


# Alfred Rosenberg on Friedrich Nietzsche and Ludwig Klages

Juan Sebastián Gómez-Jeria, (Ph.D)<sup>1,2\*</sup> 

<sup>1</sup>Free Researcher, Glowing Neurons Group, CP 8270745, Santiago, Chile

<sup>2</sup>Faculty of Sciences, University of Chile. Las Palmeras 3425, Santiago 7800003, Chile

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\*Corresponding author: Juan Sebastián Gómez-Jeria

Faculty of Sciences, University of Chile, Las Palmeras 3425, Santiago 7800003, Chile

Faculty of Sciences, University of Chile. Las Palmeras 3425, Santiago 7800003, Chile

## Abstract

Here we present the English translation of two texts written by Alfred Rosenberg. The first corresponds to a speech at a memorial service on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Friedrich Nietzsche on October 15, 1944. The second one is entitled 'Shape and Life' and was published during year 1938. This last article presents Rosenberg's views on Ludwig Klages philosophical works.

**Keywords:** Friedrich Nietzsche, Ludwig Klages, Alfred Rosenberg, Democritus, Plato, Augustine, Martin Luther, Friedrich Hegel, Epicurus, Galileo Galilei, Isaac Newton.

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## INTRODUCTION

*'I have been waiting thirty years to write Blueprint (Plomin, 2019). My excuse for not doing it sooner is that more research was needed to document the importance of genetics, and I was busy doing that research. However, in hindsight, I have to admit to another reason: cowardice. It might seem unbelievable today, but thirty years ago it was dangerous professionally to study the genetic origins of differences in people's behavior and to write about it in scientific journals. It could also be dangerous personally to stick your head up above the parapets of academia to talk about these issues in public. Now, the shift in the zeitgeist has made it much easier to write this book'.*

The topics we are dealing with in this series of articles are not inscribed in any list of 'forbidden topics', but reality says that it is better not to cross paths with the silent pack waiting to tear apart some idealist who believes that the love for knowledge and ideas cannot be restricted.

In this article we present two writings by Alfred Rosenberg. The first corresponds to a speech at a memorial service on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Friedrich Nietzsche on October 15, 1944 in Weimar (Rosenberg, 1944). The second one is entitled 'Shape and Life' and was published during year 1938 (Rosenberg, 1938). Both articles are very interesting and

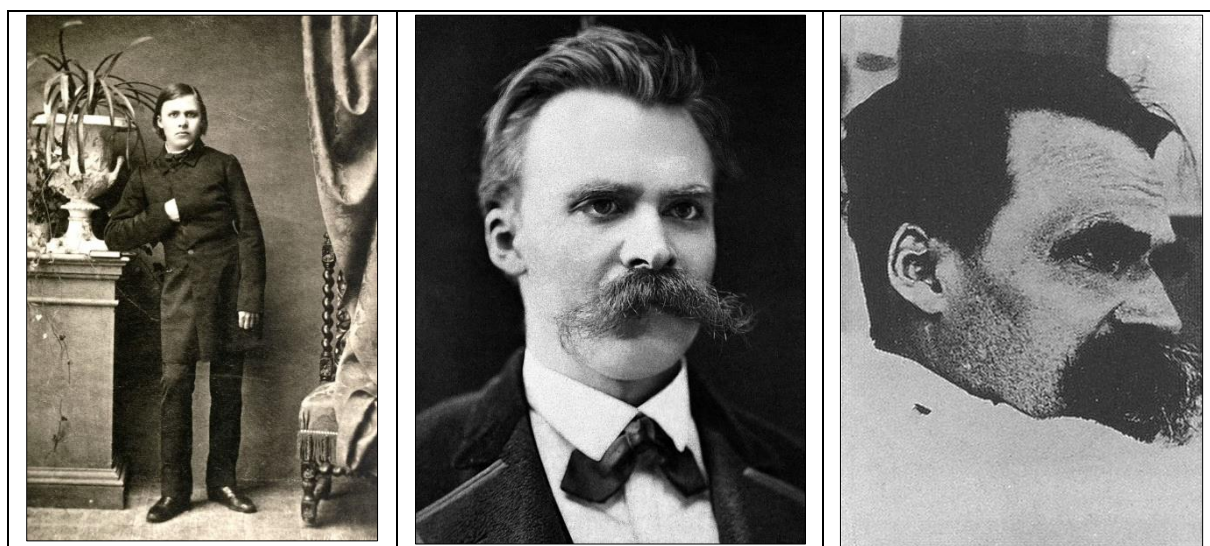
deserve to be analyzed to provide another point of view of the NS philosophy (see (Gómez-Jeria, 2023a, 2023b, 2023c, 2023d, 2023e, 2023f, 2024)). We have worked hard to maintain the spirit of the texts in their original language. We hope that this is only the first translation, and that others will follow.

### Alfred Rosenberg: Friedrich Nietzsche

We have gathered here today to commemorate a great German who once, out of inner protest against his intellectual and political environment, became a revolutionary, had to endure being misunderstood for decades, and is only now ripening towards his historic appreciation in our time. In this discussion of ours today, it cannot be a matter of extensively outlining the development of all of Friedrich Nietzsche's thoughts, nor of examining what has taken shape as a system of his thinking from the manifold, rich efficacy, but rather of commemorating the man himself. *We may do this today with all the more understanding in an overall review of his work, since Nietzsche's work is concerned not so much with the construction and expansion of a philosophical edifice, but essentially always again with the problem of the attitude towards fate.* It was this attitude towards the fate of his surrounding time that forced Nietzsche to take his path from 'The Birth of Tragedy' via the 'Untimely Meditations' to 'Beyond Good and Evil' and to his ever-fiercer onslaught against the whole world of the 19th century. *His personal*

*experience is therefore more closely intertwined with his work than with some other thinkers and creators; indeed, without this experience, his work can hardly really be interpreted at all.* The essential question of his life, which he once uttered: 'Is greatness possible today?' determined his entire thinking and acting. A thinker has hardly ever been confronted with such a question as fateful for himself; for he, who searched for greatness, nobility and refinement of attitude and mentality and for the conditions of a hierarchy of existence that would take these into account, saw around him precisely the decline of such possibilities and the ever-clearer advent of everything that he had felt and valued as the opposite of greatness and refinement. *This question of his to life and its negation by the environment of his time, which is Friedrich Nietzsche's human-intellectual conflict, and it is at the same time the secret of his ruthlessly dissecting analysis and of his prophecy, growing out of the merciless cognition of the situation, of the confrontations of a future world.* Nietzsche was the Prometheus of his

time, whose torch illuminated even the darkest nooks of guarded and yet so often moth-eaten traditions, albeit also a dangerous torch that threatened to set fire beyond that even to some things that were still rightly protected as a bridge from the past to the future. Nietzsche was born into a time of tremendous 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 of the oldest nations and cultures, a century in which all forms and styles of art lay arranged scientifically before the observing eye, an age which he himself termed an epoch of 'style masquerades'. The newest industrial buildings combined with the historical and art-historical knowledge to form a confusing intellectual masquerade. But the 'European mixed man' needed such a costume, because the poorer he became inwardly, the more he believed he needed to adorn himself with the borrowed and learned treasures of the past in order to conceal or disguise this growing emptiness of his.



