MEIN KAMPF

ADOLF HITLER

VOLUME TWO

A NEW ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

THOMAS DALTON

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

THOMAS DALTON

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CHAPTER 1
WORLDVIEW AND PARTY

On 24 February 1920, the first great mass meeting of our young movement took place. In the Banquet Hall of the Munich Hofbräuhaus, the 25 theses of our new party program were explained to an audience of nearly 2,000 people; each thesis was enthusiastically received.[1]

Thus we made the public aware of those first principles and lines of action by which the new struggle would abolish a mass of confused and obsolete ideas and opinion—things that had led to obscure and pernicious ends. A new force now appeared among the timid and feckless bourgeoisie. This force was destined to resist the triumphant advance of the Marxists and, at the last minute, bring the wheel of destiny to a halt.

It was self-evident that this new movement could gain the significance and support that are necessary pre-requisites in such a gigantic struggle only if it succeeded from the very outset in awakening a sacred conviction in the hearts of its followers. This was not a case of introducing a new electoral slogan into the political field, but rather that an entirely new worldview—one of fundamental significance—had to be promoted.

1.1 Bourgeois 'Program Committees'

One must recall the wretched viewpoints that were normally patched together to form the usual so-called Party Program, and how they were brushed up or remodeled from time to time. We must carefully investigate

[1] See volume one, appendix A.

the motives that inspired the average bourgeois 'program committee' if we are to properly evaluate these programmatic monstrosities.

Those people are always influenced by one and the same concern when they introduce something new into their program, or modify something already contained in it: the results of the next election. The moment these parliamentary artists have the first glimmering of a suspicion that their darling public may be ready to kick up its heels and escape from the harness of the old party wagon, they begin to paint the shafts with new colors. On such occasions, the party astrologists and horoscope readers—the so-called 'experienced men' and 'experts'—come forward. For the most part they are old parliamentary hands whose 'rich political schooling' has furnished them with ample experience. They recall previous occasions when the masses showed signs of losing patience, and they now foresee a similar menace arising once again. Resorting to their old prescription, they form a 'committee.' They go around among the darling public and listen to what's being said. They dip their noses into the newspapers and gradually begin to sense what it is that their darlings, the broad masses, wish for—and what they reject, and what they hope for. Every trade or business group, and every class of employees, is carefully studied and their innermost desires are investigated. Even the 'evil slogans' of the dangerous opposition are now suddenly looked upon as worthy of reconsideration, and it often happens that these slogans, to the great astonishment of those who originally coined and circulated them, now seem to be quite harmless and indeed appear among the dogmas of the old parties.

So the committees meet to 'revise' the old program and draw up a new one (these gentlemen change their convictions just the way that a soldier changes his shirt in war—when the old one is lice-ridden!). In the new program, everyone gets his share. The farmer gets protection for his agriculture. The industrialist is assured of protection for his products. The consumer is protected for his purchases. Teachers are given higher salaries and civil servants will have better pensions. Widows and orphans will receive generous assistance from the State. Trade will be promoted. Tariffs will be lowered and even taxes, though they cannot be entirely abolished, will be almost so. It sometimes happens that one section of the public is

forgotten or that one of the public demands fails to reach the ears of the party; this is also hurriedly patched onto the whole, should there be any space available for it. Finally it's believed that the anxieties of the whole petty bourgeois and their wives are laid to rest, and they beam with satisfaction once again. And so, inwardly armed with faith in the goodness of God and the impenetrable stupidity of the electorate, the struggle for what's called the 'reconstruction' of the Reich now begins.

When election day is over and the parliamentarians have held their last public meeting for five years, when they can leave their job of training the masses and can now devote themselves to higher and more pleasant tasks—then the program committee is dissolved and the struggle for the progressive reorganization of public affairs once again becomes merely a business of earning one's daily bread: which is called a parliamentarian attendance fee.

Every morning, the honorable deputy wends his way to the House. Though he may not enter the Chamber itself, he gets at least as far as the front hall where the attendance lists are kept. As a part of his onerous service to the people, he signs his name, and in return receives a small payment as a well-earned reward for his unceasing and exhausting labors.

After four years—or sooner if there should occur some critical period during which the parliamentary body faces the danger of being dissolved—these gentlemen suddenly become seized by an irresistible desire to act. Just as the grub-worm cannot help growing into a butterfly, these parliamentarian caterpillars leave the great Pupae House and flutter out on new wings among the beloved public. They address the voters once again, give an account of the enormous labors they have accomplished, and emphasize the malicious obstinacy of their opponents. They don't always meet with grateful applause, however; occasionally the foolish masses throw rude and bitter insults in their faces. When this public ingratitude reaches a certain degree, there's only one way out: The party's prestige must be polished up again. The program has to be revised. The committee is called into existence once again. And the swindle begins anew. Once we understand the granite stupidity of our public, we shouldn't be surprised at the outcome. Led by the press and blinded once again by

the enticing new program, the 'bourgeois' as well as the 'proletarian' herds of voters faithfully return to the common stable and re-elect their old deceivers.

The people's man and labor candidate now changes back again into a parliamentarian caterpillar and fattens on the leaves of the State, only to be transformed once again, in four more years, into a glittering butterfly.

There is hardly anything more depressing than watching this process in sober reality and to be an eyewitness of this repeatedly recurring betrayal.

1.2 Marxism and Democratic Principles

On such a spiritual ground, it's impossible for the bourgeois camp to develop the necessary strength to carry on the fight against the organized power of Marxism.

Indeed, they have never seriously thought of doing so. Though these parliamentary quacks of the white race are generally recognized as mentally inferior men, they are shrewd enough to know that they could not seriously entertain the hope of being able to use the weapon of Western democracy to fight a doctrine—namely, Marxism—which employs this very democracy for its own end. Democracy is exploited by the Marxists for the purpose of paralyzing their opponents and gaining a free hand for themselves, in order to put their own methods into action. When certain groups of Marxists use all their ingenuity for the time being to give the impression that they are inseparably attached to the principles of democracy, it's good to recall the fact that, on critical occasions, these same gentlemen showed no regard for the democratic principle of majority rule! Such was the case in those days when the bourgeois parliamentarians, in their monumental small-mindedness, believed that the security of the Reich was guaranteed because it had an overwhelming numerical majority in its favor; meanwhile the Marxists didn't hesitate to suddenly grasp power, backed by a mob of loafers, deserters, party bosses, and Jewish journalists. That was a slap in the face of the democracy that so many parliamentarians believed in. Only those credulous parliamentary wizards

of a bourgeois democracy could have believed that the Marxist world-plague, and the brutal determination of its carriers, could for a moment—now or in the future—be banished by the magical formulas of Western parliamentarianism.

Marxism will march shoulder to shoulder with democracy until it succeeds in indirectly winning the support of even the nationalist world that it strives to root out. But if the Marxists ever came to believe that there was a danger that, from this witch's cauldron of our parliamentary democracy, a majority vote might be concocted that could seriously attack Marxism—even if only on the basis of its ruling majority—then the whole parliamentarian hocus-pocus would be at an end. Instead of appealing to the democratic conscience, the standard bearers of the Red International would immediately emit a furious rallying-cry among the proletarian masses, and the ensuing fight would take place not in the sedate atmosphere of Parliament but in the factories and the streets. Then democracy would be finished at once; that which the intellectual agility of the parliamentarian apostles had failed to accomplish would now be successfully carried out by the crowbar and the sledgehammer of the exasperated proletarian masses, just as in the fall of 1918. At a single blow, they would awaken the bourgeois world to the madness of thinking that Jewish world domination could be opposed by means of Western democracy.

1.3 Worldview Against Worldview

As I have said, only a very credulous mind could think of complying with the rules of the game when he has to face a player for whom those rules are nothing but a mere bluff or a means of serving his own interests—which he will quickly discard when they are no longer to his advantage.

All the parties that profess so-called bourgeois principles look upon political life as, in reality, a struggle for seats in Parliament. The moment that their principles and convictions are of no further use in that struggle, they are thrown overboard like sand ballast. And the programs are constructed in such a way that they can be dealt with in a like manner. But

such a practice has a correspondingly weakening effect. The parties lack the great magnetic attraction that alone draws in the broad masses; these masses always respond to the compelling force that emanates from absolute faith in the ideas put forth, along with the fanatical fighting courage to defend them.

At a time in which the one side, armed with all the weapons of a thousand-times criminal worldview, makes an attack against the established order, the other side will be able to resist only when it draws its strength from a new faith, which in our case is a political faith. This faith must replace the weak and cowardly command to defend with the battle-cry of a courageous and ruthless attack. If our present movement is accused, especially by the so-called national bourgeois cabinet ministers—the Bavarian Center, for example—of heading towards a 'revolution,' we have only one answer to those political midgets: We are trying to make up for that which you, in your criminal stupidity, failed to do. By your parliamentarian cattle-trading, you helped to drag the nation into the abyss; but we, by our aggressive policy, are setting up a new worldview, one that we shall defend with indomitable devotion. Thus we are building the steps upon which our nation may once again ascend to the temple of freedom.

Hence during the founding time of our movement, we had to take special care that our militant group, which fought for a new and exalted political faith, shouldn't degenerate into a mere society for the promotion of parliamentarian interests.

The first preventive measure was to create a program that would, by itself, tend towards developing a certain inner greatness that would scare away all the small and weak minds of our present party politicians.

The fatal defects that finally led to Germany's collapse [in 1918] offer the clearest proof of how correct we were in considering it absolutely necessary to set up programmatic goals that were sharply and distinctly defined.

Because we recognized these defects, we realized that a new conception of the State had to be formed. This in itself became a part of our new world-conception.

CHAPTER 1

1.4 The 'Folkish' Concept

In the first volume of this book, I have already dealt with the term 'folkish.'[2] I said then that this term is insufficiently precise to allow the formation of a solid fighting community. All kinds of people, with all kinds of divergent opinions, are parading around under the 'folkish' banner. Therefore, before I address the purposes and aims of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, I want to establish a clear understanding of what is meant by the concept 'folkish' and explain its relation to our party movement.

The word 'folkish' doesn't express any clearly specified idea. It may be interpreted in several ways, and in practice it's just as vague as the word 'religious,' for instance. It's difficult to attach any precise meaning to this latter word, either as a theoretical concept or in practical life. The word 'religious' acquires a precise meaning only when it's associated with a distinct and definite form through which the concept is put into practice. To call a man 'deeply religious' is fine phraseology; but generally speaking, it tells us little or nothing. There may be a few people who are content with such a vague description, and there may even be some to whom the word conveys a more or less definite picture of the person's soul.

But since the masses of the people are neither philosophers nor saints, such a vague religious idea will mean nothing for them other than to justify each person thinking and acting according to his own inclination. It won't lead to that effectiveness by which an inner religious yearning is transformed when it leaves the sphere of purely metaphysical ideas and conforms to a clearly outlined faith. Such a belief is certainly not an end in itself, but the means to an end; yet it's a necessary means for attaining the end. This end, however, is not merely something ideal, but rather, it's eminently practical. We must always bear in mind the fact that, generally speaking, the highest ideals always correspond to the deepest necessities of life, just as the nobility of the most sublime beauty is ultimately justified by that which is best suited to its purpose.

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[2] See volume 1, chapter 12, sections 12.17-12.18.

