

12. THE SOCIALIST ROOTS OF NAZISM

All anti-liberal forces are combining against everything that is liberal.

A. Moeller van den Bruck

It is a common mistake to regard National-Socialism as a mere revolt against reason, an irrational movement without intellectual background. If that were so, the movement would be much less dangerous than it is. But nothing could be further from the truth or more misleading. The doctrines of National-Socialism are the culmination of a long evolution of thought, a process in which thinkers who have had great influence far beyond the confines of Germany have taken part. Whatever one may think of the premises from which they started, it cannot be denied that the men who produced the new doctrines were powerful writers who left the impress of their ideas on the whole of European thought. Their system was developed with ruthless consistency. Once one accepts the premises from which it starts, there is no escape from its logic. It is simply collectivism freed from all traces of an individualist tradition which might hamper its realisation.

Though in this development German thinkers have taken the lead, they were by no means alone. Thomas Carlyle and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Auguste Comte and Georges Sorel are as much a part of that continuous development as any Germans. The development of this strand of thought within Germany has been well traced recently by Mr. R. D. Butler in his study of The Roots of National Socialism. But although its persistence there through a hundred and fifty years in almost unchanged and ever-recurring form, which emerges from that study, is rather frightening, it is easy to exaggerate the importance these ideas had in Germany before 1914. They were only one strand of thought among a people then perhaps more varied in its views than any other. And they were on the whole represented by a small minority and held in as great contempt by the majority of Germans as they were in other countries.

What, then, caused these views held by a reactionary minority finally to gain the support of the great majority of Germans and practically the whole of her youth? It was not merely the defeat, the suffering, and the wave of nationalism which led to their success. Still less was the cause, as so many people wish to believe, a capitalist reaction against the advance of socialism. On the contrary, the support which brought these ideas to power came precisely from the socialist camp. It was certainly not through the bourgeoisie, but rather the absence of a strong bourgeoisie, by which they were helped to power.

The doctrines which had guided the ruling elements in Germany for the past generation were not opposed to the socialism in Marxism, but to the liberal elements contained in it, its internationalism and its democracy. And as it became increasingly clear that it was just these elements which formed obstacles to the realisation of socialism, the socialists of the left approached more and more to those of the right. It was the union of the anti-capitalist forces of the right and the left, the fusion of radical and conservative socialism, which drove out from Germany everything that was liberal.

12. 纳粹的社会主义根源

一切反自由的社会力量正在联合起来反对一切形式的自由主义。

亚瑟·缪勒·范·登·布鲁克

把国家社会主义(纳粹)看成仅仅是对理性的反叛,是没有思想背景的非理性运动,是一个普遍的错误。如果真是那样,这个运动就没有现在这么危险了。但是,这远非真相、非常误导人。纳粹学说是一个思想长期发展的巅峰,是一个过程,参与其中的思想家影响巨大,远超德国人参与的范围。无论人们认为其出发前提是什么,无可否认,创造新学说的人是很有影响力的作者,他们的思想在整个欧洲思想史上留下了烙印。其体系持续不断野蛮发展。一旦接受了其开始的前提,就无法逃离其逻辑。它纯粹就是不带任何可能妨碍其成就的个人主义传统痕迹的集体主义。

尽管在其发展中,德国思想家走在前列,但绝不只有他们。托马斯·克莱尔、休斯顿·斯图尔特·张伯伦、奥古斯特·孔德和乔治·索雷尔在其中所起作用不亚于任何德国同行。巴特勒在其研究《国家社会主义的根源》一书中追索了德国国内这股思潮的发展过程。尽管其研究表明这股思潮一百五十年来形式几乎不变、反复出现,相当可怕,但1914年之前其在德国影响容易被夸大。他们过去只是一簇人中的一股思潮,其观点在当时可能比其它观点更多变。并且,就像在其他国家,他们总体上代表了极少数人,为大多数德国人所不屑。

那么,是什么使这种少数反动的人所持有的观点最终获得绝大多数德国人和实际上全部德国青年的支持呢?导致其成功的不仅是民族主义的失败、痛苦和起起伏伏。也不是这么多人愿意相信的那样,源自资本主义对抗社会主义进步的反应。正好相反,使得这些思想得势的恰恰是来自社会主义阵营的支持。肯定不是因为资产阶级,而正是缺乏强有力的资产阶级,助其得势。

过去一代,指导德国统治的学说并不反对马克思主义中的社会主义,而是反对其中的自由主义因素,如国际主义、民主等。并且,当逐渐明晰正是这些因素才构成实现社会主义的障碍时,社会主义右翼越来越左倾。正是反资本主义力量左翼和右翼的联合、激进和保守社会主义的融合把一切形式的自由主义挤出了德国。

The connection between socialism and nationalism in Germany was close from the beginning. It is significant that the most important ancestors of National-Socialism — Fichte, Rodbertus, and Lassall — are at the same time acknowledged fathers of socialism. While theoretical socialism in its Marxist form was directing the German labour movement, the authoritarian and nationalist element receded for a time into the background. But not for long¹. From 1914 onwards there arose from the ranks of Marxist socialism one teacher after another who led, not the conservatives and reactionaries, but the hardworking labourer and idealist youth into the national-socialist fold. It was only thereafter that the tide of nationalist socialism attained major importance and rapidly grew into Hitlerian doctrine. The war hysteria of 1914, which, just because of the German defeat, was never fully cured, is the beginning of the modern development which produced National-Socialism, and it was largely with the assistance of old socialists that it rose during this period.