**Figure 1: Friedrich Nietzsche**

The European nations reformed themselves powerfully amidst this environment in the 19th century. France was only able to bring the storms of the 18th century revolution into tolerable forms at this time, Italy came together into one state after centuries of fragmentation, and Germany experienced a new founding of the Reich as the ostensible fulfillment of a dream long cherished by its best minds. *But this upswing in national politics was connected with the problems of a new industrial age, which liberal ideology was not capable of really mastering.* It taught freedom of the economy, freedom of trade, it lived on in intellectually confined optimism, as if the easements in transport, the exchange of vital goods with other continents, the increase in technical comforts, etc. signified an eternally enduring, even if disturbed by some military-political conflicts, yet fundamentally unstoppable progress of culture and civilization. Art was valued as relaxation or entertainment, people lived in or tried to emulate the old

styles, and only a few grasped that this hoarding of historical and art-historical knowledge did not yet signify any creative power. The emerging social tensions were also seen as disturbing phenomena of 'economic progress', *but people closed their eyes to the fact that the industries pushed millions and ever more new millions down into a stratum that allowed itself to 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 that had once really founded peoples, states and cultures. Dissolution, collapse, wars and revolutions showed themselves to discerning eyes on the horizon. This same glance then had to feel all the lonelier amidst this busy, shortsighted yet presumptuous environment, since warnings and a helping, new presentation of forms were neither heard nor scarcely heard, at any rate not understood, and finally met with no echo at all. To present this development means to narrate Nietzsche's life from within and to make

both his relationship to Germany, to history, to Europe, to religion and to the social question of his time comprehensible. 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 in whom he placed hopes the 'Europeans of the day after tomorrow', the 'first fruits of the twentieth century'. But this insight could not heal the wounds and make forget the hurts that arose over and over again whenever Nietzsche's analysis and vision collided with his present and his cries remained unheard all his life long. Just as he had felt, so had many who hoped for the heroic Germany of 1871 and saw the Bleichröders, then the Ballins and comrades grow big in the shadow of this hard-won Reich. Several had raised their voices, whom we would also classify today among the prophets of our time; some had approached Nietzsche, the others had worked unknown by him: they did not come together into a common spiritual and political power. It was something that was lacking in this age of busy commercial policy in order to lead great peoples to an awareness of themselves, namely a common suffering. Nietzsche also knew this very well when he wrote: 'The discipline of suffering, of great suffering, do you not know that only this discipline has created all enhancements of man so far?' Only such common suffering heightens the tension of the soul, only the sight of a great and general fate strengthens the spirit of invention and bravery in the struggle. Only such suffering can call upon human beings, i.e., an entire community that feels a suffering in common, to great achievements. And this prerequisite for the transformation of his prophecy into a people reflecting upon itself had to be denied to Friedrich Nietzsche.

There are epochs in world history in which thinkers and statesmen, struggling in vain against their time, outline and make possible a new future form without ever being able to participate in its fulfillment themselves. There are other thinkers and statesmen whose thinking and acting can be translated into a great political-revolutionary, ideological movement, where they, marching ahead as it were, also uniting worldview and state policy, fuse them together in a shaping and politically leading way. Nietzsche belongs to the former and has thus had to fully taste the tragedy of such a fate, because he did not, despite wanting to do so, reconcile himself with this fate in humor and composure, but spoke all the more vehemently the less people wanted to hear him, and cried out all the louder for an answering voice the less the echo became. A Wilhelm Raabe, who also had to reject so much about Germany at that time and its whole era that was dangerously heading towards a dark future, still said deliberately: 'The German genius draws a third of its strength from philistinism'. This smiling and wise recognition could not suffice for a Nietzsche who essentially did not see before him the comfortable, tranquil, industrious petty bourgeoisie, but found it long overgrown by a capitalist bourgeoisie, and who saw this upper bourgeoisie developing into ever more exclusive

wealth on the one hand, while on the other hand the number of disenfranchised of this whole era multiplied. Both the 'excessive and the utterly dispossessed' seemed to him to be becoming 'dangerous creatures'. And yet it was precisely this environment through which Nietzsche would have had to pass in order to find a hearing among the people himself. That was the second tragedy of his life, that he, who wanted to appeal to the best sides of the Germanic character in Germany, did not get through to this character, so that finally the intellectual leaders who could have created a bridge here were so dazed by business and technology that they were unwilling to build this connection. *Thus Nietzsche's circle shrank more and more, and in the end there were only a few who were finally able, if not to share, then at least to understand his loneliness.* And this ultimate loneliness was finally a contributing factor in understanding much about the form of Nietzsche's attacks against his time, including the exaggeration of this form. But it is this loneliness and gift of prophecy at the same time that, over and above everything conditioned by time and tradition, places Nietzsche today right in the middle of the great events of this 20th century predicted by him, right in the middle of the tremendous confrontation that the German people has to fight through today, but also right in the middle of that process in which everything that Nietzsche fought against most profoundly as ignoble and base has united itself against a Germany that, overcoming all these debasing forces and phenomena of the 19th century, was preparing to endow the 20th century with a new idea, a new attitude to life, a truly grand German and European perspective on the world.

In this great context, Nietzsche's position in German thought and in European existence moves us especially on this day, in view of the confrontation between two worlds. I know how controversial precisely these two problems of his life are and that it is not difficult to bring seemingly completely contradictory, indeed mutually exclusive quotes for them. But words alone, placed opposite each other, brought in from completely different moods and epochs, are after all only, seen in themselves, fleeting symbols if the human being and his overall attitude in his essence have not been recognized. That which can then be interpreted as struggle and rejection is often precisely not a fighting against an actual core, for example Germanness, but rather a bitter dispute with the contemporary manifestation, and much that appears as hatred is yet essentially only wounded and disappointed love. Only when we have understood this will we also be able to grasp Nietzsche's life correctly, and not only Nietzsche's life, but the lives of so many fighters in Germany. I would only like to remind you of those beautiful words which represent the overture to Friedrich Nietzsche's entire inner rebellion, as it were, when he declared that he thought so highly of the pure and vigorous core of the German character that he ventured to expect from precisely it that violent expulsion of forcibly implanted foreign elements and considered it possible that the

German spirit might reflect upon itself. 'But may it never believe', Nietzsche added at that time, anticipating almost everything, 'that it can fight similar battles without its household gods, without its mythical homeland, without a 'return' of all German things!' 'Let no one believe that the German spirit has forever lost its mythical homeland, for so clearly it still understands the birdsongs that tell tales of that homeland. One day it will awaken, in all the morning freshness of a monstrous sleep: then it will slay dragons, annihilate treacherous dwarves, and awaken Brünnhilde, and Wotan's spear itself will not be able to bar its way!' Here a hope was expressed that literally went to everything, demanded not only a cleansing from all overgrowing foreign plants and their juices but confidently expected it, a true inner rebirth leading back to the ultimate roots from which it longed for the supply of power for a great future. From another side resounds the soldierly attitude in Nietzsche's thought which he repeatedly placed particular emphasis upon. In 1870 he communicated in a letter that he had immediately applied for leave in order to do his duty as a soldier. In 1871 he writes about our army which he found fresh and vigorous, in ancient Germanic health: 'One can build on that: we may hope again! Our German mission is not over yet! I am more courageous than ever: for not everything has yet perished in French-Jewish superficiality and 'elegance' and in the greedy bustle of the 'here-and-now'. There is indeed still bravery, and indeed German bravery, which is something inwardly different from the elan of our unfortunate neighbors'.

And he further writes to the same friend:

'As fighters we have in our time a right to exist only as pioneers for a coming saeculum, whose formation we can perhaps divine in ourselves, namely in our best hours: since these best hours obviously alienate us from the spirit of our time but must somehow have a homeland somewhere; which is why I believe that in these hours we have such a dim sense of what is Coming'.

In these and other passages that inner will to reshape German thought and destiny comes to expression, wanting to speak out and expecting an answer from the best souls of his time, while at the same time already anticipating anxiously that his 'here-and-now' does not want such a renewal at all, but is pleased, even exhausted, with the superficiality of the industrialized metropolitan life. Once again Nietzsche refers to the father of a friend, whose wonderful German spirit, whose Prussian seriousness he reveres, and from whom after all everything was to be hoped for, 'whereas I', he continues, 'am now extremely apprehensive about the 'German culture' floating on top'.

When Nietzsche now comes forward with his works and freely begins a central battle against everything backward, hypocritical and musty, he notices that there are only a few around him who hear him, and that amidst the superficial whirlpool of his time a

following does not want to gather. In 1874 he then determines that he is basically melancholy, and adds: 'I seek nothing further than a little freedom, some real air of life, and defend myself, revolt against the great, unspeakably great unfreedom that clings to me'.

His 'grand frontal attack on all kinds of current German obscurantism' earns him outright rejection, and when he finds no echo, he once again establishes melancholically:

'As for the Germans of today, they do not concern me in the least, which of course is no reason to be angry with them'.

After that, his disappointment and his attacks increase more and more, and from 1888 comes a final echo:

'I modestly suggest that the 'spirit', the so-called 'German spirit', has gone for a walk and is staying somewhere at a summer resort, certainly not in the 'Reich', more likely in Sils Maria...'