1.5 From Religious Feelings to Dogmatic Beliefs

By helping to lift man above the level of mere animal existence, faith certainly contributes to grounding and securing his existence. Taking humanity as it exists today, and considering the fact that present religious beliefs have been established through education in way that promotes practical moral standards, if we now abolished religious teaching and didn't replace it by an equivalent, the result would be to undermine the foundations of human existence. Therefore we may safely say that man doesn't live merely to serve higher ideals, but that these ideals, in turn, supply the necessary conditions for human existence. And thus the circle is closed.

Of course, the word 'religious' implies various ideas and beliefs; for example, the immortal soul, its future existence in eternity, the belief in the existence of a higher being, and so on. But all these ideas, no matter how firmly the individual believes in them, may be critically analyzed by anyone, and accepted or rejected accordingly; at that point, the emotional concept or yearning has been transformed into an active force that's governed by a clearly-defined doctrinal faith. Such a faith supplies, above all, the fighting factor that clears the way for a recognition of basic religious views.

Without a clearly-defined belief, religious feeling, with its vague and multifarious forms, would not only be worthless for the purposes of human existence but might even contribute towards a general disintegration.

The situation with the word 'religious' also applies to the term 'folkish.' This word also implies certain fundamental ideas. Though these ideas are very important indeed, they assume such vague and indefinite forms that they cannot hold greater value than mere opinions until they are integrated into the structure of a political party. In order to give practical force to the ideals arising from a worldview and to respond to the logical consequences of such ideals, mere feeling and inner will are of no use; in the same way, freedom cannot be won by a universal yearning for it. No, only when the idealistic longing for independence is organized in such a way that it can fight for its ideals with military force, only then can the urgent wish of a people be transformed into a potent reality.

CHAPTER 1

Any worldview, though a thousand-fold right and supremely beneficial to humanity, will be useless for the maintenance of a people until its principles become the rallying point of a militant movement. And in turn, this movement will remain a mere party until it has brought its ideals to victory and transformed its party doctrines into the new foundations of a State that gives shape to the national community.

If a spiritual conception of a general nature is to serve as the basis of future development, then the first prerequisite is to form a clear understanding of its nature, character, and scope. Only on such a basis can a movement be founded that will be able to draw the necessary fighting strength. From general ideas, a political program must be constructed, and a general worldview must by imprinted by a definite political faith. Since this faith must be directed towards practical ends, it must not only serve the general ideal as such, but it must also take into consideration the means that have to be employed for the triumph of the ideal. Here the practical wisdom of the statesman must come to the assistance of the abstract idea, which is correct in itself. Thus an eternal ideal, as a guiding star to mankind, must be adapted to the weaknesses of humanity so that its practical effect won't be frustrated at the very outset due to general human inadequacy. The searcher for truth must here go hand in hand with one who has a practical knowledge of the human soul, so that we may select from the realm of eternal truths and ideals those which are best-suited to the capacities of human nature, and give them practical form.

The most important task of all is to take abstract and general principles, derived from a worldview based on a solid foundation of truth, and to transform them into a militant community of members who have the same political faith. This community must be precisely defined, rigidly organized, and of one mind and one will; only then do we have the possibility of successfully carrying out the idea. Therefore, out of a mass of millions who feel the truth of these ideas, and even may understand them to some extent, *one man* must arise. This man must be able to expound general ideas in a clear and definite form and, from the world of vague ideas shimmering before the minds of the masses, he must formulate granite principles. He must fight for these principles as the only

true ones, until a solid rock of common faith and common will emerges above the troubled waves of miscellaneous ideas.

Such action is justified by its necessity; and the individual will be justified by his success.

1.6 Marxism versus Race and Personality

If we try to penetrate to the inner meaning of the word 'folkish,' we arrive at the following conclusions: The current political conception of the world is that the State, though it possesses a creative, culture-creating force, has nothing to do with racial considerations. The State is considered rather as something resulting from economic necessity, or at best, the natural outcome of political forces. Such a conception, together with all its logical consequences, is not only mistaken about basic racial forces, but it also underestimates the individual. A denial of racial differences with respect to their culture-creating powers must also extend the same error to the valuation of the individual. The assumption of racial equality becomes the basis for a similar way of viewing nations and individuals. And international Marxism is nothing but the application, by the Jew Karl Marx, of a pre-existing worldview to a definite profession of political faith. Without the foundation of this widely-diffused infection, the amazing success of this doctrine would have been impossible. In reality, Karl Marx was the one among millions who, in a slowly decomposing world, used his keen insight to detect the essential poisons; he then extracted and concentrated them, with the skill of a wizard, into a solution that would bring about the rapid destruction of the independent nations of this Earth. And all this was done in the service of his race.

Marxist doctrine is the concentrated extract of the mentality that underlies the present generally-accepted worldview. For this reason alone, it's out of the question, and even ridiculous, to think that our so-called bourgeois world can offer any effective resistance. This bourgeois world is infected with all those same poisons, and its general worldview differs from Marxism only in degree and in the person who holds it. The bourgeois world is Marxist, but believes in the possibility of rule by a certain group

of people (the bourgeoisie), while Marxism itself systematically aims at delivering the world into the hands of the Jews.

In opposition to this, the folkish worldview recognizes that basic racial elements are of the greatest significance for mankind.

In principle, the State is viewed as a means to an end, and this end is the conservation of the racial characteristics of humanity. Therefore on the folkish principle, we cannot accept racial equality, but rather we recognize their differences. In doing so, it separates races into superior and inferior worth. Based on this recognition, it feels bound to conform to the eternal will that dominates the universe, to promote the victory of the better and stronger and the subordination of the inferior and weaker. It serves the truth of the aristocratic principle underlying all Nature's operations and it believes that this law is valid down to the last individual. It sees differences of value not only in the races but also in individual men. Out of the mass of men, it selects the importance of the individual, and thus it operates as an organizing principle, whereas Marxism acts to disorganize. It holds that humanity must have its ideals, because ideals are a necessary condition of human existence. But it denies that an ethical ideal has the right to prevail if it endangers the existence of a race that is the standard-bearer of a higher ethical ideal; in a bastardized and narrowed world, all ideals of human beauty and nobility, and all hopes for an idealized future for humanity, would be lost forever.

In this world, human culture and civilization are inseparably bound up with the presence of the Aryan. If he dies out or declines, then the dark shroud of a barbarian era will again envelop the Earth.

In the eyes of a folkish worldview, to undermine the existence of human culture by destroying its carriers would be a deplorable crime. Anyone who dares to raise a hand against that highest image of God sins against the bountiful creator of this miracle, and collaborates in the expulsion from Paradise.

Hence the folkish worldview corresponds to the innermost will of Nature. It restores the free play of forces that will lead to a continuous higher breeding, until at last the best of humanity, through possession of the Earth, will be free to act in every domain in and above it.

We all feel that, in the distant future, we will be faced with problems that can only be solved by a highest race of master human beings—those who have at their disposal the means and resources of the whole world.

1.7 Organization of a Party

It's obvious that such a general sketch of the ideas implied in the folkish worldview can be interpreted in a thousand different ways. As a matter of fact, there is scarcely one of our recent political movements that doesn't refer at some point to this conception of the world. But the fact that it still maintains its independent existence amidst all the others proves the difference in conceptions. Thus the Marxist worldview, directed by a unified central organization, is opposed by a hodge-podge of opinions that isn't very impressive in the face of the solid front of the enemy. Victory cannot be achieved with such weak weapons! Only when the international worldview—politically organized by Marxism—is confronted by the folk idea, organized in an equally-systematic way, will the fighting energy be equal on both sides, with victory falling on the side of eternal truth.

But a worldview can only be comprehended when it's precisely and definitely formulated. The function that dogma plays in religious belief is parallel to that which party principles play for a political party in the making.

Therefore it's necessary to create an instrument by which the folkish worldview can fight, in the same way that the Marxist party organization clears the way for internationalism.

This is the goal pursued by the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

Such a party formulation is a pre-condition for the victory of the folkish worldview. This is clearly proved by a fact that's indirectly accepted by those who oppose a connection between party and worldview.

The folk conception must therefore be definitely formulated so that it may be organically incorporated into the party. This is a necessary prerequisite for the success of this idea. And that it is so is very clearly

proved even by the indirect acknowledgment of those who oppose such an amalgamation of the folk idea with party principles. The very people who never tire of repeatedly insisting that the folkish worldview can never be the exclusive property of a single group because it lies dormant or 'lives' in millions of hearts, only confirms the simple fact that the general presence of such ideas has proven unable to prevent the victory of the enemy worldview—which is represented by a political party. If that were not so, the German people should have already earned a gigantic victory instead of finding themselves on the brink of the abyss. The internationalist ideology succeeded because it was organized as a political party in the manner of storm troops; the opposing worldview failed because it lacked a unified body to defend it. A worldview cannot fight and win by allowing unlimited freedom of interpretation, but only through the restricted and integrating form of a political organization.

I therefore considered it my special duty to extract from the extensive but vague contents of a general worldview the ideas that were essential, and to give them a more or less dogmatic form. In this way, these ideas are suited to the purpose of uniting together all those who are ready to accept them as principles. In other words: The National Socialist German Workers' Party extracts the essential principles from the generally folkish conception of the world. On these principles it establishes a political doctrine that considers the practical realities of the day, the times, and the available human material and all its weaknesses. This doctrine makes possible the organization of great masses of people in a strictly integrated sense. And this organization is the main pre-condition for the victory of this worldview.

CHAPTER 2
THE STATE

Already by the years 1920-21, certain circles within the outdated bourgeois class accused our young movement, again and again, of taking a negative attitude towards the modern State. For that reason, political criminals of all stripes assumed the right to use all available means to suppress the young protagonists of this new worldview. They deliberately forgot that the bourgeois world has no uniform view of the State concept, nor can it give any coherent definition of it. Those whose duty it is to explain it typically are law professors in our state universities; their highest task is to find explanations and justifications for the more-or-less fortunate existence of that particular system that provides them with their daily bread. The more impossible the State, the more obscure, artificial, and incomprehensible are their definitions of the purpose of its existence. What, for instance, could a royal and imperial university professor write about the meaning and purpose of a State in a country whose political form represented the greatest monstrosity of all time?

That would be a difficult undertaking indeed, considering that the contemporary professor of political law is less obligated to the truth than to a certain definite purpose. And this purpose is: to defend at all costs the existence of that monstrous human mechanism called the State. No one should be surprised if concrete facts are avoided as far as possible when discussing the problem of the State, or if professors conceal themselves in a morass of 'ethical' and 'moral' abstract values, duties, and purposes.

2.1 Three Leading Conceptions of the State

Generally speaking, one can distinguish three different conceptions:

(a) Those who hold that the State is a more-or-less voluntary group of men under a ruling authority.

This is the largest group. We find in its ranks those who worship our present principle of legalized authority; in their eyes, the will of the people has no role whatsoever. For them, the mere existence of the State makes it sacred and inviolable. To accept this insanity of the human mind, one would need a sort of canine adoration for the so-called State authority. In the minds of such people, the means instantly become the end. The State no longer exists to serve men, but rather men exist for the purpose of adoring the authority of the State, which is vested in its bureaucrats, right down to the lowest official. To prevent this placid, ecstatic adoration from becoming disruptive, State authority is limited simply to the task of preserving peace and order. Now it, too, is no longer a means but an end. State authority must preserve peace and order, and peace and order must make possible the State's existence. All life must revolve between these two poles.

