

# Attack against the National Socialist World-View

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Translated from the SS Original:

*Angriff auf die nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung*



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## Publisher's Forward

**A**ttack against the National Socialist World-View is translated from the article *Angriff auf die nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung* by Dieter Schwarz. After publication in the SS newspaper *Das Schwarze Korps*, it appeared in booklet form in 1936.

The „attack“ was ideological. It came from various camps, including „political Catholicism“.

The Publisher

## I: The Struggle for Fundamental Values

One is often asked these months by foreigners and even by Germans, why National Socialists still speak of the „struggle“ they must wage. National Socialism has, after all, achieved power in an unprecedented manner, held it for years, and Hitler's leadership is fully affirmed by the people, as election results have shown again and again. Why still „struggle“? What for and against whom?

Indeed, the people posing this question would be right, If National Socialism only sought state power. That would have been accomplished by taking over the state apparatus, occupation of the government position, and control of the legislative branch. The political control of all of these functions would have meant the successful conclusion of the struggle. *Then National Socialism would have today already achieved its goal.*

For when 99% of the folk affirm the government, this is without doubt the most splendid inner security that any government can achieve.

But National Socialism is a world-view that is based on certain firm and unchanging, fundamental values: these are leadership, following, race, folk, community, nationalism, socialism and Germandom.

As a world-view, National Socialism has given itself the goal of not ending its struggle until the German folk and the German state are thoroughly permeated by these fundamental values in every sphere. This means until its whole public and cultural life - art, theater, film, education, sciences, school and family *as well as its economic life* and professions - and not least the conduct of life by each individual German, receives form from these fundamental values and is lived new each day.

Indeed, not because this is „demanded“, not because a party organization watches and not because some party functionary orders it, rather because each German himself deeply believes in these fundamental values of race, leadership, following, Germandom and community, because they are the self-evident moral guidelines for his action and life, and because he no longer wants to or can act otherwise.

If we again ask the question whether National Socialism has already achieved the goal of its struggle, then we certainly see at once that we stand at the *beginning* of this struggle. The rise to power has merely set the groundwork for this struggle. The election of March 29, 1936 has led the Germans into a great community of good intentions. But it will require the tireless efforts of generations before we have transformed the German life reality into this ideal that hovers above us.

We know that in this struggle there will not be two groups. One of them thinks they are already „genuine, finished National Socialists without blemish or blame“. Like Jewish Pharisees they point to themselves and cry out to the others: „Look at us! You must be like us!“ No! Precisely those who claim to belong to the Führer's core troop will work with the most passionate zeal to achieve these fundamental values in their own life conduct.

For the SS this means that each of its men, wherever life finds him - at the lathe or at a desk, in a factory, behind the plough, at the rostrum or in an office -, his political will, his thought and deed, his work and his life are permeated by these National Socialist fundamental values of folk community, socialism, Germanism and race.

The huge effort by human will and spiritual discipline necessary for this is obvious. It is no less difficult to prove the hundreds, perhaps not always intentional, misconceptions and misinterpretations, as well as the falsifications of the fundamental values that occur even after 1933 to our very day. This happens to such a degree that it is worthwhile to gather evidence from the abundance of attempts to undermine National Socialist fundamental values.

Three different fundamental processes to undermine or falsify a National Socialist fundamental value can be distinguished.

First, the harmless occurrence of a *mere misunderstanding*, even though its frequency blocks many from a deeper understanding of National Socialist intent.

Second, more dangerous is the process whereby hundreds of followers of various world-views, perhaps even with good intentions, try to produce „proof<sup>1</sup> that National Socialism has „adopted“ decisive basics from *their* world-view or that their views *had already always been largely in agreement with those of National Socialism*. These are followers of various philosophical or scientific teaching's of the old party-political basics or other political ideas or even of religions or sects of whatever kind.

The basic values of folk community or leadership, the idea of the „Reich“ or „socialism“ or „nation“ etc. obtained an interpretation that on the one hand claimed to be National Socialist, *but in reality was anything but National Socialist and instead sought to impose other, totally alien, even hostile concepts and goals upon the National Socialist concepts of Reich, leader or race*.

**The meaning of National Socialist fundamental values had been twisted, falsified and „reinterpreted“.**

The danger of such reinterpretations of National Socialism is all the greater because the fundamental values of the National Socialist world-view are deeply

interwoven. *One value supports and supplements the other.* The sabotage of one value necessarily puts the others in question. For example, a false concept of race undermines the concepts of the Germanic, the Nordic, the folk and the folk community. A false concept of leadership undermines the concepts of following, personality and freedom.

Furthermore, Such „also National Socialism“ was and is promoted by people who possess an *intellectual agility* developed with a long history, with a world-view/philosophical old methodology and an abundance of concept systems from old world-views.

3. There was and is a *third process* that puts the National Socialist world-view in danger.

This is the attack against the National Socialist world-view by direct enemies.

One must give them credit that they fully recognize the basic situation and act accordingly, They know that - following the defeat of the enemy organizations and parties by National Socialism - the National Socialist state can no longer be effectively attacked with force and means of power. Instead, they must direct their attack against the National Socialist *world-view* and its value concepts: race, leadership, following, community, national and social, folk and state. They must *create doubt, put them down and falsify* them as a threat to European spirit, as the beginning of decline and chaos. For these enemies of the National Socialist *world-view* know that in the final analysis they strike the National Socialist *state*, because this state rests upon this world-view.

**And so the hostile circles abroad, emigrants and Jews at their head, went and continue to go to work. They use this method to pursue the spiritual and world-view surrounding of Germany. They translate their newspapers, pamphlets and books against National Socialist „race insanity“, against National Socialist „Führer dictatorship“, against „boundless nationalism“ that dissolves „European solidarity“ etc. into all European languages in order to call all foreign countries to a „crusade“ against this dangerous, National Socialist world-view.**

It is more regrettable when political Catholicism and even representatives of bourgeois-reactionary science or of Protestant Groups or even of old federations use the same arguments, *although more carefully formulated*, to help falsify and undermine the National Socialist fundamental values and thereby become the hacks of foreign enemies.

## II: What is „National Socialism“

**I**t is not surprising that the enemy starts his sabotage with the concept of National Socialism itself. A distorted or sabotaged concept of National Socialism necessarily and simultaneously shakes all the ideas that stem from it. Emigrant newspapers like to claim that National Socialism is „materialism“, „de-intellectualization“, „de-Christianization“ and „Caesarism“.