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Perhaps the first, and in some ways the most characteristic, representative of this development is the late Professor Werner Sombart, whose notorious *Handler und Helden* (Merchants and Heroes) appeared in 1915. Sombart had begun as a Marxian socialist, and as late as 1909 could assert with pride that he had devoted the greater part of his life to fighting for the ideas of Karl Marx. He had done as much as any man to spread socialist ideas and anti-capitalist resentment of varying shades throughout Germany; and if German thought became penetrated with Marxian elements in a way that was true of no other country till the Russian revolution, this was in a large measure due to Sombart. At one time he was regarded as the outstanding representative of the persecuted socialist intelligentsia, unable, because of his radical views, to obtain a University chair. And even after the last war the influence, inside and outside Germany of his work as a historian, which remained Marxist in approach after he had ceased to be a Marxist in politics, was most extensive and is particularly noticeable in the works of many of the English and American planners.

In his war book this old socialist welcomed the "German War" as the inevitable conflict between the commercial civilisation of England and the heroic culture of Germany. His contempt for the "commercial" views of the English people, who had lost all warlike instincts, is unlimited. Nothing is more contemptible in his eyes than the universal striving after the happiness of the individual; and what he describes as the leading maxim of English morals: be just "that it may be well with thee and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the land" is to him "the most infamous maxim which has ever been pronounced by a commercial mind". The "German idea of the state" as formulated by Fichte, Lassalle, and Rodbertus, is that the state is neither founded nor formed by individuals, nor an aggregate of individuals, nor is its purpose to serve any interest of individuals. It is a *Volks-gemeinschaft* in which the individual has no rights but only duties. Claims of the individual are always an outcome of the commercial spirit. "The ideas of 1789"—Liberty, Equality Fraternity—are characteristically commercial ideals which have no other purpose but to secure certain advantages to individuals.

德国社会主义和民族主义的关系从开始就比较近。很值得注意的是，国家社会主义最重要的前辈，费希特、洛贝尔图和拉萨尔，同时被承认是社会主义之父。当马克思主义形式的理论社会主义指导德国劳工运动时，极权主义和民族主义的元素有段时间就退居幕后。但并不久。从 1914 年开始，马克思主义的社会主义队伍中接二连三地出现导师，不是把保守派、反动派，而是把勤劳的劳动人民和理想主义的青年转变成国家社会主义信徒。仅在这之后，国家社会主义才变得很重要，很快成长为希特勒追随者的学说。1914 年战争的歇斯底里，因为德国战败，从未痊愈，从而成了社会主义、民族主义现代发展的开端，导致国家社会主义的产生，它在这个时期的成长很大程度上靠了老一辈社会主义者的辅佐。

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可能这个发展的第一个、某个意义上来说最具特色的代表人物是已故教授维拉·桑巴特，其臭名昭著的《商人与英雄》出版于 1915 年。桑巴特开始是追随马克思的社会主义者，直到 1909 年还能自豪宣称他把他的前半生奉献给了为卡尔·马克思的思想奋斗。他在德国传播社会主义思想和对资本主义的各种仇恨上无人能及；如果说马克思主义元素以直到俄国大革命为止其他国家前所未有的方式深入德国人民的思想，那很大程度上是归功于桑巴特。他一度被认为是被迫害的社会主义知识分子的杰出代表，因其观点偏激，而无法获得大学教职。并且，甚至在二战后，政治上他已经不再是马克思主义者，作为历史学家，他那仍基于马克思主义观点的著作，在德国内外影响范围极其广泛，在很多英美计划主义的著作中尤其显著。

在他那本谈战争的书中，这个老牌社会主义者对“德国战争”表示欢迎，认为是英国的商业文明和德国的英雄式文化之间不可避免的冲突。他对丧失了全部尚武本能的英国人的凡事都是“商业”观念无限蔑视。在他眼里，没什么比大家都追求个人幸福更可鄙的了。他认为办事公正“事事如意，延年益寿”是英国道德的至理名言，这说法对他来说就是“商业思想所宣称最臭名昭著的原则”。费希特、拉萨尔和洛贝尔图所建立的“德国人的国家观”是，国家既非个人建立也非个人组成，也不是所有人的总和，其目的也不是为个人利益服务。国家是人民社会，其中个人没有权利只有义务。个人主义的主张始终都是商业精神的产物。“1789 法国大革命思想”——自由、平等、博爱典型的商业意识形态，除了保护某些个人利益，别无其它目的。

¹ And only partially. In 1892 one of the leaders of the social-democratic party, August Bebel, was able to tell Bismarck that "the Imperial Chancellor can rest assured that German Social Democracy is a sort of preparatory school for militarism" !