In Bavaria, this view is upheld by the artful politicians of the Bavarian Center, called the 'Bavarian People's Party'; in Austria, it was the Black-and-Yellow Legitimists. In the Reich, unfortunately, the so-called conservative elements follow the same line of thought.

(b) The second group is somewhat smaller. It includes those who at least make the State's existence dependent on a few conditions. They desire not only a uniform system of government but also, if possible, a uniform language—though solely for technical reasons of administration. State authority is no longer the sole and exclusive purpose of the State, but rather it must also promote the good of its subjects. Ideas of 'freedom,' mostly based on a misunderstanding of the word, enter into the State conception of these circles. The form of government is no longer considered inviolable simply because it exists; rather, it must prove its efficiency. Its venerable age no longer protects it from modern criticism. Moreover, its primary duty is to ensure the economic well-being of the individual citizens, and therefore it passes judgment primarily according

to principles of general economic profitability. The chief representatives of this view are to be found among the average German bourgeoisie, especially our liberal democrats.

(c) The third group is the smallest.

It sees the State as a means for realizing certain tendencies of political power, by a people who are ethnically homogeneous and speak the same language. The will for a common State language is expressed not only because they hope that this will supply a solid basis for an outward expression of power, but also because they think—basically falsely—that it would enable them to carry out a process of nationalization in a definite direction.

2.2 False Conceptions of 'Germanization'

During the last century it was regrettable to witness how these circles played with the word 'Germanization,' even though it was with the best of intentions. I remember how, in the days of my youth, this very term used to give rise to unbelievably false notions. Even in Pan-German circles, the opinion was expressed that the Austrian Germans might very well succeed in Germanizing the Austrian Slavs, if only the Government would be ready to cooperate. They didn't understand that Germanization can only be based on soil and not on mere people. What they mostly meant by this word was simply the forced acceptance of the German language.

But it's an almost inconceivable mental error to think that a Negro or a Chinese will become a German because he has learned the German language and is willing to speak it in the future, or even that he will vote for a German political party. Our bourgeois nationalists could never clearly see that any such Germanization is in reality a de-Germanization. Even if today all the obvious differences between the various peoples could be bridged over and finally wiped out by the use of a common language, that would begin a process of bastardization that, in our case, wouldn't signify Germanization but rather the destruction of the German element. In the course of history, it happens only too often that a conquering people succeeds in enforcing their language on their subjects, but that after a

thousand years, they speak the language of another people; thus the conquerors actually become the conquered.

That which makes a people, or better, a race, is not language but blood. Therefore it would only be justifiable to speak of Germanization if that process could change the blood of the subjected people. But this is impossible. A change would be possible only by a mixture of blood, but in this case the quality of the superior race would be debased. The final result of such a mixture would be the destruction of precisely those qualities that enabled the conquering race to achieve victory. It's especially the cultural force that disappears when a superior race intermixes with an inferior one, even if the resulting mongrels excelled a thousand-fold in speaking the language of the previously higher race. For awhile there will be a conflict between the different mentalities, and it may be that a nation in a state of progressive decay will, at the last moment, produce striking examples of cultural value. But these results are due only to individual elements of the higher race, or perhaps to bastards in whom, after the first mixing, the better blood still predominates and tries to assert itself; but never with the final products of such a mixture. They are always in a state of cultural retrogression.

Today we must consider it fortunate that a Germanization of Austria, according to the plan of Joseph II, did not succeed. The result would likely have been the survival of the Austrian State, but also a lowering of the racial quality of the German nation, due to a linguistic union. In the course of centuries, a certain herd instinct might have crystallized, but the herd itself would have become inferior. A national people might have been born, but a cultural people would have been lost.

For the German nation, it was better that this process of intermixture did not take place—even if not for any high-minded reasons but simply through the short-sighted pettiness of the Habsburgs. Had it turned out differently, the German people could not be regarded as a cultural factor today.

Not only in Austria, however, but also in Germany, these so-called national circles were, and still are, influenced by similarly false ideas. A Polish policy, involving a Germanization of the East, was demanded by

many and was unfortunately based on the same false reasoning. Here again it was believed that a Germanization of the Polish element could occur by a purely linguistic union. The result would have been catastrophic: A foreign people expressing their foreign thoughts in the German language, thus compromising the dignity and nobility of our own nation by their inferiority.

A terrible damage is indirectly done to Germanism today when, due the ignorance of many Americans, the German-babbling Jews are classified as Germans when they set foot on American soil! Surely no one would take the fact that these lice-ridden Eastern immigrants speak German as proof of their German origin and nationality.

That which has been beneficially Germanized in the course of history is the land that our ancestors conquered with the sword and settled with German farmers. To the extent that they introduced foreign blood into our national body in this process, they aided that catastrophic splintering of our inner being, resulting in our German hyper-individualism—something which is unfortunately frequently praised.

Also, in this third group there are people who, to a certain degree, consider the State as an end in itself. Hence they consider its preservation as one of the highest aims of human existence.

We can sum things up as follows: All these views have the common feature that they don't recognize, at root, that the capacity for creating cultural values is essentially based on a racial element. They therefore fail to acknowledge that the highest purpose of the State is to preserve and improve the race; this is an indispensable condition of all human cultural development.

2.3 The State is Not an End in Itself

The Jew Marx was able to draw the final conclusions from these false concepts and ideas on the nature and purpose of the State: By eliminating from the State-concept all thought of racial obligation, without finding any other formula that might be equally accepted, the bourgeois world prepared the way for a doctrine that rejects the State as such.

Even in this field, therefore, the bourgeois world's struggle against Marxist internationalism is absolutely doomed to failure. The bourgeoisie have already sacrificed the basic principles that alone could furnish a solid footing for their ideology. Their crafty opponent has perceived the defects in their structure and now assaults it with those weapons that they themselves have provided—though without meaning to do so.

It's therefore the first obligation of any new movement based on a folkish worldview, to put forth a clear and logical doctrine of the nature and purpose of the State.

The fundamental principle is that the State is not an end in itself, but the means to an end. It's the pre-condition of a higher form of human civilization, but it's not the cause. This cause is found exclusively in the existence of a culture-creating race. There may be hundreds of excellent States on this earth, and yet if the Aryan culture-bearer died out, no culture would exist that corresponds to the spiritual level of the highest peoples today. We may go still further and say that the fact that States have been created by human beings does not in the least exclude the possibility of the destruction of the human race, because the superior intellectual faculties and flexibilities of the racial bearers would be lost.

If, for example, the surface of the globe were shaken today by some seismic convulsion and if a new Himalaya emerged from the ocean waves, this one catastrophe alone might destroy human civilization. No State could exist any longer. All order would be shattered. And all vestiges of cultural products developed over thousands of years would disappear—nothing but one tremendous field of death submerged in water and mud. If, however, just a few people survived this horrible chaos, and if these people belonged to a culture-producing race, then, when the commotion had passed, even if after thousands of years, the earth would again bear witness to the creative power of the human spirit. Only with the destruction of the last culture-creating race and its individual members would the earth definitely be turned into a desert.

On the other hand, modern history gives examples showing that state institutions that owe their beginnings to a race that lacks creative genius won't endure. Just as many varieties of prehistoric animals gave way to

others and left no trace behind them, so man will also have to give way, if he loses that definite spiritual force that enables him to find the weapons necessary for his self-preservation.

It's not the State per se that brings about a certain definite advance in cultural progress; it can only protect the race that is the cause of such progress. The State per se may well exist unchanged for hundreds of years, though the cultural faculties and the general life of the people—which is shaped by these faculties—may have suffered profound changes because the State didn't prevent a racial mixture from taking place. The present State, for instance, may continue to exist in a merely mechanical form, but the racial poisoning of our national body brings about a cultural decay that, even now, manifests itself in terrifying ways.

Thus the indispensable precondition for the existence of a superior humanity is not the State but the nation, which alone possesses the essential ability.

This capacity is always there, though it lies dormant until external circumstances awaken it to action. Nations, or rather races, that are endowed with the faculty of cultural creativeness possess this faculty in a latent form, even if conditions are temporarily unfavorable to their realization. It's therefore outrageously unjust to speak of the pre-Christian Germans as 'cultureless,' as barbarians. They never have been that. But the severity of the prevailing climate of their northern homeland hampered development of their creative faculties. If they had come to the fairer climate of the south without any culture whatsoever, and if they had acquired the necessary tools from inferior nations, then the dormant cultural faculty would have blossomed radiantly—as happened in the case of the Greeks, for example. But this primordial culture-creating force wasn't solely due to their northern climate. The Laplander would not have become creators of a culture if they were transplanted to the south, nor would the Eskimo. No, this glorious creative faculty was only bestowed on the Aryan; it becomes active or lies dormant depending on whether there are favorable circumstances or whether adverse Nature prevents it.

From these facts the following conclusions may be drawn: The State is a means to an end. Its end is to preserve and promote a community of

people who are physically and mentally akin. First it must preserve the existence of the race, which thereby permits the free development of all the forces dormant in this race. A part of these forces will always have to serve primarily to maintain the physical existence of the race, and only the remaining portion will be free to promote intellectual progress. But as a matter of fact, the one is always the necessary precondition of the other.

States that don't serve this purpose have no justification for their existence; they are monstrosities. The fact that they do exist is no more of a justification than the success of a band of pirates can be considered a justification of piracy.

2.4 The National Socialist Conception of the State

We National Socialists, who are fighting for a new worldview, must never base our stand on the famous 'accepted facts'—and false ones at that. If we did, we would never be the protagonists of a new and great idea, but rather would become slaves of the present lie. We must make a clear-cut distinction between the State as a vessel and race as its contents. The vessel has meaning only if it preserves and safeguards the contents; otherwise it's worthless.

Hence the highest purpose of the folkish State is to guard and preserve those racial elements that, through the bestowing of culture, create the beauty and dignity of a higher mankind. As Aryans, we consider the State only as the living organism of a people—an organism that doesn't merely maintain a people's existence but leads them to a position of highest liberty by the progressive development of the spiritual and intellectual faculties.

What they want to impose upon us as a State today is usually nothing but a monstrosity—the product of a profound human error that brings with it untold suffering.

We National Socialists know that, in holding these views, we take a revolutionary stand in the present world, and that we are also branded as such. But our thoughts and actions won't be determined by the approval or disapproval of our contemporaries, but only by our obligation to a truth

that we have acknowledged. In doing this, we have reason to believe that the higher insight of posterity will not only understand our actions of today, but will also confirm and praise them.

2.5 Criteria for the Evaluation of a State

On these principles, we National Socialists base our standards for evaluating a State. This value will be relative when viewed from the particular standpoint of the individual nation, but absolute when considered from the standpoint of humanity as a whole. In other words, this means: The excellence of a State can never be judged by the level of its culture or the degree of importance that the outside world attaches to its power, but only by the degree to which its institutions serve its nationality.

A State may be considered as exemplary if it adequately serves not only the vital needs of the nationality it represents but if it actually ensures the preservation of this same nationality by its very existence—no matter the general cultural significance of this state formation in the eyes of the rest of the world. It's not the State's task to create human capabilities, but only to ensure free rein for the exercise of capabilities that already exist. On the other hand, a State may be called bad if, despite a high cultural level, it undermines the racial composition of the bearers of that culture. The practical effect of such a policy would be to destroy those conditions for the survival of that culture—something that the State did not create but which is the fruit of a culture-creating nationality that is secured by being united in the living organism of the State.