Among all the emigrant publishers, the Vita-Nova-Press in Lucerne stands out in this regard. It calls for a united European front of spirit against „bestiality“, against „racism“, and against the „desperate absolute of the collective“. (These are direct quotes from the publishers prospectus.) Europe is allegedly threatened by fascism and bolshevism that are in the final analysis one and the same thing. (The differences between National Socialism and fascism are simply ignored. National Socialism is lumped together with fascism.)

**„The flight from the fangs of Bolshevik dictatorship into the fascist rule by force threatens... Whether fascist romanticism in Italy largely affirms the right of the church and the Christian faith, whether a new, Christian-tainted paganism is proclaimed in Germany - deep down it is the same despot that assumes to be the form, the inner law and the teaching of the whole man...“** (Rudolf Groh: „The Federation of the Swiss. Endeavor of the Faith“. Lucerne 1934, p. 75/76.)

Fascism in Italy and National Socialist in Germany are supposedly „indeed the opposite of Marxism, but at the same level as it“ (ibidem p.77):

**„Fascist centralism, like the Bolshevik one, turns the citizen into a mass person. It stresses the unity of the blood and levels the uniqueness of the various provinces, valleys and communities. Everywhere the same uniform, the standardization of opinions, of the press, of the world-view, of the faith. Marxism has had 50 years to grow up. If fascism can raise claim to be the sole power in terms of world-view in various countries for ten years, then its relation to the basic Bolshevik view of state power will probably hardly be contested anymore.“** (p.77)

This thought is further developed in the book by the Russian emigrant Nikolai Berdiajew „The Fate of Man in Our Time“:

**„German fascism, National Socialism, is the miscarriage of misfortune and the debasement of the German people... It commits a huge treason against man.“** (p. 47/48).

It has already been said above that political Catholicism becomes a hack for foreign enemies when it fights with the same arguments. The proof is easy to provide.

The Jesuit Friedrich Muckermann is the spiritual instigator for the pamphlet „Whither Germany?“ from the publisher „The German Path“ in Oldenzaal, Holland. Here is a quote:

**„We come to the conclusion that National Socialism represents a radical opposition against the Christian religion and culture ... We seek to hammer in this truth, for it demands decisions that Christian Germany can no longer avoid... As Germans and as Christians we must *raise up against a power that threatens to destroy both Christendom and Germandom. We hence call National Socialism the forerunner of Bolshevism in Germany and in the whole world. We do not just claim it, we can prove it, too.*“** (p.3).

The chapter „Persecutors of the church shake hands“ ends after portraying the danger of National Socialism for Germandom and religion with the proclamation: **„Catholics of all lands, unite!“** (p.46.)

This appeal to the Catholics of all lands with the formulation obviously paralleling the Marxist International provides shocking proof of the internationalism of political Catholicism. It makes superfluous any further proof that these enemy attacks hatefully twist and falsify the concept of National Socialism. It is also falsification when other su- pra-government forces, for example the theosophists, write elaborate pamphlets in order to prove that National Socialism and the teachings of theosophy share essential basic elements.

**„National Socialism and theosophy are liberation forces of humanity. Theosophy is the second-greatest power of the present... *Theosophy and National Socialism are both the same, they differ only by degree. The Theosophist owns National Socialism from his birth on due to his working in earlier lives on earth... while the National Socialist has risen from below... The National Socialist rises through service to the folk toward theosophy, for the lower is not already the higher...* Even the NSDAP is no party, rather a German folk federation... The goal of every folk community is the theosophic state. The fraternization of the German folk will one day create the theosophic state. Theosophy will create a new spiritual international culture in a higher, purely spiritual sense... *Theosophy purifies National Socialism of all selfishness... and is the overcoming of national fanaticism.*“** (Hermann Rudolf „National Socialism and Theosophy“, Theosophic Culture Press, Leipzig 1933.)

The General Secretary of the Theosophic Society Adyar, Prof. Verweyen, who even today holds lectures in Germany unmolested, declared during a speech in Erfurt in 1934 that the words of Annie Besant - widely known to be extremely anti-German - contain the spiritual message of National Socialism.



„What a folk comrade, what a forerunner and, in the final analysis, what a champion of National Socialist ideals does one find in her!“ (p.21).

**„Does one not start to see and understand ever more clearly how much our national government owes to the cooperation of our German section during the past year? (p.17). „Hail him, the savior of our fatherland from confusion and need!**

**Hail the good, godly forces that lead him! Hail all who seek divine wisdom under his external protection, knowing that the apparent contradictions dissolve and meet in higher unity: National Socialism and theosophy.“ (p.24)**

Aside from these often plump attempts to chum up and gross falsifications, other political and world-view special interest groups try to completely nail down the concept of „National Socialism in a onesided manner and to exaggerate it ad absurdum. For one, National Socialism is simply „anti-capitalism“ and for another „collectivism“. The attempt to portray National Socialism as simply a transition, as a stage of development, is especially common among authors bound to a religious confession. Even today at the start, they claim to see the end of National Socialism. New goals of development are already being set.

It is easy to see that beside the idea of National Socialism the idea the „national“ is attacked. Again, it is mostly emigrants and foreign powers who assail it. „National“ is equated with „imperialistic“, „militaristic“ and „Wilhelmian“ etc, and even this falsifies National Socialist meaning.

According to the opinion of the Franciscan friar. Zyrill Fischer:

**„...an understood Nationalism has a binding and conciliatory strength. Fanatical nationalism, however, is the source of mutual contempt and ethnic hatred. It also severs the supernatural bond that should unite all as children of the same church, as brothers in Christ, as heirs and promoters of Christian culture.“ (Zyrill Fischer: „The Swastika Followers“.)**

The novel by Erich M.R. v. Kühnelt-Leddhin, „Jesuits, Philistines and Bolsheviks“ (Anton Pustet, Salzburg 1934) portrays the sacrifice and the work manner of Jesuits and tries to refute all the objections against political Catholicism:

**„The Third Reich, however, is shaped by his example. The cardinal question is: „Will the Third Reich organically join the First (Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation) or the Second?“ (p.20). Everything Germany has in terms of culture has grown in the church or in its shadow. Schiller and Goethe also worked in the shadow of the Church, as well as Wagner and Bach, Lucas Cranach and Max Scheier. German life is occidental, and occidental essence is Catholic. Everything else is a**

*penetration into German culture*, (p. 419-420). **I believe we must Finally accept that the fight against Rome on this planet has been lost.**" (p.289).

