

" FRIENDS OF EUROPE " PUBLICATIONS.

No. 36.

OBJECTS :

1. To encourage effective co-operation for the prevention of war and the establishment of peace.
2. To provide accurate information about Nazi Germany for use throughout Great Britain, the British Empire, the U.S.A., Europe and wherever the English tongue is known.

THE "TOTAL" WAR

By

GENERAL LUDENDORFF

with a Foreword

by

General The Hon. Sir Herbert Lawrence

ISSUED BY FRIENDS OF EUROPE,
122, St. STEPHEN'S HOUSE,
WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.1.

NOTE:

General Ludendorff, one of the Commanders in Chief of the German Armies during the late World War, was not content, like so many of his kind, to write his memoirs. His major occupation since the German armies were defeated has been the publication of military, philosophical and religious books, as well as his fortnightly journal "Am heiligen Quell Deutscher Kraft". His ambition, fortified by his talented wife, *Dr. Mathilde Ludendorff*, has been to play the part of a Leader in the military and spiritual re-awakening of the German people. Of all his books, running into some thousands of pages, his latest: "Der totale Krieg" expresses in his most characteristic way his philosophy, his Blood and Race religious outlook, and the military ambitions with which he invests the coming *Reich*.

This pamphlet reproduces the substance of his book.

The writer of the Foreword, *General Sir Herbert Lawrence*, has given a long and distinguished life to his vocation. During the war he rose to be Chief-of-Staff of the British Army, with headquarters in France. Since the peace he served, among many other public duties, on the 1925 Royal Commission on the Coal Industry.

FOREWORD

This book, divided by the author into seven sections, really divides itself into two parts. The first part contains the creed of a mystical dreamer who is suffering from complete disillusionment owing to the collapse of all that he has believed in and worked for. It is the result of years of brooding over the failure in war of the German army and of the high command. The author seeks the cause and finds it in the blind worship of the Christian God whom his forebears have worshipped for eleven-hundred years. He turns in his unhappiness to the heathen gods of the races which have formed the conglomerate known as the "Volk," the Germanic race. He ignores the fact that this "Volk," whose psychology and religious beliefs were in his view the cause of failure in the World War, are a mixed race in whose elements strains of Goth, of Slav, and even of Mongol origin are strangely intermixed. He also ignores the fact that from the time of Charlemagne until 1871 the German race was split in two by religious differences and into a variety of Governments, bitterly hostile to one another. All these elements went to the forming of the German Reich, under Prussian leadership, a Reich which, in this form, was without historic background when it embarked on the great adventure of the World War. The only wonder is that such a formation should have held together for as long a period as it did. There is complete failure on the part of General Ludendorff to realise that the military defeat—which was overwhelming—preceded and was the cause of the psychological defeat, and he deliberately inverts the order of events.

The second part of the book and General Ludendorff's views of the future world war have an interest for all readers. How far they are applicable to the conditions of our own country must be a matter for careful thought; for, in spite of the changes brought about by modern invention, our

position differs fundamentally from that of the continental powers. But there can be no question that, if we are ever again engaged in a world war, the whole nation will be involved and that it is an urgent necessity to organize industrial mobilisation in peace time. No less an authority than Marshal Foch had very strong views on this subject. When he was over here in 1927 he said, in conversation with friends who had worked with him in war, that the real pivot of war would in the future be not in the field but in industry and in the factories. It was there that organization was required. In fact, it was the country that could produce the largest number of warlike machines in the quickest time that would have the advantage. His cardinal point was that the nation whose industry is organized for war and whose manufacturing system is directed to utilize and co-ordinate its war-like industry would be the victorious nation. Ludendorff sees the problem of war from the same point of view, though his general outlook is very different from that of Foch, who wrote, in a considered estimate of Napoleon's career, that Napoleon's final failure was due to forgetfulness of the truth that "above man there is the moral law; and that war is not the highest goal, since above war there is peace." In fact, Ludendorff's work may be summed up as demanding three fundamental requirements for war:

1. The soul of the people must be stirred and inspired as well as disciplined to withstand indefinitely prolonged strain and hardship—the moral factor.
2. Industrial organization must be completely prepared for immediate change over from peace to war production—the material factor.
3. Unity of command—the supreme leader.


One of General Ludendorff's remarks deserves the careful attention of all who dream of dictatorships. He declares that there can be no solidarity in Government which is the result of compulsion from above. A solidarity which is external, obtained by the compulsion of a people, in which the common consciousness of race and life in God has no part, is no solidarity at all such as army and people require in war. It is merely a mechanical phantom, deceptive and dangerous alike for Government and State.

It might be well if General Ludendorff would turn his mind from the thought of how to prepare for war to the idea of how the world war of the future is to be avoided.

To me it seems that the immediate cause of war is economic in its nature and that the true function of all who seek the prosperity of their Fatherland is to work for a better understanding of this fact and to realise that the prosperity of the world must depend upon the solution of economic problems not in favour of one country only, but of as wide a range of countries as possible. It is here that the League of Nations may find its most fruitful sphere of activity and may help to banish the idea of war from the minds of nations and of men.

H. A. LAWRENCE.

March, 1936.



THE "TOTAL" WAR

By

General Ludendorff

It is not often that a General who rises to such eminence as to command for a time the most powerful and aggressive army which the modern world has known, should, at the same time, be a writer of books.

General Ludendorff is an exception.

In addition to large volumes of autobiography and of his military career, he has written a dozen other works dealing mainly with military subjects. It must not be supposed, however, that he has confined himself to questions of military science. In later years he has been increasingly occupied with questions of philosophy and religion. To Jews, on the one hand, with what he calls their "international," and "traitors" within the German Reich, and the Catholic Church and Christianity in general on the other, he attributes the main causes for what he naturally regards as the German disaster of 1918.

He has, therefore, become a propagandist for new thinking and a new religion in Germany. These two negative and bitter lessons of 1914-18 must be learnt as a minimum condition of doing better things for the Fatherland in the future. Germany must get rid of Jews and Jewish thought. Germany must get rid of papal influence and Christianity in general.

