

NIETZSCHE



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**Speech at a memorial service on the
occasion of Friedrich Nietzsche's 100th
birthday
on 15 October 1944 in Weimar**

We have come together today to honour a great German philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche, who once out of inner protest to his environment, had to bear the fate of being misunderstood for decades and is only maturing towards his historical appreciation in our time. The purpose of our discussion today cannot be to show in detail the development of all of Friedrich Nietzsche's thoughts, nor to examine what has emerged as a system of his thinking from his manifold and rich activity, but rather to commemorate the man himself. We may also do this today with all the more understanding in a general overview of his work, as Nietzsche's work is not so much about the construction and expansion of a philosophical edifice, but essentially again and again about the problem of the fate of the people who surrounded him. It was this attitude towards the fate of the times surrounding him that forced Nietzsche to take his path from the "Birth of Tragedy" via the "Untimely Reflections" to "Beyond Good and Evil" and his increasingly harsh attack on the entire world of the 19th century. His personal experience is therefore more closely linked to his work than that of many other thinkers and creators; indeed, his work can hardly really be interpreted without this experience. The essential question of his life, which he once expressed: "Is greatness possible today?", determined his entire thought and action. Hardly any thinker has ever had such a question become the fate of his own life; for he, who searched for greatness, nobility and nobility of **attitude** and mind and for the conditions of a hierarchy of existence that took these into account, saw around him precisely the decline of such possibilities and the ever clearer emergence of everything that he felt and had judged to be the opposite of greatness and nobility. This question of his

life and its negation by the environment of his time, that is Friedrich Nietzsche's human and intellectual conflict and is at the same time the secret of his ruthlessly dissecting analysis and his prophecy of the conflicts of a future world growing out of the merciless realisation of the situation. Nietzsche was the Prometheus of his time, whose torch illuminated even the darkest corners of the most guarded and yet so often mothballed traditions, but also a dangerous torch that also threatened to set fire to many things that were still rightly guarded and served as a bridge from the past to the future. Nietzsche was born into a time of immense enrichment of knowledge from the historical epochs of all peoples. The 19th century was not only a century of technology, but also a century of the collection of historical knowledge from the oldest nations and cultures, a century in which all forms and styles of art lay scientifically organised before the observing eye, an age which he himself described as an epoch of "style masquerades". The latest industrial buildings were combined with historical and art-historical knowledge to create a confusing intellectual costume. The

But the "European mixed man" wore such a costume, because the poorer he became inwardly, the more he believed he needed to drape himself in the borrowed and learnt treasures of the past in order to cover up or conceal his ever-increasing emptiness.

In the 19th century, the European nations formed themselves anew in terms of power in the midst of this environment. It was only at this time that France was able to bring the storms of the 18th century revolution into bearable forms, Italy was united as a state after centuries of division and Germany experienced a new empire as the apparent fulfilment of a long-cherished dream of its best. However, this national political upswing was combined with the problems of a new industrial age, which the liberal world view was unable to master. It taught freedom of the economy, freedom of trade, it lived in an intellectually limited world.

The people were optimistic, as if the facilitation of transport, the exchange of goods with other continents, the increase in technical conveniences, etc. meant an eternal progress of culture and civilisation, even if it was disturbed by many a military-political conflict, but was basically unstoppable. Art was seen as relaxation or entertainment, people lived or tried to live the old styles, and only a few realised that this accumulation of historical and art-historical knowledge did not yet mean creativity. Although the emerging social tensions were also seen as disruptive phenomena of "economic progress", they closed their eyes to the fact that the industries were pushing millions and millions more down into a class that could be called the proletariat. It was overlooked that such an oppressed, ever-growing stratum could become the victim of doctrines that incited it against everything t h a t had once truly founded peoples, states and cultures. Dissolution, c o l l a p s e , wars and revolutions could be seen on the horizon. This same gaze then had to feel all the more lonely in this busy, short-sighted, yet presumptuous environment, as warnings and a helpful new presentation of forms were not heard or barely heard, but in any case not understood and ultimately remained completely without echo. To depict this development means to tell Nietzsche's life from the inside and to make his relationship to Germany, to history, to Europe, to religion and to the social question of his time understandable. He knew very well that he could not be fully heard, he also knew that he no longer belonged to the 19th century, and he called himself and the few he hoped for the "Europeans of the day after tomorrow", the