The State itself is not the contents but the form. Therefore, cultural level is not the standard by which we can judge the value of the State in which that people lives. It's evident that a people endowed with high creative powers in the cultural sphere are of more worth than a tribe of Negroes; and yet the state structure of the former, if judged from the standpoint of efficiency, may be worse than that of the Negroes. Not even the best of States and state structures can extract faculties from a people that lack them and never had them, but a bad State may gradually kill the

faculties that once existed by permitting or even promoting the destruction of the racial culture-bearers.

Therefore, the relative worth of a State can be determined only to the extent that it succeeds in promoting the well-being of a definite nationality, and not by the role it plays in the world at large.

Its relative worth can be estimated readily and accurately, but it's difficult to judge its absolute worth because this is conditioned not only by the State but also by the quality and cultural level of the nationality in question.

Therefore, when we speak of the higher mission of the State, we mustn't forget that it belongs to the nationality; the State must use its organizing powers for the free development of the people.

2.6 Consequences of our Racial Division

And if we ask what kind of state structure we Germans need, we must first clearly understand which kind of people it should contain and what purpose it should serve.

Unfortunately the German nationality is no longer based on a unified racial core. The mixing process of the original elements, however, has not gone so far as to justify speaking of a new race. On the contrary: The blood-poisoning of our national body, especially since the Thirty Years' War,[1] has degraded not only our blood but also our soul. The open borders of our fatherland, the association with non-German foreign elements in these borderlands, and especially the strong influx of foreign blood into the interior of the Reich itself, have prevented any complete assimilation of those various elements because of the steady influx. No new race arose from this melting-pot. Rather, the various racial elements continue to exist side by side, with the result that—especially in times of crisis, when the herd usually sticks together—the Germans disperse in all directions. The fundamental racial elements are not only scattered by district, but also

[1] The Thirty Years' War was a religious war in central Europe—mainly within present-day Germany—that ran from 1618 to 1648. Some 8 million lives were lost.

within single districts. Aside the Nordic type we find the East-European, aside the Easterner there is the Dinaric,[2] the Westerner intermingles with both—with cross-breeds among them all.

This is, on the one hand, a grave disadvantage: The Germans lack a strong herd instinct that arises from unity of blood and saves nations from ruin in dangerous and critical times; on such occasions, all petty differences disappear, and a united herd faces the enemy. The word 'hyper-individualism' arises from the fact that our primordial racial elements exist side by side without ever truly combining. During times of peace, such a situation may offer some advantages, but all things considered, it has prevented us from gaining world dominion. If the German people had historically possessed the herd unity that other peoples enjoyed, then the German Reich would today likely be mistress of the globe. World history would have followed another course, and in this case no one can tell if we might have reached, in this way, that which many blind pacifists hope to gain by begging, whining, and crying: namely, a peace based not upon the waving of olive branches by tearful, mournful, pacifist women, but a peace guaranteed by the triumphant sword of a master people, administering the world in the service of a higher culture.

The fact that our people do not have a nationality of unified blood has brought us untold misery. It gave capital cities to many petty German potentates, but it deprived the German people of their master right.

Even today our nation still suffers from this lack of inner unity; but the cause of our past and present misfortunes may turn out to be a future blessing for us. Though on the one hand it was a drawback that our racial elements were not mixed together, so that no homogeneous national body could develop, on the other hand it was fortunate that at least a part of our best blood was thus kept pure and escaped racial degeneration.

A complete assimilation of all our racial elements would certainly have brought about a homogeneous national organism; but, as has been proven in every case of racial mixture, it would have been less capable of creating

[2] 'Dinaric' refers to the indigenous people of the Dinaric Alps, a mountain range running across the former Yugoslavia—present-day Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia especially. Dinarics were seen as a mixture of the northern European and the southern.

a civilization than the highest of its original elements. This is the benefit of incomplete mixing: that even now we have large groups of unmixed German Nordic people within our national body, and that they are our most precious treasure for the future.

During that dark period of absolute ignorance in regard to all racial laws, when each individual was considered equal to every other, there could be no clear appreciation of the difference between the various fundamental racial characteristics. Today we know that a complete assimilation of all the various national elements might have resulted in giving us a larger share of external power; but the highest of human aims would not have been attained, because the only kind of people that fate has clearly chosen to bring about this perfection would have perished in such a racial mish-mash.

2.7 The State—A Weapon in the Life-Struggle

But what has been prevented by a kind fate, without any assistance on our part, must now be reconsidered and utilized in light of our new knowledge.

He who speaks of an earthly mission of the German people must know that this cannot be fulfilled except by creating a State whose highest purpose is to preserve and promote those nobler elements of our nation—and indeed of all mankind—that remain intact.

Thus, for the first time, the State has a higher inner goal. In opposition to that laughable phrase about preserving law and order, so that everyone can peacefully dupe everyone else, the State is given a very high mission: to preserve and encourage the highest type of humanity that a beneficent Almighty has bestowed on this Earth.

From a dead mechanism that claims to be an end in itself, a living organism must arise with one single purpose: to serve a higher ideal.

As a State, the German Reich must include all Germans. Its task is not only to assemble and preserve our most valuable racial elements, but to lead them slowly and surely to a dominant position.

CHAPTER 2

2.8 World History is Made by the Few

Thus a condition of stagnation is replaced by a period of struggle. And here, as in every other sphere, the proverb holds good that 'he who rests—rusts.' Furthermore, victory always lies with he who attacks. The greater the goal for which we struggle, and the lesser it be understood at the time by the broad masses, the more magnificent will be its success—as the experience of world history shows. And the success will be all the more significant if the end is properly conceived and the struggle carried through with unswerving persistence.

Many of the officials who presently direct the affairs of State may find it easier to work for the maintenance of the present order than to fight for a new one. They will find it more comfortable to look upon the State as a mechanism whose purpose is its own preservation, and to say that their lives 'belong to the State'—as they like to put it: as if anything that grew from the nationality could logically serve anything but the nationality, or as if man could serve anything else than man. Naturally it's easier, as I have said, to consider State authority as nothing but the formal mechanism of an organization, rather than as the sovereign incarnation of a people's instinct for self-preservation on this Earth. For the weak-minded, the State and its authority is nothing but an end in itself; while for us, it's only an effective weapon in the service of the great and eternal struggle for existence. It's a weapon that everyone must adopt, not because it's a merely formal mechanism but rather the main expression of our common will to preserve life.

Therefore, in the struggle for our new idea—which conforms completely to the primal meaning of things—we will find only a few fellow warriors in a social order that has become physically and mentally decrepit. From these classes, only a few exceptional people will join our ranks: only those few mature people with young hearts and vigorous minds—but not those who consider it their duty to maintain the present state of affairs.

Against us is the endless army of those who are lazy-minded and indifferent rather than evil, as well as those whose self-interest leads them to uphold the present situation. But in contrast with the apparent

hopelessness of our great struggle lie the magnitude of our task and the possibility of success. A battle-cry that, from the very start, scares off all the small-minded ones, or at least discourages them, will become the rally-signal for all those with real fighting natures. And this must be clearly recognized: If a highly energetic and active body of men emerge from a nation and unite in the fight for one goal, thereby ultimately rising above the inert masses, this small percentage will become masters of the whole. World history is made by the few—if these numerical minorities represent the will and determination of the majority.

What seems an obstacle to many is really a pre-condition of our victory. Precisely because our task is so great and because so many difficulties must be overcome, only the best kind of fighters will likely join our ranks. This selection is the guarantee of our success.

2.9 Dangers of Racial Mixing

Nature generally takes certain corrective measures with respect to racial purity. She has little love for the bastard. The products of cross-breeding suffer bitterly, especially the third, fourth, and fifth generations. Not only are they deprived of the higher parental qualities of the cross-breeding, but their lack of blood-unity also means a lack of unified will-power and vigorous vital energies. At all critical moments in which a racially-unified person makes correct—that is, coherent—decisions, the racially-mixed person becomes confused and takes half-measures. Taken together, this means not only the relative inferiority of the mixed-race person, but also in practice the possibility of a more rapid decline. In innumerable cases where race holds up, the bastard breaks down. In this we see the corrective action of nature. But often she goes further. She restricts the possibilities of procreation—thereby hindering the fertility of cross-breeds and driving them to extinction.

For instance, if an individual member of a race were to mix with someone of a lower race, the first result would be a lowering of the racial level, and furthermore the descendants of this cross-breeding would be weaker than those who remained racially unmixed. If new blood from the

superior race is blocked, and if the bastards continue to cross-breed among themselves, they will either die out because they have insufficient powers of resistance, which is Nature's wise provision, or in the course of many thousands of years they will form a new mixture in which the original elements will become so wholly mixed through this thousand-fold crossing that the original elements will be no longer recognizable. And thus a new people would be developed that possessed a certain herd resistance, but its intellectual and cultural significance would be markedly inferior to that of the first cross-breeds. But even in this last case, the mongrel product would succumb in the mutual struggle for existence, as long as a higher racial group remained unmixed. The herd solidarity of this new national body, even though developed over thousands of years, would still be no match in the struggle with an equally unified, but spiritually and culturally superior, race; it would lack the elasticity and creative capacity to prevail.

Hence we can establish the following valid principle: Every racial mixture necessarily leads, sooner or later, to the downfall of the mongrel product, as long as the higher part of this cross-breed still exists with any kind of racial unity. The danger to the mongrels ceases only with the bastardization of the last remaining elements of the higher race.

This principle is the source of a slow but steady process of regeneration in which all racial poisoning is gradually eliminated, as long as there remains a basic stock of pure racial elements that resists further bastardization.

Such a process may begin automatically among those people with a strong racial instinct, particularly those who have been thrown off the track of normal, racially-pure reproduction by some special condition or special compulsion. As soon as this compulsion ceases, that part of the race that has remained intact will tend to mate with its own kind, thus halting further mixture. Then the mongrels will recede quite naturally into the background, unless their numbers have increased so much that they can withstand all serious resistance from those who have remained racially pure.

When men have lost their natural instincts and ignore the obligations imposed on them by nature, then there's no hope that nature will correct the

loss that has occurred until a recognition of the lost instincts has been restored; then the task of restoring what has been lost must be accomplished.

But there's a serious danger that those who have become blinded once in this respect will repeatedly continue to break down racial barriers and finally lose the last remnants of what is best in them. What then remains is nothing but a uniform mish-mash, which seems to be the dream of today's famous world-reformers; but that mish-mash would soon banish all ideals from the world. Indeed: a great herd could thus be formed, a herd-animal produced by all sorts of ingredients. But a mixture of this sort could never produce a breed of men who were culture-bearers—or better, culture-founders and culture-creators. The mission of humanity might then be seen as at an end.

Anyone who doesn't wish for the Earth to fall into such a condition must realize that it's the task of the Germanic states in particular to bring a halt to this bastardization.

Our contemporary generation of weaklings will naturally decry such a policy, and whine and complain about it as an assault on the most sacred of human rights. No, there's only one right that is sacrosanct, and this right is at the same time a most sacred duty, namely: that the purity of the blood should be preserved, thus preserving the best types of human beings and rendering possible a nobler development of humanity itself.

2.10 The Folkish State and Racial Hygiene

A folkish State should begin by raising marriage above the level of being a constant scandal to the race. The State should consecrate it as an institution to produce creatures made in the likeness of the Lord, and not to create monsters that are a mixture of man and ape.

