

Otto Strasser's "New Europe," Part 1

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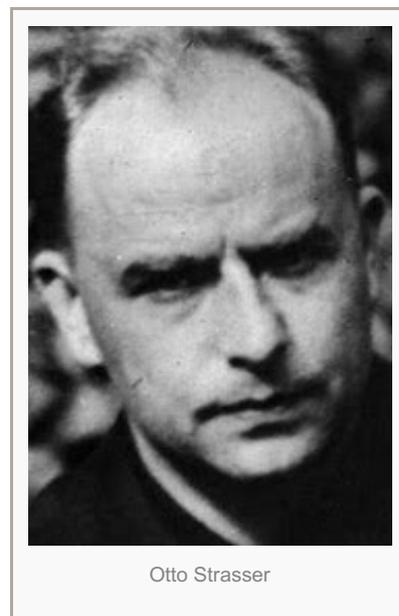
3,873 words

Part 1 of 2

Czech translation [here](#)

"But all his life and works show that here is a good German who is a good European." — Douglas Reed.[1]

While the various conceptions of European unity expounded by Francis Parker Yockey,[2] Sir Oswald Mosley,[3] Julius Evola[4], and even relatively obscure[5] thinkers such as Jean Thiriart[6] are comparatively well known, the European Idea was also a fundamental component of the "German Socialism" of Otto Strasser (1897–1974), a fact that is little known, at least among English-speaking advocates of European revival.[7] This might be because of the lingering sympathies for Hitlerism that are stronger among English-speaking nationalists[8] than among those in the European Motherland, which lead many to view Otto Strasser and his brother Gregor as quintessential traitors. This paper examines the ideas of European Federation in Otto Strasser's thinking going back as early as 1931.



Otto Strasser

Otto Strasser's Road to "German Socialism"

Otto Strasser joined up for the First World War as a lad of 16 and saw front-line action, being awarded the Iron Cross Second Class and coming out of the experience as an artillery lieutenant. The camaraderie among officers (he detested the NCOs for their callousness toward the ranks) was a seminal influence on his political thinking.[9] Otto's ideas crystallized in the trenches, into what his zealous English advocate, Douglas Reed, called an "anti-international Socialism," a Socialism wedded to Nationalism: "Socialism on a patriotic basis... not militarism with the word Socialist tacked on to it to dupe the masses . . ."[10] But Strasser was far from being any type of crypto-Marxist, and his entire ideology of "German Socialism," thoroughly imbued with the Western ethos, has no more in common with Marxism than it does with Capitalism. It is the social ethos that guided Europe's High Culture for centuries, prior to the emergence of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and the mirror image of Marxism.

Otto's first taste of politics came while he was a war invalid getting about on two sticks, when he confronted the Communist agitator Kurt Eisner at a public meeting.[11] It was in the revolutionary tumult of post-war Germany that both Otto and Gregor Strasser resumed their battle for Germany, this time as members of the Free Corps, war veterans formed to fight the Bolsheviks, and both joined von Epp's march on Munich against the Soviets.[12]

During a brief sojourn with the Socialist Party, Otto sought in vain a "German Socialism" that was not synonymous with statism[13] and merely sought to expropriate capitalism from the bourgeoisie in the name of the proletariat, without overthrowing the *spirit* of capitalism. It was a characteristic of the labor movement that was cogently described by the German philosopher-historian Oswald Spengler,[14] who had a seminal influence on Otto's thinking.

Otto had already met Hitler in 1920, at the prompting of Gregor, but was unimpressed. Hitler for his part derided Otto as an "intellectual crank." [15] Otto's attitude towards the National Socialist Party changed with the 1923 *Putsch*. He regarded this as evidence of a break by Hitler with militarists and capitalists, and as showing evidence of being genuinely revolutionary and "Socialist." He was also impressed by Gen. Ludendorff's

statement that the *Putsch* had shown that collaboration with reactionaries was not possible.[16] With Hitler in jail and Gregor running the entire party, Otto succumbed to his brother's further urgent appeals and joined the NSDAP in 1925.[17]

The following five years, which ended with Otto leaving the NSDAP in 1930, were ones of division within the party between the "German Socialism" of the Strassers and what they regarded as the compromises of Hitler. Gregor stayed with the party and maintained his North German stronghold with party luminaries such as Goebbels,[18] Victor Lutze, Kerrl and Bernard Rust, *et al.* backing him, while Robert Ley was the lone exception. These North German party leaders demanded the creation of a separate party led by the Strassers.[19]

The rivalry within the party was such that the newspaper vendors of the Strasser and Hitler factions fought each other in the streets, while Goebbels was built up by Hitler as the means of subverting the Strasser position, with the diminutive journalist being commander of the Berlin SA.[20]

Nonetheless, it was the Strasser organization that continued to grow in the North. The final showdown came in 1930 when the Strasser organization declared its support for the Saxon metalworkers' strike. Hitler, threatened with the discontinuation of funds from the Employers' Federation, ordered the party to oppose the strike. Otto was uncompromising, while Gregor sought to stay within the party in the belief that it could be reformed.[21]