Before 1914 all the true German ideals of a heroic life were in deadly danger before the continuous advance of English commercial ideals, English comfort, and English sport. The English people had not only themselves become completely corrupted, every trade unionist being sunk in the "morass of comfort", but they had begun to infect all other peoples. Only the war had helped the Germans to remember that they were really a people of warriors, a people among whom all activities and particularly all economic activities were subordinated to military ends. Sombart knew that the Germans were held in contempt by other people because they regard war as sacred, but he glories in it. To regard war as inhuman and senseless is a product of commercial views. There is a life higher than the individual life, the life of the people and the life of the state, and it is the purpose of the individual to sacrifice himself for that higher life. War is to Sombart the consummation of the heroic view of life, and the war against England is the war against the opposite ideal, the commercial ideal of individual freedom and of English comfort, which in his eyes finds its most contemptible expression in the safety-razors found in the English trenches.

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If Sombart's outburst was at the time too much even for most Germans, another German professor arrived at essentially the same ideas in a more moderate and more scholarly, but for that reason even more effective, form. Professor Johann Plenge was as great an authority on Marx as Sombart. His book on *Marx und Hegel* marks the beginning of the modern Hegel-renaissance among Marxian scholars; and there can be no doubt about the genuinely socialist nature of the convictions with which he started. Among his numerous war publications the most important is a small but at the time widely discussed book with the significant title: 1789 and 1914. *The Symbolic Years in the History of the Political Mind*. It is devoted to the conflict between the "Ideas of 1789", the ideal of freedom, and the "Ideas of 1914", the ideal of organisation. Organisation is to him, as to all socialists who derive their socialism from a crude application of scientific ideals to the problems of society, the essence of socialism. It was, as he rightly emphasises, the root of the socialist movement at its inception in early nineteenth-century France. Marx and Marxism have betrayed this basic idea of socialism by their fanatic but utopian adherence to the abstract idea of freedom. Only now was the idea of organisation again coming into its own, elsewhere, as witnessed by the work of Mr. H. G. Wells (by whose *Future in America* Professor Plenge was profoundly influenced, and whom he describes as one of the outstanding figures of modern socialism), but particularly in Germany, where it is best understood and most fully realised. The war between England and Germany is therefore really a conflict between two opposite principles. The "Economic World War" is the third great epoch of spiritual struggle in modern history. It is of equal importance with the Reformation and the bourgeois revolution of liberty. It is the struggle for the victory of the new forces born out of the advanced economic life of the nineteenth century: socialism and organisation.

Because in the sphere of ideas Germany was the most convinced exponent of all socialist dreams, and in the sphere of reality she was the most powerful architect of the most highly organised economic system. In us is the twentieth century. However the war may end, we are the exemplary people. Our ideas will determine the aims of the life of humanity. World History experiences at present the colossal spectacle that with us a new great ideal of life penetrates to final victory, while at the same time in England one of the World-Historical principles finally collapses.

1914 年以前, 所有真正德国英雄式的生活理想面对英国人的商业意识形态、英国人的舒适生活、英国人的体育运动的不断前进, 处在致命的危险中。不仅仅英国人自己完全腐化, 所有贸易工会会员深陷“舒适的泥潭”, 而且他们还开始影响其他人。只有战争才帮助德国人记起他们真正是战斗民族, 他们所有活动特别是所有经济活动都隶属于战争目的的民族。索巴特知道, 德国人视战争为神圣, 而为其他民族所不屑, 但他却以此为荣。视战争不人道、无意义是商业观念的产物。有一种生命高于个人生命, 那就是民族的生命、国家的生命, 为了这一较高的生命而牺牲自己就是个人的目标。对于索巴特而言, 战争就是英雄式人生观的顶峰, 跟英国的战争就是反敌对意识形态, 也就是个人自由、英式享乐的商业意识形态的战争, 在英国战壕中看到的安全剃须刀, 在他眼里, 就是该意识形态最可鄙的体现。

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如果索巴特的大放厥词在当时甚至在大多数德国人看来有点过的话, 另一位德国教授基本上抱有相同想法, 但形式更温和、更有学者派, 也因此能更有效说服群众。约翰·普伦吉教授是跟索巴特一样研究马克思的大权威。他的书《马克思和恩格斯》标志着马克思主义学者中现代黑格尔思想复兴的开始; 毫无疑问他最初所抱信仰本质上就是社会主义。在他战时发表无数作品中, 最重要的是一本小书, 但在当时引起广泛讨论, 标题醒目, 《1789 和 1914: 政治思想史上标志性的年代》。该书致力于讨论“1789 年的思想”, 即自由的思想, 与“1914 年的思想”, 即有组织的理想, 二者的冲突。组织对于他, 对于那些把自然科学的想法粗糙地应用于社会问题而产生出他们的社会主义的社会主义者来说, 就是社会主义的精髓。正如他自己恰如其分地强调, 在十九世纪初法国, 社会主义运动开始时, 组织的确是社会主义运动的根本。马克思和马克思主义背弃了社会主义这个基本思想, 转而狂热地、理想化地信奉抽象的自由。只到现在组织的概念才在德国之外的地方自成一体, 这一点赫伯特·乔治·威尔斯的著作可以证明(受到威尔斯《美国的未来》的深刻影响, 普伦吉称他是现代社会主义杰出人物); 但特别是在德国, 它被理解得格外透彻、实现得最彻底。英德战争因此真的是两种对立原则的冲突。“经济上的世界大战”是现代历史上思想斗争的第三个纪元。它和宗教改革、资产阶级自由革命同样重要。它是十九世纪进步的经济生活中产生的新生力量, 社会主义和组织, 为争取胜利而进行的斗争。