Every national bond is *secondary* for a Catholic, according to Kühnelt-Leddin, which he also clearly expresses:

„He completely understood it: the Catholic Englishman, the Catholic Chinese man, Malay or Tagalian stood closer to him than the godless snob from Berlin or the Red front man from Berlin North." (p.349).

**„Do you know what Heinrich Lersch said during the war? - „Germany must live, even if we must die!“ But how small is our Germany that we are attached to with all of our life, if we compare it to the church. Shouldn't we say: *The church must live, even if we must die?*“** (p. 129-130).

The already mentioned Russian Berdiajew blows the same horn when he writes:

**„The turn toward nationalism means a de-Christianization of society that already started long ago and that finds an especially strong expression in our time. It means a return of Christian peoples to paganism and to pagan polytheism that was already once defeated and overcome by Christianity.“** (p. 29 in Nikolai Berdiajew's „Nationalism and Polytheism“ in „The Danger to Christianity from Race Delusion and Jewish Persecution“. Vita-Nova-Press, Lucerne 1935.)

The final goal of these forces is hence: overcoming all national ideas and their state-folkish manifestations in favor of a supragovernmental, political Catholicism... of a rootless, international Jewry... and of pacifistic, international sectarians.

### III: Misuse of the Concept „Germandom“

**H**and in hand with the falsification of the concept „National Socialism“, emigrants, supra-governmental forces, scientific individuals and intellectuals practice a very distinctive perversion of all values that we associate with the concept „Germandom“. They all pursue the same goal, namely to play the concepts „Germandom“ and „National Socialism“ against each other and to offer themselves as the representatives and champions of the „genuine Germandom“ that must be saved in Europe from the barbarism of National Socialism. According to these prophets, National Socialism has nothing in common with „genuine Germandom“. For the guardians and attorneys of „genuine Germandom“, of „supra-governmental German spirit“, are found exclusively outside of the Reich's borders in exile. Like Heinrich Mann, who needed an entire book to write down this idea, a certain Werner König presents himself as a guardian of the supra-governmental „German idea“:

**„Despite the fact that Germany is today an intellectual desert, German culture has not ceased to exist and continues outside of the borders of its narrow homeland. The Germany that produced Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Nietzsche, Fichte and Marx lives on in exile. The tragedy of German culture lies therein that its best bearers must today yield the sword in Paris, Prague, Zurich and London for those cultural goods that once bound the name of Germany with the concept of a people of „poets and thinkers“. While Beumelberg, Barthels, Johst and Stehr daily mistreat the German language, genuine Germandom speaks a thousand-fold from the works of Lion Feuchtwanger, Heinrich Mann or Alfred Döhl. Splendid yearning for freedom shines from the prose of the proletarian writers Bert Brecht, Ernst Toller and Erich Weinert, which can shake the foundations of a rotten society.“** (p. 9 February 1935 of the magazine „Zurich Student“, p.256.)

Various intellectuals at home have proven themselves to be spiritual allies of these emigrants who, consciously or unconsciously, flee to a concept of „Intellectual Germandom“ that they have created for themselves in order to avoid the demands of National Socialism. This intellectual Germandom is empathetically set apart from the „distorted“ Germandom of race, folk and blood. The Heidelberger Cultural philosopher Richard Benz attacks

**„the purely blood and race-related in terms of world-view, which does not exist as Germandom in this sense.“ „Landscape and language, earth and spirit are felt to be endlessly more „German“ than the abstraction „race“, which simply does not correspond to the equivalent of any such Germandom“** (Benz: „Spirit and Reich“, p. 11 and 13.)

Rene König, who is presumptuous enough to give the German university a new form, is a George-follower. He belongs to the very suspicious circle of the Berlin

publication „Die Runde“. In his book „On the Essence of the German University“ (publisher: „Die Runde“, Berlin, 1935) he dares, from his abstract plain, to pronounce the National Socialist fundamental values as un-German teachings.

„We understand how un-German all teachings essentially are that seek to base the concept of nation on „soil“, „race“ and other natural concepts. At any case, the „metaphysical self“ of a man is decisive and not the material nature of the soil nor, as we may add, race and blood.“ (R. König: „On the Essence of the German University“, s. 116.)

Just how nonsensically political individuals escalate their definition of the concept of „Germandom“ is shown by the ideas of Ernst *Riekisch*, hence those of the resistance circle. In order to cure Germandom from the romantic influence of southern and western Europe, he promotes mixture with Slavic blood and drawing closer to Russia.

**„Germany has to say the word. Its word is also Russia’s word... Slavic blood is the serum for the romanticized area. It will again cure Germanic people from the romantic infection. Whoever lives conscious of responsibility for a future millennium of German fate, will not be broken by the whirl of folk wandering, if no other path leads to new German greatness.“** (E. Riekisch: „Decision“, Resistance Press, p. 180.)

Still another power finds the concept of Germandom useful in order to sneak into the German folk, if it is not perceptive enough to see through such poor camouflage. Again, it is *political Catholicism*. The outlawing of National Socialism by the church before the rise to power is well-known. Shortly after January 30, however, publications of political Catholicism already everywhere proclaimed that *Catholic and German* were two concepts that belong together inseparably and had always belonged together. One concept could not be understood without the other.

Thus do the enemies of National Socialism try to falsify the idea of Germandom. By slowly but conscientiously hollowing out concepts that are well-defined for us and identifying them with their political ideas, they seek an inflation of our values.

## IV: The Struggle against the Race Idea

**A** basic pillar of the National Socialist world-view is the race idea. So it is no wonder that it is attacked by all who have malicious intent toward National Socialist Germany. These are the emigrants. Also, there are those already affected by the race laws: the Jews. Finally, there are those who believe these race ideas undermine their dogmas and teachings and hence reduce their power. That is political Catholicism, various Protest zealots and scientific individuals.