Gregor, even with the possibility of forming a Government with himself as Vice Chancellor, could never bring himself to break with Hitler. He remained loyal. He preferred to decline any role for himself than to have Hitler left out, as demanded by General Schleicher and trades union leader Leipert.[22] When nonetheless accused of treachery by Hitler, Gregor resigned his offices in the party, quit politics, and was rewarded with death during the Party purge of 1934.[23]

Otto however had no illusions about Hitler and had formed the Union of Revolutionary National Socialists, or Black Front,[24] on the premise that war and ruin would provide the organization with the opportunity to overthrow Hitler.[25] Support was more widespread than might now be discerned. The Black Front had the backing of the Young German Order, revolutionary peasants in Schleswig-Holstein, National Socialists in Silesia, [26] and Captain Stennes of the North German SA.[27] Many Black Front supporters were interned after 1933, Reed stating that the number amounted in 1940 to between six and seven hundred.[28]

European Federation

Otto Strasser, despite his loyalty as a front-fighter to Germany's World War I legacy, was not a militarist or an imperialist. His "German Socialism" eschewed any notion of "*Lebensraum*." Even further from Hitlerism, Otto's National Socialism did not endorse a biological and hierarchical view of race as the foundation of his ideology, as will be discussed later. His ideal was European Federation, while preserving and enhancing the ancient nations and ethnicities of Europe.

A complete program for the reorganization of Germany, including Germany's relationship with Europe within the context of a European Federation, and a joint European colonial project, were enunciated in Otto Strasser's book *Germany Tomorrow* published in 1940, which incorporated as the third part of the book Strasser's 1931 manifesto, *The Structure of German Socialism*. [29] Reed commented that *Germany Tomorrow* "is addressed not only to Germans, but to all 'Good Europeans.'" [30]

Strasser wrote in this connection that his book was "intended to provide the foundations for such a testing-time, penned by one who is convinced that German national security and European collaboration, far from being mutually exclusive, tend to favour one another." [31] "European collaboration" was one of a trinity of the basic precepts of the Black Front, along with "national freedom and social justice." [32] "The Aims and Methods of the Black Front," a very brief outline, stated as the cornerstone of a future German foreign policy that "every kind of imperialism" would be repudiated, and that "a European federation" would be the "basis of national freedom and the popular development of all nations and minorities." The three predicates referred to previously served "as groundworks and provisos of The Rebirth of the West." [33] Hence, his conception was not only beyond Germany, but even beyond Europe and implied the entirety of "The West" as a spiritual-cultural identity.

As early as 1936 Otto had written of the rebirth of Western Civilization as being his *raison d'être*:

It is increasingly evident that the Federation of the Peoples of Europe is the vital precondition for the spiritual recovery of the European nations and for the preservation of the civilization and culture of the West. . . . For this and nothing else is the meaning and content of the German Revolution: The resurrection of the West![34]

This “New Europe” would be a “league of free nations.” Strasser saw this as the culmination of a long held dream among European thinkers.[35] Indeed the concept of “Europe” is a yearning with a long pedigree. In describing the Battle of Poitiers against the Arabs in AD 732 the *Chronicle of Isidore* of Spain refers to the Christian armies of Charles Martel as the “Europeans.” The empire of Charlemagne (AD 768–814) is named “Europe” by the contemporary chroniclers. In 755 the priest Cathwulf praised Charlemagne as ruling over “the glory of the empire of Europe.”[36] In 799 Angilbert, Charlemagne’s son-in-law and the Court poet, described the Emperor as “the father of Europe” – “Rex, pater Europae.”[37] The “Kingdom of Charles” was called “Europa” in the *Annals of Fuld*. [38]

While Strasser laments the “torrents of blood” that have been spilt to achieve European unity, this is because the impetus came from the desire of one nation or ruler to lead, rather than the belief in “equal standing as members of one family, as voluntary constituents of a European Federation.”[39] Yet in referring encouragingly to the “admirable efforts [of] “notable persons,” stating that “Aristide Briand and Count Coudenhove-Kalergi should be especially mentioned,”[40]

Strasser badly errs. Both these individuals represent a conception of Europe more ruinous — because it strikes at the very *soul* of Europe — than even those who drowned Europe in blood. Briand and Kalergi advocated an *Anti-Europe*, the origins of the present “European Union,” conceived in the Lodges of Masonry, based on secular-humanism, universalism, and the rule of commerce, and pushed by US interests — both Masonic and plutocratic — according to the “Europe” of their designs.[41]

Contra Strasser’s naiveté, the “European Union” of today, with its Masonic and commercial origins, is not the “New Europe” that he envisaged. The two Europes are antithetical, and at best the present regime *might* be regarded as a transition, in a dialectical sense, from which “New Europe” might arise. A present-day seminal thinker of the “European New Right” forcefully points out that “The present European Union is a prostrate project, a bastard, devoid of identity . . .”[42]

Europe and the United States

However, Strasser, instinctively or intuitively, proposed a Europe that is contrary to the concept promulgated by the Masonic-US-commercial interests, including those of Coudenhove-Kalergi and Briand. He eschewed “Paneuropa”[43] in favor of “a European Federation,” based on “the provisos of interconnexion, equality of rights, and voluntariness...”[44]

By the 1950s he observed the US design for Europe *vis-à-vis* the USSR, and unequivocally rejected it. Writing in Mosley’s journal, *The European*, Strasser repudiated the “ultimatum” to Europe by US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, that Europe must unite to serve US interests against Russia, with the unveiled threat that if Europe does not proceed according to US plans then Europe would be left to her own devices.

