ECONOMIC LIFE WHICH HAS NOT BEFORE IT AND BEHIND IT THE FLOURISHING POWERFUL STATE AS ITS PROTECTION... IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT ALSO IN MODERN TIMES - WHEN BLOW IS MET BY BLOW AND THE INTERESTS OF PEOPLES CLASH - THERE CAN BE NO ECONOMIC LIFE UNLESS BEHIND THIS ECONOMIC LIFE THERE STANDS THE DETERMINED POLITICAL WILL OF THE NATION ABSOLUTELY READY TO STRIKE - AND TO STRIKE HARD" (in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 777).

Since "economic development can never be separated from political development" (id.), economic life is then but a corollary or say an aspect of the political life of the State. The Nazi State is a Volksstaat, a State which is intimately linked with the Volk. Economic life becomes, in such conditions, the business of the Volk as a Volksgemeinschaft, and not of independent individuals. Wirtschaft becomes Volkswirtschaft. Class-struggle is a crime because it prevents collaboration between Heads and Hands. "HEAD AND HAND BELONG TOGETHER"; the duty of the State is "TO UNITE THAT WHO CREATES BY HIS BRAIN WITH THAT WHO CREATES BY HIS HANDS...STRUGGLE BETWEEN HEAD AND HAND IS DESTRUCTION OF THOUGHT" (id- id.).

This does not lead us to the error of representing Nazism as trying to destroy the capitalistic system in its essence, i. e. private ownership. Nazism believes in the virtue of private property. It recognizes the utility of economic competition (but within the definite limits stated above), and it tries to make individual achievement (Leistung) reach its maximum. "IN PRINCIPLE, said HITLER on March 23, 1933, THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PROTECT THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE BY THE CIRCUITOUS METHOD OF AN ECONOMIC BUREAUCRACY TO BE ORGANIZED BY THE STATE, BUT BY THE UTMOST FURTHERANCE OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND BY RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

"A JUST BALANCE MUST BE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN PRODUCTIVE INTENTION ON THE ONE HAND, AND PRODUCTIVE WORK ON THE OTHER. ADMINISTRATION MUST RESPECT, BY MEANS OF ECONOMY, THE RESULTS OF ABILITY, DILIGENCE AND WORK" (in BAYNES, op. cit. p. 830).

If we consider that the Maurrassian principle is the foundation of the Nazi economic system; collaboration between Heads and Hands and private property, as its first elements, Führerprinzip becomes then the keystone of the Nazi economic architecture.

Actually, the leader is called Leiter in Industry, and Bauernführer, in agriculture. The Leiter and the Bauernführer are appointed by the Ministers of Agriculture and of Economy respectively, and put at the head of each department of the economic life to supervise it, to cohere the actions of its members, and to report on their economic activity to the Government. They are empowered to decide on every matter resorting to their department. The Leiter, as a matter of fact, is not an official. He does not impose upon the industrialists plans elaborated in the offices of the ministries. He intervenes but to prevent conflict arise between the private interests, to limit excessive profits and to defend the interests of the consumers.

"HERE ALL ACTION MUST BE GOVERNED BY ONE LAW : THE PEOPLE DOES NOT LIVE FOR BUSINESS, AND BUSINESS DOES NOT EXIST FOR CAPITAL, BUT CAPITAL SERVES BUSINESS AND BUSINESS SERVES THE PEOPLE" (HITLER on the aim of economic activity, March 23, 1933, in BAYNES, op. cit. p.8307).

ECONOMIC LEGISLATION.

The basis of State interference with economy is the regulation of prices. It is through them that the Nazi State attempts to rule over both markets of production and of distribution. By this policy the State tends :

- 1- To put an end to the influence of the law of supply and demand.
- 2- To replace the Trade Cycle of liberalism by a Staat-Konjunktur or State-Cycle.