"First fruits of the twentieth century". But this realisation could not heal and make us forget the wounds that arose again and again when Nietzsche's analysis and distant vision came up against his presence and when his calls remained unheard for a lifetime. Many had felt as he did, hoping for the heroic Germany of 1871 and living in its shadow.

The Bleichröders, then the Ballins and comrades, had seen the empire they had fought for become great. Some had spoken out who we today also classify as the prophets of our time, some had become close to Nietzsche, others had worked unknown to him: they did not become a united spiritual and political power. It was something that was lacking in this age of busy commercial politics in order to lead great peoples to the realisation of themselves, namely the common suffering. Nietzsche knew this very well when he wrote:

"The discipline of suffering, of great suffering - do you not know that only this discipline has so far created all the elevations of man?" Only such a common suffering increases the tension of the soul, only the sight of a great and general fate strengthens inventiveness and bravery in the struggle. Only such suffering can call people, i.e. a whole community that feels suffering together, to great achievements. And Friedrich Nietzsche had to be denied this prerequisite for the realisation of his prophecy in a reflective vision.

There are epochs in world history in which thinkers and statesmen, struggling in vain against their time, draw a new shape of the future and make it possible without ever being able to participate in its fulfilment themselves. There are other thinkers and statesmen whose thoughts and actions are able to translate themselves into a great political-revolutionary, ideological movement, where they, marching ahead, as it were, also combine ideology and state policy in a formative and politically leading way. Nietzsche was one of the first and thus had to savour the tragedy of such a fate to the full, because he did not resign himself to this fate with humour and composure, even though he would have liked to, but the less people wanted to hear him, the more vehemently he spoke, and the smaller the echo became, the louder he called for an answering voice. A Wilhelm Raabe, who also had to reject so many things about the Germany of the time and his entire era that were dangerously heading towards a dark future, nevertheless said thoughtfully: "The German genius draws a third of its strength from philistinism." This

This smiling and wise realisation could not satisfy Nietzsche, who essentially did not see the sedate, quiet, hard-working small bourgeoisie before him, but rather found it long since overgrown by a capitalist bourgeoisie, and who saw this upper middle class developing into ever more exclusive positions of wealth on the one hand, and on the other the multiplying disenfranchised of this entire age. The "rich and the poor" seemed to him to be becoming "common and dangerous beings". And yet this was precisely the environment through which Nietzsche would have had to pass in order to be heard by the people themselves. That was the second tragedy of his life, that he, who wanted to touch the best aspects of the Germanic essence in Germany, could not reach this essence, so that finally that layer of intellectual leadership, which could have created a bridge here, was so mentally dazed by trade and technology that it was not willing to relinquish this connection. Thus Nietzsche's circle became smaller and smaller, and in the end there were only a few who could, if not share his loneliness, at least understand it. And this last loneliness was ultimately one of the decisive factors in understanding some aspects of the form of Nietzsche's attack on his time, including the exaggeration of this form. It is this loneliness and power of vision at the same time, however, that places Nietzsche today in the midst of the great events of this 20th century that he predicted, in the centre of the great events of the 20th century. It places Nietzsche in the midst of the huge conflict that the German people have to fight through today, but also in the midst of the process in which everything that Nietzsche fought against in his innermost being as ignoble and inferior has united against a Germany that, in overcoming all these oppressive forces and phenomena of the 19th century, is preparing to create the new Germany. In overcoming all of these dragging down forces and phenomena of the 19th century, it set out to give the 20th century a new idea, a new attitude to life, a truly expansive German and European view of the world.