It seems somewhat comical when, amid this agitation from *abroad*, a publishing house in Prague calls itself „Publishing House for Truth“ and reports in its publications:

**„The myth of blood is proclaimed from Germany. Blood should bind people and not, as we believe, humanity and solidarity. The smell of blood rises. As in the Middle Ages when people were sacrificed because of the belief in witches, now tens of thousands of the innocent are sacrificed because of the belief in race.“** (Dr. Hugo Iltis: „Racism under the Cloak of Science“ in „Race in Science and Politics“, Publishing House for Truth, Prague)

A man from whose mouth one should really expect the truth, the *Bishop of Debreczen, Desider Balthaser*, writes in a Swiss emigrant publication:

**„The events in Germany have shown the world what a dangerous poison racism is for any people that is infected with it. Racism must be viewed as an infectious disease at the present time of grave crisis, a time of struggle for the existence of individuals and peoples. It conies down to immunizing the peoples against it just like an infectious disease.“** (Dr. Desider Balthasar: „The Threat against Christianity from Race Delusion and Jewish Persecution“, Vita Nova Press, Lucerne, 1935, p. 8-9).

That there are unfortunately still several such strange representatives of truth in church-political circles is proven by the writings of the Jesuit friar Friedrich Muckermann in his essay „Why Denominations?“

**„Can a reasonable man, if he has a mere notion of Christianity, image that a faithful Christian could trade faith in the living God in favor of a vague affirmation of the blood, that he would give up the birth right of his spirit in favor of biological heredity of blood, the heroic ideal of the saints in favor of the practical ideal of racial improvement, the splendor of the mother of God in favor of the earthly mother, who by herself alone will always fall to the most depressing, darkest manifestations of deeply sunken, erotically falsified pagan cults.“** (F. Muckermann: „Why Denominations?“, Akadem Press, Bonifatius Association, Paderborn, 1934, p. 910).

Imputations and distortions abound in the above quoted writings. But the greatest insolence lies in covering this political agitation with the cloak of objective science simply in order to thereby make this agitation more effective. In the mentioned publication „Race in Science and Politics“ it is written:

„But a wild wind from abroad comes to us, so it is the duty of native scientists to speak a clear and liberating word. This duty has indeed been fulfilled by Czechoslovakian science, and indeed in the most dignified and at the same time responsible form, in that the Czech academy itself had its second class produce a book representing the collective work of six experts that comes to the conclusion already clear from the title: ‘The Equality of the European Races and the Paths to their Perfection’.“ (p. 12-13)

**„Racism is no science and has nothing to do with science. It is nothing but a malicious and dangerous weapon for political struggle. In today’s Germany one admits that. The manner in which racist politicians use this dangerous weapon, this „intellectual poison gas“, against all peoples and human groups they wish to kill economically or politically, should be explained on hand of the following quotations from both main works of German political racism.“** (ibidem, p. 41/42.)

This pitiful attempt is made against the Führer’s book and Alfred Rosenberg’s book „The Myth of the Twentieth Century“. It ends with the proclamation: „Let us defend ourselves against the intellectual poison gas of racism before it is too late“. (Dr. Wolf Bodansky: „Racism - Intellectual Poison Gas“ in „Race in Science and Politics“.)

We can be certain that even at home, decades of educational work, perhaps even generations, will be required before the idea of race thoroughly permeates the thinking of our intellectual sciences, our educational sciences, our historical thought and above all our practical action.

Until then proponents of old world-view positions will again and again assault the race idea. Liberalism, Marxism and Jewry were opponents of National Socialism. Just how low the opponents of the National Socialist race idea can sink in their methods is shown when they try to portray and belittle the National Socialist race idea as liberal, Marxist or even Jewish. The Franciscan friar Dr. Desiderius *Breitenstein* writes:

**„Marxism based the collective on an economic basis (economic view of history). The absolutist race idea derives the collective from the „blood-determined basis of all cultural activity“ (biological world-view)... It is an irony of time that two intellectual foundations touch each other so closely despite the sharpest contradictions.“** (Dr. Breitenstein: „Intellect or Blood.“ Bonifatius Printers, Paderborn

1934. p. 8).

**„Racial biology historically continues the materialistic view of history, except that the economic basis is replaced with the blood- determined foundation... The absolutist, racial-biological worldview ultimately does not escape from materialistic origins... In summary, it must be stated that liberalism lives on in the racial-biological world-view despite all utterances to the contrary... Those who again and again support their world-view foundation with Friedrich II, Friedrich Nietzsche, Paul de LaGarde and Houston Stewart Chamberlain prove themselves to be perpetuators of liberalism.“** (ebidem, p. 14-15)

The licentiate *Kehnscherper* even sinks to the following assertion:

*„If one wants to know the results of the one-sidedly taught, believed and lived myth of the blood, based on the foundation of an appropriate, godless blood honor, then one should look at the history and lifeview of the Jewish people. Then one will be cured for all time.“* (Kehnscherper: „Myth of the Blood.“ p. 25).

Those who find the accusation that the race idea is liberal, Marxist or Jewish too transparent, seek its rejection with *other* reasons. One says the race idea is an unrealistic construction, the other tries his luck with psychoanalysis and claims the race idea stems from *an inferiority complex*. Still another attempts to frighten the German folk away from the race idea by claiming that history proves rule on the basis of race leads to chaos and rebellion. Race and blood are said to be formless and drive-based, something that must be contained by intellect and religion. In Germanic life these chaotic forces had supposedly been alive and then *purified by* the missionaries.

Yes, the tactics go so far as to make the attempt to blame the great scandals of the church on the carriers of „noble blood. The cathedral provost Simon even had the audacity to write that *„the low points in the church’s history were for the most part due to people whose noble blood was beyond doubt.“*

So far we have dealt with enemies of the National Socialist race idea who were *not interested* in an objective debate, but who solely tried to achieve their intended objectives with agitation, distortion and falsification. Now we will deal with hostile *forces* who try to prove the National Socialist race idea untenable with a line of objections that appear *objective*. These are representatives of so-called „intellect“ in various camps. They believe in the name of „intellect“ that they must warn humanity against the race faith that supposedly rejects intellect and only recognizes blood and the biological, and through this rejection Of the intellect allows dumb drive to rule and hence thrust present Germany back into the biological materialism of Darwin and Haeckel of the 19th century.

Before these opponents speak, let us say one thing right off: all of them, whether they know it or not, have fallen victim to a fundamental error.

All of them continue to think within the philosophical systems or dogmatic convictions passed down for centuries. These systems tear man apart into body and soul, matter and mind, nature and supernatural. They think these opposites would attack each other precisely within man himself, so it is a moral duty to overcome body, matter and nature in order to help soul, intellect and the supernatural to victory.