Alluding to Dulles’ statement at the 1953 NATO Conference in Paris, Strasser regarded the US plan for Europe as one that would eliminate the ancient peoples of the Continent and reduce them to a “melting pot.” If Europe complied, however, the dollars would keep flowing, and Europe could even have the blessing of US atomic bombs stationed to face off against Russia.[45]

The primary demand was for the “unification of France and Germany,” in Dulles’ words. Strasser’s reply was that if it had not been for the “interference of outside forces” in both world wars, particularly from the USA, the conflicts would not have spread, and that it is unfitting for the USA to lecture Europe on the requirements of peace while using the Russian threat as the means for imposing its agenda. To Strasser, Dulles’ “threat” that America would “remain aloof from inter-European affairs” should Europe refuse to comply with US demands, “is ravishing music to the ears of every true European.”[46]

The actual carrying out of such a welcome threat would do more to relieve the present world tension than the pumping of American atomic weapons into West Germany and the indefinite retention of American air, land and sea forces strewn all over Europe.[47]

Strasser also thought it an “insult” to state that Europe needed American protection against Russia, when President Roosevelt had not long ago handed “half the Continent” to the USSR, and that Europe was very capable of defending herself without the USA.[48] Strasser considered American “lying chatter” about “saving” Europe and her civilization as “embarrassing to hear,” and that if Europe is really that “decadent” then no amount of US money or weapons will save her: “A tree drained of its inner vitality cannot be helped by propping up its dead branches.”

However, Strasser believed that Europe is still full of vitality, and the basis of her health is her “national and cultural differences” which America’s demand for “integration” would obliterate. Such diversity gives “shape and colour . . . to the soul of Europe!!” He regarded America’s call for European unity on US terms as “idiotic demagoguery.” Europe is what she is by virtue of the distinctiveness of Spaniards, Italians, Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, *et al.*, and should resist becoming “one great hodgepodge unit” for the sake of more efficient production or to become a more profitable enterprise for the World Bank.[49]

Mosley did not concur. In “A Reply to Dr Strasser,” he stated that while Strasser sought to maintain separate nations, he sought “Europe a Nation.” Sir Oswald regarded that as the main difference between Strasser and himself. However, another vital question was that of their divergent attitudes toward the role of the United States in Europe. To Mosley, America had to remain the protector of Europe against Russia. Rather than an American withdrawal being, in Strasser’s terms, “ravishing music” to Europe, Mosley conjured up the image of a “ravishing” Russia over the Continent.[50]

The crux of the issue for Mosley was that: “At present we live under America; without America we should live under Russia. The difference is that under America Europe still lives, and under Russia Europe would be dead . . .” Mosley believed, contrary to Strasser, that Europe could unite “under cover” of the USA, and while ridiculing Strasser’s notion that Russia would permit Europe to regain her strength, believed that on the other hand the USA would permit Europe to unite on such a basis that she would become “much too powerful to be governed from Wall Street.”[51]

It was Mosley who was naïve in regard to the character of the United States and its pathological impact upon the *soul* of Europe. This is something that both Thiriart and Yockey came to realize. They saw American influence as so destructive as to consider an alliance with Russia, and in Yockey’s case at least, even the occupation of Europe by Russia was preferable to US hegemony. Yockey reassessing the world situation as early as 1952 and wrote precisely on the issue that was debated by Strasser and Mosley several years later:

The talk of “defense against Bolshevism” belongs now to yesterday, as does the nonsense of talking of “the defense of Europe” at a period when every inch of European soil is dominated by the deadly enemies of Europe, those who seek its political-cultural-historical extinction at all costs.[52]

It was fatuous enough to ask Europe to fight for America, it was silly enough to ask it to “defend itself against Bolshevism”. . . . Is there one European — just one — who would respond to this war-aim? But today, openly, without any possible disguise, this is the *raison d’être* of the coalition against Russia . . . [53]

Voluntarism

Mosley was to accuse Strasser of wishing to make the German military the mainstay of European defense, but Strasser had always based his policy on equality among European nations, to the extent of eliminating the Prussian basis of German militarism and reconstituting Germany as a federation of historic regions. Federation was the method for Strasser’s belief in “voluntary collaboration” (rather than “force”), which Strasser identified with the Christian spirit, and with a wider Western spirit:

In defiance of the Old Prussian prophets of State-hegemony and the modern German advocates of race-hegemony, the spirit of the West proclaims the fatherhood of God and the sonship of man — of all men — and

insists upon the dependence of all human institutions (the State not excepted) upon the Law of God.[54]

Here Strasser shows himself to be very much a part of the revolutionary conservative stream of European thought,[55] looking back to the High Culture of the West in order to lay the foundations for a rebirth.