The best way in which to get rid of these twin evils in German life, General Ludendorff conceives to be the advocacy of a specifically German religion. In this he is at one with Hitler, Rosenberg and other leaders of the coming Reich. But it is not to them that he owes his main debt. His wife, Dr. Mathilde Ludendorff, is the great architect of the ideas and of the German religion, by means of which the General

sees his way clear to purge the Fatherland from these century-long accumulated poisons, Judah and Christianity, and prepare those moral and religious foundations by means of which alone "Der totale Krieg" can be carried to a successful Nordic issue.

Attention will be drawn in another pamphlet to the remarkable writings of Dr. Mathilde Ludendorff and to the veneration in which she is held by the General as German's religious prophet.

The object of the present study is a faithful representation of the latest book of General Ludendorff himself, which bears the title "Der totale Krieg." The book contains seven sections :

1. The Nature of the "Total" War.
2. Spiritual solidarity of the people—the Basis of "Total" War.
3. Economic life and Total War.
4. Strength and substance of the Military Power.
5. The various sections of Military Power and their uses.
6. The carrying-through of the "Total" War.
7. The Commander-in-Chief.

This progression of thought is preserved in the analysis which follows.

I. THE NATURE OF TOTAL WAR

General Ludendorff begins :

"I will not attempt a theory of war. That lies far from me. I am, as I have so often said, an enemy of theories. War is reality, the most serious reality in the life of a people. This I want to make plain, without repeating the obvious and commonplace. I address myself to the people (*Volk*) in a most intimate way on matters which are strange to them. They must understand the nature of their struggle for life. Fat tomes about war instruction are not necessary to acquire this knowledge. Short, pertinent explanations suffice. This I attempt to do by reference to my personal and most grave experience of war, and I do not do it in any official manner, such as might be supposed abroad." (p. 3).

The General then compares himself with *Clausewitz* and the latter's immortal work on "War." He admits that Clausewitz was right when he wrote that war was an act of force by means of which one State seeks to subject another to its will. To attain this end Clausewitz thinks only

of the destruction of the enemy forces by battles and campaigns.

"This has become the unquestioned basis of the conduct of war, attention to which is a first duty in the conduct of the Total War." (p. 3).

He approves, too, what General Count von Schlieffen wrote on this subject as a foreword to the 1905 edition of Clausewitz.

These references lead him to draw attention to the evolution of the character of war, from wars of Cabinets and Armies, to wars in which the whole of the peoples are involved. Even as late as 1870/1 war was an affair of the Army.

The World-war took on a character totally different from the wars of the preceding 150 years.

"The peoples themselves were drawn into the service of the conduct of war." (p. 5).

Or, as he wrote in his "War Memoirs":

"... Military power and people were one. The world witnessed a people's war in the literal sense of the word." (p. 5).

This helps him to explain what he understands by "Total War."

"The Total War, which is not merely an affair of the contending forces, but which affects the life and soul of each member of the warring peoples, was born, not only through a change of politics in which the lust for power of the Jewish people and the Roman Church were opposed to one another and brought into prominence their effort to weaken the peoples and bleed them dry. There was the further factor of the introduction of conscription... and the evolution of means of war which became ever more destructive." (p. 5).

Since the emergence of this period of Total War, aircraft has been improved, bombs of all kinds, leaflets and other propaganda material can be scattered over a population; broadcasting and other ways of affecting enemy opinion have gained in range and effectiveness. To-day:

"The war zone covers in the true sense of the word the entire territory of those engaged in war. Not only the armies, the peoples themselves are subject to the direct operations of war." (p. 5).

He lays great emphasis on this change in the character of war.

"The nature of Total War makes it plain that it can only be carried through if the whole people thus affected... takes the task upon its shoulders." (p. 6).

Cabinet and Colonial wars, with their mean profit-making motives, belong now to the past.

This fact of the *total* character of war carries profound consequences.

General Ludendorff cites the famous passage of Clausewitz that "war is a continuation of politics by other means" and makes the criticism that Clausewitz overlooked in this formula the importance of the moral and spiritual condition of the people. He shows the implications of this in the political failures of 1914-18.

"In the world-war politics at least ought to have cared for the full vitality of the people and to have served its development and expression. The people ought to have understood that its task was to give in solidarity everything to the army and to itself. In my 'War Memoirs' I have laid down the basis of such a national condition and for the pursuit of such a politics." (p. 8).

He then cites a paragraph from his "War Memoirs" to emphasize how great and indispensable was the need of material, moral and spiritual support from the home-front, the people, if the fighting services were to fulfil their duty, and indicates, in this respect, the many and growing lapses.

"The coming war will make demands on the spiritual, physical and material powers of the people of a more far reaching kind than was the case in the world-war. The dependence of Military Power on the Home Front will be considerably greater... Just as the enemy power—only too consistently—attempted to destroy the spiritual solidarity of the German people, so, in future, in addition to the destruction of the enemy forces, this further objective will be a generally accepted one." (p. 9).

Total war demands the total energy of a people. There is and can be no reservation.

"Politics must be broadened and politics must be changed. They must assume, like Total War, a character of totality." (p. 9).

To this end, he writes:

"As war is the highest tension of a people for self-preservation, so Total Politics in peace-time must be a preparation for this national struggle in war and must consolidate the foundations for this struggle in such strength, so that no severity of war, or measures of the enemy can make headway against these foundations or completely destroy them." (p. 10).

Previous ideas about politics in peace and war time must be abandoned to meet the realities of the new situation.

"All the theories of Clausewitz must be thrown overboard. War and politics serve the self-preservation of the people. War is but the highest expression of the people's will to live (*Lebenswillen*). Hence politics must serve the conduct of war." (p. 10).

He concludes this Section thus :

"The more the peoples win back their race-consciousness, the more the soul of the people is manifested. . . . the clearer will become the perception of these hostile super-state forces, the Jewish people and the Roman Church. . . and the more, consequently, will the people pursue the aims which a Total War lays upon them." (p. 10).

Thus seen, politics and war are the blades of a common pair of scissors, whose service is the preservation of the people (*Volk*).