To investigate the nature of this German spirit and its position in history and thus to examine the European spirit as well, which moved in similar paths as German thought, which is the analytical investigative approach that Nietzsche now takes for his life. But this penetration and evaluation of the German-European intellectual development is not conducted by him in the style of a detached scholarship; rather, he declares from the outset that he has an aversion to any 'talent without longing' and that where we would find such a thing, in the circle of scholars or also among the so-called educated, it can only evoke 'reluctance and disgust' in us. On the contrary, he advocates the most heartfelt participation in any examination of everything human and, unlike many doctrinaires of his time, holds it necessary that the 'Schopenhauerian man', i.e., the truly profoundly inquiring man, be full in his core of strong consuming fire, far removed from the 'cold and contemptuous neutrality of the so-called scientific man'. This turn is in Nietzsche that fiery power that moved him all his life; such a flame, as he says about himself, he certainly was in his whole existence. In this investigation he knew that the waters of religion had ebbed back leaving bogs and pools behind; the nations separated themselves in the most hostile manner, thirsting to tear each other to pieces, and the sciences, pursued without any moderation and with blindest permissiveness, fragmented themselves and dissolved everything once firmly believed; *the educated classes and states, however, were being swept away by a 'magnificently contemptuous mammon economy'*. The world had never been more world, never poorer in love and goodness than in his time; the educated classes were no longer lighthouses or asylums, and grew more restless, more devoid of thought and love every day. Everything served the 'coming barbarism', including present-day art and science. The educated man had degenerated into the greatest enemy of education, for he wanted to deny away the general sickness, and thus had to obstruct any

physician. But truth, of which precisely in the time of this loveless liberal society so much was preached, had for so many become a rather unassuming being, from which no disorder or deviation on the part of the ruling powers was any longer to be feared. This 'truth' of the liberal era was, according to Nietzsche, a comfortable, cozy creature that would reassure all existing powers again and again that no one should make any trouble on its account. But against inconvenient phenomena an inquisitorial censorship of unbreakable silence had spread. And therefore it was clear that a certain darkening and dullness weighed upon the best personalities of the time, an eternal vexation over the struggle between pretense and honesty fought in their bosoms, a disquiet in trusting themselves, and that was one reason why they became quite incapable of being at the same time signposts and disciplinarians for others.

*Science, once risen so high in its assault against other ages, dethrones itself in many ways, the spirit of a, rootless, journalism presses towards the universities and sometimes calls itself philosophy.* A smooth, clever lecture comes to the lectern, Faust and Nathan the Wise on its lips, 'the language and views of our disgusting literary newspapers', while he himself is convinced: when one speaks of thinkers and philosophers, it is necessary that a philosopher have an 'unbending and rough manliness'. *But this had declined in his era, and one rarely finds real human beings.* This whole current leading more and more towards decline had been the condition for Hölderlin and Kleist to perish on this inadequacy as on their own eccentricity, been unable to endure the climate of this so-called German education, and 'only natures of bronze, like Beethoven, Goethe, Schopenhauer and Wagner, are able to endure'. But precisely such lonely souls need love, need companions before whom they can be as open and simple as before themselves, in whose presence the cramp of concealment and pretense ceases. If one takes these companions away, one produces a growing danger for the development of the German spirit. It is the most terrible antidote against extraordinary human beings to drive them so deeply into themselves that their re-emergence becomes a volcanic eruption every time. And Nietzsche adds the shattering word:

'Yet again and again there is a demigod who can endure living under such terrible conditions, live victoriously; and if you want to hear his lonely songs, then listen to Beethoven's music'.

'How', says Nietzsche in another place, 'is the great productive spirit still supposed to endure it among a people that is no longer secure in its unitary inwardness and that disintegrates into educated people with distorted and seduced inwardness and into uneducated people with inadequate inwardness. How is he supposed to endure it when the unity of popular sentiment was lost, when moreover he knows the very feeling among the one part that calls itself the educated part of the people and claims

a right to the national artistic spirits to be falsified and colored?'

'Perhaps now he would rather bury his treasure, because he feels disgust at being patronizingly claimed by a sect while his heart is full of pity for all'.

Today such a man is no longer met by the people's instinct; it is unnecessary to yearningly stretch out his arms to him. Now there remains for him only to turn his enthusiastic hatred against that inhibiting ban, against the barriers erected in the so-called education of his people, in order to condemn as judge at least what is for him, the living and life-engendering one, annihilation and degradation:

'...thus he exchanges the profound insight into his destiny for the divine pleasure of the creator and helper and ends as a lonely knower, an overstated sage'.

What hovers before Nietzsche in all these insights and attacks he feels in himself as a 'holy necessity'. He says to himself:

'Help must be given here, that higher unity in the nature and soul of a people must restore itself again, that rift between the inner and the outer must disappear again under the hammer blows of distress'.

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

'Thus here my testimony shall stand explicitly that it is German unity in that highest sense which we strive and strive for more fervently than political reunification, the unity of the German spirit and life after the annihilation of the opposition between form and content, inwardness and convention'.

Nietzsche grounds this whole attitude towards the German spirit, which becomes ever sharper, with his observation of the liberal era, incapable in the face of oppressive value systems, which had after all begun to overgrow the Reich founded in a heroic war. He points to the emerging gigantic danger and above all to the biological-political threat from the East, and means:

'It will take not only Indian wars and entanglements in Asia for Europe to be relieved of its greatest danger, but inner upheavals, the breaking up of the Reich into small bodies and above all the introduction of parliamentary idiocy'.

He says he does not wish for this development, but one has to face it and summon up the resolve, as it were, to threaten Europe, namely, to send this Europe a will in order to give this continent a planning calculated for millennia; for the long-drawn-out comedy of its fragmentation into petty states as well as its dynastic and democratic fickleness would have to conclude:

'The time for small politics is past: the next century already brings the struggle for domination of the earth, the compulsion to great politics'.

In view of this overall evaluation as well he still hopes once more for a rigorous German heart, for the German form of skepticism, for a ‘spiritualized Fridericianism’, and he expresses it more than once that today, where in Europe only the herd animal comes to honor and bestows honors, an entirely different human type would have to assume rule in order to reverse this destiny. Thus a profound criticism of the entire social structure sets in, a criticism of the Marxist, even then already falsely termed socialist movement, as it cannot be thought out more consistently and annihilatingly even today. *For him Marxism is the thoroughly thought-out tyranny of the lowliest and dumbest, that is of the superficial, envious and three-quarters actors; it is indeed the conclusion of ‘modern ideas’ and their latent anarchism.* Nietzsche turns above all against the attempt to abolish the concept of property, because abolishing this concept of property had to breed a destructive struggle for existence; for man has no providence or self-sacrifice towards anything that he possesses only temporarily; he deals with it exploitatively, as robber or as dissolute squanderer. And amidst this criticism already arises the indication of a way out: *‘Keep all paths to small fortunes open, but prevent effortless, sudden enrichment; withdraw all branches of transport and trade that favor the accumulation of large fortunes, which is to say, especially money trading, from the hands of private individuals and companies, and regard both those who own too much and those who own nothing as dangerous creatures to the community’.*

And consequently he adds:

*‘The exploitation of the worker was, as we now understand, foolishness, plundering the future, endangering human society’.*

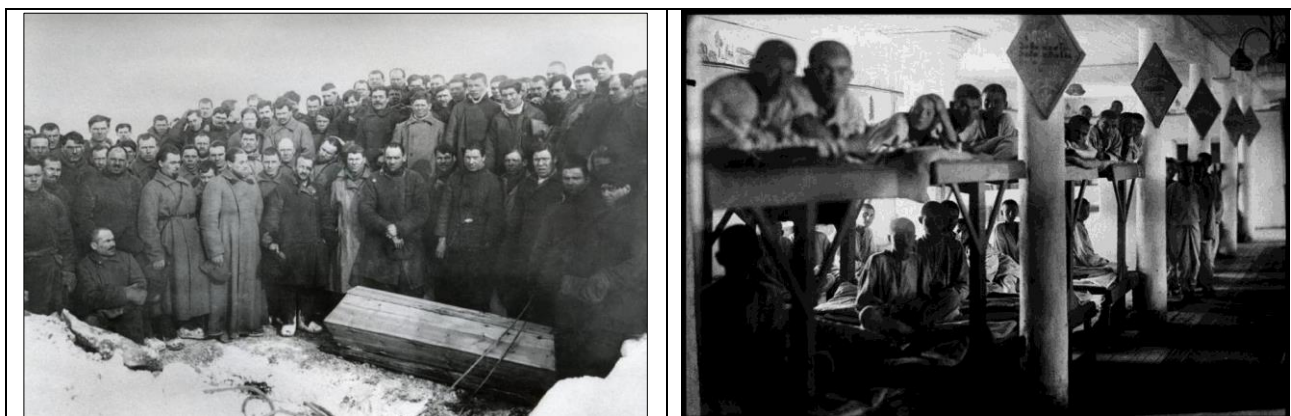
*Against the Marxist idea of the class struggle, he cites the relationship between soldiers and leaders, which is still more decent and better than the relationship at that time between employers and employees.* About this era he writes:

*‘One wants to live and has to sell oneself, but one despises him who exploits this need and buys the worker’.*

Nietzsche thought nothing of the national bourgeoisie even back then 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, laid down at first in a justified, later in an aphoristically aggressive form, falling into the self-contentment of the liberal world, were not heard, dismissed with a smile, and not taken note of by the people of his time, even where he shows the whole hypocrisy of the Marxist program of a paradise, a stateless and class struggle-free ideal society with the prophetic words:

*‘Marxism needs the most obsequious prostration of all citizens before the unconditional state such as has never existed anything similar before’.*



**Figure 2: Worker's Paradise. Left. A miner who died working in a forced labor camp is put to rest. Vaygach Island, USSR. 1931. Right. Young boys in a gulag stare at the cameraman from their beds. Molotov, USSR. Date unspecified.**

With that, the presentiment of the Marxist dictatorship which we see marching against us as mortal enemy from Moscow is clearly predicted. It has allied itself with that force which Nietzsche presented as particularly dangerous, without our wanting to assert that he was then able to survey the whole structure and psychology of that East in every detail. But Nietzsche knows that probably, despite all cognition, the development once initiated cannot be reversed in a short

time, and therefore he predicts that from this mixture of liberalism, plutocracy and anarchy the great crisis of Germany and the whole European continent would have to emerge. He is profoundly convinced that from this hodgepodge initiated by the entire liberal movement, meanwhile expressing an untiring hatred against Rousseau as the intellectual originator of these currents, Europe would someday have to arrive at the most terrible

all-encompassing confrontations, but then perhaps also at severe tyrannical phenomena. He means:

‘The democratization of Europe is at the same time an involuntary event for breeding tyrants, understanding the word in every sense, including the most spiritual’.

This clear cognition of the most extreme developmental possibilities distinguishes Nietzsche as a thinker and active, militantly oriented philosopher ever more clearly from all movements of his time. The finding of the artistic confusion of styles and this clear cognition of the attitude-less present devoted uncritically to all possible contradicting traditions then unite in him into a criticism of his whole era such as cannot be imagined more trenchant and corrosive. As with every great phenomenon, on the part of his disciples one must not be placed before the alternative of having to recognize everything or nothing. Rather, Nietzsche too, who after being misunderstood and unrecognized for decades today enters the epoch of his general national recognition, will have to bear the same destiny as all other greats: what is conditioned by the times, what can only be interpreted from his personal fate, but for that very reason cannot be valued as absolute, will be forgotten; but all the more clearly the actual core and the unrelentingly correctly aimed thrust of his thinking amidst a superficial world will find their profound recognition and reverence. And with that the essence of the whole human tragedy of Friedrich Nietzsche has also become understandable. He writes to a female friend on one occasion:

‘You know, never before has a female voice made a deep impression on me, although I have heard celebrities of all kinds. But I believe that there is a voice for me in the world: I am looking for it. Where is it?’

He was looking for this voice of wanting to understand and friendship. He also made some friends, but gradually, with an ever-sharper realization of an impending spiritual and political fate, his former companions also stepped back. The companions of his scholarly years sink into the bourgeois world. Richard Wagner also does not seem to want to go the way forward, and in this painful yet to the end still distant reverence, the greatest inner crisis in Nietzsche's life comes to light, when he declares that Wagner, as an artist, to whom he now believes he must spiritually oppose, also alienates those people in Germany who are worth working on. He writes about this:

‘My writings should be so dark and incomprehensible! I thought that those who are in distress would understand me if I spoke of distress. That is certainly true: but where are those who are 'in distress'?’

And later he cries out, in view of the realization that he remains without echo:

‘A thousand times rather solitude! And if it must be, 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 never being heard as long as he himself lived. From this solitude he then speaks of the gloomy hours when he would not know how to live, when a black despair seized him as he had not experienced before. Nevertheless, he knows that he will not be able to escape either backwards, right or left, and that he has no choice left. He says that it is this logic that still keeps him upright in the face of his whole destiny. He was aware that what he expressed was a word for coming times, ‘because some generation must begin the struggle in which a later one will be victorious’, that someone had to be there amid this democratized, spiritually neglected world at the end of the 19th century who was still able to plant the flag of a new hope and a new faith. Many of the best suffered under the founding period and the materialized epoch. The word ‘Reich boredom’, which came up at that time, was not only a superficial economic and social development, but at the same time an inner disappointment in those hopes that had permeated everyone with the proclamation of the German Reich in Versailles. *I do not need to name those here who withdrew embittered and in pain over the rise of the inferior in the stock exchange and Marxism, the philistine in politics and society. But no one felt those vibrations of a subterranean, threatening rumble more deeply than Friedrich Nietzsche.* While this or that of those prophets of our time may be particularly close to us in some areas, Friedrich Nietzsche was probably the greatest figure in the German and European intellectual world of his day as an overall personality and as an unswerving recognizer of an entire epoch that was about to perish! Because one thing must be considered with all his later confessions and criticisms: if in his remarks he only suffered wounds and therefore took a fighting stance against the immediate causes of these wounds, exactly the same would have happened if he had lived in France or England or another state for a long time. Because everywhere the same phenomena of decline were at work to decompose old grown traditions without thereby creating new ties and setting up new ideals. The whole world paid homage to base values. The revaluation of the values of a passing liberal humanity into an ideal of the noble, hard personality, making greatness possible, that is essentially Nietzsche's doctrine that runs through all his works. If in recent times his ‘will to power’ has been particularly emphasized, this core has been rightly highlighted as that character resistance center from which both the well-founded treatises and the ecstatic proclamations of ‘Zarathustra’ and the harsh attacks of his last writings can be explained. But at this point we must protest against the attempts of our enemies today to interpret this view of existence as a confession to permanent military attacks, for example, on civilized democratic Western society, so to speak as an incarnation of the eternally peace-disturbing ‘Prussian militarism’. What is expressed here, however, is a law of life.

Every great achievement in the world wants to gain significance, every great state idea wants to prevail, every scientific discovery strives for general recognition, every great artistic act seeks its audience, and every thinker expects an intellectual echo and hopes for a following. The will to bring what breaks outwards in creative power to bear in this outside world runs through all phenomena of life. Competition in all areas has always been the decisive fact of life, and it took the whole hypocrisy of a democratic era, which wanted to persuade the entire pursuit of power in roundabout ways, as the stock market and high finance pirates sought, to be a beneficial peaceful activity of the world. In truth, there have been no power institutions that have had as hyenas of life an effect like the heartless capitalists of the international stock exchanges, never such a chloroformization of entire peoples as has happened through 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 through the Marxist dictatorship movement. What Nietzsche prophesied, European anarchism, was on the way: November 1918 for Germany, sinking into the bloody fog of a bestial civil war among many peoples. *The Versailles Dictate was an infernal attempt to force an entire great people into conditions from which it could only expect despair, anarchy and fragmentation of its existence.* Similar dangers dragged through all the other countries. But to everyone's astonishment, that German spirit awakened, of which Nietzsche had spoken presciently and full of deep hope at the beginning of his work: out of the darkness of betrayal, a new noble idea of life and a world view respectfully acknowledging the laws of this life emerged militantly into the daylight of the times. This will to live is not satisfied with contemplating and recognizing but was connected with an instinct-bound will from the roots of German nature and formed itself into a political power against all forces. When this, already today in world-historical format, appeared, all those conspired against it who understood an example of nobility as an attack against their own ignoble existence, who understood that the appearance of an authentic aristocratic ideal that nevertheless formed a people's community was associated with a danger to the mega-profits of money kings and their henchmen: the second declaration of war against a new Europe plunged it into a second world war. *So the forces that are now struggling with each other have not newly emerged; they are prefigured by the liberal movements of the 19th century, by the over-technicization of a new era, by the unbridled rule of money and gold, by the monopolization of the entire news system in Europe by racially alien hands.* The European cultural citizens, tired of the sedation of their resistance forces, are now overwhelmed by a long-dammed destructive passion from the east, which, in a strange alliance with Jewish-West-leaning Marxism, has shaken not only Germany but the whole European continent to its foundations. When we proudly declare that Nazi Germany alone still defends this old Europe today, when we can perhaps say in a slightly

different sense than Nietzsche in the 19th century, but still from an even greater depth, that we are the 'good Europeans' today, that is a historically honestly won right. At the same time, however, with all modesty, so as not to fall into a tartuffery rightly scourged by Nietzsche, we also want to declare that many phenomena of the old era are still noticeable in us, that some philistines still spread that stuffy atmosphere that Nietzsche suffered so much from, that some small-scale schematic thinking has not yet achieved the freedom of which Nietzsche dreamed and of which we ourselves dream, that some are in danger of being Philistine instead of Faust. But despite this realization, we still feel in our experience the great train of a new era and know that what has carried us and gives the German nation the inner will to inflexible resistance today is also based on that deep shock of the lonely Nietzsche, which carried him through a painful life, which often led to despair and accusations in solitude, but was always at the same time driven forward by the unconditional necessity of such an avowal to the future.