Protest against this on so-called humane grounds is inappropriate for a generation that makes it possible for the most depraved degenerates to propagate themselves, thereby imposing unspeakable suffering on their own offspring and their contemporaries—while on the other hand, contraceptives are permitted and sold in every drug store, and even by street venders, so that babies might not be born even among the healthiest

parents. In our present state of law and order, this brave, bourgeois-national world looks upon it as a crime to make procreation impossible for those who suffer with syphilis, tuberculosis, hereditary diseases, and also cripples and cretins. But the actual prevention of procreation among millions of our very best people is not considered an evil, nor does it offend against the noble morality of this social class, but rather encourages their short-sighted mental laziness. For otherwise theywould at least rack their brains to figure out how to create the conditions for the feeding and maintenance of those future beings who, as the healthy representatives of our nation, will someday serve the same function with respect to future generations.

How boundlessly unideal and ignoble is this whole system! People no longer bother to breed the best for posterity, but rather let things slide along, as best they can. The fact that the churches join in committing this sin against the image of God, even though they continue to emphasize the dignity of that image, is quite consistent with their present activities. They talk about the Spirit, but they allow man, as the embodiment of the Spirit, to become a degenerate proletarian. Then they are amazed at how little influence the Christian faith has in their own country, and at the depraved 'ungodliness' of this physically and therefore morally degenerate riff-raff. They then try to make up for it by converting the Hottentots and the Zulu Kaffirs, and to grant them the blessings of the Church. While our European people—God be praised—are left to become the victims of physical and moral depravity, the pious missionary goes out to Central Africa and establishes missions for Negroes. Eventually even there, healthy—though primitive and backward—people will be transformed, in the name of 'higher culture,' into a foul breed of bastards.

It would better accord with noble human aspirations if our two Christian churches would cease to bother the Negroes with missions that they don't want and don't understand. Instead, they should kindly but seriously teach the people of Europe that it's much more pleasing to God for a couple that is not healthy to show loving kindness to some poor orphan and become a father and mother to him, rather than give birth to a sickly child who will be a cause of suffering and unhappiness to all.

The folkish State will have to make up for everyone else's neglect in this area. It must put race at the center of all life. It must ensure its purity. It must declare that children are a people's most valuable treasure. It must see to it that only those who are healthy shall beget children. There is only one disgrace: for ill or defective parents to bring children into the world; and one highest honor: to refrain from doing so. Conversely, it must be considered reprehensible to refrain from giving healthy children to the nation. Here the State must assert itself as the trustee of a millennial future, by which the selfish desires of the individual count for nothing and must yield. To this end, the State must employ the most modern medical technologies. It must proclaim as unfit for procreation all those who are inflicted with some visible hereditary disease or are the carriers of it, and then must put this policy into actual practice. Conversely, it must ensure that the normally fertile woman is not restricted by the financial irresponsibility of a political regime that sees the blessing of children as a curse to their parents. The State will have to abolish the cowardly and even criminal indifference by which it handles the problem of social amenities for large families, and it will have to be the supreme protector of this greatest blessing of a people. Its attention and care must be directed more towards the child than the adult.

Those who are physically and mentally unhealthy and unfit must not perpetuate their own suffering in the bodies of their children. From an educational point of view, this is the greatest task for the folkish State to accomplish. Someday this work will appear greater and more significant than the most victorious wars of our present bourgeois era. Through education, the State must teach individuals that being sickly and ill is not a disgrace but rather an unfortunate accident, one to be pitied. But it's a crime and a disgrace to make this affliction all the worse by passing it on to innocent creatures out of mere egotism. And by comparison, it's an expression of a truly noble nature, and an admirable humanitarian act, if an innocently sick person refrains from having a child of his own but gives his love and affection to some unknown child who, through its health, promises to become a robust member of a healthy community. In accomplishing such an educational task, the State integrates its function

by this activity in the moral sphere. It must act without regard to the question of whether its conduct will be understood or misconstrued, blamed or praised.

If only for a period of 600 years, those individuals who are physically degenerate or mentally ill were to be prevented from procreating, humanity would not only be freed from an immense misfortune but also restored to such a condition as we at present can hardly imagine.

If the fertility of the healthiest portion of the nation were to be conscientiously and methodically promoted, the result would be a race that, at least, would have eliminated the germs of our present moral and physical decay.

Once a people and a State have started on this course, developing the most valuable racial core of the nation and increasing its fertility, the people as a whole will subsequently enjoy the blessings of a highly-bred racial stock.

To achieve this, the State should first of all not leave to chance the colonization of newly acquired territory, but should do so according to special norms. Specially-constructed racial committees should issue colonization certificates to individuals; these certificates should guarantee their racial purity. In this way, border colonies could gradually be founded, whose inhabitants would be of the purest racial stock and hence of the highest racial quality. This will make them a valuable asset to the whole nation; their development would be a source of pride and confidence to each citizen because they would contain the kernel for a great development of our nation—yes, and even of mankind itself.

The folkish worldview must finally succeed in bringing about a nobler era in which men will no longer pay exclusive attention to breeding dogs, horses, and cats, but will improve the breed of the human race itself.[3] It

[3] Such passages recall the similar intentions of Plato who, in the *Republic*, argued that wise rulers would breed the best possible citizens, not unlike the process with animal-breeders, who always try to breed "from the best." Plato explains: "And do you think that if they weren't bred in this way, your stock of birds and dogs would get much worse? What about horses and other animals? Are things any different with them? ... If this also holds true of human beings, our need for excellent rulers is indeed extreme." (459a-c)

will be an era in which one class knowingly and silently renounces, while the other joyfully sacrifices and gives.

That such a thing is possible cannot be denied in a world where hundreds and thousands voluntarily accept the principle of celibacy, without being obliged or bound to do so by anything except religious injunction.

Why wouldn't it be possible to induce people to make this sacrifice if, instead of such a precept, they were simply told that they ought to put an end to this original sin of racial poisoning? And further, if they realized their duty to give to the Almighty Creator beings such as he himself created?

Naturally, our wretched army of contemporary bourgeois won't understand this. They will ridicule the idea, or shrug their shoulders and groan out their eternal excuses: "Of course it's a fine thing, but it can't be done!" And we reply, true, it can't be done by *you*—your world isn't fit for it! You have only one concern: your own life; and only one God: your money! Thus we turn not to you for help, but to the great army of those who are too poor to consider their personal lives as the highest good on earth. They place their trust not in gold but in other gods. Above all we turn to the vast army of our German youth. They are growing up in a great epoch, and they will fight against the evils that were due to the laziness and indifference of their fathers. Either the German youth will one day create a new folkish State or they will be the last witnesses of the complete collapse and end of the bourgeois world.

For if a generation suffers from defects that it recognizes and admits, and is nevertheless quite pleased with itself—as the bourgeois world is today—and is satisfied with the cheap excuse that nothing can be done, then such a society is doomed. A marked characteristic of our bourgeois is that they can no longer deny the failings that exist. They must admit that much is foul and wrong, but they're no longer able to fight against the evil, which would mean mobilizing the forces of 60 or 70 million people to oppose this danger. On the contrary: When such an effort is made elsewhere, they only indulge in silly comments and try, from a safe distance, to show that such an approach is theoretically impossible and doomed to failure. No argument is too absurd to be employed in the service of their own dwarfishness and moral attitude. If, for example, a

whole continent wages war against alcoholism, so as to free a people from this devastating vice, our bourgeois European offers nothing better than an incredulous stare and head-shaking, a superior ridicule—something appropriate for this ridiculous society.[4] But when all this ridicule comes to nothing, and in that part of the world this sublime and intangible attitude is effective and successful, then such success is questioned or deprecated. Even moral principles are used in this slanderous campaign against a struggle that aims at suppressing the greatest immorality.

No—we must have no mistake about this: Our contemporary bourgeoisie has become worthless for any such noble human task because it has lost all sense of quality and is evil. Evil, not so much—I'd say—because evil is desired but rather because of an incredible laziness and all that comes with it. That's why those political societies that call themselves 'bourgeois parties' are nothing but associations to promote the interests of certain professional groups and classes. Their highest aim is to defend their own selfish interests as best they can. It's obvious that such a politicized 'bourgeois' guild is fit for anything other than a struggle; especially when the adversaries are not small businessmen but the proletarian masses, incited to extremes and determined to do their worst.

2.11 Educational Principles of the Folkish State

If we consider it the first duty of the State to serve and promote the general welfare of the people by preserving and encouraging the development of the best racial elements, it's natural that this task cannot be limited to measures concerning the birth of every little member of the race and nation. The State must also educate each citizen to become a worthy factor in the chain of future propagation.

Just as, in general, racial quality is the pre-condition for the intellectual achievement of any given human material, education must initially be directed towards the development of sound physical health; as a general rule, a strong and healthy mind is found only in a strong and

[4] Hitler refers to the then-recent American experiment with prohibition, which was enacted in 1920. (It was subsequently repealed in 1933.)

healthy body. The fact that geniuses are sometimes not robust in health, or even sickly, is no proof against this. These cases are only exceptions that—as everywhere else—prove the rule. But if the mass of people is physically degenerate, it's rare for a great spirit to arise from such a swamp. And in any case, his activities would never meet with great success. A degenerate mob will either be incapable of understanding him at all, or their will-power will be so weak that they cannot follow the soaring of such an eagle.

The folkish State, realizing this truth, must first of all base its educational work not on the mere imparting of knowledge but rather on absolutely healthy bodies. The cultivation of intellectual facilities comes only secondarily. And here again, it is character that has to be developed first of all, especially will-power and decisiveness, along with promoting a readiness to accept responsibility; technical schooling comes last.

Accordingly, a folkish State must start with the principle that a person of little formal training but who is physically robust, and with a firm character, decisive and strong of will, is a more valuable member of the national community than a clever weakling. A nation of scholars who are physically degenerate, weak-willed, and cowardly pacifists, can't reach to heaven and, indeed, can't even guarantee its own earthly existence. In the harsh struggle of fate, it's not he who knows the least that succumbs, but rather he who ignores the consequences of his knowledge and is weakest at putting them into action. There must be a certain harmony here. A degraded body is not made more beautiful by a radiant mind. We wouldn't be justified in bestowing the highest intellectual training on those who are physically deformed and crippled, or who in character are weak-willed, wavering, and cowardly. What makes the Greek ideal of beauty something immortal is the wonderful union of magnificent physical beauty with a brilliant mind and the noblest spirit.

Moltke's saying: "In the long run, fortune only favors the ablest,"[5] is certainly valid for the relationship between mind and body: a sound mind will generally—and in the long run—dwell only in a sound body.

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[5] Helmuth von Moltke (1800-1891), German Field Marshall under Bismarck; from his *On Strategy* (1871).

CHAPTER 2

Physical training in the folkish State is therefore not a matter for the individual alone, nor is it a duty that rests primarily on the parents and only secondly or thirdly on the community, but rather it's necessary for the preservation of the people who are represented and protected by the State.

Regarding purely formal education, the State even now interferes with the individual's right of self-determination and insists upon the right of the community by submitting the child to compulsory education without requesting the parents' approval or disapproval. Similarly, and to an even greater degree, the folkish State will one day enforce its authority over the ignorance and incomprehension of individuals regarding the preservation of the nation. It must organize its educational work such that young bodies will be systematically trained from childhood, so as to be hardened for later demands. Above all, the State must see to it that it doesn't raise a generation of slackers.