2. SPIRITUAL SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLE : THE FOUNDATION OF TOTAL WAR.

Military power has its roots in the people :

"As is the physical, economic and spiritual strength of a people, so will be the strength of its military power in a Total War. It is spiritual strength which gives the solidarity to military power and people, which is required in such a war of self-preservation—a war which does not begin and end overnight but can be long and protracted. Spiritual solidarity is in the last resort decisive for the result of a war No State to-day will be lacking in material preparation. It is the spiritual solidarity alone which gives a people power to renew the spiritual strength of the struggling fighting services, to work for it and to remain firm in resistance and confident of victory amid the hardships of war and the actions of the enemy." (p. 11).

He illustrates this thesis by reference to the "Jew", Gambetta, in the war of 1870/71 and attacks German Social Democracy for its betrayal of the war of 1914-18—a favourite device of the Nazi Party. In point of fact, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, with its powerful Trade Union Organization, was, from 1914-18, the most patriotic of all similar organizations in the world.

"In Germany in the world war the Kaiser, people and Army were at first united, notwithstanding the efforts of Social Democracy in the first few days of the war to sabotage the mobilisation Only gradually this poison penetrated the Army via the reservists and those

who went on leave. When I was dismissed on 26th October, 1918, and the Kaiser on the 10th November, left in the lurch by his fighting forces, and on the advice of the Military Command even left Germany, the revolutionary ferment passed over into a Revolution which took from the people and the Army their power of resistance. *The result was military defeat. The war was lost. The old army ceased to exist. The German people was disarmed. All spiritual solidarity was gone.*" (p. 12).

General Ludendorff makes analagous observations about the disaffected in Russia and France and falls back on his favourite thesis of "Jews" and "Roman Church" to explain the situation.

"In Germany the Jews and the Roman Church exploited the social and economic discontents to destroy the solidarity of the people. These forces sought power through the domination of world-finance on the one hand and socialist-communist teachings on the other. They brought the peoples, and hence the Germans, who innocently and full of hope followed after these promises of bliss, into the service of these super-state powers. They were thus brought into servitude and disruption. Again, Judah and Rome took advantage of the situation, enlarged the differences and so led to the complete destruction of the physical, economic and spiritual strength of the people, who were thus led almost completely defenceless and collectivised to disappear either in the Roman Theocratic State or the Jewish World Republic. The separation of the Kaiser from his army, the overthrow of the Kaiser and the destruction of the old army were but means to this end." (p. 13).

He indicates that spiritually-bastardised "intellectuals" were tools in this infamous service of Judah and Rome against the army and the State, as well as occult forces and freemasonry.

General Ludendorff indicates that he did his best from 1914-18 to stem this spiritual disintegration in the Army.

"Ever more clearly the influence of this spiritual destruction made itself felt. At first I laid this to the charge of the hunger-blockade and enemy propaganda. These facts were there. But much more serious were the activities of the representatives of Judah and Rome, who sat hidden in the midst of the people and had their bondsmen in the political-economic and intellectual (*weltanschaulich*) parties and organizations. In the end, these worked in conjunction with the enemy propaganda and became its effective instrument." (p. 15).

This was how spiritual solidarity was undermined in Germany during the late World War, while the Government

Those who wish to pursue this theme further should read General Ludendorff's two books "*Warmongers and Murderers of the People in the last 150 years*" and "*How the World War of 1914 was Made*" in which the General develops a lyrical fervour in his attack on Judah and Rome as the twin villains of the German play.

was helpless, perhaps intentionally, helpless. It was at this stage that

"the integrity of the fighting services went to pieces, notwithstanding the heroic deeds against the enemy which parts of the army still performed. The consequence was that the people were delivered up, disarmed, to the designs of the Jewish people, the Roman Church and the enemy nations." (p. 15).

This sort of history is served up in order to drive home the lessons which it has to teach.

"It is the most urgent duty of every people to see clearly this embittered resistance to its solidarity and the causes of its disintegration, and to take the appropriate steps . . . whereby the solidarity of a people can be ensured. *It is the most urgent duty of the leaders of a Total War to demand solidarity of the people, such as is the duty of a Total Politics.*" (p. 16).

He warns, however, with his eyes on Russia and Italy, against a solidarity which is the result of compulsion from above.

"A solidarity which is external, obtained by the compulsion of a people in which the common consciousness of race and life in God has no part, is no solidarity at all, such as army and people require in war. It is merely a mechanical phantom, deceptive and dangerous alike for Government and State." (p. 17).

With relief he turns from Italy and Russia to Japan in search of an example :

"Quite other is the solidarity of the Japanese people. It is spiritual and has its foundation in the Shinto belief which puts the Japanese under an obligation to serve the Emperor and so preserve community of life with their ancestors. . . . In the union of racial inheritance and belief . . . lies the strength of the Japanese people." (p. 17).

The Japanese model moves him deeply.

"The Christianized peoples are no longer in the happy position of the Japanese nation. They no longer possess a Racial Belief which provides a foundation for the solidarity of Government and People, People and Army, and the entire life of the nation. Christian teaching is an alien body of doctrine which lies in the deepest conflict with our racial inheritance, which kills it, which takes away from the people its racial spiritual solidarity, which renders it defenceless, a point I shall consider in more detail later. Only when driven by necessity do the Jews and the Christian Church allow a people to preserve National values. They cannot entirely destroy the blood. They use these national values, however, to antagonize the peoples against each other. The influence of Christian teaching on the individual in the nation . . . is similarly disastrous in its result. Only the Jewish

people has the right, according to Christian teaching, to live in conformity with its racial peculiarity (Volkstum)." (p. 17).

Deep reflection, a long experience and wide research, especially in the Bible, have laid bare these fundamental truths to the General. The truths are there for all whose eyes are open :

"It is only necessary to read the Bible with clear eyes and not with those which have been darkened by priestly suggestions." (p. 18).

What General Ludendorff emphasizes is that

"the Christian teaching is nothing more than the most suitable kind of propaganda which Judah and Rome could employ in their struggle for the establishment of their World-Republic or a Theocratic State over the collectivised peoples thus robbed of their racial individuality." (p. 18).

He refers to the Jewish God in the Old Testament and shows how this sort of teaching of the Christians

"does away with all racial and national feeling, points to a blessed, eternal life in Paradise as the meaning of our life on earth, as the reward for fulfilling the commands of this *Jahweh*, or alternatively, the eternal punishment of Hell for neglect of his commands." (p. 18).

In this way the priest gets power over the individual soul. Through hope of heaven and fear of hell the priest spreads his influence among individuals in the nation. The poison spreads. It leads to neglect of armaments.