The followers of these teachings do not understand that this opposition is overcome in the race idea and bridged over. For them, the race concept only encompasses one side of man, namely nature, the biological, the flesh, the body, the physical. So for them, the race concept necessarily stands in opposition to intellect, soul and the supernatural.

For them, the predominance of the race idea means „blood delusion“, „materialism“ and „biology“, resulting in the decline of intellect, barbarism and atheism. Because these opponents of the National Socialist race idea continue to think in terms of the above opposites, they do not understand or they do not wish to understand that **in the „race of a man“ his intellect, his character and his moral values are very much included along with „mere drives, feelings and instincts“ as a united, living, whole personality.**

The transforming, revolutionary force of the National Socialist race idea in occidental thought rests, aside from its numerous political population ramifications, essentially in *overcoming these old teachings of the opposition between matter and intellect, body and soul.*

Enemies who do not even understand the National Socialist race idea and who misconstrue it as something materialistic, simply blame National Socialism for their own distortion in that they claim that National Socialism, Rosenberg, Günther and the other race researches worship „blood delusion“ and a „flat materialism“. In essence, this agitation is nothing but a painful self-incrimination, for these opponents only attack their own distortions.

How fitting our observations for many proponents of religious dogma are, is shown by the words of the Franciscan friar *Breitenstein* in his pamphlet „Intellect or Blood?“ (p. 32):

„How do soul and body, blood and spirit stand toward each other? Christianity does not recognize any predominance by blood, much less its absoluteness. In Christianity the *spirit* has uncontested superiority, absolute priority. *Body and blood belong to the earthly realm, soul and spirit to the beyond.* God has created man in his own



image and God is spirit. *Therefore, blood can never put spirit in its service... Two worlds stand opposed here: the blood and race world-view which gives priority to the biological values of race, and the spiritual-metaphysical which considers moral values... as the highest... For Christianity race can never be a concept of moral value...."*

Individual German *scientists* who have still not embraced the race idea are people who stand firm to those old, passed down teachings of opposition and to a one-sided concept of spirit stemming from the German idealism of the previous century.

When objective struggle does not lead to success, then the church always tries to carry on the struggle with the special weapons of the church. In accordance with the old recipe of religious dogma the slogan „Dogma says!“ is hurled against a new, world-historical idea.

Amble use of this method has already been made against the race idea. A publication of the Czech academy says this about the race issue:

„Hence the Holy Father in his last proclamation denounces a legal system based on the *privileges of race*“. Supposedly it represents either a *false teaching* or - proclaimed in conscious rebellion against the church - *heresy*. (Prof. J. Belehradel: „The Czech Academy on the Race Issue“ in „Race in Science and Politics“. Prague, Publishing House of „Truth“, p. 35.)

Christianity has supposedly gathered together all races, whether negro or White, into a single, big family of God. Hence the Catholic church also *rejects anti-Semitism*. This opens the door for a union of two international forces: *Jewry and political Catholicism*. In December 1934 the Viennese Franciscan friar Zyrill Fischer delivered a lecture in the circle of the Old-Gentlemen's-Club of the Zionist Association in Vienna. He explained that National Socialism is not merely a heresy as the Pope says, rather a whip and a scourge created by the peoples themselves, *and that Jewry suffers great pain in this purgatory fire*. Then he called out to his Jewish listeners:

„We are not mutual lepers whose touch brings death. *Actually, in many affairs of daily life, economics and politics we are forced to work together.*“ (Zyrill Fischer: „How does the Catholic church stand toward the Jewish people?“ 1935, p. 31.)

Even more clear is the slogan spread by the Russian *Solowjow* under the guise of common Christianity in a publication from Switzerland which says:

„We must be one with the Jews without renouncing Christianity... And the Jews must be one with us, not against Jewry, rather in the name and in the strength of genuine Jewry.“ (Wladimir Solojow: „Jewry and Christianity“ from Solowjow's publication „Jewry and the Christian Issue“ in „The Threat against Christianity from

Race Delusion and Jewish Persecution“, Vita Nova-Press, Lucerne, 1935, p. 3.)

Among those who attack or misconstrue the race idea, a further group can be distinguished by the similarity of their arguments. Their thesis is: race is indeed important for a folk, a state and its history, but in the final analysis the important thing is the land or the language or the self-imposed discipline or the tradition etc..

Aside from those who either categorically deny the importance of race and those who limit its importance, there is a third group that no less harms the National Socialist race idea, although they have adopted the race concept. These are the conjuncture knights who make a profit from the race idea for their own purposes and interests. *Among them are authors who wish to curry favor with National Socialism, lunatics and hermits who believe they can make their own whimsical projects more effective, if they, present them under the cloak of the race idea. It is also political Catholicism itself, which uses the race concept to make politics for its own cause. Here are just two short examples:* The Jesuit B. Horstmann wrote an essay entitled „The Fine Youth“ in his magazine „The Youth Group“:

„Our natural youth has „race“ and our young Catholic kind has „race“. Both together shape our lads... Just as there are, for example, breeds among horses..., so will the Catholic youth stand out among others through his bearing and kind... Loyal, truthful, honest, industrious, brave and determined, but also deeply faithful, reverent... *that is our race.*“ (Horstmann, issues 11 and 12 of the Catholic young men's magazine „The Youth Group“, Youth Leadership Press Düsseldorf. 1934, p. 5.)

Pastor Worlitschek pours it on even thicker in his pamphlet „Divinity and Nationality“, where he tires to make propaganda for the Catholic saints:

„The saints are above all not just specimens or stereotypes of men, outside and beyond the specific influence of their blood, soil, climate and race. All of these things necessarily influence every creature born of dust... Each saint is, here more and there less, *flesh of flesh, blood of blood, kind of kind and race of race* of his countrymen and folk comrades. The race of the dry and knotty, reflective and thorough German is embodied in a long gallery of saints... They are all genuine and thoroughly German figures. *Members of the Aryan-Nordic race who have without restraint developed and manifested their racial characteristics.* They were genuine German men in whom every fan of the German name and tribe must take great delight from a strictly racial standpoint.“ (A. Wortlitschek: „Divinity and Nationality“, A. Huber Press, Munich, p. 4)

In closing, let us summarize:

**The following methods are used to combat the National Socialist race idea:**

**1. It is openly rejected, above all by hostile circles abroad with emigrants at their head. Even at home, some individuals try to portray it as liberal, Marxist, materialistic and Jewish.**

