

# NAZISM

## IT'S ORIGIN, ACTIVITY, AND DOOM

OTTO STRASSER

WITH sure instinct the world public and the world press have hesitated to call the present system in Germany "National-Socialism", and have instead coined the word "Nazism". Mr. Churchill has with deliberate intent given it the more exact name "Hitlerism"—and thereby indicates the history of its development in the Reich.

In Germany itself both friend and foe call the régime only "the Hitler system", and the ruling party only "the Hitler party". Likewise, the youth organization of the Reich is officially known as "the Hitler Youth". This circumstance is the result of a ten-year conflict within the political development of Germany, and especially within National-Socialism itself.

### *Not of German Origin:*

Very few persons know that National-Socialism did not originate in Germany, but in Czechoslovakia. In the year 1897 the Czech labor leader Klotac broke with the Austrian *Sozialdemokratie* (Social Democracy). Klotac, president of the Czechoslovakian National-Socialist—Narodni-Socialist—party until its end, is to-day still living in Prague. The reasons for his break with the Austrian movement were significant: repudiation of materialistic Marxism; adherence to the nationalist idea; opposition to the Vienna party leadership which was friendly to Germany; opposition to the overlarge Jewish influence in the labor movement.

This National-Socialist party of Bohemia attained great significance a few years later when most of the "realist party" of Masaryk joined forces with it, bringing to it the first-class brains of the Czechoslovakian intellectuals—among them Masaryk and Benes. It was due to these men and their modern program, which called for a synthesis of national and social ideas, that the party became—not the largest, it is true—but intellectually the most important and politically the most influential party of Bohemia and of the later Czechoslovakia.

This example given by the Czech labor leaders and progressive intellectuals brought into being an analogous move-

ment in the German-speaking region of Bohemia—in the so-called Sudetenland. Under the leadership of Knirsch, Krebs and Jung, a German labor party movement was formed, and in 1913 it adopted the official title of "National-Socialist party". In contrast, however, with the Czech organization—to which the union with Masaryk's realist party gave an intellectual character—the Sudeten-German National-Socialism came ever more under the influence of the pan-German, anti-Semitic leaders Wolf and Schoenerer.

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that even in this Sudeten-German National-Socialist party the old ideas persisted to such an extent that the party even later refused to be subjected in any way to Hitler, and for many years collaborated with the so-called Strasser Circle. It was for this reason that Hitler afterwards did not maintain the old organization and the old leadership, but installed Konrad Henlein and his men. They had never been members of the old National-Socialist party in the Sudeten region, but came from the pan-German *Turnerbund* or *Kameradschaftsbund*.

The Sudeten-German party which, as has been said, was directly inspired by the Czech organization, won support in Austria in 1917, and in 1919 in Bavaria, where the druggist Harrer and a patriotic laborer Anton Drechsler founded a National-Socialist party.

#### *Enter Adolf Hitler:*

To this party, which at that time had a few hundred members in Munich, Adolf Hitler was sent by his chief, Captain Roehm—originally only for the purpose of "political observation". Captain Roehm was the political adjutant of the Bavarian military commander General Epp, and as such was charged with the surveillance of the entire political life of Bavaria. For this work he made use of a number of agents. Among them was Adolf Hitler, who for lack of a civilian calling did not leave the army, but remained with garrison troops at Munich.

Adolf Hitler, with his extremely well developed instinct, soon perceived that something could be made of this little organization, and suggested this idea to Captain Roehm. The latter had long been seeking to give a political camouflage to his paramilitary *Frontbann*, since its existence was apparently endangered by the opposition of the Entente.

Hitler next succeeded in becoming a member of the party committee, and was made head of the "propaganda" division.

There he was in his element, especially so since Captain Roehm generously placed at his disposal money from the "black fund" of the *Reichswehr* (German army). Hitler bought the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, an obscure sports newspaper of Munich, which appeared once a week, and had a circulation of 2000 to 3000. A capable editor, the vernacular poet Dietrich Eckart of Munich, assisted by his secretary Alfred Rosenberg—together with the ever increasing stream of money from Roehm's *Reichswehr* treasury—caused the youthful party and its organ to grow so rapidly that the *Voelkischer Beobachter* could soon appear three times a week and eventually daily.