"Hence the Christian dogmas teach that God decides in the individual life. Thus it could come about at the beginning of the war that the peoples making war with their enemies before them could pray for victory to this same *Jahweh* who seeks their subjection to Jewish or priestly domination." (p. 19).

These are the super-State influences which have corroded the life of the nation and set the people against each other. In these ways :

"The Christian teachings have done their work. The collapse of the Christian peoples in the world-war under the influence of the 'discontented' is only too plain. Christian teaching and the shaping of life in accordance with it is the deepest cause of national collapse before the demands of a Total War—the collapse for which Judah and Rome conspire." (p. 19).

The great achievement of Germany in the World War was not due to Christianity.

"We were still a Christian people in the World War, although of numerous Germans this was only nominally true, and we made a great achievement. This was not, however, because we were Christians, but because the awakening of the People's soul (*Volksseele*) washed away the debris which Christian teaching had accumulated, and spoke to the German to quicken him in the struggle for the self-preservation of his people. The failure of the National Soul to respond in the later period of the war shows plainly and clearly in the highly significant experience of war, that Christian teaching is not the doctrine of Faith which can give lasting power to our people, and what is necessary to meet the attack of the 'discontented.' The alien racial character of Christianity cannot give it." (p. 20).

Indeed, the racial awakening was the moving experience of the first World War.

"The four years of resistance of the German Army and People, rendered possible by the victory of Tannenberg and my leadership of the German Army, along with the nation-wide supreme peril and indeed, the world-wide agony leading to Divine realisation in the World War, have led to a Racial Awakening of the German People. Keener than ever returns our racial inheritance and with it the Soul of the People, into our consciousness, and asks for the life preservation of our people and the preservation of God in the Divine revelation of the race (*im arteigenen Gotterleben*), which crowns the racial awakening. This deep, spiritual event has shown to those of our racial inheritance the road they have to go and has quickened their eyes for the spiritual unison of our people and for the recognition of the devastating effect of racial admixture and of alien Belief. *Their eyes are now open to read the Book of History and of Nature, the Book of the Human and the National Soul, as my wife has done and in her works made known the results of her great philosophical knowledge.*" (p. 20).

So, with his feet on all the stops at once of his German organ, he leads up to what is the outstanding contribution of his book :

"The spiritual solidarity of a people—this is and remains the foundation of the conduct of a Total War—is only to be attained by way of the unity of Racial Inheritance and Faith and in the scrupulous observance of the biological and spiritual laws and characteristics of Racial Inheritance. Only when the drive of racial inheritance to lead to and establish a knowledge of God is fulfilled, can the unbreakable solidarity of hitherto Christian Nordic peoples be attained." (pp. 20-21).

This spiritual wisdom of the race, to which Christianity has blinded the German people through the centuries, lies deep in the racial soul. The effect of Christianity has been to paralyse and enslave and hand over the Germans to the domination of Jews and Priests.

"In every Racial inheritance is hidden an unique racial experience of God. The Japanese is quite other than that of the Nordic Race, and hence the solidarity of the peoples of our blood has another foundation than that of the Japanese." (p. 21).

The element of compulsion and occultism which the General finds in the Japanese way of life, would be, he thinks, rejected by the German racial sense, just as it rejects the "liberalism" and excessive "individualism" of the Christian doctrine.

"The German Revelation of God, as recorded in the writings of my wife, shows the high significance of Racial Inheritance and a Racial God-experience for the preservation of the People, for its military capacity which rests upon deep inner spiritual solidarity, and harmonises with them." (p. 21).

This Race religion is not based on promises of a life to come, but on the unshakable knowledge of the Natural Sciences and of the human and National Soul. All that is said can be proved. For the German the People (*Volk*) is a community (*Schicksalsgemeinschaft*) bound together by destiny, which it is his privilege to serve.

"Moral freedom, guaranteed by National Law is the external aspect of the racial God-experience in the fashioning of the life of our people; the basis of individual satisfaction and solidarity of the nation." (p. 22).

The General does not propose to pursue his thoughts further. But he emphasizes :

"Their object is to show what is the foundation of the spiritual solidarity of the German people; to show how it can be attained, and to make plain to the Commander-in-Chief responsible for the conduct of the Total War as well as the Total Politics, the road which has to be trod. Only a people with spiritual life anchored in such a solidarity is capable of facing and enduring the great strain of military demands in every sphere, and the burden of Total War." (p. 22).

He adds :

"Do not imagine you can overlook the importance of God and spiritual experience in shaping and preserving the life of a people. This is the foundation of all. The Jew and the Christian Priests know it. The Christian teachings allowed men and peoples to forget it. The Racial Awakening has given them back this knowledge." (p. 22).

This supreme knowledge is not "abstract" but active indeed, as he will show, even in what concerns

"Discipline and Military training and in the sense of the serious necessities of a Total War." (p. 23).

The knowledge of racial laws will lead to an attack on tobacco and alcohol. They will influence family life and promote large families. Only along this road

"will the immeasurable danger of birth-decline, to which the military power is so sensitive, be overcome. Only in this way will arise a healthy, growing generation which will provide the Army with the numerous and powerful reserves it requires and enable the Total War to be undertaken and carried through." (p. 23).

In this way, too, will be eliminated

"hysterical weaklings of both sexes, who according to Corinthians I, 26-29, are the elect of the citizens in the Christian view, as well as sick occultists who believe in prophecies and oracles from the stars or in a God who decides our destiny" (p. 23).

These, and others, are a danger to the Racial soul.

"We require a people strong spiritually and physically, capable over months and years of an extreme sustained effort against an enemy, to break his will and brave all hardships at the Front and behind it, yea, even in the hands of the enemy; which takes account of every menacing danger, which remains strong amid doubts and the uncertainties inseparable from a long war. The Total War is remorseless. It demands the last ounce of man and woman." (pp. 23-24).

He emphasizes the importance of woman and the contempt in which she has been held by Judah and the Priest, with the consequent degeneration of Peoples:

"The German world conception, which is modelling itself on the German view of God—others I neglect—while recognizing the difference of woman, places her on an equality with man, uses her peculiar qualities not only for the increase of the people but for the strengthening of its life and makes her, alongside man, a powerful preserver of the spiritual solidarity of the people also in war-time . . . Total Politics, which is concerned about the highest results in Total War . . . must take very seriously this position of woman in the nation. . . ." (p. 24).