**2. It is claimed that race and spirit stand in irreconcilable opposition and that supreme values like spirit and soul make the race concept impossible.**

**3. It is claimed that the National Socialist race idea is heresy, abandonment of God and leads to self-deification.**

**4. The demand is made that Christianity and Judaism must become one.**

**5. The race idea is just good enough to make politics for one's own cause.**

It is superfluous to theoretically debate each of these opinions any further. Here as on so many other battlefields of the National Socialist revolution, the matter will not be settled by theoretical talk, rather by practical deed and the effect of this deed. History will judge what it means for a folk, when it does not allow inferior genes to be passed along... when it recognizes that „the holiest and most valuable person among our folk is the mother of our blood and the most precious possession is the German child“... when the state protects the family as its most valuable folk cell... *when the world-view of a folk unholy opposites are replaced by a new, unified view of man..*

## V: The Exploitation of the Leadership Concept

**T**he idea of the folk community rests upon the idea of race and upon the blood community across family, clan and tribe onward. The idea of folk community receives its political force from the idea of the *leader*, who leads this folk community.

The significance of the leadership concept as a fundamental value of the National Socialist world-view is clear to everyone, its supporters and its enemies. It is hence logical that those who wish to discuss the National Socialist world-view in whatever sense must take a stand on the leadership idea.

1. Whoever openly stands in opposition to National Socialism will hence systematically attack and persecute the leadership idea.

The gradually well-known circles *abroad* do that.

**2. Whoever pursues politics for his own cause and recognizes the inner effect the leadership idea has had in German folk, will not leave any means untried to harness this leadership concept behind his own cart.**

*Political Catholicism*, for example, does this.

Aside from the hateful agitation in hostile publications at home and abroad, many authors are stuck with old-dated, parliamentarian, democratic and imperial views, so they lack any deeper Understanding of the National Socialist folk community and National Socialist leadership. Caricatures emerge in their writings, for example: *The National Socialist leadership idea is supposedly in essence intellectual and political dictatorship. National Socialist leadership is allegedly pure rule by force by individual rulers. In the present German they see Caesars and masses, not leaders and folk community.*

Political Catholicism strives for its goals accordingly:

**a) Complete integration of the leadership concept into the Catholic world and its Catholic fulfillment,**

**b) Elevation of Catholic saints or bishops to „leaders“ whom the German youth and the German folk are supposed to follow.**

The book by Speckner, „The Guardians of the Church, a Book of the German Episcopal“ (December 1934), proclaims *the German Bishops as leaders*:

**„This accurate portrayal of the uniqueness of these energetic figures, of these**

German bishops of the present, provides all of Germany's Catholics with a very impressive picture of their *Catholic* leaders."

**"We realize with thanks to God that - in difficult times, in the days of decision for or against Christ - he gives us *leaders* whose insight we can follow with confident devotion..."** (p. 5.)

In the forward the author calls on all faithful Catholics:

**"Are you as inwardly close to your bishop as is desirable, even necessary between *religious leaders* and faithful following? The bishops are the *soul leaders* of their diocese, not from their own power, not installed by the people (to supplement: like the leaders in the Third Reich), rather leaders given to the church people by the church itself, *ordered by God himself*."** (p. 7.)

Political Catholicism betrays its intention against the National Socialist leadership idea all too clearly when it appoints a Catholic leader in Germany who has „served“ National Socialism like precisely Cardinal *Faulhaber*.

**"Cardinal Faulhaber, Arch-Bishop of Munich-Freiburg. When one connects the word „*leader*“ with the German episcopate, then without doubt Cardinal Faulhaber stands at the forefront. *He may claim the seal of leadership for himself. Great in understanding, great in character, great in dignity, great in courage of affirmation as well as in courage of the word, in the gift of speech and sermon: that is how he stands in the judgment of the people!*"**

So Catholic counterparts to the National Socialist leaders are systematically created. Confidence in them is not simply affirmed by the folk majority, rather *they have been placed in office by God himself*.

One is tempted to at least designate this as an enormous blasphemy, if political Catholicism dares to drag the figure Jesus Christ into the political battle arena and play him against the leaders of National Socialism. Jesus Christ is proclaimed as leader of the world. The Jesuit *Mariaux* writes:

**"Jesus Christ is our great leader. Where do we men of the present time actually find this leader? - He lives in the Catholic church..."** (p.21.) („Through Mary to the King's Following, Paths to the Formation of our Lay Apostles toward the Catholic Action“, Warendorf, Schnell, 1934.)

The Catholic Action woe the youth with the leader concept. The Franciscan Erwin Schiprowski published the „Small Library of the Franciscan Youth“ (Antonios-Press, Breslau, Carlowitz). The second issue of these series by Kauffher: „*St. Francis* -

*Leader of the Youth*“ (Antomus Press, Brelau-Carlowitz, 1935) is praised with the comment:

**„A intellectual guardian of youth souls here shows the characteristics that make the holy St. Francis the *timeless leader of the youth*.“** (second page of the book cover)

The following quotations show to what degree this publication turns St. Francis into a religious counterpart to the National Socialist leaders whom the German Youth should blindly follow:

**„...St. Francis is a youth patron and a *youth leader* the likes of whom are few in the church. St. Francis shines as a *leader ideal* for the world, whose wonderful strength continues to conquer the hearts of youth through the centuries, enthused and uplifted to God. Precisely at the present time, St. Francis stands at the forefront as a *leader* around whom the Catholic youth from all directions can consciously orient themselves, so that B. Lippert S.J. could write in the Franciscan year of celebration: „St. Francis is really the patron, the role model and the *leader of our present ideal of youth*. He is our best and most understanding representative of the youth movement. With reverent amazement we stand before this fact, before *this timeless, grand, long-term effect of the youth leader St. Francis*’...“** (p. 3)

**„Yes, why does the world chase you? Why does the *youth* follow you as *their leader* and role model, you without advertisement or propaganda, without pass and letter of recommendation, you who woe their souls only with the evangelical simplicity of your pious life? There is only one answer to this question and it is: God himself gave leadership ability to the St. of Assisi...“** (p. 4.)

The Catholic attack with the leader concept as a means is aimed at the all *classes* and all *occupations*, at the German youth, at the German women and girls as well as at the men.