The situation was, therefore, as follows. Into an existing party whose program was laid down in "25 points", whose structure and essence was wholly democratic (not only its local officers, but also the highest officers of the party were elected annually by the members) there entered a first-rate propaganda expert, who was backed up not only by the finances, but also by the weapons of the most powerful *Reichswehr* officer in Bavaria.

#### *Under New Leadership:*

The next goal of Hitler and Roehm was to seize the leadership of the party and rebuild the party structure. By means of numerous conspiracies, Chief-of-Propaganda Hitler attacked the party leadership of Harrer and Drechsler, and the *Frontbann* men whom Roehm had sent into the party demanded ever more openly that its leadership be handed over to Hitler. But the democratic principles of the movement prevented this—until Hitler joined forces with Julius Streicher.

Streicher had founded a purely anti-Semitic movement, the German *Volksbund*, in Nuremberg. It had no political goal whatsoever, but did exert a widespread dynamic influence. It appeared to Hitler that union with this anti-Semitic organization of Streicher was the best means to change with one blow the composition of the party membership in a way which would be to his advantage. During a meeting in Salzburg in 1920, this coalition of Hitler and Streicher was accomplished. For this very reason, however, the Austrian and the Sudeten-German movements kept aloof.

Now Hitler could carry out his plan. During a party gathering early in 1920 he forced the former party leaders to abdicate, and had himself elected as party head. Nevertheless (and this point is especially important in reference to my own "guest

rôle" in the party!) Hitler was forced not only to take over the whole party program, but to proclaim it expressly and solemnly as "unchangeable":—he even had to take an oath to that effect, and this was officially recorded in an appendix to the party program.

*Opposed by the Strasser Circle:*

The entire battle of the next years consisted of the struggle between the idea of German Socialism, expressed (even though far from clearly) in the 25 points, and the goal set by Hitler and Roehm. This latter was sustained only by the "will to power"—not by any political purpose. My brother Gregor and his friends, the so-called Strasser Circle, represented the first group; Hitler, Streicher and Roehm the second.

The material superiority of the second group was as evident as the spiritual superiority of the first. Above all, Roehm's plan to "militarize the party" gave an overwhelming advantage to the Hitler-Streicher-Roehm group. By the thousands and tens of thousands, Roehm commanded his *Frontbann*—members of the NSDAP (*National-Sozialistische-Deutsche-Arbeiter-Partei*—National-Socialist-German Worker-Party). In the so-called SA (*Sturm-Abteilung*—storm troop division) they devised a plan of militarization to which the officers of the Entente Commission could not object. The South Germany organization was to be wholly brought under the power domination of the SA, and under the ideological domination of Streicher's hatred for the Jews.

The development in Northern Germany was very different. There the Prussian government forbade not only the public appearance of Hitler, but also the organization of the SA and SS (*Schutz-Staffel*—élite guard) divisions. Accordingly, favorable possibilities were given to my brother Gregor, who hoped at some future time to eliminate the "Munich tendency" from the party, or to outflank it. In this hope, which was at that time fully justified, he asked me for my assistance—namely, assistance against Hitler and Streicher. (My brother had even officially expelled Streicher from the party during Hitler's imprisonment in 1924.) I consented, and entered the party in 1925.

In addition to my personal efforts, I brought him also considerable financial help, since a goodly sum had been paid to me when I left my position in an industrial concern in Berlin. With this money we founded—as the intellectual opposition

centre to the Eher publishing company of Munich—the *Kampf-Verlag*, which soon united with itself all the party newspapers of North Germany except Dr. Ley's *Westdeutscher Beobachter* and Doctor Goebbels's *Angriff*. The latter was established by Hitler in direct opposition to us.

*"We Must Come to Power":*

The battle, which lasted for years between the Hitler-Streicher group of Munich and the Strasser Circle of Berlin, I described at length in my book *Hitler and I* (Houghton-Mifflin, Boston). Hitler won this battle—through his connection with the army and with Prussianism, as well as through the use of propaganda and terror; that is to say, by means of the same agents and methods which constitute the essence of Hitlerism, the essence of Nazism.

The aims of Nazism are evident from its political composition and its personnel.

Hitler himself is distinguished by the lack of any intellectual and ideological aims, and not less by the absolute lack of political and personal morality. He is the demon of destruction, the incarnation of negation and every evil quality of the German race.

I shall never forget the impression I received at my first meeting with him (in 1920), as described in detail in the above mentioned book, *Hitler and I*. Next to his servility towards Ludendorff, his morbid hunger for power repelled me most. "We must come to power!" That was the motto of his thought and action. He was wholly indifferent about the methods to be employed.