The work of education and hygiene has to begin with the young mother. Painstaking efforts carried on for several decades have achieved antiseptic cleanliness at childbirth and reduced postpartum infections to a relatively small number of cases. And so it ought to be possible, by instructing nurses and mothers, to institute a system of child training from early infancy onwards that will serve as an excellent basis for future development.

The folkish State must allow much more time for physical training in school. It's nonsense to burden young brains with loads of material, of which—as experience shows—they retain only the non-essentials because the young mind is incapable of sifting through all the stuff that's been pumped into it.

Today, even in the high school curriculum, only two short hours per week are reserved for gymnastics, and it's not even obligatory but left to the individual. This is a gross disproportion compared to purely intellectual instruction. Not a single day should go by in which the young pupil doesn't have one hour of physical training in the morning and one in the afternoon, and of every kind of sport and gymnastic.

There's one sport that should be particularly encouraged, although many who call themselves 'folkish' consider it brutal and vulgar: boxing. It's unbelievable how many false notions prevail among the 'educated'

classes. The fact that a young man learns how to fence and then to duel is considered quite natural and respectable, but boxing—that's brutal! Why? There's no other sport that equals this in developing the militant spirit, none that demands such lightning-fast decisions or that gives the body a steely flexibility. It's no more vulgar when two young men settle their differences with their fists than with sharpened pieces of steel. It's also no more vulgar for one who is attacked to defend himself with his fists, than one who runs off and yells for a policeman. But above all, a healthy youth has to learn to endure hard blows. This may appear savage to our contemporary warriors of the intellect. But it's not the purpose the folkish State to raise a colony of aesthetic pacifists and physical degenerates. This State doesn't consider the human ideal to be found in the honorable shopkeeper or the maidenly spinster, but in a defiant personification of manly force, and in women capable of bringing men into the world.

Generally speaking, then, the function of sport is not only to make the individual strong, agile, and daring, but also to harden him and train him to endure hardship.

If our entire intellectual upper-class had received not only a distinguished education, and if they had learned to box, it would never have been possible for low-lifes, deserters, and other such riff-raff to carry through a German revolution. The success of this revolution wasn't due to the bold, courageous energy of the revolutionaries but to the lamentable cowardice and indecision of those who ruled the State at that time and were responsible for it. But our educated leaders had received only an 'intellectual' education and thus were defenseless when their adversaries used crowbars instead of intellectual weapons. All this was possible only because our system of higher education didn't produce real men but rather civil servants, engineers, technicians, chemists, lawyers, journalists, and especially—to sustain the intelligentsia—professors.

Our intellectual leadership has always been brilliant, but regarding practical will-power, they have been beneath contempt.

Of course, education cannot turn a temperamental coward into a courageous man; but a naturally courageous man won't be able to develop that quality if, in the face of a defective education, he starts off with an inferior

level of physical strength and agility. The army offers the best example of the fact that the knowledge of one's physical ability develops a man's courage and militant spirit. Here we are dealing not with the heroes but rather with the broad average. The excellent training that German soldiers received before the war imbued the members of the whole gigantic organism with a degree of confidence in their own superiority that even our enemies never thought possible. All the immortal examples of dauntless spirit and courage that the German armies made during late summer and autumn of 1914 were the result of that systematic training. During the long years of pre-war peace, frail bodies were made capable of incredible deeds, and thus developed a self-confidence that didn't fail them, even in the most terrible battles.

Our German people, who today lie broken and walked-upon by the rest of the world, need the power that comes from self-confidence. But this self-confidence must be instilled into our children from their early years. The whole system of education and training must be directed towards instilling in the child a conviction that he is unquestionably the best. He must recover his own physical strength and agility in order to believe in his nation's invincibility. What had formerly led the German armies to victory was the sum total of the confidence that each individual had in himself, and which all together had in their leadership. What will revive the German people is confidence in the possibility that they will regain their freedom. But this confidence can only be the final product of the same feeling in millions of individuals.

And here again we must have no illusions: The collapse of our people was overwhelming, and the efforts to put an end to this misery must also be overwhelming. It would be a bitter mistake to believe that our people could be made strong again simply by means of our present bourgeois training in peace and order. That won't suffice if we hope to smash the present world order—which spells our doom—and to hurl the broken chains of slavery in the face of our opponents. Only by a superabundance of national will-power, a thirst for freedom, and the highest passion can we recover what has been lost.

2.12 Supervision Between School- and Military-Age

Youth clothing should also harmonize with this purpose. It's truly lamentable to see how our young people have fallen victim to a fashion mania that distorts the meaning of the old saying, 'Clothes make the man.'

Especially in the youth, clothes should be put in the service of education. The boy who walks about in summer-time wearing long baggy pants and covered up to the neck is hampered even by his clothes in any feeling towards physical exercise. We must appeal to ambition and, quite frankly speaking, even vanity. Not such vanity as leads people to desire fine clothes that only a few can afford, but rather that which develops a beautiful, well-formed body—something that everyone can attain.

This is also useful in later years. The young girl must get to know her sweetheart. If physical beauty weren't completely thrust into the background today through our ridiculous fashions, it wouldn't be possible for thousands of our girls to be seduced by bow-legged, repulsive Jewish mongrels. It's also in the national interest that those who have a beautiful body should find one another, thus giving the nation renewed beauty.

We have no military training today, and this is all the more necessary because it was the only institution that, in peace-time, at least partly made up for what was lacking in our education system. The success of our old training showed itself not only in the education of the individual but also in the influence it exercised over relations between the sexes. Young girls preferred the soldier to the non-soldier.

The folkish State must not confine its control of physical training to the official school period, but must continue this training after the boy leaves school and as long as his body is still developing; this will be to his long-term benefit. It's stupid to think that the right of the State to supervise its young citizens suddenly comes to an end the moment they leave school, and returns only with military service. This right is a duty, and as such it must continue at all times. The present State, which has no interest in developing healthy people, has criminally neglected this duty. It leaves our contemporary youth to be corrupted on the streets and in the

brothels, instead of taking them in hand and continuing their physical training until the day they have grown into healthy men and women.

It doesn't matter today what form the State chooses for carrying on this education. The essential thing is that it should be developed, and that it should seek out the most suitable ways of doing so. The folkish State will have to regard post-school physical training as a public duty, one equal to intellectual training; these should be conducted through public institutions. Its general outlines can be a preparation for subsequent military service. The army will then no longer have to teach young men the most elementary drill routine, and in fact won't have to deal with recruits in the present sense at all; rather it will simply have to transform youth with flawless physical training into soldiers.

In the folkish State, the army will therefore no longer be obliged to teach individuals how to walk and stand erect, but will be the last and highest school of patriotic education. In the army, the young recruit will learn the art of bearing arms, but at the same time he will be equipped for his other duties in later life. And the supreme aim of military education must always be to achieve that which the old army regarded as its highest merit: in this school, the boy must be transformed into a man; and in this school he must not only learn to obey but also how to command. He must learn to remain silent not only when he is justly rebuked but also, if necessary, when unjustly rebuked.

Furthermore, confident in his own strength and in the basis of that commonly-experienced esprit de corps, he must become convinced that he belongs to a people who are invincible.

After he has completed his military training, he'll receive two certificates: his citizen's diploma, which is a legal document that admits him to public affairs; and secondly a health certificate, which guarantees his fitness for marriage.

The folkish State will also have to direct the education of girls, analogously to that of boys. Here again, special importance must be given to physical training, and only later to spiritual and intellectual values. The final goal of female education should always be that she will one day be a mother.

2.13 Training in Secrecy

Only secondarily should the folkish State promote the training of character, in every way.

Of course, the essential traits of the individual character are already inherent: A person who is fundamentally egoistic will always remain so, and the idealist will always remain fundamentally an idealist. But apart from those with distinct characters, there are millions who are indefinite and vague. The born criminal will always remain a criminal; but numerous people who show only a certain tendency toward criminal acts may become useful members of the community, if rightly trained; whereas, on the other hand, unstable characters may easily become bad elements, if the education is bad.

How often during the war did we hear that our people were incapable of silence! How hard this made it to keep highly important secrets from the enemy! But let's ask this question: What did the German educational system do in pre-war times to teach individuals about secrecy? Wasn't it true that, in school, the little tattle-tale was preferred to his silent companions? Isn't it true that then, as now, complaining about others was considered praiseworthy 'candor,' while secrecy was taken as obstinacy? Has any attempt ever been made to teach that secrecy is a precious and manly virtue? No, for such matters are trifles in the eyes of our educators. But these trifles cost our State innumerable millions in legal fees, because 90 percent of all defamation lawsuits arise only from a lack of discretion. Irresponsible remarks are thoughtlessly repeated, and our economic welfare is continually harmed because important production methods are thus disclosed. Secret preparations for our national defense are rendered illusory because our people have never learned to stay silent, but rather they repeat everything they hear. In wartimes, such talkativeness may even cause the loss of battles and therefore may directly contribute to an unsuccessful military outcome.

Here again, we may rest assured that adults cannot do what they haven't practiced in youth. A teacher shouldn't try to discover boys' silly tricks by encouraging loathsome tattle-tales. Youth have their own State, and they face adults with a certain solidarity—this is quite natural. The

ties that bind ten-year-old boys together are stronger and more natural than their relationship to adults. A boy who snitches on his friend commits an act of treason, and displays a character that is, bluntly speaking, the equivalent of treason to one's country. Such a boy must never be called 'good' or 'upstanding,' but rather as one of undesirable character. A teacher may find it convenient to make use of such vices to enhance his authority, but in this way, the seed of a moral habit is sown in young hearts that may one day prove catastrophic. More than once, a young informer has developed into a big scoundrel!

This is only one example among many. There is virtually no deliberate training of fine and noble character traits in our schools today. In the future, this will demand much more emphasis. Loyalty, self-sacrifice, and discretion are virtues that a great nation must possess, and their teaching is a more important matter than many others things now included in the curriculum. Giving up habits of complaining, whining, crying when they are hurt, etc., also belongs to this matter. If an educational system fails to teach the child at an early age to endure pain and injury without complaining, we cannot be surprised if, later on, when a man is, for example, fighting at the Front, the postal service is used for nothing more than to send whining letters and complaints. If during their years in primary school, our youth had had their minds crammed with a little less knowledge and a little more self-control, it would have served us well during the years 1915 to 1918.

Thus in its educational system, the folkish State must attach the highest importance to the development of character, hand-in-hand with physical training. Many moral weaknesses in our national body could be eliminated, or at least much reduced, by this kind of education.

2.14 Joy in Responsibility

The highest importance should be attached to the training of will-power and decisiveness, and also the joyful acceptance of responsibility.

In the army, a standard principle held that any order is always better than none. Applied to our youth, this becomes: any answer is better than

none. Fear of replying, because one is afraid to be wrong, ought to be considered more humiliating than giving a wrong answer. On this primitive basis, our youth should be trained to have the courage to act.