因为在思想领域, 德国是所有社会主义梦想最忠实的继承者; 在现实领域, 它是最高度组织经济制度最有影响的设计师。二十世纪是我们的世纪。不管战争结果如何, 我们是模范民族。我们的思想将决定人类生活的目的。现在世界历史经历一个壮观景象, 在德国, 伟大的崭新的生活理想正贯穿最后的胜利, 而同时在英国, 世界历史性的基本思想之一最终落幕。

The war economy created in Germany in 1914

is the first realisation of a socialist society and its spirit the first active, and not merely demanding, appearance of a socialist spirit. The needs of the war have established the socialist idea in German economic life, and thus the defence of our nation produced for humanity the idea of 1914, the idea of German organisation, the people's community (Volksgemeinschaft) of national socialism.... Without our really noticing it the whole of our political life in state and industry has risen to a higher stage. State and economic life form a new unity.... The feeling of economic responsibility which characterises the work of the civil servant pervades all private activity.... The new German corporative constitution of economic life [which Professor Plenge admits is not yet ripe or complete] is the highest form of life of the state which has ever been known on earth.

At first Professor Plenge still hoped to reconcile the ideal of liberty and the ideal of organisation, although largely through the complete but voluntary submission of the individual to the whole. But these traces of liberal ideas soon disappear from his writings. By 1918 the union between socialism and ruthless power politics had become complete in his mind. Shortly before the end of the war he exhorted his compatriots in the socialist journal *Die Glocke* in the following manner:

It is high time to recognise the fact that socialism must be power policy, because it is to be organisation. Socialism has to win power: it must never blindly destroy power. And the most important and critical question for socialism in the time of war of peoples is necessarily this: what people is preeminently summoned to power, because it is the exemplary leader in the organisation of peoples?

And he forecast all the ideas which were finally to justify Hitler's New Order:

Just from the point of view of socialism, which is organisation, is not an absolute right of self-determination of the peoples the right of individualistic economic anarchy? Are we willing to grant complete self-determination to the individual in economic life? Consistent socialism can accord to the people a right to incorporation only in accordance with the real distribution of forces historically determined.

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The ideals which Plenge expressed so clearly were especially popular among, and perhaps even derive from, certain circles of German scientists and engineers who, precisely as is now so loudly demanded by their English counterparts, clamoured for the centrally planned organisation of all aspects of life. Leading among these was the famous chemist Wilhelm Ostwald, one of whose pronouncements on this point has achieved a certain celebrity. He is reported to have stated publicly that

Germany wants to organise Europe which up to now still lacks organisation. I will explain to you now Germany's great secret: we, or perhaps the German race, have discovered the significance of organisation. While the other nations still live under the regime of individualism, we have already achieved that of organisation.

1914 年德国创立的战时经济

是社会主义社会的第一个实例，它的精神不仅仅是社会主义精神的严格体现，而且是第一次积极的体现。战争的需要为德国经济生活中带来了社会主义思想，并且保卫我们的国家为人类带来了 1914 的思想，德国的组织的思想，人民的国家社会主义的社会.....不知不觉我们国家、工业中整个政治生活上升到了一个较高的层次。国家和经济生活形成了新的统一.....人民公仆特有的经济责任感渗透到了私人生活的方方面面.....德国经济生活崭新的社团结构（普伦吉教授承认还不够成熟和完善）是世界上迄今为止国家生活的最高形式。

开始普伦吉教授还希望调和自由主义的思想和组织的思想，尽管很大程度上是通过个人对集体完全自愿的服从来调和。但很快这些自由主义思想的痕迹在其作品中消失殆尽。到 1918 年，他思想上就完成社会主义和残酷权力政治的合二为一。一战快要结束前，在社会主义杂志《警钟》中，他如此叮嘱他的同胞：现在正是时候承认社会主义必须是强权政策这个事实，因为社会主义必须是有组织的。社会主义必须赢得权力，绝不可以盲目摧毁权力。并且，民族战争时期社会主义最重要最迫切的问题必然是：应让什么民族优先获得权力？因为他们必须在组织所有民族中起模范带头作用。

他预先指出了那些最终被用来证明希特勒新秩序合理性的所有想法：

仅从社会主义观点也就是组织的观点来看，各民族绝对的自决权利不就是个人主义经济无政府主义的权利吗？经济生活中，我们愿意给个人完全的自决权吗？彻底的社会主义只能在组织中给予各民族与其历史上所享有实际权利相对应的权利。

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普伦吉清楚表达的思想在德国科学家和工程师的某些圈子里尤其受欢迎，也许这个思想就是来自这些圈子，他们正像他们的英国同行现在大声要求的那样，嚷着要一个对生活全面集中计划的组织。他们中带头的是著名化学家威廉·奥斯特瓦尔德，在这一点上他有个宣言获得了相当大的名气。有报道他曾公开声称：