The end proposed by the Nazi Government is to prevent economic recovery become a cause of financial troubles. With the Four-Years Plan Policy the Industrialists and the Bankers found themselves in possession of a great amount of new capital. The logical consequences of such a prosperity created by the State in laissez-faire régime would be : rise of prices and of the cost of living, and to it would succeed economic atrophy. The point is, then, to check the law of supply and demand. The means chosen in the control of prices. This policy took its final shape

in the appointment on Novembre 5, 1934 of GÖRDELER as Reich-Commissar to the Control of Prices. The theoretical aspect of the problem, or say its ideological one, is to control the Market through political means. The Nazi Government imagines a new Trade Cycle - a roundabout circuit - in which the State starts with orders to the producers and ends by ordering the profit-holders to invest their capital in State loans, or to deposit them in the Reichsbank, department of production. In so doing, the State controls at once the financial market and that of industrial and agricultural production.

The starting point is to establish an equilibrium between production and consumption in order to avoid that over-production or under-consumption become causes of a business crisis. The solution is to stabilise : the cost of production, of living, salaries ... through the stabilisation of prices. Or to quote LAUFENBURGER in his article in Revue D'Economie Politique of 1938 : "TO OPPOSE TO PREISSKONJUNKTUR MENGENKONJUNKTUR, (cycle of Prices to cycle of quantities) IN ORDER TO GET STABLE PRICES WHATEVER QUANTITIES ARE SUPPLIED OR DEMANDED. THE STATE EXPECTS FROM THE 'CALM' OF PRICES THE CONTINUITY OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT".

In fact, the point is here : what to do to make economic prosperity going on ?

In order to stabilise prices two sets of means are used.

1- By the Preisstoppverordnung of Novembre 26, 1936, or the Ordinance to stabilise prices at a given maximum, the State choses as index-prices those of October, 1936. The Prices should not, from now on, deviate from this standard. Further, the industrialists should standardise the production of certain sets of articles of common use. On the part of the consumers they see their salaries fixed according to the level of production in order to get no more demand than supply.

2- On the financial part, the State takes care not to let new capital ~~to~~ trouble the financial market. To achieve this aim, the State pays its suppliers with drafts, ~~to~~ limits profit or transforms it into yearly income, raises fiscal taxation, reinvests profit in War Industries, subscribes to State loans... As it may be noted, this financial system is very much like that created by FORD to enable himself to by-pass Bankers : to make the cycle of production swifter than that of payment, i.e. to sell the car before Saturday. So, the Nazi Government puts its hand on its suppliers' capital before they be invested elsewhere.

The regulations on prices are useless to regulate export and import trade. Here, the control-lever is the supply by the Reichsbank of foreign currencies. In his speech delivered at Leipzig on August 26, 1934 in the inauguration-day of the Fair, Dr. SCHACHT added, to the already established control over external payments, a control over importation. The new policy is based on the distribution of foreign currencies. No producer may obtain raw materials from abroad unless the Reichsbank accords him necessary means of payment. An order of priority was established. Export industry logically comes first, then after armament, housing and lastly, the different other industries. For instance, ZEISS factories may produce any quantity of nickel-plated spectacles, but the production of those in gold is limited to the proportion of orders got from abroad. The reason is that nickel is a German product, when gold is not. This legislation enables the State to control the whole economic activity of the nation.

MONEY AND PROFIT.

The most important consequence of the Nazi economic policy is the changes brought in to the conception of money and profit. Money reaches its theoretical position. It becomes independent of the economic currents and of the fluctuations of the market. Being a means of measure, ^{meas} it falls under the direct control of the State, so well, that it may be considered as becoming an elements of an enlarged metrical system. Just as the length of the meter does not vary with the quality of the cloth or the situation of the market, so the Mark becomes a fixed invariable quantity.

Since money is an instrument of measuring, the Mark loses its independence as an economic factor, and becomes a money of account. The most national elements of the German life is the Mark. Everything in Germany may be exported except the Mark. The following statement of RIVAUD (op. cit. p. 361) gives a very good idea of the new position held by the different mark-currencies. "THE DIVERSE CURRENCIES ARE ONLY MEANS FOR TRANSFERING OR EXCHANGING GOODS. THEY HAVE NOT AT

ALL AN OWN 'VALUE', APART THAT OF THE OBJECTS THEY PERMIT TO EXCHANGE CONVENIENTLY. IN OTHER TERMS, THE PROBLEM OF PRODUCTION DOMINATES THE MONETARY PROBLEM WHICH IS ITSELF A PARTICULAR CASE OF THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF EXCHANGES".