Power, power, power! The intoxication of power as such (which Hitler undoubtedly experiences as a substitute for the intoxication of love, for the intoxication of work, and even for the intoxication of alcohol) dominates him to such a degree that he is ready to offer everything to this idol—preferably, of course, the blood and the sufferings of others. This unbridled "will to power", joined with an absolute lack of any sort of morality, "enables" Hitler to make the most contradictory promises and pacts, and renders him capable of every kind of treachery.

*Hitler's Marriage with Prussia:*

This was likewise the point at which Hitler directly came into contact with "the Prussian spirit" which, in the Germany of 1930, was as much alive as it was in 1914 or 1886 and every decade before that—in spite of all the superficial manifestations

of democracy. Let us never forget what the French historian Ernest Lavisse wrote: "The unification of Germany assumed the character of a conquest of Germany by Prussia". Bismarck said the same thing: "Prussia was not to be dissolved in Germany; instead, Germany was to become a part of Prussia."

In my book, *Hitler or Masaryk*, I described in detail what the Prussian philosophy of power meant for the development of Prussia and the development of the Hitler system. It was when Hitler took over the power idea of Prussia that he first gave a sustaining basis to his political rôle. This was outwardly manifested by his alliance with Prussian heavy industry (Kirdorf, Thyssen, Krupp), with Prussian Junkerism and its two pillars of power, the army and the bureaucracy (Hindenburg, Blomberg, Papen, Meissner); and it was this alliance which brought him to the post of Reich Chancellor—to "power". Neither a popular election nor a putsch would have made this possible: only his "marriage with Prussia" brought success.

No less was it politically manifested. Hitler sacrificed all plans for the reorganization of the inner structure of the Reich, so as not to endanger Prussia. Hitler sacrificed all points of the Socialist program, so as not to antagonize the Prussian supports of his power—heavy industry and Junkerism. Hitler accepted the Prussian demand of "alliance with Moscow", in order to satisfy the generals.

#### *World Menace Alluringly Garbed:*

If we recognize that Hitlerian Nazism is a conglomeration of old Prussian power politics, modern demagogy and personal lack of morality, then we shall immediately recognize the terrible world danger which this Nazism presents.

The old Prussian power politics based upon heavy industry, a powerful army and a heedless police bureaucracy—all three backed up by the same power-hungry Junker caste—had been for decades a menace to Germany and to all of Europe. But as long as its reactionary manifestations were in such sharp contrast to the modern democratic movement, this menace was localized. Prussian power politics became a real world danger only when its destructive force was alluringly garbed as modern demagogy—as an idea which would liberate peoples.

In the eyes of these Prussian reactionaries, it was Hitler's greatest merit that he induced "the people" to accept the Prussian power idea. Even a man like Schleicher said about this, "Hitler is a pig, but he brings us the people."

What, then, were the internal political and foreign political aims of Prussian power politics? There are two recent German authors of noteworthy accomplishment—hence no Hitler partisans—whose books give pertinent information. They are Juenger and Spengler. Both are "Prussians" from head to foot. Both were and are personally so disgusted with Hitler that they never entered his party. But Spengler's *Preussentum und Sozialismus* (Prussianism and Socialism) and Juenger's *Der Arbeiter* (The Worker) describe the internal political aim of Nazism with forcible clarity:—the establishment of a State in which the people, well fed but wholly deprived of any rights, work for the "State", which is represented and dominated by the "warrior class".

#### *Union by Force:*

In a conversation we had about foreign politics, Hitler showed me the extent to which he himself adheres to these aims. I defended the thesis that we must bring about a European federation—for which it would be necessary to come to an understanding with France—and I recalled the warning example of Greece, which so mangled itself in the battles between Athens and Sparta that all of it (including Athens and Sparta) became the prey of barbarians. But Hitler, a passionate partisan of Sparta, contradicted with the significant argument: "Sparta was not consistent enough. Had it carried out its internal system of serfdom also in its foreign politics—had it taken the weapons of all its enemies and made them its serfs—it could then have united Greece by force."

To unite by force! That is for Hitler's way of thinking as decisive an idea as it was for the Prussian thinking of 1866 and 1870. And to reduce others to serfdom, but to maintain themselves as the dominating warrior class—that is the mode of life envisaged by the Prussian Junkers. The entire foreign policy of Nazism, therefore, has only one purpose. Other peoples must give compulsory service to the Hitler "noble race". They are to be well fed (otherwise they cannot work well) and protected by the "German sword"—but deprived of all rights.