In a truly historical sense, the National Socialist movement as a whole stands before the rest of the world today like Nietzsche once stood as an individual before the powers of his time. *In a monstrous experiment of nature and life, the struggle between two principles is repeating itself.* The efficacy of the whole contemptible world of money men and their mercenaries, the passion whipped up by hatred of millions of envious Bolsheviks, the fury-charged disintegrating work of the Jewish underworld, all this seemed to be washed away shortly before the seemingly attained goal by a tremendous purifying wave from the heart of Europe. Now the human and material floods of these powers are storming against this awakening heart of our continent, against a doctrine and attitude of fate that examines every slogan of the spiritual struggle and politics for its true values, i.e. only considers a freedom really worth defending if it is borne by a sense of honor, can only welcome a liberality as far as it combines with noble attitude, i.e. with the rejection of the sickly breeding of the inferior and socially alien, finally welcomes a social justice that encompasses all parts of a people's community and in the broader sense of an all-European community of peoples, which raises this call for an entire continent beyond recognizing and enforcing the legitimate needs of an individual people, in order to make the causes for whipping up the millions against the German Reich and Europe disappear.

But while a few lonely people decades and decades ago could only prophetically envision the coming anarchy and its wars and ultimately broke under the impossibility of being heard, today the National Socialist Greater German Reich stands as a block of willpower of 90 million in the midst of this tremendous struggle, fully aware that it serves the necessity of a great life here, the necessity of a European destiny. When today's so-called humanitarian democracies welcome Bolshevism in their midst as belonging to them, indeed



allow it to call itself democratic, then the stamp of ignominy has been pressed by them onto their own base foreheads. Whoever calls this destructive fury against all the finer assets of the past and against a newly erupting, creative will be akin to himself has ceased in his leadership to be a European.

This is how we, National Socialists, see the workings of those powers today which, coming from the past, began to become a dangerous force of disintegration in the 19th century and today lead to the most terrible disease of the European essence in a large, suppurating process, and at the same time we see some prophets demandingly raise their voices amidst this fateful currents to break these creation-hostile values in order to help realize a new order of life. Among them we honor the lonely Friedrich Nietzsche today. *After stripping away all that is tied to the times and all too human, this figure stands spiritually beside us today, and we greet him across the times 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 spacious thinking and as a proclaimer of European unity as a necessity for the creative life of our old continent, rejuvenating itself today in a great revolution.*

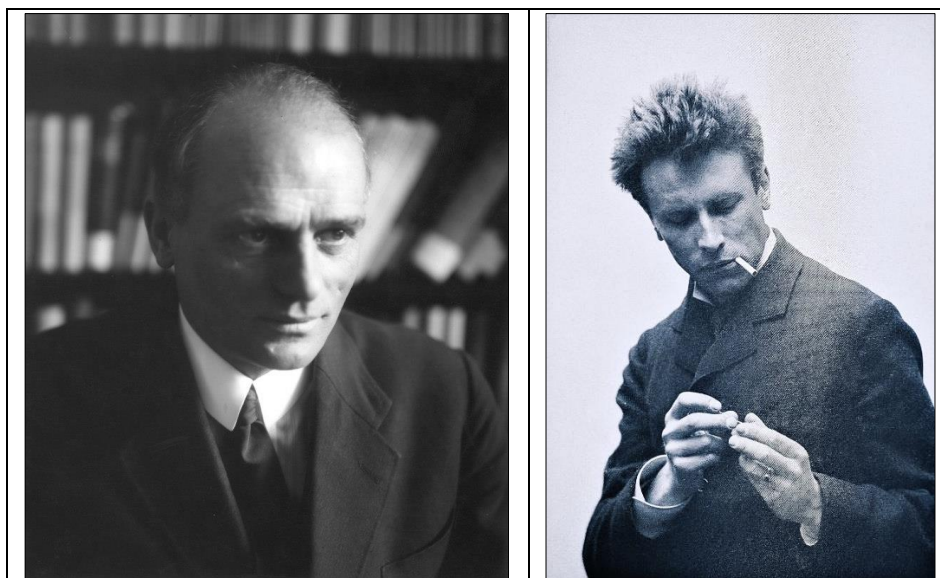
#### Alfred Rosenberg: Shape and Life

Today we all know that the year 1914 not only meant a political-military clash, but that with it and its consequences it represents the collapse of an old world pure and simple. What had previously seemed unshakable in social orders, what had determined political life in ideas, all of that sank back into the past in a short time, characterized as vital, and a tremendous,

dreadful fate confronted all peoples with the secondary questions of a new era. The past two decades thus mean the open beginning of a major worldview shift, long in preparation, the course of which cannot yet be estimated. That is why the searching present, by no means inactive, also readily calls to mind the numerous warners and prophets who had pointed out the fundamental damages in the fabric of life of the German people, and not only the German people, long before 1914. With the same care, the Germany that is victorious today also dares all voices that in the last decade believed they could contribute to the reorganization of our time.

Some groups of religious-philosophical schools recommended themselves as spiritual renewers; the time may come when they will have to be discussed in detail. Others, in turn, endeavor to classify the National Socialist movement in German intellectual history, to look for ‘pioneers’ for it. In addition to great personalities who can undoubtedly be felt to be inwardly related to the direction of March of our time, figures then also grow up, recommended by certain forces with an almost sectarian one-sidedness, that we are by no means able to recognize as our predecessors or spiritual pathbreakers for our struggle. *Conclusive discussion will also have to take place about these efforts at some point.*

*Amidst these attempts, two schools stand out in particular, which claim to have been decisively involved in the foundation or design of National Socialist ideology. One group is the Universalist school of former Vienna professor Othmar Spann [he gave Fascism its first comprehensive philosophical system] and the second is the so-called life philosophy of Ludwig Klages.*



**Figure 3: Left. Prof. Dr. Othmar Spann. Right. Ludwig Klages. PhD in Chemistry, 1902**

In my first lecture in this place, I remarked that in my opinion there is a dichotomy of our epoch in that all universal systems have been hollowed out and are moving towards collapse. By this I mean an attitude

which believes, through abstract assertions and general formulations, to be able to organize life from above. An example of this attempt is undoubtedly the Viennese universalistic school which, while combating and

dispatching individualism and Marxism in an often interesting, scholarly manner, now sought to communicate such a system of thought as an 'organic system' of human social order, that the great cultural spheres differentiated themselves from the highest given, 'humanity'; *the cultural sphere developed the people's sphere, the people's sphere the peoplehood, from there the tribal system, then the homeland sphere and finally the people's member.* From above, the supramundane omnipotent spirit was now supposed, as asserted, to bring about a harmonious social order. In order to rock this world of ideas, which has become somewhat alien to present-day life, a declaration was made that the differentiation cases necessarily followed from the spiritual precedence. These cases opened up best in the empire, while the cultural sphere and humanity indeed had a spiritual priority but appeared less tangible. We are really dealing with a fateful way of thinking of the 20th century, and the closer one looks, the more one concludes that the hierarchy is fundamentally the same as that of individualistic thinking.

Individualism proceeds from an abstract I, then claims that by bringing together a certain number of individuals, the so-called society or peoples form, and that these in turn have the task of pursuing a humanity, a human cultural endeavor, and so on. Thus in one case there is a structuring from the bottom up, in the other case from the top down. As I do not intend to go into detail today, both the one and the other system turn out to be a purely intellectualistic way of looking at things that no longer has anything to do with the basic facts of our life process. *Humanity in itself is not a real and graspable entity, but an abstraction.* Man always confronts us only as race and people, with the definite characteristics of a definite race and ethnicity. According to our belief, the spiritual-historical process of creation consists in an ethnicity growing out of the level of race, the ethnicity engenders the great personality as its most typical blossom, *and all together constitute what we call a cultural sphere.*

This is not, therefore, a matter of a cautiously expanding step ladder, but of recognizing a blood-circulating, constantly renewing life cycle. While it will forever remain incomprehensible how a people, that is a concrete given, can differentiate itself from a humanity that exists only in a pale idea, in our thinking peoplehood is an immediate consequence of an organically given ancestor. Incidentally, however, through the universalistic scholastic method, peoplehood is again subordinated as a secondary part of history to the upper positions, and the universalistic school has been incautious enough to name the 'spirit' as the actual spiritual leader of such a social order.