The basis of profit chaged too. To use the terminology of J-M- CLARK, profit becomes dominated by SOCIAL BOOK-KEEPING ininstead of private one. The profit is limited to 6% or 8% for joint-companies shares. The aim of this limitation is twofold :

- 1- To make the individuals save a part of their revenues.
- 2- To incite them to subscribe to State loans.

Nevertheless it is not forbidden to reinvest the excess of profit, but this choice is limited by the national economic prosperity. The law called "Law of Loans Stock" enables the capitalists to place the surplus of their 6% and 8% revenues in the Reichs-Bank, department of production, if they do not intend to reinvest them in their own undertakings. Istead of of making the surplus of capital unproductive, the State administers it as a trustee and redistributes it at the end of a four years' period. So, the company whcih needs fresh capital may secure it from the Department of Production of the Reichsbank.

A further application is made of this principle, and this as a matter of fact, in the industrial field. Up to the Nazi Régime, the Industrialists refrained from exploiting the mines of Baden, Harz and Franconia because of the poorness of their mineral percentage. The Government decided then to exploit them and to form for this purpose undertakings of its own known as "HERMANN GÖRING WERKE". The result, at any rate, is creditor since it prevents spending foreign currencies for getting raw materials from abroad. All the roads lead to Rome. Rome, for the time being, is a goal : it is to spare the stock of foreign currencies of the Reichsbank./.

CONCLUSION

CRITIQUE OF THE DOCTRINE

Like many doctrines, National Socialism is a mixture of both sophistical and sound views. It contains ideas of temporary value, others which are destined to resist oblivion. The following consideration of GÖTHE may adequately be applied to the Nazi Revolution : "Each historical period has two aspects :

"the one, poor enough, ridiculous enough, or "unfortunate enough from the point of view of "passing time; the other, great, efficacious and "serious from that of eternity".

The first impression which emerges in the mind of the reader when reading Nazi Documents is that Nazism is an agora-doctrine, based on mass-meetings and speeches. As a matter of fact, the real weak-

ness of National Socialism is in its starting point : its emphasis, in spite of the Führerprinzip, on the prevalence of the multitude in public life. It looks at social life through the affective faculties of man. It despises reason; it trusts instinct. National Socialism trusts what is outside the control of man : his subconsciousness. "It is possible, quotes R. FORBES in his "book "These Men I knew", to have too much culture. "So many of the more advertised writers put reason "before instinct. That is wrong. We Nazis appeal "to the emotions rather than to the intellectual. "There is a child in every grown up person, and to "that child we appeal with music, flegs, oratory, "and all the other symbols which it understands. We "have thought with our heads too long. Now we must "feel with our hearts" (quoted in BAYNES, op. cit. vol. II, p. 1752).

One may agree with the fact that emotions play an important rôle in public life. Nevertheless, one cannot help feeling that it is irrelevant to build up a whole political doctrine on such an idea. A doctrine is a piece of intellectual architecture. It should first of all be in harmony with reason. The appeal to emotions is a means of rallying people around the new idea, not a demonsstration of its premises. When reading

a speech of HITLER, the first thing which may be noted is this aspect of his frame of mind : his reasoning is distinct from reason; his logic is sentimental; his argumentation is rather an affirmation. Nazi oratory has nothing of the solid grouping of arguments that prevails in certain French Parliamentaries' speeches. It is rather fluid and vague when it tends to demonstrate any premises.

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Let us consider now separately each element in the National Socialist Doctrine in order to show its inherent contradictions (what we may call 'vertical contradictions'), and its opposition to categories⁽¹⁾ we use to consider as forming the bases of our Civilization (or 'horizontal contradictions').

We start criticism with Racialism.