Notes

[1] Douglas Reed, *Nemesis? The Story of Otto Strasser* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), p. 275.

[2] Francis Parker Yockey, *Imperium*, 1948 (Sausalito, Cal.: Noontide Press, 1962).

[3] Oswald Mosley, *Europe: Faith and Plan* (London: Euphorion Books, 1958).

[4] The Italian Thinker Baron Julius Evola is attracting widespread interest in the English-speaking world, probably largely due to him not only being a philosopher-historian but also an exponent of Eastern and Western mysticism and occult lore. Many of his books have consequently been translated in recent years into English and are widely available. The most recent endeavor has been the publication of an anthology on Evola by sundry writers: Troy Southgate (editor) *Evola: Thoughts and Perspectives Volume One* (London: Black Front Press, 2011). Evola discusses his conception of European unity in *Men Among the Ruins*, 1972 (Rochester, Vt.: Inner Traditions International, 2002), Chapter 16: "Form and Propositions of a United Europe," pp. 274–86.

[5] To the English reader.

[6] Jean Thiriart, the Belgian thinker, organized the Young Europe movement during the 1960s, and was a signatory to the *Venice Declaration* in 1962, instigated by Sir Oswald Mosley as the basis for a National Party of Europe. The slogan of the Young Europe movement was: "Neither Moscow nor Washington" but, like Yockey, Thiriart eventually took up a pro-Russia stance as a means of undermining US hegemony, and indeed supported any movement and state that resisted the USA. See: Jean Thiriart interview with Gene H. Hogberg, <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/thiriart/interview1.html>

Also: Edouard Rix, "Jean Thiriart: The Machiavelli of United Europe," *Counter- Currents/North American New Right*, <http://www.counter-currents.com/2010/09/jean-thiriart/>

[7] A significant exception is Troy Southgate, who has named his imprint Black Front Press, after Strasser's organization, and has adopted for his logo Strasser's symbol of the crossed sword and hammer. In particular, Southgate had recently authored a biography on Strasser: Troy Southgate, *Otto Strasser: Life and Times of a German Socialist* (London: Black Front Press, 2010).

During the 1980s Canadian John Jewell issued a photocopied bulletin called *The Black Book*, inspired by the Strassers and carrying Otto's sword and hammer symbol.

[8] And it seems that English-speaking Hitlerites are the most clownish and fetishistic, whether in the USA, England, New Zealand or Australia.

[9] Douglas Reed, *Nemesis? The Story of Otto Strasser* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), pp. 39, 49–50. Reed might be recalled as the author of many books on international finance, communism and Zionism. Reed had been a successful journalist and author, serving as inter-war *London Times* European correspondent, until 1951 when the publication of *Far and Wide* brought about his censure by the mainstream media. His final book was *The Controversy of Zion* (Durban: Dolphin Press, 1978).

[10] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 50.

[11] Reed, *Nemesis?*, pp. 52–53.

[12] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 59. Gregor had formed his own Free Corp in Lower Bavaria.

[13] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 66.

[14] Spengler wrote of this:

Herein lies the secret of why all radical (i.e. poor) parties necessarily become the tools of the money-powers, the *Equites*, the *Bourse*. Theoretically their enemy is capital, but practically they attack, not the *Bourse*, but Tradition on behalf of the *Bourse*. This is as true today as it was for the Gracchuan age, and in all countries . . . (Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of The West*, 1918, 1926. [London: George Allen & Unwin , 1971], Vol. 2, p. 464.)

The nexus between Marxism and international finance was a matter that was to preoccupy decades of research by Otto's English advocate Douglas Reed.

[15] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 71.

[16] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 77.

[17] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 80.

[18] Goebbels succumbed to Hitler's arguments when attending the National Congress of the party in Munich as the only delegate with Gregor from the North German organization. Douglas Reed, *Nemesis?*, *ibid.*, p. 88.

[19] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 85–86.

[20] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 90.

[21] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 92.

[22] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 135.

[23] Reed, *Nemesis?*, pp. 144–45.

[24] The word "Black" was intended to signify secret, although there was an above-ground movement that included a black-shirted "Black Guard" and three weekly newspapers. The focus was to infiltrate the party, SA, SS, and Labor Front. Reed, *Nemesis?*, pp. 120–21.

[25] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 115–17.

[26] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 119.

[27] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 130.

[28] Reed, *Nemesis?*, p. 129.

[29] Otto Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940).

[30] Douglas Reed in *Germany Tomorrow*, "Biographical and Bibliographical Note," p. 12.

[31] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 19.

[32] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 30.

[33] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, "The Aims and Methods of the Black Front," p. 254.

[34] Otto Strasser, *The Establishment of Socialism* (Prague: Heinrich Grunov, 1936). Cited by Roger Griffin, *Fascism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 114–15.

[35] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 100.

[36] Denis de Rougemont, *The Idea of Europe* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), p. 46.