It is in this larger context that Nietzsche's Stel-

The dialogue in German thought and in European existence in particular. I know how much controversy surrounds precisely these two problems of his life and that it is not difficult to find seemingly contradictory, even mutually exclusive quotations for them. Words alone, however, juxtaposed with each other, brought out of completely different moods and epochs, are only fleeting symbols in themselves, unless the human being and its essence have been recognised. What can then be interpreted as struggle and rejection is often not a fight against an actual core, such as Germanness, but a bitter confrontation with the appearance of the times, and much of what appears to be hatred is essentially just wounded and disappointed love. Only when we have understood this will we be able to properly grasp Nietzsche's life - and not only Nietzsche's, but the lives of many a fighter in Germany. I would just like to recall those beautiful words that represent, as it were, the prelude to Friedrich Nietzsche's entire inner awakening, when he declared that he thought so much of the pure and strong core of the German essence that he dared to expect from it the elimination of violently implanted foreign elements and **considered** it possible that the German spirit would return to itself. "But let it never believe," Nietzsche added at the time, almost anticipating everything, "that it can fight similar battles without its domestic gods, without its mythical homeland, without a 'bringing back' of all things German!" "Let no one believe that the German spirit has lost its mythical homeland forever, when it still understands so clearly the birdcalls that tell of that homeland. One day it will find itself awake, in all the morning freshness of a tremendous sleep: then it will slay dragons, destroy the treacherous dwarves and awaken Brünnhilde - and Wotan's spear itself will not be able to hinder its path!" This was the expression of a hope that literally went for everything, that not only demanded a cleansing of all overgrown foreign plants and their juices, but faithfully expected it, a true hope.

This was a kind of inner rebirth that led back to the ultimate roots and yearned for the supply of strength for a great future. The soldierly attitude in Nietzsche's thinking, which **h e** repeatedly emphasised, resounds from another side. In 1870, he wrote in a letter that he had immediately applied for leave and to do his duty as a soldier. In 1871 he wrote of our army, which he had found fresh and vigorous, in old Germanic health:

"We can build on this: we can hope again! Our German mission is not yet over! I am more courageous than ever: for not everything has yet been destroyed under French-Jewish flattening and 'elegance' and under the greedy goings-on of the

'Now time' has perished. There is still bravery, and German bravery at that, which is something intrinsically different from the élan of our unfortunate neighbours."

And he goes on to write to the same friend:

"Only as fighters do we still have a right to exist in our time, as pioneers for a coming seculum, the formation of which we can roughly guess from ourselves, from our best hours: since these best hours obviously alienate us from the spirit of our time, but must nevertheless have a home somewhere; which is why I believe we have such a dull scent of the **c o m i n g** in these hours."

These and other passages **e x p r e s s** that inner will to reshape German thought and destiny, which wants to express itself and expects an answer from the best souls of his time, but at the same time also the fearful foresight **t h a t** his "present time" does not want such a renewal at all, but is content, indeed exhausted, in the superficiality of industrialised metropolitan life. Once again, Nietzsche refers to the father of a friend, whose wonderful German spirit, whose Prussian seriousness he admires, and from whom everything is to be hoped for, "while I," he continues, "am now highly critical of the 'German culture' floating on top."

When Nietzsche now comes forward with his works and openly begins a central battle against all that is backward, hypocritical and musty, he realises that there are only a few around him who hear him and that a following will not find itself in the midst of the superficial maelstrom of his time. In 1874 he realises that he is basically melancholic and adds:

"I seek nothing more than some freedom, some real air of life, and I resist, rebel against the many, unspeakably many unfree things that cling to me."

His "great criticism of all kinds of contemporary German obscurantism" earns him outright rejection, and when it is not echoed, he again states melancholically:

"What concerns the Germans of today is none of my business - which is of course no reason to be angry with them."

After that, his disappointment and attacks continue to grow, and a final echo is heard in 1888:

"I hint in all modesty that the 'spirit', the so-called 'German spirit', has gone for a walk and lives somewhere in the summer resort - at least not in the 'Reich' - rather in Sils Maria ..."