(1) So deeply rooted in our civilisation that they become like facts for our criticism of political doctrines: e.g. the prevalence of the role of reason in our judgments. (Rf. Thesis p 49)

Three items are most important as regards Racialism : Blood, the Genesis of the State and that of Kultur. First of all, Racialism, even as a meta-scientific theory, is inconsistent and unhumane. It seems to us barbarous to divide humanity in two camps : the first predestined to rule over the World, the second, to be led by this "natural leader". If equality does not appeal either to our reason or to our heart, justice and equity do. Man is not on earth to subdue his fellow-men, but to help them and to serve the weak among them. Fair play should be the basis of human intercourse. It is unfair to draw a superiority from one's innate qualities as against another who lacks these. Our privileges are in relations to our duties, and our duties are directly related to our capacities, either natural or acquired.

Racialism tries first first to protect racial purity : its aim is to keep blood homogeneous. But what does it mean by BLOOD ? Is blood this "milieu intérieur" (Cl. BERNARD) which is the nutritious liquid for all the members of the body ? In such a case, how can it carry within it the "essential" qualities of the Race, since it is, by definition, "auxiliary" from the biological point of view ? Or, is Blood for Racialism what the "glande pinéale" is for DESCARTES'

Metaphysics : the intermediary between Matter and Spirit ? If it is so, the philosophers had long time ago rejected the conception of intermediaries between Body and Soul the nature of which is half-spiritual and half-material.

Furthermore, suppose that the Blood is well-defined as an entity, it will always remain to be understood how can it carry within it spiritual qualities? In other words, how are the relations between matter and spirit conceived of ? We are told that matter is idealized and raised to the level of Spirit⁽¹⁾ (Rf. Thesis, p. 113). But how can matter transcend its contingency and become equal to spirit, which is, by definition, above material limitation ? All these objections cannot be answered from the dualistic point of view and Nazism is not, metaphysically speaking, monistic. Since Nazism recognizes the existence of both elements, Matter and Spirit, as distinct the one from the other and not as Spirit an epiphenomenon of Matter, it has to accept the logical conclusions which may be derived from this premiss. Nazism states that Spirit is the prime mover in man, and matter is only a means to an end : to enable Spirit to realise its qualities. Matter should be racially pure because it is "... an experiment-field for the Soul. The Soul is not the body, but it possesses it"

(1) "... Matter is idealized on the ground that it is no more an auxiliary to the Soul, but an indispensable companion to it." (Thesis p. 100).

(Rf: Thesis. p. 111). "Racialism" is essentially contradicting this would-be Nazi Dualism.

Some Nazi writers (namely DARRE) think they are able to skip these critics by having recourse to "Selection". They present it on the basis that racial qualities "form 'groups' in each new-born child" (DARRE) In order to influence Spirit, one should preserve the "racial groups", or racial purity. Spirit is dealt with through Matter; it is presented to us as if it is auxiliary, or even inferior, to Matter. At the beginning of his treatment of the question, Matter and Spirit are presented, by DARRE, as equal (Rf. Thesis, pp. 111, 219) but, when he goes on developing his doctrine of Selection, we suddenly feel that Matter is of a higher value than Spirit. This may be accepted, from the logical point of view, from Materialistic Pantheism, but not from Nazism which, after having admitted the existence of Matter and Spirit, pretends to raise Matter to the importance of Spirit. We are told that Racial Purity is the alpha and omega ~~axix~~ in the destiny of Mankind. But what is then Racial Purity ? It becomes sheer materialism under the pens of the Nazi raciologists. It contradicts what would be Nazi Idealism which "... means that material problems have to be brought into relation with the souls of the people." (Rf. Thesis, p. 100).

From an other point of view we are bound to reject Selection on the ground that we are convinced and we feel intimately that Spirit is prevalent in us, as Men, over Matter. Matter can only limit the external action of Spirit; it can never determine it. If Matter and Spirit are in harmony, it will be for the great benefit of man, but in order to get this result, we are bound to bring Spirit to such a higher position as to make it able to dominate Matter. Matter cannot at any rate influence Spirit to the point of changing its nature. It is essentially a means to enable "Soul (to) act plainly, (because) the Soul is not the body, but it possesses it".