[37] Angilbert, *Monumenta germ.Poet.Carol. I*, 368. Quoted by Denis de Rougemont, *The Idea of Europe*, p. 46.

[38] K. R. Bolton, *The Faith of Europe* (Paraparaumu, New Zealand: Spectrum Press, 2009).

[39] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 101.

[40] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 100.

[41] The Assistant Grand Master of Romanian Masonry, an important component of Grand Orient Masonry, Dr. Marian Mihaila, writes that, "important European Masons . . . took up the concept of a federated Europe from the 19th century and brought it into the 20th century." Here he mentions French Foreign Minister, Briand. Dr. Marian Mihaila, "European Union and Freemasonry," *Masonic Forum*, http://www.masonicforum.ro/en/nr27/european.html#b_22 Of Coudenhove-Kalergi, celebrated today as the architect of the European Union, Dr. Mihaila, states:

The adepts of the idea of a united Europe are grouped — as I have shown before — in the Pan-European Movement whose supporter was also a Mason, Count Richard N. C. Kalergi. . . . He was encouraged and financed by a series of American Masons who wanted to create thus, according to the American model (the first Masonic state in history) the United States of Europe. (Dr. Marian Mihaila, *ibid.*, "The Masonic European Community.")

Note that Dr. Mihaila states that the Pan-Europe Movement of Coudenhove-Kalergi was funded by "American Masons." Coudenhove-Kalergi in his book *Pan Europe* states that since 1924 he was befriended by the US-based banker Max Warburg, of the famous international banking dynasty, via their mutual friend Baron Louis Rothschild. Warburg remained a close friend of Coudenhov-Kalergi and financial backer of the Pan Europe Movement until his death in 1946. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan Europe* (Vienna: Pan Europa Verlag, 1923). Also: Kalergi, *An Idea Conquers the World* (London: Hutchison & Co., 1953). See: K. R. Bolton, *The Faith of Europe*, p. 21.

[42] Guillaume Faye, *Why We Fight: Manifesto of the European Resistance* (London: Arktos Media Ltd., 2011), p. 140.

[43] "Paneuropa" was the term used by Coudenhove-Kalergi.

[44] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 101.

[45] Otto Strasser, "The Role of Europe," *Mosley: Policy and Debate* (London: Euphorion Books, 1954), p. 77.

[46] Strasser, "The Role of Europe," p. 79.

[47] Strasser, "The Role of Europe," p. 79.

[48] Strasser, "The Role of Europe," p. 79.

[49] Strasser, "The Role of Europe," p. 80.

[50] Oswald Mosley, "A Reply to Dr Strasser," *Mosley: Policy and Debate*, p. 84.

[51] Mosley, "A Reply to Dr Strasser," p. 85.

[52] Francis Parker Yockey, *Prague Treason Trial*, 1952, p. 3.

[53] Francis Parker Yockey, *Prague Treason Trial*, p. 9.

[54] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 69.

[55] Strasser stated that he was "a conservative as well as a revolutionary." Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 64.

Otto Strasser's "New Europe," Part 2

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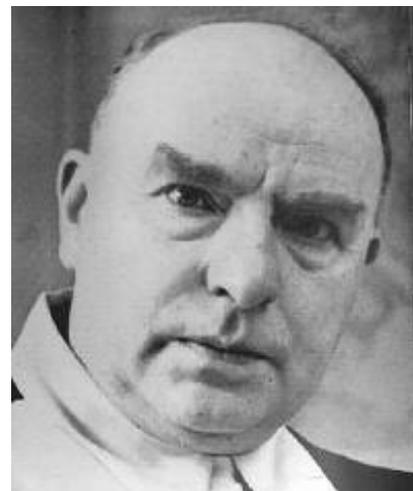
Kerry Bolton

3,078 words

Part 2 of 2

"Elements of European Peace"

As with Mosley, Thiriart, and Yockey in their own manners, Strasser sought a new European accord that would eliminate fratricidal wars. He pointed out that just as tribes and clans that had warred against each other later coalesced into larger units — nations — the same process could happen in Europe as a whole.[1] However, as discussed above, he differed from Mosley, believing that Mosley's policy of "Europe a Nation" would result in an amalgamation of different peoples and destroy the ancient diversity of European cultures. Strasser stated that the nations had ripened and that it was now time to "end any sort of intra-European imperialism — thus making both possible and indispensable a collaboration on the basis of the unconditional recognition of freedom and independence of all the national 'personalities' which today comprise the European family." [2]



Strasser realized that European unity could not occur unless the fear and distrust of Germany among other European states could be eliminated. He correctly assumed that after the war there would be a push for the disintegration of the German state. He naïvely assumed, however, that nobody could possibly propose the physical annihilation of the German people; he took it as self-evident that "no man living" would contemplate the annihilation of the Germans.[3] This was written in 1940, when the war had hardly gotten underway. It is perhaps a reflection of Strasser's own nobility of character, shaped as a frontline soldier in the First World War (the last war in which the European ethos of chivalry was manifested), that he could not imagine such baseness. For several years after the war, however, Germany suffered under the *de facto* implementation of the "Morgenthau Plan" for the physical elimination of the Germans.[4] He did, however, predict "hunger and bodily chastisement" "after a crushing defeat." [5] He was also, even at this early stage of the war, aware of the aim of eliminating Germany as a geopolitical entity by dividing it among European states, with a rump of disjointed statelets.[6]