There will always be, so to say, traitors in one's own camp. For these a firmly established law is the corrective. But law is ineffective to deal with the "discontented" unless it carries the powerful support of spiritual solidarity and consent of the people. The main thing is spiritual preparation and understanding. So careless was this aspect of preparation in the late war that German soldiers went into the war singing a hymn to God of Jewish composition. The problem, in fact, was hardly considered.

"A people which has come of age has a right to the truth of its government in war-time as in peace. . . . Heavy was the revenge of 1914

for not making truthfully known to the people the disaster of the Marne and its military significance." (pp. 26-27).

A great cause of discontent both before and during a war is inadequate attention to industrial conditions. In rounding off these general hints of pitfalls to be avoided and new services to be undertaken in "spiritual preparation," General Ludendorff refers to the good old simpler days of Scharnhorst as a model of the unity of army and people. He refers to his own escutcheon:

"With God for King and Fatherland."

and observes:

"These words did not contain 'Volk.' They were, therefore, not complete." (p. 28).

He goes on:

"In the Total War it is not in the last resort the 'State' but the 'People' who are fighting. . . . The 'people' are the centre of gravity in Total War. The Leadership must reckon with this fact. Total Politics must bring this power of the people into service. . . . Care for these deep racial and spiritual laws will be successful in moulding People, Military Leadership and Politics into a mighty unity and which will make the foundation of the preservation of its life." (p. 28).

3. ECONOMIC LIFE AND TOTAL WAR.

The General, in dealing with economic affairs, as is to be expected from the preceding section, stresses the importance of the human material.

"In the economic sphere fighting forces and people constitute a mighty unity. Total Politics and Total War Leadership cannot learn this too soon in peace-time." (p. 29).

He is mindful of the financial as well as other aspects of this question, and recounts the experiences of 1914-18 to see what lessons can be learned, with the view that:

"Reality is quite different from theory,"

and with the assertion:

"For the World War of 1914 Germany was industrially and financially unprepared." (p. 30).

He gives his version of the German financial situation in 1914 and the financial measures taken during the war. Throughout, his analysis of world-finance is as a function of "Judah-Rome," the intent of which is, including the so-called "Victor-States"

"to bring . . . all peoples . . . into the economic collective of the Jewish World Republic or the Roman theocratic State. . . ." (p. 33).

One way of meeting this super-State power is to make the German State as self-sufficing as possible in all commodities. Currency reforms are possible, to economise gold. Corrupt elements in the population must be treated ruthlessly.

In the provision of materials and care of the population and army in war-time, the late experience has much to teach. He enters into a discussion of food difficulties for man and beast in the late war, and gives an account of what happened in respect of a list of basic and indispensable food commodities—vegetables, peas, beans, coffee, milk, fats, etc.

He then reflects on the equipment of the German military forces in the late war—on land, sea and in the air. Several pages are devoted to the subject of munitions and special attention is drawn to the throttling of munitions' manufacture by financial strictures.

"It can be taken for granted that all armies, quite apart from the perfection of implements of war through war technique, will enter into war with an equipment such as has never before been experienced." (p. 43).

The General underlines the increasing importance of metals, oil and chemicals, and their adequate provision.

"The command of the oil fields of the planet and their exploitation has become an object of world-politics by the U.S.A., England, and Russia, and the Jewish and Roman world-capitalists lying behind them. The provision of motor-power is an iron necessity to all States in the conduct of war." (pp. 44-45).

He makes a general survey of industry, agriculture and the military power, pointing to the necessity of careful co-ordination and the utmost economy of man-power in the first two, so that the military needs may be well served. He has severe things to say about inequality of payment as between 'civilian' and 'soldier' in war-time as a fomenter of discontent. Strict justice here must operate in all national economic regulations.

"Woe! if this is neglected, and fraud and corruption begin to undermine confidence in the genuineness of the compulsory economic measures,

which at best is borne as a restraint by all independent and creative workers." (p. 47).

In concluding this section General Ludendorff points out that neither Clausewitz nor General Count von Schlieffen gave adequate attention either to spiritual or material preparation for Total War. It was only in the World War that spiritual and industrial solidarity behind the fighting forces emerged as foundational and indispensable factors.

To what extent clarity on these matters has been attained in various States the General does not pretend to find an answer.

"Perhaps a majority of States confronted with the problem of the solidarity of the People will find themselves helpless. They do not know what to do with the human soul and the soul of the people. They will solve better the mechanical-organization questions for the equipment of People and fighting services, though harsh reality will present stubborn limitations." (p. 48).

4. STRENGTH AND CONTENT OF THE FIGHTING FORCES.

Objective :

"The task of leadership in Total War is to bring the war to an end as speedily as possible and to ensure, however long it lasts, that no weakening of solidarity of the people . . . shall endanger the issue of the war." (p. 49).

Condition :

"This means, naturally, that at the commencement of a war the entire national power, in a well-trained, well-equipped and well-organized fighting Force is put at the disposal of the war leadership, and not much has to be made good. The fighting power (*Wehrmacht*) for the first, as indeed for every decision, can never be too war-prepared, never be too strong. Victory is always 'with the strong battalions.'" (p. 49).

He complains bitterly about the "inadequate" German preparation of 1914, when only 54 per cent. of potential recruits had actually received military training, and :

"At the outbreak of war 5,500,000 able-bodied men were militarily untrained, and of the rest 600,000 were not put into service. . . . This neglect was not to be made good throughout the subsequent course of the war." (p. 49).

He makes the categorical statement :

"Eight Army Corps more, at the beginning of the war, would have made victory certain." (p. 50).

Let there be no mistake :

" The Total War demands the calling-up of all the able-bodied man to military service from about his twentieth year and to be on call in the trained regiments up to the highest age categories, as well as their incorporation in military serviceable or reserve Unions." (p. 50).

General Ludendorff analyses the condition of the German Army in its various branches in 1914. He writes grave things, too, about the leadership.

" It was an unusually serious factor that the plan of the Supreme Army Command in the West failed, not because of the troops but for reasons of leadership. . . ." (p. 51).