Such views on the importance of Blood and its rôle in the destiny of the Race lead the Nazis to put the emphasis on the physical qualities, and virtues of man. We are told that "... will-power and energy must be considered as more serviceable than the intellect of a genius..." (Mein Kampf, p. 198). These qualities should be considered as playing a decisive rôle in the life of Mankind. We admitt that courage and self-sacrifice are of high value and of great influence on Man, nevertheless, this does not and cannot convince us that they should prevail over his intellectual qualities. All our Civilisation and Culture rest on the

axiom that these intellectual qualities are the decisive factors in the life and the progress of Man. Without them, man would not have reached the standard of "Manness" which is intimately related to purely intellectual qualities and not qualities based on physical activity. The real value of man is in his "Intellect", and not in his "courage". Man is no more man without his reason, and if he intends to rely only on his "physical" qualities he will decay immediately. The great misfortune for man is that he still must have recourse, from time to time, to those physical qualities. What is unfortunate is that, in such a situation, he appears as trying to inhibit in him his intellectual qualities on behalf of his physical ones.

This insistence on the physical qualities of man appears again when the Nazi writers develop their views on the genesis of the State and that of Kultur. The State has but one aim: to preserve racial purity. It does not have to be troubled by any other aspect of social life. In order to achieve this result the State should follow a ruthless racial policy and to prevent those who are not "racially pure" to play any rôle in the life of the Nation. The State, in order to preserve racial purity, is in the unavoidable necessity to go into conquest, to annex new territories

(Rf. Thesis, pp. 223²⁹⁹). To enlarge the Lebensraum is an end of the State. Racial purity through massacre and conquest ! It is not a pleasant prospect for Statesmen. It is useless to object that History teaches us that the State started its career as the embodiment of paternal authority whose aim was spiritual and religious, and not racial and military (Rf. mainly to F. de COULANGES : La Cité Antique). We are deeply shocked when we are told that the trend of human intercourse should be war. "To get anything by force, writes a Nazi, you must be very strong indeed; to get anything without force, you must be stronger still" (quoted in R. FORBES, op. cit.). The Nazi conception of the State leads ultimately to the visualization of international relations through force; war becomes the only alternative to war. In such a situation, Mankind should be deprived of its human nature, and the Aryans become the wild men of the forests whose life runs between hunting and killing ! We are far from the Kultur-creators of "Mein Kampf".

As for the Nazi conception of the genesis of Kultur, it is purely and simply the rejection of the primacy of human reason over Matter. Kultur is not considered per se, since it is a by-product of conquest. It is true that Kultur is given afterwards a great

importance in the life of the Race, yet, it does not have a value of its own. According to the Nazis, a Kultur in decay is the evidence of cross-breeding and not of intellectual downfall. What harms us, is that Kultur, which is the greatest cause of human pride, is considered as if its emergence was merely accidental in the life of Mankind and not due to the activity of Man's Reason. Without his Kultur, Man would not be worthy of being called as the King of Creation. His superiority over the animals is through his cultural achievements. Kultur has a distinct existence. Its value is based on its inherent qualities, and not on its function which is to test racial purity. Its influence on human affairs shows its importance. Its independence is clearly shown by the fact that it resists cross-breeding, national decay and State-weakness. What is symptomatic enough is that the greatest periods in German cultural history coincided with German political decay. When the Holy Roman Empire was at its lowest, it produced the Mediaeval German Culture, and namely the Mystics of the Valley of the Rhine : the God's Friends; the XVith. Century gave birth to the Reformation and its sequel : the religious literature; the XVIIIth. Century saw the "Aufklärung" and the great German Classics; as for the XIXth. Century down to 1870, German

scholarship was a wonderful achievement in any section of human activity. Shall we curse those German Cultural achievements because they were created during German political dismemberment ? The weakness in the analysis of the genesis of Kultur is that too much importance is given to "The Army". It is the Army which is essentially a means to an end, and not an end in itself. Its ideals cannot be raised to the level of becoming the ideals of the whole nation, otherwise Army and Nation would be confused, and a Nation in arms is not an advantage for peace and order. One had said that the Nations are served by their armies, whereas Prussian Army has a Nation at its disposal. Is it a subject of National pride ?