The „School of Catholic Action“ by P. M. Dietz S.J. (Ferd. Schöning, Paderborn, 1935) classifies the campaign directed at men by means of the leader concept in terms according to classes:

**„*Leadership in the Catholic Action* is first of all a *leadership of the holy spirit*. Even our Catholic teachers, whose professional association no longer exists, find among the male congregation an opportunity to play a *leading role in folk solidarity*.“**

**„Precisely the mixture of men from all classes, occupations and strata - who are united in brotherly love under the lilac banner of God’s mother in their parish - are**

***leading lay apostles. It is important today, because it is a genuine folk community. Priestly considerations are absent here. Only Catholic life, thought and example are decisive. Such lay apostles are the core troops of the Catholic Action.***" (p. 48.)

But this is not limited to the mere seizure, reinterpretation and exploitation of the National Socialist leader concept. In order to do a thorough job, proof must be provided that the Catholic church has a very special right to claim the leader concept - because it has supposedly already been long perfected in Jesuitism.

Supposedly, Ignatius of Loyola adopted the basic ideas of Jesuitism from the German spirit, so that National Socialism and Jesuitism are essentially similar spiritual currents. This newest „historical research“ is supplied by Engelbert Krebs. He writes in his pamphlet „Jesuit and German Spirit“ (Joh. Waibel'sche Press, Freiburg i. Br., 1934):

***„One of the most important - and for Germans most surprising - results of this study of sources about the much discussed Society of Jesus is the determination of the fact that it was primarily German religious spirit whose literary expression gained a decisive influence over the Spaniard Ignatius.”*** (p. 3-4.)

Indeed, primarily from the writings of German and Dutch mystics... „The spirit of a former German army was schooled through a psychologically thought out and constantly practiced regiment of exercises and drills. So, too, was the spirit of the members of the Company of Jesus by the booklet of devotions...” (p.22) „Next to the soldierly spirit of the unknown German *front soldier* with stubborn *will to leadership*, a second, greater organization has been built. German man's loyalty toward the leader, German comradeship and German capability of devotion have prepared a troop that is ready for battle in all areas. It makes the leader himself subservient to the Reich President and the whole folk. *We observe something similar in the history of the Society of Jesus* after its formation in 1774... The absolute *liege loyalty toward the Pope*... resulted in Pope Pius VII again restoring the society, so that - with incredible speed in the following 120 years - it resumed its apostle work in all the world in the service of God's realm and the representative of Christ on earth.

***„This speed and accuracy in filling important organizational posts is reminiscent of the rapidity with which the bearers of the Third Reich knew how to assume control of all important positions in political administration, economic organizations and in the schools and universities of Germany.”*** (p. 23 -24.)

***„If by Jesuit spirit one means what Ignatius has given to his sons - unconditional soldierly obedience to the leader's will of his general, effective action and swift occupation of decisive fields of operation... then one must say: the best of***

*Jesuit spirit has its roots in the influences of German masters... But they differ in one thing: Jesuits subordinate all success to one goal: omnia ad maiorem Dei gloriam... We Germans, however, have the vice of strife among brothers... Even if we wish to place all of the efforts of our spirit, all of them, even the political efforts of our folk, in accord with the motto: Everything for the greater honor of God!"* (p. 31-33)

*„That is the path to the bond with the highest authority, with God and with the powers derived from him: *dogma* and the *church*. We Germans wish to learn to understand this.“* (p. 33-34)

It is superfluous to comment that such „historical research“ is falsification of history, this time less for the higher honor of God than for the benefit of the church.



## VI: The Struggle for the State, Nation and Reich

**H**ow little the National Socialist Reich concept is limited to a pale, schematic „spiritual Reich“, but is instead firmly embedded in the National Socialist state order, was proclaimed in the Führer's decisive words at the Party Day of Freedom in 1935:

**„The leader of the time is the master of the *party*, chief of the Reich and supreme commander of the *armed forces*. The constitution of the new Reich will grow from this ground. The party, as the world-view former and political director of German fate, must give the nation and hence the Reich the leader.“**

The mightiest concentration of power and the highest proclamation of a steadfast unity finds expression in these words.

The party with its directing world-view basic values will hence shape the state and Reich. The state can never divorce itself from the party and from the folk community in order to lead a separate existence for its own sake.

This mutual support between party, state and Reich is one of the roots of National Socialist strength. The enemies have clearly recognized this, because for their part they reinterpret the concepts of state and Reich in order to disrupt this National Socialist unity and to make it impossible.

Aside from numerous shadings of reinterpretation and falsification that cannot be listened here individually, a few groups can nonetheless be listed.

1. A series of literary people see the essence of German history during the previous centuries in the conflict between an allegedly „*western*“ and „*eastern*“ spirit. According to them, western spirit was formed by the views of the enlightenment, French Revolution, liberalism, democracy, parliamentarianism and western civilization. Western spirit continues in the romantic, Catholic church. Protestant Prussia had been a bulwark against this western spirit. It had maintained a unconditional state authority and it directed its gaze at the „*young peoples of the east*“ with a promising future, Western and southern German, on the other hand, had supposedly been totally corrupted by the romantic spirit. Everything that lived west of the Elbe was only ballast for Prussia, that should have *politically united* with Russia, Poland and the Baltic states to form an *Eastern Reich*.

**All of these theories irresponsibly violate German folk unity and call on the north and east to separate and turn away from the south and the west.** The *Reich* should no longer be the political life form of the *German* folk, rather a power base of Prussia and eastern peoples. When, for example, Niekisch of the resistance circle in his „Politics of the German Resistance“ calls for a determined alliance with Russia, it is

clear that recognition of a Germanic, racial foundation of the state must fall away. Niekisch makes the opposite claim: „Where Germanic blood mingles with Slavic blood, a genuine state emerges...” (Niekisch „Decision“, Resistance Press, Berlin 1930, p. 182-183.)

One can only speak of *pro-Bolshevism* when Dyrssen writes:

**„Only through the union with this powerful carrier of anti-Rome thought (Russia) would the German completely find his way back to the *area where he belongs politically and intellectually since ancient times*. Whether Germany can once again become a really free state depends in the final analysis on this issue.”** (C. Dyrssen „The Message of the East“, Wilh. Gotti. Korn Press, Breslau 193, p. 175.)