To investigate the nature of this German spirit and its position in history, and thus also to undertake an examination of the European spirit, which moved along similar lines to German thought, is the analytical line of enquiry that Nietzsche now takes for his life. However, he does not conduct this permeation and evaluation of German-European intellectual development in the style of an indifferent scholarship; rather, he declares from the outset that he has an abhorrence of any "talent without desire" and that, where we would find such a thing: in the circle of scholars or even among the so-called educated, it must only evoke "repugnance and disgust" in us. On the contrary, he favours an *intensive* approach to every investigation of everything human and, in contrast to many doctrinaires of his time, considers it

Nietzsche considered it necessary that the "Schopenhauerian man", i.e. the truly deeply researching man, was at his core full of strong, consuming fire and far removed from the "cold and contemptible neutrality of the so-called scientific man". In Nietzsche, this turn is the fiery force that moved him throughout his life; he was certainly such a flame, as he says of himself, throughout his entire existence. He knew from this examination that the waters of religion **h a d** flooded back and left behind swamps and ponds; the nations were separating in the most hostile manner and were desiring to tear each other apart and the sciences, pursued without any measure and in the most blind abandonment, were splintering and dissolving everything firmly believed in; the educated classes and states, however, were being carried away by a "magnificently contemptible money economy". Never had the world been more worldly, never poorer in love and goodness than in his time, the learned classes were no longer lighthouses or asylums and were becoming more restless, thoughtless and loveless every day. Everything served the "coming barbarism", including current art and science. The educated had degenerated into the greatest enemy of education, because they wanted to cover up the general illness, and thus had to become a hindrance to any doctor. However, the dignity, which was preached so much in this liberal, loveless society, had become for so many a rather undemanding being, from which no disorder or disorder on the part of the ruling powers was to be feared. This

According to Nietzsche, the "truth" of the liberal age is a comfortable and cosy creature, which would assure all existing powers again and again that no one should have any troubles because of them. But a new inquisitorial censorship, unbreakable silence, would have spread against uncomfortable phenomena. And therefore it is clear that a certain desolation and dullness weighs on the best personalities of the time, an eternal vexation at the struggle between dissimulation and honesty that is fought in their bosoms, a restlessness in their confidence in themselves, and that is one reason why they become quite incapable of being both guides and disciplinarians for others.

to be. Science, which had once risen so high in its onslaught against other ages, was often dethroning itself, the spirit of - rootless - journalism was forcing its way into the universities and sometimes calling itself philosophy. A smooth, skilful lecture comes to the catheder, Faust and Nathan the Wise on the lips, "the language and the views of our disgusting literary newspapers", but he is convinced that when one speaks of thinkers and philosophers, it is necessary for a philosopher to have an "unbending and rugged masculinity". But in his age, this had fallen into decline and real men were rare. This whole tendency towards decline was the reason why Hölderlin and Kleist were spoilt by this inadequacy as well as by their own unusualness, why they **c o u l d** not withstand the climate of this so-called German education, and only "natures of ore, such as Beethoven, Goethe, Schopenhauer and Wagner, are able to hold their own". But it was precisely such lonely people who needed love, needed comrades before whom they could be open and simple, as before themselves, in whose presence the spasm of concealment and dissimulation would cease. Taking away these comrades would create a growing danger for the development of the German spirit. The most terrible antidote to unusual people is to drive them so deeply into oneself **t h a t** their re-emergence is always a volcanic eruption. And Nietzsche adds the shattering word:

"But there is always a demigod who endures to live in such terrible conditions, to live victoriously; and if you want to hear his lonely songs, listen to Beet- hoven's music."

"How," says Nietzsche in another passage, "is the great productive spirit to endure among a people who are no longer sure of their unified inwardness and who are divided into educated people with an educated and seduced inwardness and uneducated people with an inadequate inwardness. How is he to endure it when the unity of the people's feeling has been lost, when, moreover, he is to be

a part that calls itself the educated part of the people and c l a i m s a right to the national artistic spirits, knows that the feeling is falsified and coloured."