A further point should be noted as regards the relations of the Nazi State and Kultur. If the aim of the State is to preserve racial purity and to do it through conquest, how can we reconcile conquest with racialism ? If conquest means co-dwelling, marriage will certainly harm racial purity. Does it mean that both races will live separated by racial and social walls preventing them to mix together ? But this representation of social life is rejected and contradicted by History. History teaches us that cross-breeding is the normal way of human development. No tribe live in vitro.

Inter-marriages, or exogamy, is the real result of human intercourse. In both alternatives, Kultur and racial purity seem to remain in contradiction and in conflict.

In spite of this weakness in the doctrine, National Socialism contains a very important contribution to Political Thought : the Führerprinzip, but considered in abstracto and as separated from its Nazi framework. The aristocratic principle is the real trend of human History. The most brilliant "centuries" in human history are known through the actual Sovereigns : PERICLES' , AUGUSTUS' , LEO X's , LOUIS XIV's ... centuries. Aristocratism does not mean Feudalism. The issue of the discussion is whether the people may be entrusted to decide on their own interest as a group or not. History seems to answer negatively. Democracy should be defined as the Government of the people by a minority on behalf of the people. Everything for the people, but through the "Elite". It is so because the people are emotive rather than rational, and statecraft requires cool reason. A hot-headed man is not fit to rule.

In the domain of life we note that the principle of leadership rules practically public as well as private action. The economic, political... life are determined by the action of some prominent personalities. There is no room for mass-meetings when decisive measures are to be taken. Even the democratic Parliament is dominated by "few" individuals. In his criticism of Parliamentarianism, A. TARDIEU demonstrates this at length. The great misfortune of Democracy is to have been taken for a method, whereas it is essentially an end. Parliamentarianism, as well as the Führerprinzip, are ways of securing Democracy. The antithesis of Parliamentarianism is Dictatorship, that of Democracy, Feudalism. The Parliamentary State as well as the Führerstaat are equipped for reaching Democracy, but through different ways, and according to the national traditions of every country concerned. As for Feudalism, if it is opposed to Democracy, it is on the ground that it intends to make a minority alone, the governing classes, which are not necessarily of the Elite, profit of the amenities of life.

Considered from the practical point of view, the Führerprinzip shows many technical defects. The first one, and the most important, is the Volksgeist.

What is meant by Volksgeist ? Is it a real entity ? Then, where does it reside ? What are its characteristics ? How can we prove its existence ? If it is a mere abstraction, then, how to explain its social and political rôle ? We are told that it is it that designates the Führer ? How ? How does the Führer emerge ? How does he make known his mission ? The rise of HITLER to power showed that the ultimate evidence of a political career is success : success to take over power, and to subdue one's enemies. Therefore, it is a practical designation and not a spiritual one. In such a case, The Volksgeist vanishes, and its action is doomed to disappear.

The contradiction raised in relation with the problem of the designation of the Führer and the evidences he has to show so as to convince the Volksgemeinschaft of the nature of his mission, is between this nature of his mission and the qualities required from him. We are told that the Führer should be a passionate orator, strong-willed and energetic (Rf. Thesis, p. 269). But are these qualities sufficient to carry through a spiritual mission ? The rôle of the Führer is within a spiritual scope, whereas the qualities required from him cannot enable him to fulfil his spiritual rôle. Statecraft is, first of all,

based on Reason and not on secondary qualities, as eloquence, energy...etc, and Reason is not given an adequate importance in the career of the Führer. The National Socialist Führer is rather fit for mass-meetings life, than for a spiritual one. He is able to attract the attention of the people assembled in the agora; he cannot convince statesmen met to decide calmly and reasonably on State affairs.