德国想要组织起迄今缺乏组织纪律的欧洲。我现在要告诉你德国的一大秘密：我们，或者德意志民族，发现了组织的重要性。当其他国家还生活在个人主义制度下时，我们的制度已经是组织的了。

Ideas very similar to these were current in the offices of the German raw material dictator, Walter Rathenau, who, although he would have shuddered had he realised the consequences of his totalitarian economics, yet deserves a considerable place in any fuller history of the growth of Nazi ideas. Through his writings he has probably, more than any other man, determined the economic views of the generation which grew up in Germany during and immediately after the last war; and some of his closest collaborators were later to form the backbone of the staff of Goering's Five Year Plan administration. Very similar also was much of the teaching of another former Marxist, Friedrich Naumann, whose *Mitteleuropa* reached probably the greatest circulation of any war book in Germany². But it was left to an active socialist politician, a member of the left wing of the social-democratic party in the Reichstag, to develop these ideas most fully and to spread them far and wide. Paul Lensch had already in earlier books described the war as "the flight of the English bourgeoisie before the advance of socialism", and explained how different were the socialist ideal of freedom and the English conception. But only in his third and most successful war book, his *Three Years of World Revolution*³, were his characteristic ideas, under the influence of Plenge, to achieve full development. Lensch bases his argument on an interesting and in many respects accurate historical account of how the adoption of protection by Bismarck had made possible in Germany a development towards that industrial concentration and cartellisation which, from his Marxist standpoint, represented a higher state of industrial development.

The result of Bismarck's decision of the year 1879 was that Germany took on the role of the revolutionary; that is to say, of a state whose position in relation to the rest of the world is that of a representative of a higher and more advanced economic system. Having realised this, we should perceive that in the present *World Revolution Germany represents the revolutionary, and her greatest antagonist, England, the counter-revolutionary side*. This fact proves how little the constitution of a country, whether it be liberal and republican or monarchic and autocratic, affects the question whether, from the point of view of historical development, that country is to be regarded as liberal or not. Or, to put it more plainly, our conceptions of Liberalism, Democracy, and so forth, are derived from the ideas of English Individualism, according to which a state with a weak government is a liberal state, and every restriction upon the freedom of the individual is conceived as the product of autocracy and militarism.

In Germany, the "historically appointed representative" of this higher form of economic life,

the struggle for socialism has been extraordinarily simplified, since all the prerequisite conditions of Socialism had already become established there. *And hence it was necessarily a vital concern of any socialist party that Germany should triumphantly hold her own against her enemies, and thereby be able to fulfil her historic mission of revolutionising the world*. Hence the war of the Entente against Germany resembled the attempt of the lower bourgeoisie of the pre-capitalistic age to prevent the decline of their own class.

That organisation of Capital [Lensch continues] which began unconsciously before the war, and which during the war has been continued consciously, will be systematically continued after the war. Not through any desire for any arts of organisation nor yet because socialism has been recognised as a higher principle of social development. The classes who are today the practical pioneers of socialism are, in theory, its avowed opponents, or, at any rate, were so up to a short time ago. Socialism is coming, and in fact has to some extent already arrived, since we can no longer live without it.

The only people who still oppose this tendency are the liberals.

现在德国原材料寡头，瓦尔特·拉特瑙的各办公室有非常类似的想法，他本人在任何完整的纳粹思想发迹史上应该有一席之地，尽管如果他认识到他自己极权主义经济学的后果一定会震惊。通过其著作，他很可能奠定了一战时期及战后随即长大的那一代人的经济观点，其作用无人能及；一些他最密切的合作者后来成为戈林的五年计划执行部门的骨干。另一个前马克思主义者，弗里德里希·诺曼的许多教导也很类似，他的《中欧》一书可能是德国战时最畅销书。但是最充分发展这些思想并最广泛传播它的则是德国议会社会民主党左翼成员，活跃的社会主义政治家保罗·伦施。在其早期著作中就把这场战争描述为“英国资产阶级面对社会主义前进的溃退”，并解释了社会主义的自由思想和英国的自由概念怎样的不同。但是，只在其第三本战时著作也是最成功的一本《三年世界大革命》中，他受普伦吉影响形成的特色思想才得以成熟。伦施的观点建立在一个有趣但诸多方面准确的历史记录基础上，这些记录讲述了俾斯麦所采取的保护措施如何使得德国工业集中化、垄断化成为可能，而工业的集中垄断以他马克思主义的立场看来就代表了工业发展的更高级形式。

1879年俾斯麦决定的结果就是德国承担了革命者的角色；那就是说，作为一个国家，在与全世界其他国家的关系中所处的位置，代表了更高级更先进的经济制度。一旦认识到这点，我们应该看出在现在世界革命中，德国代表了革命的一边，而他最大的对手英国则代表了反革命的一边。这个事实说明，一个国家的宪法，无论是自由的、共和的还是君主的、独裁的，从历史发展的观点来看，对一个国家被认为是是否自由的问题影响非常之小，换句话说，说得更直白点，我们自由主义、民主主义等等观念都是从英国个人主义发展而来的，照这个观点，一个政府弱小的国家就是自由主义国家，加诸个人自由上每一项限制都被视作专制、军国主义的产物。