In 1930 (during my last conversation with him) Hitler was still ready to share this world domination with England. "The land for us, the sea for England," he said to me. He meant that Germany should rule the connected "land continents" of Europe, Asia and Africa, and that England should rule the "sea continents" of America and Australia, together with the islands which belong to them.

*New Plan for World Conquest:*

However, since England did not accept this "generous" offer, Hitler went on to propose a similar "division of the world" to the red dictator Stalin. Europe, Africa and America for Nazism; Asia (together with India) for Bolshevism; Australia and the islands of the Pacific for Japan.

These are no Utopian ideas. They are terrible realities which arise from the very essence of Nazism. Poland and Czechoslovakia, Norway and Belgium, Denmark and Luxembourg can recount their experiences. So can unhappy France, strangled Switzerland, conquered Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece.

Let us assume, for a moment, that England, the mighty guardian of liberty, would become impotent or be defeated. We have before us the horrible picture of a Spartan helot-slavery throughout Europe:—all peoples are enslaved workers for the Prussian-German warrior class.

But if anyone believes that Hitler would then be satisfied, he doesn't know the fiendishness of the craze for power. It is the essence of the craze for power that it knows not other limits than those of the entire earth:—and after reaching the ends of the earth, it would seek to storm the limits of the entire universe and to dethrone God himself.

*America Next on the Program:*

In the self-exaltation brought about by its successes, Nazism has dared to proclaim openly these aims. In the October 26, 1940, issue of the Lisbon newspaper, *Vida Mundial*, appeared an American's report of his conversations with high officers of Hitler.

After describing the Nazi plans for the summer and fall of 1940, the report continues:

After peace is signed with England, we shall wait nine months. Then we shall take the English, French, Italian and Japanese navies and attack America where, in spite of the greatest efforts on the part of the Americans, we shall still have a superiority of two to one.

The Germans let it be understood that Mexico, Brazil, Argentine, Chile and Uruguay would also fall into their hands. In these countries they would have their agents—not only a few months previously, but for over a year. With the defeat of the American navy would come the occupation of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. It wouldn't even be necessary to occupy any more of the nation, because they place their hopes in the "80 families of America" who would sooner



accept the conditions of the Germans than the destruction of their wealth. Besides this, they would have a sufficient number of agents in the United States, so that sabotage and inner revolution, should they be necessary, would not be difficult to bring about.

For normal people and normal minds, this is all so crazy that one is inclined to laugh about it. But it is exactly the essence of power intoxication (as of every intoxication) that it creates abnormal people and abnormal minds.

Fully conscious of my responsibility, and having intimate knowledge of the Hitler system and its Fuehrer, I say that a victory of Nazism would mean the unmitigated slavery of non-Hitlerian Germans, the unmitigated slavery of the peoples of Europe and America under the Prussian-German yoke.

#### *Methods of Nazism:*

On the American steamer on which I made the trip from Lisbon, I had as table companions two gentlemen, friends of each other—an American and a Swiss, both engineers. In spite of all caution, a political conversation began, and both "neutrals" urged on me; "What do you want? Hitler has brought peace and work to Germany. Now he will bring peace and work to Europe and to the world. And because the capitalists in London and New York do not want this, there is war."

Since the presiding chief engineer did not want the passengers to engage in controversial political conversations, I could reply only briefly. "Were you ever in prison? Complete peace reigns there, and every inmate has work and food. So much for the first point of your assertion. Now for the second point. Do you sincerely believe that the labor leaders Bevin and Morrison are capitalists, and that Messrs. Krupp and Schacht are Socialists?"

Both "neutrals" remained silent amid the laughter of all those at the table, but they were not convinced. This example shows the methods of Nazism in all their cleverness and all their effectiveness—namely, propaganda.

Undoubtedly, Doctor Goebbels, my especial enemy for 15 years (since his "treachery at Bamberg"), is the most intelligent person in the Hitler system. In contrast to Hitler, he is not merely lacking in morals—he is immoral. While Hitler simply has no conception of moral laws of any kind, Goebbels knows them very well—and consciously violates them. Hence his knowledge of human nature is without doubt better than that of Hitler—but the latter is superior to him in sureness of instinct.