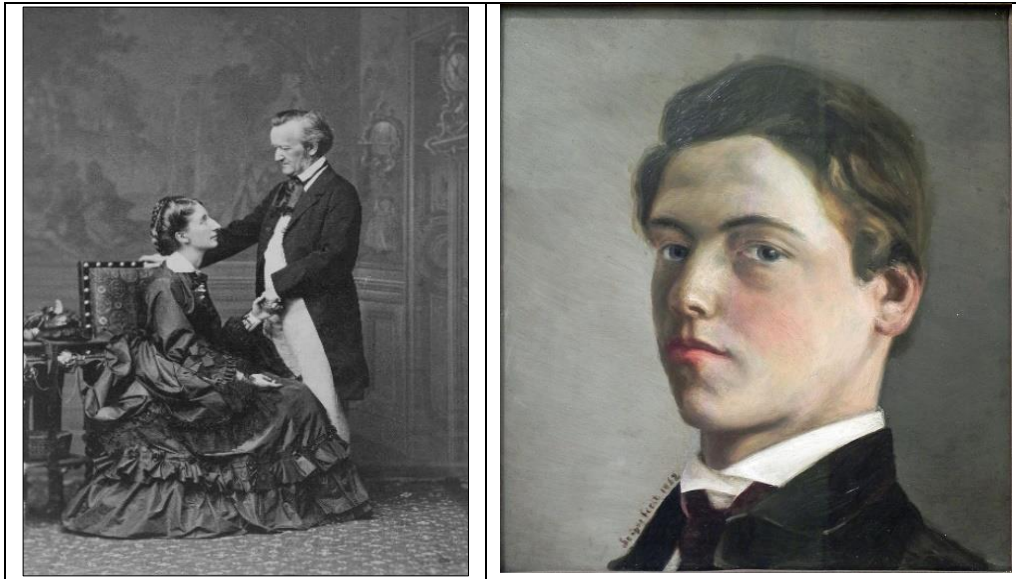
As I have said, I do not intend to discuss this school and its doctrines in detail, but merely cited these

statements by way of introduction, because they seemed appropriate for demonstrating how, in view of the profound upheaval of our time, it is dangerous to introduce very general propositions without any direct tangible context into thought, and from there to portray the so-called life as such and its nature.

The German movement had once searched for a 'philosophy of life', and the school of Ludwig Klages claims to have imparted this philosophy to the world in recent decades. I would like to examine this school more closely today because a group of rather young followers are busily promoting Ludwig Klages as the great German life philosophers and making serious efforts to carry forward these ideas.

I would like to make clear from the outset that this is not about petty criticism or polemics, but rather an examination of the positions Klages himself took in his works, as well as other conclusions that the National Socialist movement, after nearly twenty years of struggle, is now in a position to draw, based on a thorough review of its own principles. *In accordance with these principles, the movement does not seek to silence thinkers and academics through unsubstantiated rejection, but always sees itself as duty-bound to grant German life the greatest possible freedom of choice.* In any confrontation over specific issues, however necessary, it must not, even in matters of principle, seek to obstruct the intellectual and scholarly work of any aspiring individual. The movement assumes that if such a personality devotes the full force of their life to a work, this can never be entirely in vain as regards the future of spiritual life, but rather that German life will then assimilate for itself what accords with it and reject what seems conditioned by foreignness in a work.

Thus Wagner and Leibl, who seem mutually exclusive, and yet art history has assigned both of them the place in the development of German art they created for themselves. Nietzsche believed he had to take a very sharp stance against Richard Wagner. Today, the grandchildren of these two greats will no longer face each other in bitter enmity but be happy to see two powerful militant spirits enter into their German history. *So we also believe we can say in advance that the work of Ludwig Klages already represents an enrichment of German intellectual life today, because here a strong personality has devoted a life to serving this life.* All his essays, which form a battle cry against the loss of soul, will always meet an already inwardly open readership today. Klages' merit, along with others, is to have pointed out over and over again how much the unleashed technology of previous decades raped nature and how the profit mentality, equipped with terrible extermination tools all over the world, sought to annihilate the plant and animal life of the earth.

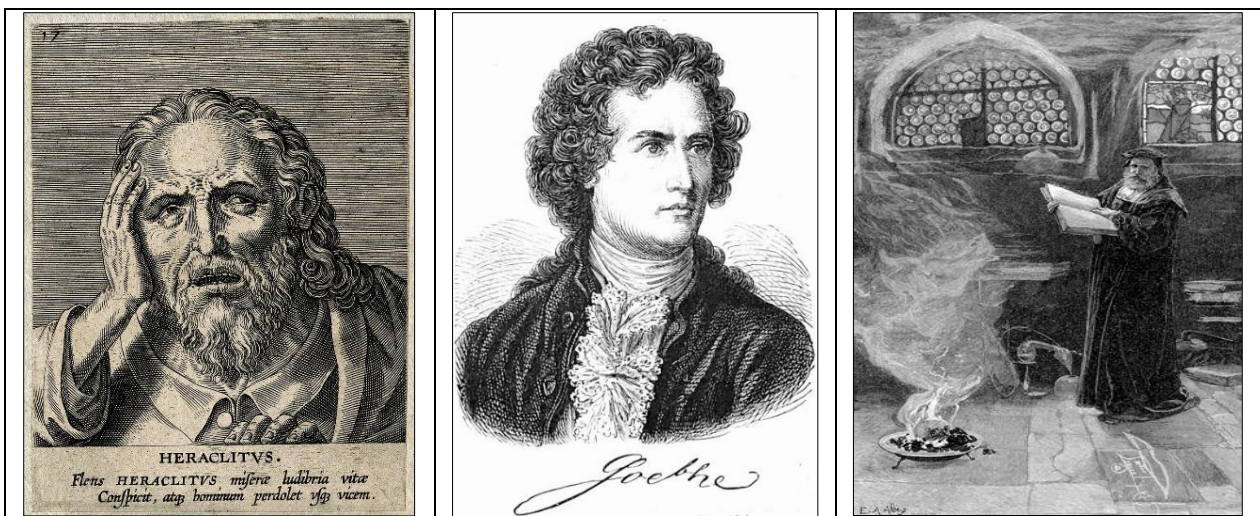


**Figure 4: Left. Richard and Cosima Wagner, photographed in 1872. Right. Wilhelm Leibl. Self-portrait at the age of eighteen**

Furthermore, Klages' entire work has the great merit of helping to support the power of imagination in contrast to abstract thinking by pointing to the experience of an image-saturated intuition, and the beauty of the poetic representation of this experience will probably remain a valuable asset of German literature forever. *With this, the world of inner experience has been effectively highlighted in contrast to external experimentation, and the overall sum of these facts undoubtedly entitles us to greet Klages as a brave human being and ardent defender of nature amidst the inwardly rich figures of our time.*

It is precisely this fact of inner and human sympathy, however, that forces us to examine particularly conscientiously what Klages and his students call the 'biocentric system', with the claim that this represents nothing more and nothing less than the

endpoint and pinnacle of all great thinkers, from Heraclitus via Goethe and Nietzsche to Klages himself, and here we must indeed confess that in our opinion Klages also ranks among two who have attempted to comprehend the world and history on the basis of one principle, who indeed speak of life and only of life, but who have passed by the free life, i.e. the nature and effectiveness of the masses and peoples, to this day. Although there were times when the world was in turmoil and produced spiritual catastrophes, in which glances turned away painfully from the sad present and looked out for a golden age. This age would then have been equipped with the most magnificent humanity, with the great innocence of unspoiled nature, with lavish richness of soul. *Then, it was said, the collapse of this paradisiacal state occurred at some point, combined with the demand for some means, whether to the so-called nature or to this very paradisiacal idyll described.*



**Figure 5: Left. Heraclitus. Center. Goethe. Right. Faust.**

This escape from the present and history also characterizes the starting point of Klages' philosophy and the attitude of his statements. *For Klages, inner experience is the oasis, and the true meaning of this life is to capture and renew for a long time the so-called world of images.*

According to Klages, the 'more archetypal primal men' live without interruption from the life stream of the blood, who behold the images of this world inwardly.