He is greatly impressed by the rapid evolution of mechanical technique during the course of the war itself.

" The human element seemed to be pushed more and more into the background." (p. 53).

Nevertheless, it remains true :

" Both technique and man, or rather man and technique, build up the power of the army." (p. 53).

To keep one's head with a complicated machine and under enemy fire requires, he says :

" a strong soul." (p. 55).

" Total War and its technical instruments—which otherwise remain dead material—places on the warrior unprecedented demands. Too much stress cannot be laid on this." (p. 56).

Hence, once more the importance of spiritual education and the spiritual factor, which finally decides :

" The spiritual qualities of our racial inheritance demand voluntariness—spontaneity, i.e., self-independence in action. The German God-knowledge lays upon the individual the severest tests for the preservation of his people. Examination of the racial inheritance and the corresponding knowledge and peculiar experience of God show an exact fulfilment of the demands which the conflict puts upon the soldier. It is indeed the foundation for the true discipline which gives the indestructible determination of the troops. It is this power, and no Oath, which holds the fighting forces together." (p. 57).

On this point the experience of 10th November, 1918 leaves in his mind no doubt.

" In the war," he says, " I wrote :

" It is the mind which creates the victory." (p. 57).

And he adds :

" To-day I write, when I see in all States the same anxiety for the training and equipment of the fighting services: The strong soul gives the victory—naturally in a strong body. The German God-knowledge gives a strong soul and protects the body." (p. 58).

He has no use for merely mechanical drill and training. How the soul-opportunities were lost in the Old Army is a matter of deep regret to the Commander-in-Chief. He gives points both to the rank and file and the officer, as well as the higher ranks, from the lessons of the past. He wants an officer who can lead, and not one " looking for a career."

" He must succeed not only, I might say, on the military-mechanical plane, in being the leader of his soldiers. He must comprehend their souls and so become their true leader." (p. 61).

The General then sums up his observations under this section :

" The Military arm is no mechanised organization. It is an organism whose life must be healthy. If it gets sick . . . the influences eat into the spiritual solidarity of the people. Number, training and equipment are the outward expression of the strength of the military arm. But it is the spiritual and moral content which give it its strength and which make it really and in the long run, capable of meeting the demands of the Total War." (p. 62).

5. THE CATEGORIES OF MILITARY POWER AND THEIR USE.

Leitmotif :

" The duty of the military arm is to bring down the enemy." (p. 63).

This section discusses the relations of the three services to one another and involves the technical and human question as to how best to achieve this end.

General Ludendorff stresses throughout—

" Leadership in war is reality, no theory." (p. 64).

He belongs to the school which says, in a Continental situation, that whatever the other factor may do, it is the

Army which is the decisive factor. He will have no nonsense about this. He then gives certain particulars about the three services :

" Decision in battle brings decision of the war. The battle is the most significant act of war." (p. 68).

Several pages are devoted to the evolution through the centuries of the implements of war; with a number of truisms, such as that six is more than five. For example :

" Not even the greatest bombardment can bring about the destruction of the enemy. This can only be brought about by attack and storming of the enemy position." (p. 74).

The reader is slowly prepared for the pathos of the lonely Commander-in-Chief, which makes the poetry of the last section.

" Total War demands the decisive struggle and hence remorselessly from the Commander: Attack at the decisive place. I say attack at the decisive place, for in a war on several fronts and on long fronts, the attack cannot be carried through everywhere." (p. 75).

Clearly this is a grave matter.

" The art of commanding, whether on land, sea or in the air, turns on superiority in number and arms . . . finding the enemy's weak spot, making this the point of attack, which turns victory over the enemy into his defeat." (p. 75).

So that there should be no doubt, the General adds :

" That surprise plays a great rôle, is certain." (p. 75).

He then indulges in much shop-talk about tanks and warships :

" It is idle to ask, as was so often done, even by Clausewitz, and possibly by theorists still to-day, whether attack or defence is the stronger form of war, and whether it is not the highest art of war to let the enemy attack and then, when he has exhausted his attack, start the counter-attack." (p. 77).

And so on.

Nevertheless, writes the hero of Tannenberg, however these things may be :

" Attack remains the form of struggle which brings the decisive battles, and that is what matters." (p. 77).

He presents an imposing picture, not unlike a man in charge of an orchestra, of the psychological moments when all three services are getting into full swing. He gives a little play to the air-service :

" In air battles squadrons of aircraft go for each other, supported perhaps by defensive air-cannon of the Army or the Fleet." (p. 79).

And again :

" The aim of all these battles is : destruction of the Enemy." (p. 79).

Here is another portrait which will be dear to the heart of those who survived the last to-and-fro :

" Whatever regulations are made for marches, they are only means to the end. The purpose is the decisive battle and the end is the annihilating victory over the enemy, so as to get the decision of the war." (p. 80).

The General is not without humour :

" Marching columns are sensitive to air attacks ; make a note of it." (p. 80).

He has an insatiable appetite for what is called in the detective story and the novel, ' the great moments ' :

" That successful attack everywhere—on land, water and in the air—must be followed by pursuit, so that the enemy defeat is transformed into flight, is a truth which must be ever again expressed." (p. 81).

He envisages the " *special war in the air* " as being occupied behind the enemy front, attacking key places, industries, etc., and having the enemy civilian population as a general target. Operations will be carried out in closest conjunction with the combined plans of army and fleet. The German population must have prepared for them every conceivable defence, though as he writes :

" It is not possible to protect *every* place." (p. 83).

He offers consolation, however :

" Not every bomb hits its mark, or even any mark at all. However, the equipment of gas-masks is not useless." (p. 83).

The task of the Navy is :

" to cut off imports to the enemy population and the enemy army " (p. 83).

He writes kind words about submarines and dismisses as idle theories the talk of limitation of submarine warfare.

"Submarines and aircraft have changed the character of blockade." (p. 84).

In dealing with franc-tireurs and other practices in war-time, he insists that too much attention need not be paid to established laws and customs.

"Here, too, Power-Politics decides what will pass as 'law and custom.'" (p. 85).