**„The idea of the community and unconditional interdependency formed in the „agrarian communism“ of the Germans and the Russians is the first intellectual prerequisite for any community life. In contrast to the hierarchy principle of the individualistic west, it leads to the state of the folk and comrade. Here there is no longer any unlimited „private property“...”** (ibidem p. 183-184.)

This is how a highly dangerous ideology grows that fundamentally falsifies the National Socialist state idea.

2. The second focus of sabotage of the National Socialist idea of Reich and state are the *Austria ideologies* and the *universalism* of *Othmar Spann*s that ultimately *converge with the Reich ideology of political Catholicism*. The „Reich“ appears in these Austria ideologies as the greater idea as opposed to the idea of a small German state under Prussian leadership. Vienna is the center of the Reich. Austria is perceived as a counter and balance against Prussia, The tension between Prussia and Austria, in which the different sides of the Reich’s essence clearly face each other so to speak, are affirmed as necessary and fruitful.

The first collision of this Reich idea with National Socialism came in the race idea. It supposedly leads to exaggerated nationalism, that is called typically Prussian and hence breaks apart the Reich. Austria has two tasks: first, it should form a bulwark against Prussian-German National Socialism:

**„The emphasis of Germandom for years was the fertile soil where the *National Socialist bacillus culture* could develop. If we do not want to make the same mistake as 1918, if we want to destroy the evil at the roots, then this fertile soil must be removed from the bacillus. We must *not* again stress Germandom and put it ahead of *Austriandom*.”** (Dr. Oswald Straud: „German-Austria or Austria?“, self-published by the author, Vienna 1934, p. 18.)

Secondly, *Austria should become the guardian of a Reich idea that is universalistic and transcends race and peoples*. That is the special „Austrian mission“ in the pan-German and central European space. The driving force of this universalistic Reich idea that does *not* rest on race and folk will be that much greater, because it converges with the universalism of the Catholic church, and indeed in two regards. First, with the idea *Una sancta ecclesia*“, then in the idea of the „*Imperium romanum*“! A Reich and a holy church as already once realized in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation! These concepts go so far as to claim that the Third Reich is inconceivable without a return to the traditions of the German Middle Ages, to the *sacral* consecration of *Kaiserdom* and to the idea of the *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation*. It is Austria's mission that the spirit of *sacrum imperium*, carried by the *Habsburgers*, again rises in a „mighty religious movement“, that it again strives for „unity offaith“, and that it changes the incorrect development of the Third Reich. These ideas are especially stressed in the numerous editions of the - also distributed in Germany - writing of the Catholic doctor and multiple convert A. Niedermeyer. An example from it:

**„Who can already today finally see the path of future development? Without doubt, the *Prussian state idea* presently stands before its greatest triumph. Will it be a *Pyrrhic victory*? Should not a further development be conceivable, which creates a synthesis from the centuries long antithesis and opens the way for the *reawakening for the universal German Reich idea of the Middle Ages*? This idea, however, owes its breadth not least to the unbroken unity of faith of the Reich. Such a Kaiser idea, however, can not only be Austria - much less only Prussian. The *inescapable mission of Austria toward pan-Germandom* is shown here, its *life necessity* to prepare the future for the entire breadth of the Reich idea. Is an enduring 'Third Reich' conceivable without a return to the traditions of the German Middle Ages, to the *sacral consecration of Kaiserdom* and to the idea of the 'Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation'?“ („Delusion, Science and Truth“, Anton Pustet Press, Salzburg-Leipzig 1934, p. 34.)**

Aside from such east ideologies and the just described Austria ideologies, there is finally a third series of *intellectuals* who believe they must interpret the Reich idea in their own sense. They are harmless insofar as no political groups stand behind these intellectuals, but dangerous because nobody puts an end to their writing and because some of them are state officials in positions where they can spread their ideas.

Julius Petersen, for example, portrays in his book „*The Yearning for the Third Reich in German Saga and Poetry*“ (Metzler, Stuttgart 1934) six types of the savior idea that supposedly have been realized in European history. Aside from the paradise after creation the coming realm of God, next to the power political domination of the earth the philosophical world empire of spirit, next to the economic interest community the communist state of the future. One juggles in effectively elegant language with possibilities. And what is National Socialism? A *combination of the best of the other types*.

A reconciliation between east and west - simultaneously a „dreamscape“ that was brought to the light of day „by revolutionary conservatism“. This is irresponsible intellectual game playing, which also springs from an exploitation of the conjuncture.

Thinkers like *Rene König* and *Richard Benz* remain caught in their abstract realm of intellect. Their bending of the National Socialist state Idea benefits all reactionary, above all intellectual circles. Benz, for example judges Germany like this:

**„Germany - more than all other nations - had the greatest change after the lost war to pursue a different life purpose... again a culture purpose..., that it immediately started the old economic competition again..., that it always yearned for the old, high-tech military armament, has proven it is still not a nation with its own purpose and its own idea...”** (see p. 151) **„Church, not state, could - one must never forget - be the calling for the German folk; a church of a new spirit as the organic embodiment of this spirit...”** (p. 79).

Coming from this idea of a spiritual church that knows no political or state necessities, Benz presumes to criticize the cultural politics of National Socialism.

These desk scholars who are, in part, permeated by an honest concern for German culture but who have not found their way to National Socialism, could be ignored, if their intellectualizing and de-politicizing did not serve supra-governmental powers, above all political Catholicism.

This „selection“ from the work of the world-view enemy now comes to a close. It was really just a selection. Many names that also belong here have not been named and hundreds of examples have been left out. Misunderstandings, business standardization - and where there is no standardization, exploitation of the conjuncture - as well as systematic and malicious sabotage have been recognized as threats to National Socialist fundamental values.

Precisely because the National Socialist state leadership is conscious of the immeasurable change in world-view problems in all areas, it knows that this upheaval, this rethinking and new thinking can not be completed overnight, rather it requires long-term hard work by the best. There must and will be the side effect that the self-proclaimed present and praise things as the new spirit of the age, which at their core prove themselves to be not only the perpetuation of the old, rather also a dangerous misinterpretation of the new. Although the National Socialist state previously looked at these manifestations with patience and magnanimity, these prophets should not believe for a second that they can carry on unobserved. The Führer unmistakably proclaimed at the Party Day of Freedom in 1935: **„We are prepared for any hour and for any action. The party is militant. It has in the past defeated every opponent. In the future it will no less avoid the struggle against these manifestations than it has demonstrated its strength against these opponents in the past.“**