A second contradiction may be noted if we discuss the Gefolgschaft and its attributes. We are told that the Gefolgschaft should follow blindly its Führer, and in an other occasion, Hitler insists on the point that it is within his duties to take into consideration criticism coming from members of the people (Rf. Thesis, pp. 67. 299). But how can we reconcile criticism with blind discipline ? Criticism is formulated by argumentative people, but argumentation is not discipline. A soldier never discuss an order, and a Volksgenoss is a soldier behind his Führer.

We are told that the Führer is designated by the Volksgeist, and that, on this ground, he represents the whole people. But, technically, representation means power on the part of the people concerned to remove, if necessary, the unable Führer. In such a

case, what would become to the powers of the Volksgeist, and those of the Führer ? The Führerstaat cannot be democratic, since the people are not allowed to discuss premises. We have to make up our mind : the Nazi State should be either a Führerstaat, or a democratic State (therefore democratic popular representation with its duly consequences), but never both. We may accept the assumption that Nazi Democracy is of a genuine nature (cf. Thesis, pp. 90, 299;94) , but then it is no more the Democracy that tends to limit the powers of the Ruler by the rights of the people. The weakness of the Führerprinzip is its incapacity to reconcile the nature of the powers of the Führer with what it is commonly called : equality, popular control and criticism..., what it admits theoretically, it rejects practically. The Nazi Jurists have to find out a solution through which their Führerstaat may be termed Rechtsstaat, otherwise, they should drop the term Recht from their juridical terminology.

This leads us to note the contradiction which is between Rechtsstaat and the powers of the Führer. If all State powers are in the xx hand of the Führer, therefore there is theoretically no more room for

"Recht", since the Führer is the only basis of law. If it is meant by Rechtsstaat that all the Volksgenossen are equal before the Führer, it is therefore a limitation to his powers. How can his powers be unlimited, on the one hand, and on the other, limited by equality among the Volksgenossen ?

This contradiction between Führerstaat and Rechtsstaat does not mean that the Führerprinzip is, even in theory, arbitrary rule. The real enemy of Democracy is Demagogy, and not leadership. It is Demagogy when Parliamentarians, eager for power, forget their duties, and instead of leading the people, are led by them. The danger of Dictatorship is egocentrism, when the "Führer" tend to concentrate all powers in their hands, refusing any advise and crushing any criticism. Both Parliamentarianism and Führerprinzip have their good and bad aspects. Nevertheless, it is to the credit of the Nazi thinkers to have contributed to Political Thought in finding out a reply to the Anglo-Saxon Parliamentarianism and this in opposing to popular sovereignty, political personalism. It is now definitely granted that the aim of the State is the well-being of the people. In order to reach this aim, two methods are proposed : the Anglo-Saxon Parliamentarianism and the Nazi Political Personalism. The latter School will run

a brilliant career on the condition that Nazism should be rid of some ugly practices to which the Nazi State uses to have recourse to carry through its measures.

As for the economic aspect of National Socialism, it may be believed that it will persist even after the collapse of the Nazi State, because it corresponds to the tendency of the age : Socialism. It needs but one adjustment : to make socialist economy run without the element of war-production. In the case of socialist economy, State interference may have many inconveniences, the most important and 'harmful' (from the individualistic standpoint) is indeed the sacrificing of individual freedom. But what is more profitable and serviceable for Mankind and human progress : is the *chi va piano, va sano* policy of economic directionism, or the adventurous stock-exchange policy of liberal economy ? Is it too expensive in order to get economic peace and to avoid recurring business crisis, to alienate a part of our individual freedom and this for the sake of a greater good : to save the bread of the worker and the poor, and the future and hopes of the growing generations ? Life is not worth-living if Man cannot rely on a minimum of social and intellectual rest, which are the real and best guarantors of our freedom. The XIXth. Century Individualism in political ^{and economic} life is

purely and simply a superstition and a dangerous illusion, and at any rate, no more fit for our age. It is to the credit of Nazism to have proposed a solution for guaranting economic peace, but it is on its debit side, and here the point is of the greatest importance, to have been unable to guarantee political peace outside as well as inside Germany ./.