*In the face of the power of nature, of the sinking sunset glow, man forgets himself, so to speak; depersonalizes himself in the highest intensification of life.* In ever new colors, Klages now paints this golden epoch over the course of a long life, which he calls the Image Age, seeks testimony from Antiquity literature for this Dionysian state and finds therein that at some point the expulsion from the soul's paradise by a principle, a non-spatio-temporal principle, namely 'the mind' broke into this idyll, contrary to a group of Klages students who today seek to trivialize this basic postulate of their teacher, either because they no longer want to advocate the audacity of this perspective on the problem, or because they hope to introduce Klages into National Socialist thinking through this trivialization. We must protect Klages himself against this method. *He has devoted an entire life to one idea, and nothing entitles us to trivialize this belief that determined his existence, perhaps by explaining that Klages only meant the 'absolute mind' and would surely have had nothing against recognizing a creative, ordering mind.* Rather, the Klages work stands and falls with this postulate of his that the downfall of mankind consisted in the fact that a principle aimed at the desire for power, legality and dictates of reason broke into its ecstatic, imagery-rich, flowing life rhythms, and that this resulted in what Klages repeatedly calls 'world history'. Klages states unambiguously in one place:

'The history of mankind now shows us in man and only in man the struggle 'to the knife' between the all-pervading life and an extra-spatio-temporal power which wants to split the poles and thereby destroy: to disembody the body, to disembody the soul: it is called the mind... According to the dual nature of our being, it also makes itself known: through conceptual distinction and purposeful will'. *Thereby the I or the self, the person, would arise.* 'This mask imprinted on us now commands our life: 'Only in having to think and having to act do we still live; only through the I-feeling do we still perceive the voice of the All, from which we were separated'', and decade after decade this mask hardens and grows ever tighter around us'. *After prehistoric mankind of 'ensouled images' follows historic mankind of the 'mind-filled intellect', but after that follows post-historic mankind of merely ostensible vital character.*

'Mankind will be horribly avenged at the moment when it celebrates its ultimate boundless triumph over abused and murdered life; so speaks Cassandra, whose fate it is to be ridiculed as a madwoman by the women who will be butchered tomorrow'. In these lines Klages' entire attitude to life is captured, as well as his fight against the 'logical spirit'. In his last work he speaks of the lacerating spirit as a 'ghostly apparition that can only thrive through abuse'. And to counter all attempts at reconciliation once and for all, he says this spirit represents nothing more than the sum of reason, intellect and will, thus presenting the 'causal factors' of existence. With that, an irreconcilable contradiction is introduced, and a life-and-death struggle championed.

More than 40 years ago I took a personal stance on this philosophical 'doctrine of life' in my work 'On the Substance of Art' and pointed out that this was by no means about a tangible life in the ordinary sense, but about the expression of an experience that certainly cannot be ascribed absolute metaphysical certainty either, that this was thus a product of fantasy. I also said it was fundamentally wrong to present only the earth, night and mother deities as vital and to comprehend the celestial, solar and father myths of the Nordic peoples merely as insubstantial chimera in contrast. To oppose, in the name of a spirited unity and even with presumptuous looks towards pre-Asia, the entire subsequent development of the Aryan peoples, meant a regression to amorphous, racially chaotic and melancholic states that we cannot recognize in any way as exemplary.

The entire teaching necessarily implied a cultural backslide and, with a real immersion in the so-called life or nature, quite certainly in the end a natural pessimism as well, which we would have to recognize as the deepest law of any genuine culture, that the conscious shaping of the vegetative-animalistic aspect of a race constituted the principle. The Germanic human was naturally vitalistic and had defended the laws of his life against all obscurantisms and clutter, and would one day, surrounded by a heap of distorted images, be rediscovered as the greatest parable of inner freedom of form, not to condemn or idolize him together with the elements and methods inextricably linked to him. Rather, the task was to understand, contrary to all sectarian single voices, how to harmonize reason and will with the direction of the emotional-vital current of Germanism.

*I can designate this personally stated view, written over 40 years ago, as still justified even after careful review. I believe that the National Socialist movement will also have to adopt this position in order to defend what it must regard as the foundation of its worldview.* It is therefore necessary to subject Klages' individual postulates and the consequences arising from them to closer scrutiny in order to further substantiate this attitude.

The so-called ‘philosophy of history’, which was taught before the war, assumed that humanity went through certain stages of development; from a primitive life form, through experiences and accumulated knowledge, to a higher level of consciousness, then to cultural creations. It thus claimed, without acknowledging decisive ethnic facts, that one could read the long-vanished spiritual and mental states that characterize present-day cultures off the customs of primitive Africans and South Sea islanders. *This completely unbiological view (which can still be found today in many denominational and liberal books on folklore) must be regarded as obsolete.* But at the beginning of the 19th century, research assumed that the name Pelasgians was the general term for the early Asiatic tribes who were the first to reach Europe. Here they had soon completely forgotten their cultural traditions and religion, but, favored by the influence of the beautiful climate and good soil, they had undergone an entirely natural development under the name of Hellenes and created an inherently understandable culture determined by the educational situation back then (which has now been surpassed everywhere).

What is important in Klages' work is that this insight has passed him by almost without trace. In his work one occasionally comes across references to racial differences, but these are remarks that are entirely isolated. Essentially, his depiction of what appears to him as the only life worth living runs along the lines of that portrayal of ecstatic moments in Greek literature, as if an uninterrupted transition from the Pelasgian to European history were possible. His criticism is directed against Hellenism, which he blames above all for the incursion of the so-called ‘spirit’ that allegedly destroyed the ‘Pelasgian’ life. Whether one wants to call the pre-Homeric heroic age by that term, we could also say that Klages wants to hit precisely Apollonian Greece. That means a head-on attack against everything we understand as Hellenism at all. Klages describes Pelasgians as the ‘oldest stratum of humanity’ and expands this concept by referring to primates and hominids as the last scattered remnants of the former Pelasgian state.

It seems that in his whole life Klages never realized that in order to protect life one can only proceed from the shapes of this life itself and that one cannot simply posit states of intoxication and self-abandonment of the pre-Christian Asian peoples as given prerequisites for the utterances of the life-feeling of the Nordic peoples as well. *We know today that the Greeks did not evolve from Pelasgians and other pre-Asians, but that they were the representatives of a new conquering tribe who militarily subjugated these pre-Asian cultures with their own way of life, their gods, their works and depictions at the expense of these pre-Asians.*

We have already had to deal with this mood once before when Spengler appeared. Spengler also

believed that he recognized inexorable laws of human history that excluded all creative power in times of fulfillment, arguing that high culture ossified technically and then inevitably moved towards decline. Spengler also brought supporting evidence and quotations for his theses from all corners of the world. But when the National Socialist movement emerged, the collapse of the German essence would of course have been inevitable according to his teachings. But the vital forces of resistance in the German people within the German nation were simply stronger than all the prophecies of doom of the prophets of a downfall; even the Jewish ‘Anathema’ was powerless. And it was precisely in the time of the most terrible decline that the epoch of not only politically but essentially and spiritually willed renewal began.

Klages again emphasizes the discontinuity of so-called ‘world history’ vis-à-vis the beautiful prehistoric eras. With the forcible entry of the unscrupulous spirit, disintegration of life itself began for him. For him, too, the prophecy of the downfall of mankind follows from this. In the aforementioned apocalyptic manner, this is clearly articulated; the closer the development progresses, the more rapidly the vital networks decay. *This development must end with the downfall of mankind, which is now the distinctive mark of post-historical man; that is the destiny of modern man, who even before that will have perished due to catastrophes that conclude the historical section of mankind with self-annihilation of humankind.*

For not entirely transparent reasons, Klages inserts a caveat in the midst of these apocalyptic statements that an exception is still to be made for the Germans with this view. In retrospect, in the context of his entire work, he elaborates this again and says that in the context of a system that declares the ways of fate to be absolutely unavoidable, the possibility must unconditionally persist, as an exception like the miracle from the almighty God in the mind of the physician; that the cross-section through the present of world history shows no fact that would give reason for hope, whereas countless facts predict the worst for humankind. ‘And that suffices’, Klages adds, ‘to deter anyone who desires reassurance or who makes uncompromising demands on life. Beyond that, nothing can be given, nor should anyone disturb me with a refutation’. These lines were written in 1932.