"Perhaps he now prefers to bury his treasure because he feels disgust at being patronised by a sect, while his heart is full of compassion for everyone."

The instinct of the people would no longer be in favour of such a man today; it would be unnecessary to spread his arms longingly towards him. The only thing l e f t f o r him now would be to turn his enthusiastic hatred against that inhibiting spell, against the barriers erected in the so-called education of his people, in order to condemn as judge at least that which for him, the living and life-producing, was destruction and degradation:

" ... so he exchanges the deep insight of his destiny for the divine pleasure of the creator and helper and ends up as a lonely knower, as an exuberant sage."

What Nietzsche has in mind with all these insights and attacks is what he perceives as "holy coercion". He says to himself:

"Help must be found here, that higher unity in the nature and soul of a people must be restored, that rift between inside and outside must disappear again under the hammer blows of adversity."

And Nietzsche says about the goal to which this reconciliation would have to lead, to re-form the lost whole:

"Thus my testimony should expressly stand here that it is German unity in the highest sense that we strive for and strive for more ardently than political reunification, the unity of German spirit and life after the destruction of the opposition of form and content, of inwardness and convention."

Nietzsche justifies this whole attitude towards the German spirit, which is becoming ever more acute, by his observation of the liberal age, which is incapable of confronting the oppressive value systems and which has now begun to overgrow the empire founded in a heroic war. He points to the approaching

and, above all, to the biological and political threat in the East:

"Not only Indian wars and entanglements in Asia might be necessary to relieve Europe of its greatest danger, but also internal upheavals, the breaking up of the empire into small bodies and, above all, the introduction of parliamentary nonsense ..."

He says that he does not wish this development, but that one must look it in the eye and summon up the determination to make Europe threatening, as it were, namely to send this Europe a will in order to give this continent a plan calculated for millennia; for the long-spun comedy of its petty statehood and also its dynastic and democratic polytheism must come to an end:

"The time for small politics is over: the next century will bring the battle for dominance of the earth, the transition to big politics."

In view of this overall assessment, he hopes once again for a stern German heart, for the German form of scepticism, for a "Fridericianism heightened to the spiritual", and he states more than once that today, when in Europe the herd animal alone comes to honour and distributes honours, a completely different type of human being must come to rule in order to turn this fate around. Thus begins a profound critique of the entire social structure, a critique of the Marxist movement, which was already falsely called socialist at the time, that is inconceivable today in a more logical and devastating way. For him, *marxismus* is the tyranny of the lowest and stupidest, i.e. the superficial, envious and three-quarter actors, and is in fact the conclusion of "modern ideas" and their latent anarchism. Above all, Nietzsche opposes the attempt to abolish the concept of property, because the abolition of this concept of property must breed a destructive struggle for existence; for man is against everything that he possesses only temporarily, without precaution and sacrifice, he proceeds with it exploitatively, as a robber or as a lover.

wasteful waster. And in the midst of this criticism, there is already a hint of a way out:

"All labour should be used to the greatest possible advantage, but prevent the effortless, the sudden enrichment; all branches of transport and trade which are favourable to the accumulation of large fortunes, i.e. in particular the trade in goods from the hands of private individuals and private companies - and thus also consider the public - as well as the private - as being in danger of the public."

And consequently, he adds:

The application of the worker was, as we can now see, a dummination, a recommendation on the cost of the consolidation of the men's solity."

Against the Marxist idea of class struggle, he cites the relationship between soldiers and leaders, which is still more decent and better than the relationship between employers and employees at the time. He writes about this era:

"You want to live and have to fight, but you despise those who take advantage of this need and fight for the labourer."

Even then, Nietzsche thinks nothing of the national bourgeoisie and calls the two opposing parties - the socialist and the national - or whatever their names may be in the various countries of Europe: "worthy of each other", i.e. both unworthy.