It has been often lamented that, in November and December 1918, all authorities failed and that, from the monarch on down to the last divisional commander, no one had the strength to make a decision of his own responsibility. That terrible fact constitutes a grave rebuke to our educational system because what was then revealed on a colossal scale, at that moment of catastrophe, recurs on a smaller scale. It's the lack of will-power, and not the lack of arms, that renders us incapable of resistance today. This defect is found everywhere among our people and prevents decisive action wherever risks are found—as if any great deed did not involve risk. Quite unsuspectingly, a German general found a formula for this lamentable spinelessness when he said: "I act only when I can count on a 51 percent chance of success." In that '51 percent' we find the very root of the German collapse: The man who demands from Fate a guarantee of success deliberately denies the significance of a heroic act. For in this lies the very fact that an action is undertaken that may lead to success, despite knowing that the situation is fraught with mortal danger. A cancer victim who faces certain death if he doesn't have an operation, needs no 51 percent chance of success. And if the operation promises only a half-percent chance of success, a courageous man will risk it and won't otherwise whine about his life.

All in all, the cowardly lack of will-power and indecisiveness are chiefly results of the faulty education of our youth—with disastrous effects later in life. The crowning example of this is the lack of civil courage in our leading statesmen.

Along the same line, we see the present-day cowardice towards responsibility. Here too, it's the fault of the education of our youth, which permeates all aspects of public life, and finds its immortal consummation in the institution of parliamentary government.

Even at school, unfortunately, more value is placed on 'repentant' confession and 'contrite renunciation' by our little sinners, than on a frank avowal. But this latter seems today, in the eyes of many educators, the surest

sign of utter incorrigibility and depravation. And, incredible as it may seem, many a boy is told that the gallows awaits him because he has shown certain traits that would be of inestimable value in the nation as a whole.

Just as the folkish State must one day give its attention to developing will-power and decisiveness among the youth, so too must it inculcate in their hearts, from early childhood onwards, a joy in responsibility and the courage of avowal. Only if it recognizes the full importance of this necessity, will it—after centuries of educational work—succeed in building up a nation that will no longer be subject to those weaknesses that have contributed so disastrously to our present decline.

2.15 No Overloading of the Brain

Technical training, which constitutes the chief work of our educational system today, can be overtaken by the folkish State with only a few changes. These changes lie in three areas.

(1) First of all, the youthful brain must generally not be burdened with subjects that are 95 percent useless and therefore forgotten. In particular, primary and secondary school curricula present an odd mixture today; in many cases, the subject matter to be learned has become so enormous that only a small fraction can be recalled, and only a small fraction of this whole mass can be used. On the other hand, it's inadequate for the man working and earning his daily bread in a given field. Take, for example, the average civil servant who graduated from the Gymnasium or high school, and ask him at the age of 35 or 40 how much of that painfully-acquired knowledge he has retained. How little of all that stuff pounded into him does he retain!

He will surely answer: "Well, the mass of stuff taught wasn't for the sole purpose of supplying a future stock of knowledge, but it served to develop intellectual skills, thinking powers, and especially memory." That's partly true. And yet there's a danger in flooding a young brain with impressions that it can hardly master, and whose various elements it cannot discern or appreciate at their proper value. Besides, it's generally the most essential knowledge that's forgotten and sacrificed, not the incidental. Thus the main purpose of so much learning is lost; so it can't

be that the purpose was to develop intellectual skills after all, but rather to supply a stock of knowledge that will be needed later in life and which will benefit the community. And even this goal becomes illusory if, because of the over-abundance of material forced on him in youth, the man can't remember anything or has lost the essentials.

There's no reason, for example, why millions of people should learn two or three languages, when only a small fraction will use them later in life, and hence that most will entirely forget. Out of 100,000 students who learn French, for example, barely 2,000 will be able to make use of this later in life, while 98,000 will never have a chance to practice what they learned in youth. They have therefore spent thousands of hours on a subject that will later be of no value or meaning to them. And the objection that this forms part of a general education is invalid, because it would only hold true if people could retain for life everything they had learned. So in reality, 98,000 are tortured for nothing and waste their valuable time just for the sake of the 2,000 for whom the knowledge of this language will be useful.

In the case of the French language, it cannot even be said that learning it educates the student in sharp, logical thinking, as applies to Latin, for example. It would therefore be much better to teach young students only the general outline, or better, the inner structure of such a language, thus allowing them to discern the characteristic features of the language, or perhaps to introduce the rudiments of its grammar, pronunciation, syntax, etc., by using examples. This would suffice for general use because it would be easier to visualize and remember, and it would be more practical than the present-day cramming into their heads of the whole language, which they can never master and will later forget. We would thereby avoid the danger that, out of the overflowing abundance of matter, only a few crumbs would remain in the memory. The youth would then have to learn what is worthwhile, and the selection between the useful and the useless would thus have been made in advance.

For most, a knowledge and understanding of the rudiments of a language would suffice for the rest of their lives. And those who really do need this language would thus have a foundation on which to start, should they choose to make a more thorough study of it.

Thus we would gain the necessary amount of time for physical training, as well as for the increased demands in the various fields already mentioned.

A change of particular importance ought to take place in present methods of teaching history. Hardly any other people study as much history as the Germans; and hardly any make such a bad use of it. If politics is history in the making, then our historical education stands condemned by the way we have conducted our politics. Here again, there would be no point in bemoaning the lamentable results of our political conduct unless one were determined to provide a better political education. In 99 out of 100 cases, the results of our present history teaching are deplorable. A few dates, birthdates, and names are retained, while the primary trends are completely lacking. The essentials that are of real significance are not taught, and it's left to the more- or less-gifted intelligence of the individual to discover the inner motives amid the mass of dates and sequence of events.

One may object as strongly as one likes to this unpleasant statement; but read with attention the speeches that our parliamentarians make during one session alone on political problems and on questions of foreign policy in particular; remember that these men are—or claim to be—the elite of the German nation, and that many, at least, have attended secondary schools and even universities. Then you'll realize how defective the historical education of these people has been. If they had never studied history at all but had possessed a sound instinct, things would have been better and more profitable for the nation.

2.16 General Education—Specialized Education

The subject matter of our historical teaching must be curtailed. The chief value of that teaching is to understand the principal lines of development. The more our historical teaching is limited to this task, the more we may hope that it will turn out to be advantageous to the individual and, subsequently, to the community. History must be studied not merely with a view to knowing the past but as a guide for the future,

and for the preservation of our own people. That's the goal, and the teaching of history is only a means to it. But today the means has become the end, and the real end is completely lost. Don't reply that a proper study of history demands a detailed knowledge of all these dates because otherwise we couldn't establish the great lines of development. That task belongs to the specialist. But the average man is not a history professor. For him, history exists only to provide the historical knowledge necessary to form an independent opinion on the political affairs of his nation. The man who wants to become a history professor can devote himself to the details later on. Naturally he will have to occupy himself with even the smallest details. But for this, our present teaching of history is insufficient; its scope is too vast for the average student and too limited for the specialized expert.

Finally, it's a folkish State's task to arrange for the writing of a world history in which the race question occupies a dominant position.

To sum up: The folkish State must restrict our system of general instruction in order to embrace only the essentials. Beyond this, it must make possible a more advanced, specialized teaching. It suffices for the average person to be acquainted with the fundamentals of the various subjects as a foundation, and he should undertake exhaustive and detailed study only in a field in which he intends to work for the rest of his life. General instruction in all subjects should be obligatory, and specialization should be left to individual choice.

This shortening of the curriculum would free up many hours for development of the body, character, will-power, and decisiveness.

The fact that men who are destined for the same calling in life are educated in three different kinds of schools demonstrates how irrelevant our school training is today, especially in the high schools.

In reality, only a general education is of decisive importance, and not specialized knowledge. And when special knowledge is needed, it cannot—as already stated—be achieved in the curriculum of our present-day high schools.

Therefore the folkish State must someday abolish such half-measures.

CHAPTER 2

2.17 The Value of Humanistic Education

(2) The second change in curriculum that the folkish State must make is the following: It's a characteristic of our materialistic age that our scientific education is turning ever-more towards practical subjects, such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. These are necessary in an age dominated by technology and chemistry, and where everyday life shows at least the external manifestations of such fields. But it's dangerous to base a nation's general education on these subjects. On the contrary, it should always to be directed toward ideals. It should be founded on humanistic subjects, and offer only the foundation for further education in a specialized field. Otherwise we would sacrifice those forces that are more important for the preservation of the nation than any technical knowledge.

In historical education, we must not omit the study of ancient history. Roman history, along general lines, is and will remain the best teacher, not only for today but also for all times. And the ideal of Hellenistic culture should be preserved for us, in all its marvelous beauty. We mustn't allow the larger racial society to be torn apart by differences between the various peoples. The struggle of our times is being waged for great objectives: A civilization is fighting for its existence—a civilization combining Greek and German elements, and millennia in the making.

A sharp division must be made between general education and specialized knowledge. Today the latter threatens more and more to devote itself exclusively to the service of Mammon. To counterbalance this tendency, general education should be preserved, at least in its ideal forms. It must be repeatedly emphasized that industry and technology, trade and commerce, can flourish only as long as an idealistic folkish society provides the necessary preconditions. These lie not in materialistic egoism but in a spirit of self-sacrifice and joyful renunciation.

2.18 Prevailing 'Patriotic' Education

Present-day education, by and large, sees its principal goal as pumping knowledge into young people that will be useful later in life. It's expressed as follows: "The young man must one day become a useful member of society." By this they mean the ability to earn one's daily bread with dignity. Superficial civic training, which one acquires merely by accident, has very weak foundations. In itself, the State represents only a form, and it's very difficult to educate people about it, let alone develop a sense of responsibility. A form can too easily be broken. But as we have seen, the idea of 'the State' has no clear meaning today. Therefore we have nothing but the current 'patriotic' education.

In the old Germany, great emphasis was placed on the divine right of the small and even smallest potentates—and in ways that were never very clever and often very stupid. Due to their large numbers, it was impossible to adequately appreciate our nation's truly great men. As a result, the broad masses received a very inadequate knowledge of German history. Here, too, the great lines of development were missing.

It's obvious that no real national enthusiasm could be aroused in such a way. Our educational system lacked the art of selecting from the general mass of history a few names that our people could be proud to look upon as their common heritage, and thus to unite the whole nation in a common bond. They didn't understand how to make the really important figures appear as outstanding heroes, to focus attention on them, and thus to create a unified mood. They were incapable of selecting among the various subjects that were taught, to raise them above the common objective level, in order to inflame our national pride through such shining examples. At that time, this would have been looked upon as rank chauvinism, which didn't then meet with much approval. Comfortable dynastic patriotism was more acceptable and more easily tolerated than the glowing passion of a supreme national pride. The former was always ready to serve, whereas the latter might one day become master. Monarchist patriotism culminated in veterans' associations, whereas passionate national patriotism might have been hard to control. It's like a thoroughbred horse

that is fussy about whom he'll tolerate in the saddle. No wonder that most people preferred to shirk such a danger!

No one seemed to think it possible that one day a war might come that would put this kind of patriotism to the test, in artillery fire and clouds of gas. But when it came, our lack of patriotic passion was avenged in a terrible way. People had no enthusiasm about dying for their imperial and royal lords, and the 'nation' was unknown to most of them.

Since the German Revolution and the death of the monarchy, the purpose of teaching history has been nothing more than merely acquiring knowledge. The State has no use for patriotic enthusiasm, but it will never obtain what it really wants. If dynastic patriotism failed to produce a supreme power of resistance at a time of heightened nationalism, still less will it arouse republican enthusiasm. There can be no doubt that the German people would not have stood on the battlefield for four and a half years to fight under the slogan 'For the Republic'; and least of all those who created this grand institution.