At this point, I cannot have the task of wanting to ‘refute’ Klages, as he expected. For it is not us who refute Klages, but the life he invokes itself in the form of Germanic life. We can only say: if the German nation had subjected itself to the mood of decline and his diagnosis, the bestial end of a world epoch over Europe would indeed have come; but precisely because we still have a strongly pulsating life, a vital soul, a tough will and weighing reason (which came together in the figure of one man), therefore Germany, led by a seer-adept, has

spiritually and materially left behind the morally and physically exhausted. After everything, therefore, the question cannot be whether the National Socialist movement professes Klages or stands in opposition to him, but after overcoming a dangerous state of disease there only arises the question of the extent to which Klages and his circle will be able to attune themselves to this new German life or not. We, too, perceived the reversal, of which he speaks with a remnant of illusion, as a miracle, but as a miracle brought about by the strength of our German people's vital faith and not by a cosmic phenomenon, not by the escape of an earth spirit nor even as the result of a certain constellation of the stars. It must remain up to him whether Klages is prepared to acknowledge the miracle of the reversal, of which he speaks with a remnant of illusion, as having occurred here and as having occurred contrary to his prophecy and his world-historical diagnosis or not.

After this brief review of the vital contradictions in Klages' thinking, attention should be drawn to a sick scheme, a philosophical construction that seems capable of provoking extraordinary confusion in our thinking. In his fight against the 'spirit', Klages divides the world into two camps: the biocentric camp, which he believes can accommodate his ideas, and the logocentric camp. An over-zealous follower and very active advocate of Klages has devised a new ancestral series and called the division into logocentric and biocentric 'an infallible aid' for establishing a correct hierarchy of values. He divides world history into a Graeco-Judaic and a Graeco-Germanic part. Proceeding from the assumption that Greek culture was strongly reason-based, that is Apollonian, thus close to the 'spirit' (always conceived as the unity of will, intellect and reason), and believing he has discovered its archetype in Saul, it follows that the Graeco-Judaic attitude, according to this consequential interpretation of Klages' basic concepts, displays the following ancestral lines and stages of development: Democritus, the founder of the mechanistic worldview; Plato, founder of a theory of mind; Paul as a representative of the masculine principle of spirit of Judaism; Plato and Paul come together in Augustine; Martin Luther, who in our eyes is the prototype of the strongest native European instinct, is led into the Graeco-Judaic ancestral series stemming from Democritus. A line leads from Democritus to Epicurus, Galileo and Newton.

Both lines of development then come together in Kant as the alleged castrator of the European soul. Here again efforts are being made to unleash a vehement battle against Kant, with this greatest thinker being crassly insulted in an unparalleled manner by small-time pamphleteers. Kant, whose work clearly aimed at determining the scope and possibilities of reason in contrast to a fantastical lack of criticism, appears here as the progenitor of Calvinism. Lines of development branch out from Kant in two ways, on the materialist side to dialectical materialism via Hegel, Marx and Lenin to

Bolshevism, which presents itself as logocentric with the decay of the soul; on the idealist side, a line leads via Fichte to Schelling and Hegel.

Klages' equation with some life-denying eccentric trends that fight against a so-called mechanistic worldview also brings with it the danger of turning against immediately evident natural laws. For the essence of all science originating from Europe consists precisely in the fact that it did not emerge from the magic and sorcery of the pre-Christian Orient, nor from the purely abstract definitions that rather late Greece indulged in, but from the most intimate natural observation and natural research. This drive to fathom the entire universe, Klages quite unnecessarily mocks the fact that he equates the desire for research with curiosity, has been what drove all researchers, these Europeans did not want to ecstatically behold images, but to explore laws, laws of life, of the blood circulation of creatures, of the inheritance of their traits, the possibilities of depicting their souls. They sought the cosmic laws and symbolically called them gravity, ether and much more besides.

How life and living things cohere evades dogmatic interpretation. However, these self-proclaimed physicists have sought to understand life through life, inner and outer experience, and to reduce the cosmos to mechanics and mathematics; they precisely display the essence of the Germanic explorer, i.e., the essence of the European spirit. And it goes without saying for us that their dispositions and talents must have been latently present in an unfathomable prehistoric era, which emerged in historical epochs, not because the wizardly minds of the pre-Christian Orient were fatefully superseded by the intrusion of a somehow spatially lawless 'spirit'. The spirit did not, as Klages claims, break as an essentially external, cosmic power into a paradisiacal idyll, but is an eternally decisive component of our, I emphasize our, overall life. The will, reason and intellect all belong to the nature of this existence and stand in a specific state of tension with what we call body and with what we call soul. An abstract destructive spirit only emerges where an already racially disunited population no longer fully possesses its vital energies, i.e., where a healthy functioning of body and soul is no longer present. Then, naturally, healthy functioning of will, reason and intellect is no longer possible either. The National Socialist movement has risen up as a protest of a healthy body and soul instinct, as well as a protest of healthy reason and an organically strong will against the constructions of such an abstract cosmopolitan spirit.

We will not allow the reality of our existence to be distorted by fantasies based on prehistoric assumptions. On the contrary, wherever one believes one can justifiably attack the demiurge in his unrestrained dictatorship over body and soul, one can at the same time demonstrate the disease of body and soul. The cut does not go as deep as Klages tries to trace it: on the one hand,

body and soul, which constitute life, and on the other, the spirit as the 'causal factor' of the life process, the will as the motivating force behind this willing, guilt as a consequence of this willing. The concrete life before us is always the unity of events, thanks to a uniformly grasped central experience.

The Asiatic-Pelasgian world order was a distinctly determined unity, which seemed conditioned and constrained by the chthonic and celestial gods and demons, which had a magical ritual character. To elevate this overall situation to creative, formative life, to make it capable of formation and art. And here we stand before the decision whether we do not want to affirm life against the spirit, but whether we relate to events in a Nordic-European or an Asiatic-Pelasgian way. It is already apparent from this how nonsensical it is to want to lump Greeks and Jews together in one concept as 'Graeco-Jewish'.

The God of the Old Testament is not only a thoroughly European principle, but epitomizes Jewish fanaticism opposed to the European spirit. If one wanted to add Klages' system to the prerequisites without which Europeanism could not have evolved as it did, one would have to deplore that precisely Klages created the most beautiful mythical figures and shapes; one would have to deplore that a Copernicus arose who, not like Klages, constructed a worldview contrary to immediate experience; one would, in a word, have to renounce the entire rich heritage of our visual arts and worldview, and Klages' oeuvre is fundamentally just such an anathema.

We want to avoid any misunderstanding that we are in any way concerned with trying to convince Ludwig Klages of the validity of the perspective presented here as opposed to the view he represents. We assume that he will defend his view to the end, and that neither he nor any of his students would appear capable of tracing everything back to mutual understanding, supported by a number of nicely chosen quotations about the Germanic heroic age.

We assume that, like Schopenhauer, he will continue to defend his system to the last and retain his low estimation of life, and we do so in the conviction that in the battle of minds it does not always depend on a theory proving true in all respects. A researcher can be quite wrong in his basic hypothesis, and yet in the search for its confirmation accumulate a tremendous wealth of new insights and experiences. And so, even if decisive points in Klages' view do not take on a formative function for us and do not serve the defense of German life, still so much acute observation and thought remains that, as I said at the very beginning, his life's work will not have been in vain.

*We are far from wanting to refute Klages in any way. We are even convinced that this lecture could significantly increase interest in his work. We want to*

spare the researching mind internal conflicts because we believe that only through inner struggles can an entire coming generation achieve decisive and clear positions.

*We are convinced that in order to preserve its life, the German nation will have to develop a world view that enables its distinctive national character to unfold. It has the duty to pursue the stirrings of this native will in world history everywhere. It has the duty to ensure that the awareness of the works of all our greats will be passed on as a collective legacy so that it can continue to have effect, whereby it is self-evident that, in times of great political struggles, some greats will move to the fore, while in times when artistic genius predominates, other figures will come to stand out.*

Form, the expression of inner and outer form, is the essence, the configured thought, the shaped era, which, if it is organic, is always the overall expression of soul, body, mind and emotion. This is our innermost conviction. This overall attitude, whether instinctive or conscious, has borne our movement. This attitude was, as we can now say, the precondition for the great German renaissance, for the salvation of German life. With it, it was simultaneously a turning point in the history of European peoples, threatened by perils, and the future will show that the National Socialist worldview represents the revolutionary, life-affirming turning point for all the cultures of Europe.

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