在德国，这个经济生活更高形式“历史指定的代表”国家，

为社会主义奋斗非常简单，因为在那里社会主义所有前提条件都已经具备。因此，各社会主义政党必然忧虑，德国应该会成功地抵御敌人，进而能完成其解放世界的历史使命。协约国对德战争也因此与那些前资本主义时代下层资产阶级企图挽救其阶级衰落的斗争相类似。

【伦施又说】对资本进行组织，战前已经不自觉地开始，战争期间则自觉地继续，战后将系统性地继续发展。这并不是因为期望获得先进的组织管理手段，也不是因为社会主义作为社会发展的更高级原则已获得承认。有些现在实际上是社会主义先锋的阶级，按理说是其死对头，无论如何，不久前还是如此。社会主义已经来临，实际上某种程度上已经来到，因为没有它我们已经无法生活。

仍然反对这个趋势的只有那些自由主义者。

² A good summary of Naumann's views, as characteristic of the German combination of Socialism and Imperialism as any we quote in the text, will be found in R. D. Butler, *The Roots of National Socialism*, 1941, pp. 203-9.

³ Paul Lensch, *Three Years of World Revolution*. Preface by J. E. M., London, 1918. The English translation of this work was made available, still during the last war, by some far-seeing person.

This class of people, who unconsciously reason from English standards, comprises the whole educated German bourgeoisie. Their political notions of "freedom" and "civic right", of constitutionalism and parliamentarianism, are derived from that individualistic conception of the world, of which English Liberalism is a classical embodiment, and which was adopted by the spokesmen of the German bourgeoisie in the 'fifties, 'sixties, and 'seventies of the nineteenth century. But these standards are old-fashioned and shattered, just as old-fashioned English Liberalism has been shattered by this war. What has to be done now is to get rid of these inherited political ideas and to assist the growth of a new conception of State and Society. In this sphere also Socialism must present a conscious and determined opposition to individualism. In this connection it is an astonishing fact that, in the so-called "reactionary" Germany, the working classes have won for themselves a much more solid and powerful position in the life of the state than is the case either in England or in France.

Lensch follows this up with a consideration which again contains much truth and which deserves to be pondered:

Since the Social Democrats, by the aid of this [universal] suffrage, occupied every post which they could obtain in the Reichstag, the State Parliament, the municipal councils, the courts for the settlement of trade disputes, the sick funds, and so forth, they penetrated very deeply into the organism of the state; but the price which they had to pay for this was that the state, in its turn, exercised a profound influence upon the working classes. To be sure, as the result of strenuous socialist labours for fifty years, the state is no longer the same as it was in the year 1867, when universal suffrage first came into operation; but then, Social Democracy, in its turn, is no longer the same as it was at the time. *The state has undergone a process of socialisation, and Social Democracy has undergone a process of nationalisation.*

* * * * *

Plenge and Lensch in turn have provided the leading ideas for the immediate masters of National-Socialism, particularly Oswald Spengler and A. Moeller van den Bruck, to mention only the two best-known names⁴. Opinions may differ in how far the former can be regarded as a socialist. But that in his tract on *Prussianism and Socialism*, which appeared in 1920, he merely gave expression to ideas widely held by German socialists will now be evident. A few specimens of his argument will suffice. "Old Prussian spirit and socialist conviction, which today hate each other with the hatred of brothers, are one and the same." The representatives of Western civilisation in Germany, the German liberals, are "the invisible English army which after the battle of Jena, Napoleon left behind on German soil". To Spengler, men like Hardenberg and Humboldt and all the other liberal reformers were "English". But this "English" spirit will be turned out by the German revolution which began in 1914.

The three last nations of the Occident have aimed at three forms of existence, represented by famous watchwords: Freedom, Equality, Community. They appear in the political forms of liberal Parliamentarianism, social Democracy, and authoritarian socialism.⁵ ... The German, more correctly, Prussian, instinct is: the power belongs to the whole Everyone is given his place. One commands or obeys. This is, since the eighteenth century, authoritarian socialism, essentially illiberal and antidemocratic, in so far as English Liberalism and French Democracy are meant. ... There are in Germany many hated and ill-reputed contrasts, but liberalism alone is contemptible on German soil.

The structure of the English nation is based on the distinction between rich and poor, that of the Prussian on that between command and obedience. The meaning of class distinction is accordingly fundamentally different in the two countries.

After pointing out the essential difference between the English competitive system and the Prussian system of "economic administration", and after showing (consciously following Lensch) how since Bismarck the deliberate organisation of economic activity had progressively assumed more socialist forms, Spengler continues:

In Prussia there existed a real state in the most ambitious meaning of the word. There could be, strictly speaking, no private persons. Everybody who lived within the system that worked with the precision of a clockwork, was in some way a link in it. The conduct of public business could therefore not be in the hands of private people, as is supposed by Parliamentarianism. It was an Amt and the responsible politician was a civil servant, a servant of the whole.