*Propaganda in Action:*

Common to both is the conviction which Hitler summarized in his book, *Mein Kampf*, in the terrible words: "To make white of black . . ." Nevertheless, it is not his faith in the power of deception which gives to the propaganda of Nazism its power and effectiveness. The mystery of this lies deeper. The propaganda of Nazism consciously violates noble human feelings for vile purposes: the propaganda of Nazism uses good endeavors for its evil ends; the propaganda of Nazism works with modern words in order to attain reactionary goals.

To illustrate. Undoubtedly the appeal to man's willingness to endure sacrifice, to the heroism of youth, to the community feelings and to social solidarity is an appeal to good human sentiments. But Nazism appeals to these sentiments of the German people in order to make possible the continuance of the war of conquest, continuance of enslavement of the Poles, the Czechs—and so on.

Without doubt the providing of work, winter help, financial loans to the married, strength through joy, the beauty of labor, hostelrys for youthful hikers, etc., are good things (which naturally are by no means limited to the Hitler system). Nazism, however, does not foster them for the sake of the people, but in order thereby to make its system of domination "palatable". To provide radio and movies for slaves does not mean to eliminate slavery itself!

Without doubt the catch words "New Order", "Unification of Europe", "the necessity of agricultural expansion", etc., which are trumpeted into the world by the propaganda of Nazism, are modern words—words which the youth of Europe hear with acquiescence. When they compare these words with the stagnation in their own countries, they often enough experience bitterness. But what Hitler means—what Nazism has accomplished in Germany and wants to accomplish throughout the world—is just the opposite of Goebbels's high-sounding promises. The modern words of Goebbels are in direct contrast with the reactionary deeds of Hitler. But of this the youth of Europe and the world—yes, even the youth of Germany—knows only too little.

*Reign of Terror:*

Propaganda is one method of Nazism. The other is Terror. (Very appropriately Goebbels and Goering—the lord of propaganda and the lord of terror, respectively—are the men at the right and at the left of Hitler).

It is an appalling tragedy that the statesmen of Europe did not recognize, did not believe, did not correctly evaluate the dominant note which terror played in Nazism's attainment of power and its assertion of power in Germany itself.

On July 3, 1930, I left the Hitler party. On July 15, 1930, in Brandenburg, Hitler's bandits made the first attempt to murder me. My companion was seriously wounded and I myself escaped, thanks only to my revolver. The assailants were punished by the courts with a total of 20 years in prison (at Hitler's accession to power they were of course liberated as "national heroes").

From that day on, the Hitler party exercised its Terror against us. Already before its seizure of power it had demanded numerous victims. Nearly all the leaders of the Black Front were wounded in riots or street attacks. All this has been recorded against the Nazis in hundreds of convictions by the courts. The long list of dead and wounded proves that the Terror was not less against the other internal political enemies of Nazism.

But foreign countries did not perceive this—or they believed that Hitler would conduct himself in this way only "at home". The connection between internal and foreign politics was ignored, although the least bit of thought (just as continuous experience) reveals that internal and foreign politics are only the two sides of the same coin. One who is brutal to his wife will also be brutal in commercial life. One who considers "blood and iron" the best means of government in his own country will employ them also in foreign countries. One who crushes his own people with propaganda and terror will not act otherwise in foreign countries.

#### *Belatedly, the World Wakes Up:*

But the statesmen of Europe looked on placidly when Nazism waged its terrible persecution of the Jews, threw hundreds of thousands and millions of non-conformists into prisons and concentration camps. These same statesmen immediately afterwards went hunting with Goering, or clasped Hitler's hands, which were bloodied by the murder of his comrades.

Only when they saw that every German foreign legation hid within its walls (which were protected by diplomatic immunity) not only a propaganda agent, but also a "national representative" of the Gestapo; only when *Fehmemoerder* (secret murderers) were named consul generals, and ambassadors

of the German Reich became leaders of putsches and assassination attempts; only when the embassies and the legations of Hitler in the old and the new worlds proved to be recruiting stations and executive centres of the Fifth Column—only then did the democratic world wake up and begin to tear to pieces the terrible net that Nazism had spread.

If now we frequently ask ourselves why there are no revolts, no strikes, in Germany, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in Norway, Holland, Denmark, Belgium and France, we have the best proof for the soul-destroying power of this combination of propaganda and terror. Nazism has been using it for years, and in this has been an apt pupil of Bolshevism.