Strasser was right, however, to think that such a repressive regime could not be maintained over Germany indefinitely, and he suggested that such a barbaric interregnum might last for "seven years" after defeat. He realized that an occupation force would be needed to keep Germany down, and that should a threat from Russia emerge, the suppressed Germans might view an alliance with Russia as an opportunity to "carry on their own struggle for freedom." [7] Here Strasser was prescient. He was predicting what became the Cold War, which, while justifying further Allied occupation of Germany for decades to come, nonetheless obliged the Allies to halt the *de facto* implementation of the "Morgenthau Plan" and allow the remaining half of Germany to rebuild and prosper.

Strasser's advocacy of European "disarmament" seems unrealistic and even suicidal, what he envisioned a new European defense system, rather than a pacifist utopia precariously existing between the US and the USSR. Strasser's aims in this regard are best understood as an expression of his desire to see an end to inter-European national rivalries. Strasser advocated "a composite European army." The "national constituents" would contribute in their areas of specialization, Britain supplying the aviation expertise, France the heavy guns and tanks, etc. "The defensive capacity of Europe as a whole would not be in the least impaired." [8] His use of the term "disarmament" therefore seems inappropriate.

Strasser's references to a "renovated" League of Nations, in which the members of the European Federation would be expected to participate, would, at first reading, grate on the nerves of any Rightist. However, again, one

must look at Strasser's ideas in context.[9] The prerequisite for European participation in a League of Nations would be "the reconstruction of the latter in the sense of a worldwide representation of continental groups." Strasser is here alluding to a geopolitical concept that has its roots in the German theorist Karl Haushofer and the English theorist Harold J. Mackinder, *et al.* The concept of geopolitical blocs was advocated as an advance on the 19th Century concept of petty-statism, especially in the aftermath of World War II, by both Mosley and French President Charles de Gaulle. De Gaulle even went beyond Mosley and Strasser in advocating a Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals." He perceptively regarded the USA rather than the USSR as the geopolitical rival of Europe.[10]

Strasser's "renovated League of Nations" is presumably something quite different from either the original League or the subsequent United Nations, and would seem to aim at providing a global focus for the emergence of geopolitical blocs of which a Federated Europe would be one of several. Europe would therefore constitute a "third force" in world affairs not simply an appendage of US foreign policy. It remains questionable, however, whether such a global organization — focused on geopolitical blocs rather than nation-states — would be any more plausible than the original League of Nations or the present UN.

The Slavic Question

Despite his insistence that Europe must be free of the United States, regardless of Cold War rhetoric, Strasser never did accept Russia as part of the European family or as a potential member of a European Federation: "Russia does not belong, never has belonged, and never will belong [to Europe]."[11] This view was not, however, motivated by any anti-Slavic sentiment. He saw Russia as separate from Europe because she has a distinct sense of identity and destiny, regardless of regimes. Russia, in his view, is an "Asiatic power" whether under Czarism or Bolshevism.[12] The separation between Russia and Europe was a major theme of Spengler[13] and Yockey,[14] although the latter eventually regarded a Russo-European accord as necessary for the liberation of Europe.[15]

Strasser regarded "a large and healthy Czechoslovakia to be a most important pillar of Central European order" and for establishing a friendly relationship between Germany and the Western Slavs.[16] As for the Slovak question, this was a matter for the two ethnicities to decide,[17] but he saw it as a problem that could presumably be settled by federative principles. Without healing the breach between "Germanism" and the Slavs there could be no lasting peace in Europe.[18]

While Strasser advocated concessions and reparations to Czechoslovakia and Poland that would certainly have been regarded by most Germans as treacherous at the time (1940), he was nonetheless adamant that there could be no return of Danzig and East Prussia to Poland. However, as with Czechoslovakia, Strasser regarded a "great and powerful Poland" as "the eastern guardian of Europe, particularly vis-à-vis the USSR. Poland would also be the means by which the Baltic States would be held for Europe.[19]

Bolshevik Russia remained in Strasser's view a threat that had to be kept at bay. But Strasser did not advocate an aggressive approach toward Russia, stating that the repudiation of Bolshevism by Europe would "not infringe on the vital interests of the Russian people." [20] Nonetheless, he hoped that Ukraine and White Russia would be enabled to align with a New Europe should they so desire.[21] Strasser thereby envisioned a more equitable "racial balance" in the New Europe between Latins, Germans, and Slavs, eschewing any notions of "racial predominance" by any single constituent of federated Europe.[22]

Strasser advocated the federalization of Germany within a federated Europe. While this would be anathema, even treason, to German chauvinists, it should be recalled that the modern nation state is a construct that emerged from the French Revolution on the ruins of the traditional order, and there is nothing sacrosanct about them from a Rightist viewpoint.[23] Strasser stated in 1929 that this statism was based on the "Liberalism" of the preceding 150 years, the "essence" of which was the mass of "atomized individuals" "dominated and directed by money." [24]