这个阶级的人，不自觉地按照英国标准来思考，包括整个受过教育的德国资产阶级。他们宪政制度、议会制度“自由”和“人权”的政治观念源于个人主义的世界观，英国自由主义就是这个世界观的传统体现，被十九世纪五十、六十、七十年代德国资产阶级代言人采用。但是这些标准都是过时、被粉粹了的，就像被这场战争粉碎了的过时的英国自由主义。现在要做的就是清除这些沿袭下来政治思想，扶助国家、社会新观念的成长。在这个领域，社会主义必须表现出对个人主义自觉的、坚定的反对。关于这一点，一个精彩的事实是，在被称为“反动的”德国，工人阶级在国家生活中为自己赢得了比无论是英国还是法国都要稳固得多、有力得多的地位。

接着，伦施又给出了一个包含很多真相、值得深思的观点。

因为社会民主党人借助【普】选权，在联邦议院、州议院、市政委员会、商业仲裁法庭、医保基金等等地方最大限度地占据了席位，他们很深深地渗透到了国家的每一个机关；但是他们为此付出的代价就是，国家相应地对工人阶级产生了深刻的影响。可以肯定的说，社会主义劳工五十年的艰苦努力，国家不再是 1867 年普选刚刚开始时候那个国家；然而，相应地，社会主义也不再是当初的样子。这个国家已经经受了社会主义化的过程，社会主义也已经经受了国有化的过程。

* * * * *

普伦吉和伦施依次又为国家社会主义的直接领导人，特别是奥斯特瓦尔德、斯宾格勒和缪勒·范·登·布鲁克，只提这两个最有名的，出谋划策。对斯宾格勒多大程度上能被认作社会主义者可能意见不一致。但很明显的是，在他 1920 年出版的小册子《普鲁士主义和社会主义》，仅仅表达了德国社会主义者广泛持有的思想。他的论点摘几个例子就够了，“今天如兄弟之间相互憎恨的古老的普鲁士精神和社会主义信仰是一回事，同样的。”西方文明在德国的代表，也就是德国自由主义者，是“耶拿会战后拿破仑留在德国土地上无形的英国军队。”对斯宾格勒来说，象哈登堡和洪堡这样的自由主义改革派就是“英国人”。但是，这样的“英国”精神会在 1914 年开始的德国革命中得以驱逐。

三个西面的国家追求三种形式的存在，可以用三个著名的口号来代表：自由、平等、共产。政治形式上表现为自由主义议会制、社会民主主义、和极权社会主义。.....德国人，确切的说，普鲁士人，本能就是：权力属大家.....个人属自己。要么指挥要么服从。这就是十八世纪以来的极权社会主义，以英国自由主义、法国民主主义的意思来看，基本上就是反自由、反民主.....对照起来，在德国有很多为人所憎、声名狼藉的东西，但是德国土地上自由主义一项就足以为人鄙视。

英国这个国家的组织结构建立在贫富差别之上，普鲁士这个国家则建立在命令与服从之上。相应地，这两个国家阶级区分的意义根本不同。

在指出英国竞争性制度和普鲁士“经济管理”制度的本质区别之后，在展示（有意地仿效伦施）从俾斯麦以来对经济活动的精心组织如何逐步呈现出社会主义形式后，斯宾格勒接着写道：

从国家这个词最远大的意义上来说，在普鲁士存在一个真正的国家。严格地讲，其中私人不存在。制度下生活的每一个人，象时钟一样精准运作，在某种方式上都是制度中一环。公共事务的指挥因此不能象议会制应该的那样置于私人手中。它是一个工作岗位，并且负责的政治家就是公务员，全民的公仆。

⁴ The same applies to many others of the intellectual leaders of the generation which has produced Nazism, such as Othmar Spann, Hans Freyer, Carl Schmitt, and Ernst Junger. On these compare the interesting study by Aurel Kolnai, *The War against the West*, 1938, which suffers, however, from the defect that, by confining itself to the post-war period when these ideals had already been taken over by the nationalists, it overlooks their socialist creators.

⁵ This Spenglerian formula finds its echo in an often quoted statement of Carl Schmitt, the leading Nazi expert on constitutional law, according to which the evolution of government proceeds "in three dialectic stages: from the absolute state of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the *neutral* state of the liberal nineteenth century to the *totalitarian* state in which state and society are identical" (C. Schmitt, *Der Hitler der Verfassung*, Tübingen, 1931, p. 79).

The "Prussian idea" requires that everybody should become a state official, that all wages and salaries be fixed by the state. The administration of all property, in particular, becomes a salaried function. The state of the future will be a *Beamtenstaat*. But

the decisive question not only for Germany, but for the world, which must be solved by Germany for the world is: Is in future trade to govern the state, or the state to govern trade? In the face of this question Prussianism and Socialism are the same ... Prussianism and Socialism combat the England in our midst.

It was only a step from this for the patron-saint of National-Socialism Moeller van den Bruck to proclaim the World War a war between liberalism and socialism: "We have lost the war against the West. Socialism has lost it against Liberalism."⁶ As with Spengler, liberalism is, therefore, the arch-enemy. Moeller van den Bruck glories in the fact that

there are no liberals in Germany today; there are young revolutionaries: there are young conservatives. But who would be a liberal? ... Liberalism is a philosophy of life from which German youth now turns with nausea, with wrath, with quite peculiar scorn, for there is none more foreign, more repugnant, more opposed to its philosophy. German youth today recognises the liberal as the arch-enemy.