It is understandable that such thoughts, initially set down in a reasoned, later in an aphoristically attacking form, bursting into the complacency of the liberal world, were not heard, dismissed with a smile and not taken note of by the people of his time, even when he used prophetic words to point out the entire hypocrisy of the Marxist programme of a paradise, a stateless and classless ideal society:

"Marxism is the allowing state

Never work of all participations from the investigation of the investigation."

This premonition of the Marxist dictatorship, which we see marching against us as a mortal enemy from Moscow, is thus clearly foretold. It is connected with that force which Nietzsche has described as a particularly dangerous one, without wishing to claim that he has now been able to survey the entire structure and psychology of this East in every detail. Nietzsche knows, however, that probably, despite all realisation, the development that has now taken place cannot be reversed in a short time, and therefore he predicts that out of this mixture of liberalism, plutocracy and anarchy the great crisis of Germany and the whole European continent must emerge. He is deeply convinced that this mishmash initiated by the entire liberal movement - whereby he expresses a tireless hatred of Rousseau as the intellectual originator of these currents - must one day lead Europe to the most terrible all-encompassing conflicts, but perhaps then also to harsh tyrannical phenomena. He means:

"The democratisation of Europe is at the same time an involuntary event for the breeding of tyrants - the word understood in every sense, including the most spiritual."

This clear realisation of the most extreme possibilities of development separates Nietzsche as a thinker and active, soldierly philosopher ever more clearly from all the movements of his time. The observation of the artistic confusion of styles and this clear realisation of the attitudeless present, uncritically turned towards all possible contradictory traditions, then unite in him to form a critique of his entire age that is inconceivably sharper and more caustic. As with every great phenomenon, its disciples must not be confronted with the alternative of having to recognise everything or nothing. Rather, Nietzsche, who after decades of being misunderstood and misjudged is now entering the epoch of his general national recognition, will have to bear the same fate as all the other greats: what is contemporary, what is only the result of his personal

It will be possible to forget the fact that Nietzsche's thought can be interpreted as fate, but precisely because of this it cannot be regarded as unconditional, but the actual core and the inexorably correct thrust of his thought will be all the more clearly recognised and revered in the midst of a superficial world. And thus the essence of Friedrich Nietzsche's entire human tragedy has also become comprehensible. He once wrote to a friend:

"You know, no female voice has ever had a profound effect on me, even though I have heard celebrities of all kinds. But I believe that there is a voice for me in the world: I'm looking for it. Where is it?"

He sought this voice of understanding and friendship. He also made a number of friends, but gradually, with an ever sharper realisation of an approaching spiritual and political destiny, his former companions also began to withdraw. The companions of his scholarly years sink into the bourgeois world. Richard Wagner also does not seem to want to take the path forward for him, and in this painful farewell, which is still borne by a distant admiration until the end, the greatest inner crisis in Nietzsche's life comes to light, when he declares that Wagner as an artist, with whom he now believes he must be in spiritual opposition, also alienates those people in Germany who are worth working for. It is precisely in reference to this that he once writes:

"My writings should be so dark and incomprehensible! I thought that when you speak of adversity, those who are in adversity will understand you. That is certainly true: but where are those who are 'in need'?"

And later, faced with the realisation of remaining without an echo, he exclaims:

"A thousand times rather loneliness! And if I have to, perish alone!"

In the end, this is the attitude towards the world, the farewell to all the hopes of his youth, the full awareness of being lonely and, as long as he himself lived, never to be heard.

the. From this loneliness he then speaks of the dark hours when he did not know how to live, when he was seized by a black despair that he had never experienced before. Nevertheless, he knew that he would not be able to escape backwards, to the right or to the left and that he no longer had a choice. It was this logic that kept him going in the face of his fate. It is true that his last writing revealed the ordeal of this state, and he adds a few sentences that we want to remember today as the human legacy of a great loner:

"One should not expect 'nice things' from me now: just as one should not expect a suffering and starving animal to tear its prey to pieces with humour. The years-long lack of a truly refreshing and healing human love, the absurd loneliness that brings with it that almost every remnant of connection with people only becomes a cause of wounds: all this is the worst and has only one right in itself, the right to be necessary."