Strasser emphasized, however, that his federalization of Germany was not a response to war, but had been formulated by him already in 1931 in the Black Front organ *Die Schwarze Front*. [25] His main concern was to diminish the influence of Prussia on the character of Germany. [26] This is in contrast to Spengler, who saw

“Prussianism” as the basis for the ethos of the German state and equated the Prussian ethos of duty and authority with his definition of “socialism,” in contrast to the English spirit of mercantilism that gave birth to both free trade and Marxism.[27] To Strasser “Prussia” was more than a place. It was a spirit that has come to define all of “Germany”: “We Germans must ourselves overcome Prussia. We must overcome it territorially, economically, and spiritually; for only when we have done so will New Germany, will New Europe, become possible.”[28]

Strasser’s proposal for the reorganization of Germany (and of Europe) was federalization on the basis of the tribes and their ancient attachment to their lands. He cited the historical development of Germany as the federation not the merger of different tribes: “The political structure of the millennial German Reich has been based upon this federative segmentation, upon the voluntary collaboration of all the tribes, upon the organic union of its territories.”[29] The federative principle would be similar to the Swiss system of cantons.[30] Strasser’s federative approach for Germany and for Europe is therefore neither utopian nor debilitating, and offers a better way of establishing enduring, organic unity and fraternity than forced merger based on economics or constitutionalism. In practical terms it means the re-establishment of the “Landschaften” of Prussia and the other provinces of Germany; “in a word, the territorial subdivision of Germany into about fifteen provinces representing political, cultural, tribal, and economic units. . . . The ‘German Reich’ would thus veritably become a league of substantially independent cantons . . .”[31]

A New European Colonialism: Continuing the Faustian Quest

Strasser’s vision for Europe extended beyond the Continent and included the colonial possessions in Africa. He advocated a “European Colonial Company” (ECC) that would include the European states other than those who were already colonial powers, which would jointly administer the former German colonies and the African possessions of Belgium and Portugal. The contributing states would subscribe funds to the ECC proportionate to the size of their populations, and administrative posts, investments and possibilities of settlement would be allocated accordingly. Colonial schools would be established to instruct future administrators and settlers. There would be a focus on the “advancement of the indigenes,” as the ECC would look upon itself as “guardians” of the native populations. As the native populations developed they would be included in the work of administration. Beyond the economic factors, there was a higher vision, that of “the great civilizing work that would be associated with the effective opening-up of Africa [which] would give a powerful impetus to economics and science — and would be most beneficial to the youths of Europe. Having great duties to perform makes people young, vigorous, and cheerful. That is what Europe needs.”[32]

Strasser’s “vision splendid” for a reformed European colonialism would have allowed a European empire to develop beyond the inter-European rivalries of the past and the scramble for colonies that resulted in perpetual conflict. However, it would also have blocked the entrance of American dollar imperialism that vied with the USSR to fill the power-vacuum in the aftermath of World War II. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was to relate long afterward that “Washington tended to view colonial empires as an anachronism and made no secret that it would shed no tears were they to be dismantled . . .”[33] Despite Strasser’s peaceful vision, the development of Africa under European auspices would have been resisted by the US, regardless of how a League of Nations, or subsequent United Nations, might be “renovated.” There was and remains an unbridgeable conflict of interests between the US and any European bloc other than one subservient to plutocracy. Hence, despite the views of Strasser and Mosley about the irreconcilability of Russian and European interests, a European understanding with the USSR vis-à-vis the USA would have been a more realistic course.

Most of all, Strasser’s European vision for Africa was an avenue by which the *Faustian* impulse[34] — Western man’s urge to exploration, discovery, and expansion — could be directed peacefully and constructively. Any individual with empathy looking at Black Africa today might wonder how different the situation would be if European rule had been maintained on the “Dark Continent,” developing it in the way envisaged by Strasser and Mosley. The US would not allow it, and prattle about “development aid” has never been anything other than a façade for plutocratic exploitation and debt slavery. Strasser clearly saw the possibilities of the venture as something far more than a matter of economics, as something of a fundamentally spiritual nature: a vast, undeveloped, and still largely unexplored and unsettled continent awaiting young pioneers from all over Europe. Colonialism, as Strasser said, would provide the challenges and stimulate the energies needed to reinvigorate

Europe on the basis of youthful dynamism.

Oswald Mosley had a similar vision for Africa as Europe's great Faustian venture, stating in 1947:

[I]f they linked the union of Europe with the development of Africa in a new system of two continents, they would build a civilization which surpassed, and a force which equalled, any power in the world. . . . From that union would be born a civilization of continuing creation and ever unfolding beauty that would stand the tests of time. [35]

The Decline of the West?