Again, I say, let us assume for a moment that Nazism will be victorious. It would mean the complete moral and spiritual destruction of the entire world, the destruction of the spirit and of the soul—which is more terrible still than the slavery of the body.

#### *How Nazism Can Be Crushed:*

The exposition of this fearful world danger of Nazism (and of its "brother in spirit"—Bolshevism) automatically forces the question: How can this danger be overcome and banished?

For this, two things are necessary. First, the military defeat of Hitler and Prussia. Second, a spiritual victory over Nazism.

The military defeat of the Hitler system is so necessary because the foreign political and military successes of Berlin up to now seem to vindicate Prussian power politics. The German people must, however, see and experience that this way of power does not lead to success and victory, but to defeat and distress. Only then will the latent revolutionary situation in Germany—which was present before Hitler and is present under Hitler—become an open revolutionary situation. Under determined leadership it will be an essential factor in the defeat of the Hitler system, and thereby in the ending of the war.

But this alone is not enough. The same thing was accomplished in Versailles 1918-1919, and nevertheless within scarcely a generation the new world war was made possible and actual.

For that reason the second point—a spiritual victory over Nazism—seems to me to be infinitely more important than the first, because I know the menacing pronouncement of Goering: "We lost the first world war. We shall perhaps lose the second world war. But we shall win the third world war."

It was the spirit of Prussia which spoke these words. And perhaps in the third world war Prussian spirit would camouflage itself with the "hammer and sickle"—just as in the second world war it has entered into combat under the "mask of Hitler".

But there must be no third world war! Not within one generation, and not within ten generations. The politician is worthless who does not exert himself to the utmost to make impossible the repetition of such a crime!

It is therefore necessary to be thoroughly acquainted with the character of Nazism as I have described it briefly in this article and at length in my book *Unter der Maske Hitlers* (Under the Mask of Hitler). Only then will it be possible to discover the means to destroy completely this world danger.

#### *Divide Prussia—Keep Germany Intact:*

In the political sphere the program must be, above all, to crush Prussia and its roots—Junkerism, militarism and centralism. Just as it would be the greatest misfortune if the new peace endeavored to divide Germany and keep Prussia intact, so it would be the greatest good fortune if it brought about the division of Prussia and kept Germany intact. In my treatise *Deutschland von Morgen* (The Germany of Tomorrow) I described this basic plan in detail, and indicated the practical deductions which follow from it.

I go so far as to say that if the coming peace leaves Prussia intact, within from 30 to 50 years we shall have Goering's third world war. The present war is—by no means only in the final analysis—a war of Germany against Prussia. Upon its result within the Reich will depend the foreign policies of the Reich for the years from 1945 to 1990.

But we must dig still deeper if we wish to lay a solid foundation for a truly enduring peace. We must recognize that it will not suffice simply to return to the conditions of January 29, 1933 (the day before Hitler's seizure of power)—for it was exactly these conditions which made possible Hitler's ascendancy! The demon of destruction is powerless in a healthy, happy, prosperous world. Only in a diseased, materially and morally decayed world can it do its work.

#### *Hope—and Program—for Victory:*

He who has experienced the joyful hope and the subsequent deep despair of the full-vigored generation in all countries; he who saw with open eyes the undermining hopelessness and

the nihilist radicalism of the youth of Europe from 1920 to 1940; he who to-day understands the signs of the times as manifested in the grandiose plans of the American "New Deal", in the fundamental May-laws of the British House of Commons, as well as in the yearnings and the sacrifices of millions of anti-Hitler Germans, of Poles, of Czechs, etc., and not in the least instance in the firm faith of a Niemoeller, in the pastoral letters of a Cardinal Faulhaber—such a one knows that everywhere forces of a new life are arising, and that they will overcome the sterility of the pre-Hitler era as well as the nihilism of the Hitler era itself.

Were I to summarize in catch words the program of this thorough victory over Nazism (and Bolshevism) I would propose: 1. Economic democracy and social cooperation. 2. Self-government and federalism. 3. Federation of all European countries. 4. Cooperation with all democracies in the world. 5. Return to God.

These appear to me the broad guiding lines for a true inner victory over Nazism and Bolshevism. They are the pillars upon which the future peace must rest if it is to endure.

It is my own and my friends' purpose and pledge to work for this program with all the forces at our command—so that the post-Hitler Germany will do its share in building up this peace.