Moeller van den Bruck's Third Reich was intended to give the Germans a socialism adapted to their nature and undefiled by Western liberal ideas. And so it did.

These writers were by no means isolated phenomena. As early as 1922 a detached observer could speak of a "peculiar and, on a first glance, surprising phenomenon" then to be observed in Germany:

The fight against the capitalistic order, according to this view, is a continuation of the war against the Entente with the weapons of the spirit and of economic organisation, the way which leads to practical socialism, a return of the German people to their best and noblest traditions.⁷

Fight against liberalism in all its forms, liberalism that had defeated Germany, was the common idea which united socialists and conservatives in one common front. At first it was mainly in the German Youth Movement, almost entirely socialist in inspiration and outlook, where these ideas were most readily accepted and the fusion of socialism and nationalism completed. In the later 'twenties and till the advent of power of Hitler a circle of young men gathered round the journal *Die Tat* and led by Ferdinand Fried became the chief exponent of this tradition in the intellectual sphere. Fried's *Ende des Kapitalismus* is perhaps the most characteristic product of this group of *Edelnazis*, as they were known in Germany, and is particularly disquieting because of its resemblance to so much of the literature which we see in England today, where we can watch the same drawing together of the socialists of the Left and the Right, and nearly the same contempt of all that is liberal in the old sense. "Conservative Socialism" (and, in other circles, "Religious Socialism") was the slogan under which a large number of writers prepared the atmosphere in which "National-Socialism" succeeded. It is "conservative socialism" which is the dominant trend in this country now. Had the war against the Western powers "with the weapons of the spirit and of economic organisation" not almost succeeded before the real war began?

这个“普鲁士的想法”要求每一个人都应该成为拿国家固定工资报酬的公务员。特别是，所有资产的管理成为拿薪的职能。未来的国家就是吏治的国家。但是

有一个不仅仅对德国、对全世界来说都是决定性的问题，这个问题必须由德国为全世界来解答：在将来，是贸易来治理国家，还是国家来治理贸易？面对这个问题，普鲁士主义和社会主义都一样……我们当中，普鲁士主义和社会主义都反对英国。

只再进一步，国家社会主义的守护神，缪勒·冯·登·布鲁克宣称世界大战就是自由主义与社会主义之间的战争：“我们丢掉了与西方的战争。社会主义被自由主义打败了。”如斯宾格勒所称，自由主义因此是死敌。缪勒·冯·登·布鲁克为此赞美：

今天的德国没有自由主义者，有的是青年革命者，青年保守派，但谁会是由自由主义者呢？……自由主义是德国青年恶心、愤怒、特别是十分轻蔑的人生哲学，在德国没有更格格不入、更令人反感、与其哲学更对立的思想了。今天的德国青年视自由主义为死敌。

缪勒·冯·登·布鲁克的第三帝国就是要给德国人一个适应他们天性的社会主义，不受西方自由主义思想的污染。它做到了。

这些作家绝不是孤立的现象。早在 1922 年，一个中立的观察家可能谈到在当时德国观察到的现象为“特别的，初看起来令人称奇的现象”：

根据这个观点，反对资本主义秩序的斗争是以精神、经济组织为武器，与协约国战争的延续，是朝社会主义前进的道路，是德国人民朝最优秀、最崇高传统的回归。

与各种形式的自由主义，与曾经打败了德国的自由主义作斗争，是团结社会主义者、保守主义者组成统一战线的共同思想。起初主要是在德国青年运动中，那里思维、眼界上几乎全是社会主义者，这些思想最容易被接受，社会主义与民族主义融合在了一起。在二十年代后期，直到希特勒上台，在《行动报》周围聚集了一个年轻人的圈子，受费迪南德·弗里德的领导，成为了知识届这个传统的主要继承者。弗里德的《资本主义的末日》可能是这群在德国被称为勇敢纳粹的人最具特色的产物；因为它跟今天我们在英国看到的很多材料相似，特别令人不安；其中我们可以看到同样的东西把社会主义左、右两翼拉到一起，对传统意义上的自由主义表现是几乎同样的蔑视。在“保守的社会主义”（和其他圈子中“宗教的社会主义”）这个口号下，大量的作家为“国家社会主义”的成功制造氛围。在英国现在，“保守的社会主义”是主流趋势。在真的战争打响前，以“精神和经济组织为武器”对抗西方势力的战争难道不是已经差不多胜利了吗？

⁶ Moeller van den Bruck, *Sozialismus und Aussenpolitik*, 1933, pp. 87, 90, and 100. The articles here reprinted, particularly the article on "Lenin and Keynes" which discusses most fully the contention discussed in the text, were first published between 1919 and 1923.

⁷ K. Pribram, "Deutscher Nationalismus und Deutscher Sozialismus", in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, vol. 49, 1922, pp. 298-9. The writer mentions as further examples the philosopher Max Scheler preaching "the socialist world mission of Germany", and the Marxist K. Korach writing on the spirit of the new *Volksgemeinschaft*, as arguing in the same vein.