With this last word, that support has been expressed which has carried Nietzsche through all the hardships and struggles of his life. He was aware that what he was saying was a word for times to come - "for some generation must begin the struggle in which a later one is to triumph" - and that someone had to be there to plant the banner of a new hope and a new faith in spite of everything in the midst of this democratised, neglected world at the end of the 19th century. Many of the best suffered under the Gründerzeit and the materialised era. The term "disenchantment with the Reich", which emerged at the time, was not only a superficial manifestation of economic and social developments, but also a disappointment of the hopes that had pervaded everyone with the proclamation of the German Reich in Versailles. I need not mention the names of those who, embittered and in pain at the rise of the inferior in the stock market and Marxism, of the philistine in politics and society

withdrawn. But no one felt those vibrations of a subterranean, all-threatening resentment as deeply as Friedrich Nietzsche. Even if in some areas one or the other of those prophets of our time may be particularly close to us, as an overall personality and as an unwavering recogniser of an entire epoch that was about to perish, Friedrich Nietzsche was probably the greatest achievement of the German and European intellectual world of his day! For one thing must be borne in mind in all his later confessions and criticisms: if he only suffered wounds in his utterances and therefore took up a fighting position against the direct perpetrators of these wounds, exactly the same thing would have happened if he had lived for a long time in France or England or another state. For everywhere the same phenomena of decline were at work, destroying old, established traditions without creating new ties and establishing new ideals. The whole world paid homage to lower values. The revaluation of these values of a decaying liberal humanity into an ideal of the noble, hard personality, to make greatness possible, that was essentially Nietzsche's teaching, which runs through all his works. If his "will to power" has been particularly emphasised in recent times, then this core has also rightly been singled out as the centre of resistance in his character, from which both the reasoned treatises and the ecstatic proclamations of "Zarathustra" and the harsh attacks of his last writings can be explained. At this point, however, we must protest against those attempts, even by our enemies today, to interpret this view of existence as a kind of commitment to permanent military invasions, for example, of the well-mannered democratic society of the West, as an incarnation of the eternally peace-disturbing "Prussian militarism". Rather, what is being expressed here is a law of life. Every great achievement in the world wants to become significant, every great idea of the state wants to assert itself, every scientific discovery strives for general recognition, every great artistic deed seeks its audience and every thinker expects a public.

echo and hopes for a following. All manifestations of life are characterised by the will to bring to bear in this external world whatever creative power penetrates to the outside world. Competition in all areas has always been the decisive fact of life, and it would take all the hypocrisy of a democratic age to try to persuade the world that all striving for power, as the pirates of the stock exchange and high finance were endeavouring to do, was a beneficial activity for peace. In truth, there have never been institutions of power that have acted as hyenas of life as the heartless capitalists of the international stock exchange, there has never been such a chloroforming of entire peoples as has been done by the all-Jewish press, and never has a power attack on the great culture of a continent been prepared more insidiously than after these influences by the Marxist dictatorship movement. What Nietzsche prophesied, European anarchism, was on its way: November 1918 for Germany, the sinking into the bloody fog of a bestial civil war among many peoples. The Dictate of Versailles was an infernal attempt to force a whole great nation into conditions from which it could only expect despair, anarchy and the splitting up of its existence. Similar dangers travelled through all the other countries. To everyone's astonishment, however, the German spirit of which Nietzsche had spoken at the beginning of his work, full of foreboding and profound hope, awoke: out of the darkness of betrayal, a new, noble idea of life and a world view that honourably acknowledged the laws of this life emerged into the daylight of time. This will to live was not content with contemplating and recognising, but was connected with an instinct-bound will from the roots of the German being and formed itself into a political power against all powers. When this power emerged, already today in world-historical format, all those conspired against it who regarded a sense of pre-eminence as an obstacle to their own, unprecedented existence, who understood that with the emergence of a living, genuine aristocratic and yet nation-forming community of people, the German people would not be able to achieve its goals.