General Ludendorff concludes his analysis of the three-fold military arm in these terms :

"Many-sided is the defensive force and many the forms and modes of its operation in war. Mighty are the battles for decision between force and force with long marches before them and more to follow. With increasing intensity the peoples will be involved. Overnight, peoples and fighting forces can be called to make decisive contributions. At every moment defensive arms and people must be ready to stake their accumulated force in the service of the nation." (p. 86).

6. THE CARRYING THROUGH OF THE TOTAL WAR.

This section opens :

"It is an erroneous opinion if it is accepted that a war must begin with a declaration of war." (p. 87).

He refers to the Chinese war of 1894, the Russo-Japanese war of 1904, and the Boer War as examples to the contrary.

"The unhappy declarations of war of Reichkanzler Bethmann-Hollweg on Russia and France in the August days of 1914, are still in freshest recollection. They were made into stock phrases to strengthen the soul of the enemy peoples and to weaken that of our own. Peoples have no understanding for aggressive wars. They do, however, understand a struggle for their self-preservation. In a declaration of war they easily perceive a will to attack. They do not feel themselves to be menaced. In such words the people's soul does not become alive. Hence among us the word 'menacing war-danger' was the word which brought the people's soul into expression more than did the order of mobilisation. Besides this, the German people saw the German army attack in the West, and the people consequently believed we were engaged in an aggressive war, which was for it the same as a war of conquest. The consequence was that soon the feeling of being obliged to struggle for self-preservation was excluded from the people." (p. 87)

This managing of the People's mind presents a real difficulty to the General, but he easily surmounts it :

"So few can understand—they were not educated in a military sense—that a defensive war as it was forced on us had to be met by attack, if we were not to be smothered. It is the most earnest task of Total Politics and the Commander-in-Chief must see to it that no declaration of war and no defective popular education shall create a position such as produced such extraordinary damage in 1914 and subsequent years to the German People and Military by the declaration of war of that time." (pp. 87-88).

General Ludendorff continues :

"With the decision of a country to make war, begins the mobilisation of the fighting forces, economic life and people in the service of the soldier, who has to conduct the war." (p. 88).

He describes these first preparations, following the decision, known only to those who make it. In a few hours "after the final decision," aircraft in great units, cavalry and motorised units, and so on, will be

"in full war readiness." (p. 89).

Every strategy of prepared speeding-up comes into force for the most rapid, total mobilisation.

In a few hours aircraft must be ready to meet any enemy attack in harbours, ports, boundaries, cities. He comments on the slowness of the British fleet in omitting to bottle-up German harbours in the first days of 1914.

"That the British and French did not use their sea-power against the German Fleet with the object of meeting and destroying it, has been for me one of the incomprehensible errors in the enemy conduct of the war." (p. 90).

The General devotes several pages to considerations of strategy, which is based on a supreme control of all three services, and on the simple principle of striking hard with each in the most decisive places. He attaches great importance to the demonstration of

"Air superiority over the enemy," (p. 96).

In this connection :

"How far aircraft must be used over industrial towns and other enemy territory need not be discussed." (p. 96).

It is not his object to give a detailed description of the unfoldment of the Total War. He is content

"to make some general reflections and leave it to the reader . . . to do his own thinking." (p. 97).

Several pages, dealing mainly with the instruction of the 1914-18 experiences, follow.

When the Total War is well on its way :

"Then it is important that all troops understand the significance of the war for the vital preservation of the immortal people. They should be always reminded of it by whether they can pass beyond the day's trouble to the capacity for heroic action." (p. 100).

As to the general body of the population :

"Strong spiritual solidarity of a people is demanded under such trials, if it is not to suffer hurt. Only the powerful speech of the people's soul in this deadly anguish, and proper influence upon the people, will preserve this solidarity intact. Indeed it can even be deepened in this way." (p. 103).

The time comes when, seeking a decision,

"the bombing squadrons continuously operate in greatest remorselessness, limited only by weather conditions." (p. 104).

Much is made of propaganda. General Ludendorff, still sore about 1914, thinks Germany has a lot of lee-way in this respect to make up.

"Propaganda in the coming Total War will in a similar way try to please the people. Careful study of existing tendencies in the enemy peoples, their hopes, desires, spiritual attitude toward Government and war, is the necessary preparation of effective propaganda." (p. 105).

But the indispensable thing is to get in the knock-out blow. The General tells how he went looking for it in Roumania and other places from 1914-18, and then brings the millions of young German aspirants of Total War to face this sad snag, and with this the Section concludes :

"In place of a war decision by the pure result of battle, the decision came through Revolution, after which came dragging along military decision. Such an issue of the Total War corresponds to the present spiritual mentality of the Peoples. It need not be so. *For a spiritually strong people the decision of war comes alone from victory on the battlefields and the destruction of the enemy*, strong though it still may be in military power and spiritual solidarity. Their catastrophe saves the National will for the self-preservation of the living generation and the new coming ones, banded together in a common anguish of death by a remorseless enemy." (p. 106).

7. THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

After the swan-song and the phoenix rising from the ashes, of the last section, the reader passes into the last, the lyrical passages. They begin :

"The man who with head, will and heart, has to lead the Total War for the preservation of his people is the Commander-in-Chief. Nobody can take from the responsibility with which he is burdened. Whoever conducts a war with somebody else's thoughts, or the will of another, and, so to say, settles the conduct of war between his meals, is no *Feldherr* at all. He just does not belong in this place of severest unique labour, the place of highest individual ability and firmest personal will. No room for gas-bags. Let them beware." (p. 107).

One man must be in charge of the ship.

"The man who is Commander-in-Chief must have first place. Any other way is unhealthy, damaging and a limitation. Only in undisputed control can he maintain unity and give effect to his decisions, which are calculated to bring the enemy down and save the people. This work is all-comprehensive, just as the Total War includes every aspect of life. *In every sphere of life the Feldherr's decision must be final and his will the law*. Whether the man who has to lead the Total War is also really a Commander-in-Chief, the war itself will show. Theorists and arm-chair Philosophers in peace time are far from being Commanders in war time. They fall short, while others first find themselves in war." (p. 107).

He turns to his predecessor :

"*Frederick the Great was absolute Monarch and Commander-in-Chief. The Commander's art found in him its solution*. Since his time doubt has reigned over the Commander question, to the great loss of war-conduct and the people." (p. 107).