Strasser was deeply influenced by Oswald Spengler's philosophy of history and culture. He explicitly accepts "the validity of Oswald Spengler's brilliantly formulated law of the rise and fall of the cultural circle — in this instance the western cultural circle; and that we perceive therein a great law of motion of all organic life, the law of birth, maturity and death." [36] Strasser's view that "race" is shaped by historical forces is more akin to the views of Spengler, [37] Yockey, [38] and Evola, [39] with Spengler providing a common factor in the views of all three. Strasser referred to the race-forming processes as those of geography, climate, diet, and the impact of historical forces. Despite the ethnic differences in Europe, all share "one and the same rhythm of western culture, and have all been subjected to the same vital laws of this family of peoples." [40]

Yet for all that, both Mosley and Strasser's views of colonialism are evidently based on a desire to overcome historical cycles and the inevitability of decay, searching for ever-new frontiers to stimulate perpetual cultural renewal or what might be called a formula for the eternal youth of "The West."

Notes

[1] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 51.

[2] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 51.

[3] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 54.

[4] James Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies: The Fate of German Civilians Under Allied Occupation 1944–1950* (London: Little, Brown & Co., 1997).

[5] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 56.

[6] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 54.

[7] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 57.

[8] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, pp. 104–105.

[9] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 106.

[10] K. R. Bolton, "An ANZAC-Indo-Russian Alliance? Geopolitical Alternatives for Australia and New Zealand," *India Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 2, 2010, "Dugin's Geopolitical Paradigm," pp. 188–90.

[11] Otto Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 120.

[12] Otto Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 98.

[13] "Russia is the lord of Asia. Russia is Asia." Oswald Spengler, 1934, *The Hour of Decision* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), p. 213. I regard, to the contrary, Russia as historically the "white" bulwark containing Asia vis-à-vis "The West." The BRIC alliance with China is temporary and pragmatic. See: K. R. Bolton, "Russia and China: an Approaching Conflict?," *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2, Summer 2009.

[14] Yockey stated in 1948 that ". . . everything Western is therefore hostile and deadly to the Russian soul" (*Imperium*, p. 579). "Russia will, and must always remain, an enemy of the West . . ." (*Imperium*, p. 586).

[15] The “treason trials” against Communist party leaders in Prague in 1952, during which they were charged with being in league with Zionists, the US, and Freemasonry, had a seminal influence on Yockey’s thinking regarding Russia. He stated that Europeans, by playing Russia off against America, could bring about Europe’s “liberation.” Yockey, *Prague Treason Trial*, 1952, p. 8. Strasser, as mentioned, made a similar allusion.

The following year, 1953, Yockey went further, and in *The Enemy of Europe*, a book designed for the instruction of Maj. Gen. Remer’s Socialist Reich Party, which advocated a “neutralist” position for Germany during the Cold War, Yockey stated that the Russian occupation of Europe would be less harmful to Europe in the long-term than American occupation, and that a new “Europe-Russia Symbiosis” might develop. Yockey, *The Enemy of Europe* (Reedy, West Virginia: Liberty Bell Publications, 1981), p. 83.

[16] Otto Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 90.

[17] Otto Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 90.

[18] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 91.

[19] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 92.

[20] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 95.

[21] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 96.

[22] Otto Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 97.

[23] Guillaume Faye points out that the modern nation-state, as distinct from the ancient concept of *ethnos*, is “Jacobin and cosmopolitan” in its conception, and has arisen from the “Jacobin nationalism” of Revolutionary France, which sought to level the regional identities of the French in imposing a statist ideology. See *Why We Fight*, pp. 200–201.

[24] Otto Strasser, “National Socialism, the World View of the 20th Century” (Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, 1929) in Barbara Miller Land and Leila J. Rupp, ed. and trans. *Nazi Ideology Before 1933: A Documentation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), p. 100.

[25] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 59.

[26] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 60.

[27] Oswald Spengler, *Prussianism and Socialism*, 1919.

[28] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 60.

[29] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 60–61.

[30] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 61.

[31] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, p. 61.

[32] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, pp. 111-113.

[33] Andrei Gromyko, *Memories* (London, 1989), cited in: K. R. Bolton, *Building the New Babel: Multiculturalism and the New World Order* (Paraparaumu, New Zealand: Spectrum Press, 2006), p. 48.

The US assumed the initiative and created its organizations for the establishing of US hegemony over Africa. The Africa-American Institute was founded in 1953 with backing from such plutocratic agencies as the omnipresent US think tank, the Council on Foreign Relations, and continues with a host of corporate and Foundation sponsors. K. R. Bolton, *Building the New Babel*, pp. 48-51.

[34] Oswald Spengler, *The Hour of Decision*, p. 44.

[35] Robert Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 481.

[36] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, pp. 121–22.

[37] Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, Vol. 2, Chapter V, (B) “Peoples, Races, tongues,” pp. 113–55.

[38] Yockey, *Imperium*, “Race People, Nation, State,” pp. 273–91. “Subjective Meaning of Race,” pp. 292–99. “Horizontal Race vs. Vertical Race,” pp. 300–303.

[39] Tomislav Sunic, “Julius Evola on Race,” in Troy Southgate, ed., *Evola: Thoughts and Perspectives, Volume One* (London: Black Front Press, 2011), pp. 20–28.

[40] Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow*, pp. 120–21.