The second declaration of war against a new Europe plunged it into a second world war. The forces that are now wrestling with each other are therefore not new; they are prefigured by the liberal movements of the 19th century, by the over-technisation of a new age, by the unrestrained rule of money and gold, by the monopolisation of the entire intelligence system in Europe by foreign racial hands. The European citizens of culture, who have grown weary in the lulling of their powers of resistance, are now flooded with a long pent-up destructive passion from the East, which, in a strange combination with Jewish-Western Marxism, has shaken not only Germany but the whole European continent to its foundations. If we proudly declare that National Socialist Germany is still the sole defender of this old Europe today, if we can say, perhaps in a somewhat different sense than Nietzsche in the 19th century, but from an even greater depth, that today we are the "good Europeans" is a right that has been honestly fought for historically. At the same time, however, we want to declare with all modesty, so as not to fall into a tartufery so rightly castigated by Nietzsche, that many phenomena of the old age are still noticeable in our country, that some philistines still spread that musty atmosphere, that many a small-scale schematic thinking has not yet achieved the freedom that Nietzsche dreamed of and that we ourselves dream of, that some are in danger of walking around as philistines instead of fists. But despite this realisation, we still feel in our experience the great pull of a new age and know that what has carried us and gives the German nation today the inner will to resist unbendingly is also founded in that deep shaking of the lonely Nietzsche, which carried him through a life full of pain, which often led to despair and accusations in solitude, but was always driven forward at the same time by the absolute necessity of such a dialogue with the future.

In a truly historical sense, the National Socialist movement as a whole stands today before the rest of the world as Nietzsche once stood as an individual before the powers of his time. The struggle between two principles **i s b e i n g** repeated in a tremendous experiment of nature and life. The effectiveness of the whole world of contemptible money-men and their mercenaries, the passion of millions of envious Bolsheviks whipped up by hatred, the fury-laden work of decomposition of the Jewish underworld, all this seemed to be swept away from the heart of Europe by a violent wave of purification shortly before the apparently achieved goal. Now the floods of men and material of these powers are storming against this awakening heart of our continent, against a doctrine and an attitude of destiny that **t e s t s** every slogan of the intellectual struggle and of politics for its true values, i.e. that only finds freedom really worth defending if it is borne by a sense of honour that is only able to welcome liberality to the extent that it can be combined with a noble attitude, i.e. with the rejection of weak restraints. Finally, it welcomes a social justice that embraces all parts of a national community and, in a broader sense, a pan-European community of nations, which, beyond recognising and asserting the justified needs of a single people, also raises this call for an entire continent in order to make the causes of the incitement of the millions against the German Reich and Europe disappear. But if many, many decades ago a few lonely people could only prophetically foresee the coming anarchy and its wars and finally broke down because it was impossible to be heard, today the National Socialist Greater German Reich stands as a block of will of 90 million in the midst of this unholy struggle, fully aware that it is serving the necessity of a great life, the necessity of a European destiny. If today the so-called humanitarian democracies welcome Bolshevism in their midst as belonging to them, even concede to it that they may also call themselves democratic, then the stamp of baseness is on themselves.

on the lower forehead. Whoever describes this destructive rage against all the finer goods of the past and against a newly emerging, creative will as related to himself has ceased to be European in his leadership.

Thus we National Socialists today see the workings of those powers which, coming over from the past, began to become a dangerous force of decomposition in the 19th century and today, in a great, festering process, are leading to the most dreadful disease of the European being, and at the same time, in the midst of this ominous stream, we see some prophets raising their voices demanding that these anti-creative values be broken in order to help realise a new hierarchy of life. Among them we honour today the lonely Friedrich Nietzsche. After stripping away all that is contemporary and all too human, this figure stands beside us spiritually today, and we salute him across the ages as a close relative, as a spiritual brother in the struggle for the rebirth of a great German spirituality, for the shaping of a generous and expansive way of thinking and as the herald of a European unity, as a necessity for the creative life of our old continent, which is today rejuvenating itself in a great revolution.

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