This grave question takes him into Prussian history. He also refers to his own experience in the late war to bring out the implications of what is involved in having one, and the right one, in complete and total charge of the Total War. Look at the picture of the third attempt to establish a supreme army command in Germany on 29th August, 1916 :

"The Kaiser was nominally the supreme in command of Army and Navy, General Field-Marshal von Hindenburg Chief of the General Staff of the Army and, so to say, actual Commander-in-Chief, while I shared responsibility for instructions to the Army and conducted the War. In addition there was a Chief of the Admiralty Staff as leader of Naval warfare, an independent Minister of War and completely free from those responsible for the conduct of war and responsible for politics, the *Reichkanzler*. That was a fateful many-headedness." (p. 109).

He uses hard language about this creature. He cuts the knot.

"The *Feldherr* must be the head of the conduct of war." (p. 110).

Again :

"There is no help for it. The position of the *Feldherr* must be as comprehensive as was that of King Frederick the Great." (p. 111).

Under him, the military staff consisting of

"the best heads of the three services propaganda, war technique, industry, politics and those who are knowledgeable of the life of the People." (p. 111).

Again :

"The *Feldherr* and the Supreme Commander give the commands. Staff officers, including the Chiefs, are subordinate to them only and work only according to their instructions." (p. 112).

Thus the General takes us to his Holy of Holies, the source of spiritual solidarity, the German Religion, of the great incarnation of Germany triumphant in war over all, the well-beloved of the German God.

"The *Feldherr* is thrown back on himself. He is alone. No one enters his inner self, however clever and devoted those serving under him may be. . . . He must . . . instinctively, and lightning quick, deal with crises, and accept with joyful responsibility the gravest decisions on which depend the issue of the war and the future of his people. . . ." (pp. 112-113).

These, and many other things

"demand the highest tension of all the power of the *Feldherr*. . . . Every aspect of the fighting forces is his constant concern, as of the life of the people, which, as I showed, are the foundation of Total War, and he must send his penetrating glance deep into it. If it stays but on the surface, the *Feldherr* becomes a plaything in the hands of others. . . . The life of a *Feldherr* is not easy. He leads it in the proud feeling of responsibility of his personality." (p. 113).

The next pages are a moving pageantry of the painting of the lily. A gigantesque portraiture limns the Nordic sky. The General will achieve the unforgettable. He drums his words like regiments along. He writes with his blood. His *Feldherr* of the future shall sing in the veins of the smallest

German child. He is the Christ of his German Religion of Blood and Race !

"The unexpected and incalculable must proceed from the *Feldherr*. For this he was born. Otherwise it is the wrong person. The will-for-victory must stream from him, permeate alike People and Army, and lead them to heroic action." (p. 114).

Those who are under orders to the *Feldherr* must report simple, objective truth. This is not easy.

"Only crystal clarity as to the situation in his own army can enable the *Feldherr* to issue the right instructions." (p. 118).

On the subject of truth, too, he draws on his rich experience of 1914-1918.

The *Feldherr* must be all things to all men, the shuttlecock and the battledore, the door and the window, the ground and the sky. In his spare moments

"Ever and anon will he turn to the people, to see if it is creative, active and resolute, for the defensive force and the preservation of its own life and whether it is sustaining the struggle for its self-preservation in union with the fighting services, with spiritual solidarity." (p. 119).

* * * * *

It is time to conclude. These are the final twenty lines of this Magnum Opus of the old age of Germany's distinguished General and one-time Commander-in-Chief :

"Keenly will the *Feldherr* scan the news of the spiritual condition of the enemy Armies and Peoples. It is plain that with the million armies of the present every soldier cannot be 'literally' destroyed or taken prisoner, however decisive the victories may be. These victories, including the destruction of the economic life of enemy countries and peoples, their blockade, the hindrance of provision through sea forces, the impact of propaganda, are the means to the end : to break the spiritual will of resistance in the enemy people.

The Total War puts endless claims on its leader. A contribution and labour power is exacted of him of such an extent as was never the case in *Feldherren* of earlier days. Yea, not even in the case of Frederick the Great.

Feldherren appear seldom in the life of a people. Whether the leader of the fighting forces in peacetime will be the *Feldherr* of the war, the war itself alone can decide. The *Volk* is only worthy of a *Feldherr* when it puts itself in his service, that is to say, in the service of the Leader of the Total War, which is being waged in its vital interests. In such a case *Feldherr* and *Volk* belong together. If otherwise, the *Feldherr* is wasted on the people." (Sonst—ist der *Feldherr* für das *Volk* zu schade).



In connection with the subject matter of this pamphlet, the attention of readers is drawn to the following Pamphlets in this Series.

- No. 6—The Military Preparedness of German Industry.
- No. 7—Speeches on Germany, with a Foreword by Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., P.C., M.P.
- No. 9—One Year of Hitlerism, by "The Times" Correspondent in Berlin, with a Foreword by Sir Edward Grigg, M.P.
- No. 10—The Military Science of Professor Banse, with a Foreword by Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond.
- No. 14—Hindenburg's "Political Testament."
- No. 16—German Foreign Policy Before the War. The 1907 Memorandum of Sir Eyre Crowe, with a Foreword by Hilaire Belloc.
- No. 17—Education under Hitler, by Vivian Ogilvie, with a Foreword by Dr. G. P. Gooch.
- No. 25—The New Spirit of Military Education by Professor Dr. Ziegler, with a Foreword by Major-General Sir Charles Gwynn, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
- No. 29—Hitler's Thirteen Points. Adolf Hitler.
- No. 30—Hitler's Thirteen Points: A Criticism, by the Rt. Hon. Sir Malcolm Robertson, G.C.M.G., K.B.E.
- No. 32—The German Refugees and The League of Nations, by James G. McDonald, with a Foreword by Viscount Cecil.
- No. 34—Hitler the Man. Adolf Hitler; with a Preface by Mr. Henry W. Nevinson.

Any of the above pamphlets may be had for 3d. each, post free; the above set of twelve pamphlets, 3/- post free.

A specimen copy of the "Monthly Survey of German Publications" will be sent on application.

All communications should be addressed to the Secretary, Friends of Europe, 122, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

*Arthur's Press, Ltd.,
Woodchester,
Stroud,
Glos.*