Actually, this Republic has been allowed to exist only by its willingness and promise to all, to pay reparations and to sign every territorial renunciation. The rest of the world finds it sympathetic; just as a weakling is always more pleasing to those who need him than a tough man. But the fact that the enemy likes this form of government is the most destructive criticism. They love the German Republic and tolerate its existence because they could find no better instrument for enslaving our people. This magnificent institution owes its existence to this fact alone. And that's why it can renounce any real system of national education and content itself with cries of 'hurrah' from their Reich banner heroes, when in reality they would scamper away like rabbits if called upon to defend that banner with their blood.

The folkish State will have to fight for its existence. It won't gain or secure this existence by signing documents like the Dawes Plan.[6] For its existence and defense, it will need precisely those things that our present

[6] The Dawes Plan was named after Charles Dawes, vice president under Calvin Coolidge. It was essentially a repayment plan for debt forced on Germany after World War One. See also *Mein Kampf*, vol. 1 (chap. 10, sec. 10.7).

system believes it can do without. The more worthy its form and content, the greater will be the envy and opposition of its opponents. Its best defense lies not in its arms but in its citizens; fortress walls won't save it, but only the living walls of its men and women, filled with the highest love for their country and a passionate national patriotism.

2.19 Awakening of National Pride

(3) Therefore, the third point to be considered in our educational system is the following:

The folkish State must realize that science too can be a means of promoting national pride. Not only world history but the whole history of civilization must be taught from this standpoint. An inventor must appear great not only as an inventor but also, and even more so, as a member of the nation. The admiration for every great achievement must be transformed into a feeling of pride about a member of one's own people. Out of the abundance of great names in German history, the greatest must be selected and presented to the youth in such a way as to become pillars of an unshakable national spirit.

The subject matter must be systematically organized along these lines, such that, when the young man leaves school, he won't be a semi-pacifist, democrat, or some such thing, but a whole-hearted German.

In order to ensure that this national feeling be sincere from the very beginning, and not a mere pretence, one iron principle should be hammered into the heads of those capable of learning: The man who loves his people can prove it only by a readiness to sacrifice for it. There's no such thing as a national sentiment that is directed towards personal gain. And there's no nationalism that embraces only certain classes. Shouts of 'hurrah' prove nothing and do not confer the right to call oneself national if, behind it, there's no great, loving concern for the preservation of national well-being. One can be proud of one's people only if we are unashamed of every class. When half a nation is sunk in misery and woe, or even depraved, it presents such a sorry picture that no one can feel proud of it. Only when a nation is healthy in all its members, in body and

soul, can a joy of belonging be properly raised to the level of national pride. And this highest pride can be felt only by those who know the greatness of their nation.

The spirit of nationalism and a sense of social justice must be fused and implanted in the hearts of the young. Then some day a nation of citizens will arise, bound and forged together, in a common love and a common pride, invincible and indestructible forever.

Our present-day fear of chauvinism is a sign of impotence. Lacking an exuberant energy, and even finding such a thing distasteful, fate will never select our nation for any great deed. The greatest revolutions on this earth would have been inconceivable if they had been inspired, not by ardent and even hysterical passions, but only by the bourgeois virtues of law and order.

This world is certainly facing a great revolution. The only question is whether it will be to the benefit of Aryan humanity or to the profit of the eternal Jew.

The folkish State must ensure that, through a suitable education of the youth, it will someday create a people adequate for the final and greatest decisions on this Earth.

The nation that is first to take this path will be victorious.

2.20 Instilling a Sense of Race

The crowning task of the whole organization of education and training in the folkish State is to instill a racial instinct and a racial feeling into the hearts and brains of the youth entrusted to it. No boy or girl must leave school without attaining a clear insight into the necessity and essence of blood purity. This creates the groundwork for preserving the racial foundation of our nation, and it thereby secures the basis for future cultural development.

In the last analysis, all physical and intellectual training would be in vain unless it benefitted something that was ready and determined to preserve its own existence and special qualities.

Otherwise, something would result that we Germans already have cause to regret, without perhaps realizing the full extent of the tragic calamity: We would be doomed in the future to remain only cultural

manure. And not in the banal sense of the contemporary bourgeois view—which sees the loss of a fellow member of our people only as a lost citizen—but in the painful realization that, despite our knowledge and ability, our blood will decline. By continually mixing with other races, we might lift them up from a lower cultural level to a higher grade, but we would descend forever from the heights we had attained.

Finally, from a racial standpoint, this training also must find its culmination in military service. Military service is to be the final stage of the average Germans' normal training.

2.21 State Selection of the Fit

While the folkish State attaches the greatest importance to physical and mental training, it also has to consider the equally-important task of selecting people. This matter is taken lightly at present. Generally, only the children of well-situated parents are considered worthy of higher education. Questions of talent play a subordinate part. But talent can be evaluated only relatively. Though in terms of general knowledge he may be inferior to the bourgeois child, a peasant boy may be more talented than the son of a family with upper-class status for many generations. But this greater knowledge in itself has nothing to do with a greater or lesser degree of talent, but rather is rooted in the greater stimulation arising from a more varied education and richer conditions of life. If the talented peasant-boy were educated in similar surroundings, his intellectual accomplishments would be quite different.

Today there's only one sphere where the person's family of birth means less than his innate gifts: the sphere of art. Here, where one cannot just 'learn' but must have skills that later on may undergo a more or less successful development—in the sense of a wise progression of what's already there—money and parental standing are almost irrelevant. This is good proof that genius is not necessarily connected with higher social standing or wealth. Not rarely, the greatest artists come from poorest households. And many a small-town boy has eventually become a celebrated master.

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It doesn't say much for the mental acumen of our time that no one employs this truth for the sake of our whole intellectual life. Some think that this principle, though undoubtedly valid in the field of art, is inapplicable to the so-called applied sciences. It's true that a man can be trained to a certain amount of mechanical dexterity, just as a poodle can be taught incredible tricks. But such training doesn't cause the animal to use his intelligence in order to act, and the same is true for man. It's possible to teach men, regardless of talent, to go through certain technical exercises, but in such cases the results are as unthinking as for the animal. In principle, one could even force an average man, by means of intellectual drilling, to acquire a more-than-average amount of knowledge; but that knowledge, in the final analysis, would be sterile. The result would be a man who might be a walking dictionary but would fail miserably on every critical occasion in life and at every decisive juncture; such people must be specially trained for every new and insignificant task, and are incapable of contributing at all to the general progress of mankind. Those with such mechanically-drilled knowledge can, at best, qualify for a government job in our present regime.

It goes without saying that, among the sum total of individuals who make up a nation, talented people can always be found in every sphere of life. It's also obvious that the value of knowledge will be all the greater, the more that dead knowledge is animated by an individual's innate talent. Creative work can be done only through a marriage of knowledge and ability.

One example will suffice to show the boundless sin of present-day humanity. From time to time, our illustrated papers publish, for the edification of the German slacker, news that somewhere, for the first time, a Negro has become a lawyer, teacher, pastor, even a grand opera tenor or some such thing. While the pathetic bourgeois stares with amazement at the marvelous achievements of our modern educational technique, the clever Jew sees in this fact new evidence for the theory that he wants to infect the public with, namely that all men are equal.

It doesn't dawn on the murky bourgeois world that this published fact is a sin against reason itself; that it's an act of criminal insanity to train someone who is born half-ape to become a lawyer while, on the other hand, millions from the most civilized races have to remain in positions

unworthy of their cultural standing; that it's a sin against the will of the eternal Creator to allow hundreds of thousands of the most gifted people to remain floundering in the proletarian swamp while Hottentots and Zulus are trained for the intellectual professions. Here we have the product only of a scientific 'training,' just like a poodle. If the same amount of effort and care were applied to the intelligent races, each individual would become a thousand times more capable.

This state of affairs would become intolerable if a day came when such cases were no longer exceptional, but it's already intolerable where talent and natural gifts are not decisive factors in qualifying for a higher education. Indeed, it's intolerable to think that, year after year, hundreds of thousands of talentless people are deemed worthy of a higher education, while other hundreds of thousands of more talented ones go without any sort of higher schooling at all. The practical loss to the nation is incalculable. If, in recent decades, the number of important discoveries has increased, especially in North America, one reason is that more talented people from the lowest classes there have the possibility of a higher education than is the case in Europe.

Drilled-in knowledge won't suffice for the making of discoveries, but only that knowledge animated by talent. But with us at present, no value is placed on such gifts; only good grades matter.

Here too is another educational task awaiting the folkish State. Its task won't be to assure a dominant influence to an existing social class, but to select the most competent heads from the mass of the nation and promote them to place and honor. The duty of the State isn't only to give the average child a certain definite education in public school, but also to put talent on the proper track. Above all, it must open the doors of higher State education to talent of every sort, no matter from what social class it may come. It must fulfill this task, since only in this way can representatives of dead knowledge be transformed into brilliant national leaders.

There is still another reason why the State should provide for this situation: Our intellectual classes, particularly in Germany, are so segregated and fossilized that they lack a living connection with those beneath them. We suffer two consequences from this: First, the intellectual classes neither

understand nor sympathize with the broad masses. They have been disconnected for so long that they no longer possess the necessary psychological understanding of the people. They have become estranged from the people. Secondly, the intellectual classes lack the necessary willpower. This is always weaker in secluded intellectual circles than in the mass of simple people. God knows we Germans have never lacked in scientific education, but we've always been lacking in willpower and decisiveness. For example, the more 'intellectual' our statesmen have been, the generally weaker was their practical achievement. Our political preparation and our technical armaments for the World War were defective, certainly not because the brains governing the nation were insufficiently educated, but rather because they were over-educated—filled with knowledge and intelligence, yet without any sound instinct and bereft of energy and daring.

It was a tragic fate that our people had to fight for its existence under a chancellor who was a philosophical weakling. If instead of a Bethmann-Hollweg,[7] we had had a rugged man of the people as our leader, the heroic blood of the common soldier wouldn't have been shed in vain. Likewise, our leaders' exaggerated intellectual material proved to be the best ally of the scoundrels of the November Revolution. These intellectuals hoarded the national wealth instead of risking it fully, and thus they created the conditions for the success of others.

Here the Catholic Church offers an instructive example. Clerical celibacy forces the Church to recruit its priests not from their own ranks but increasingly from the masses of the people. Yet there aren't many who recognize the significance of this celibacy. It's the cause of the inexhaustible strength that characterizes that ancient institution. By thus unceasingly recruiting its spiritual dignitaries from the lower classes of the people, the Church not only maintains an instinctive bond with them but also assures itself of a sum of energy and active force that only exists in the broad masses. Hence the surprising youthfulness of this gigantic organism, its spiritual flexibility, and its iron willpower.

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[7] Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (1856-1921), German Chancellor during World War One.

2.22 Evaluation of Work

The folkish State's task is to organize and administer its educational system such that the existing intellectual class will be constantly resupplied with fresh blood from below. From the bulk of the nation, the State must sift out and carefully assess those persons who are endowed with natural talents, and employ them in community service. The State and statesmen don't exist to provide a living for members of a special class, but to fulfill their allotted tasks. This will only be possible if the State trains capable and strong-willed individuals for these offices. This applies not only to official positions but also to the intellectual leadership of the nation in all fields. The greatness of a people is also partly dependent on training the best heads for those fields suited to them, and then placing them in national public service. If two nations of equal strength compete, that nation will come out victorious that has entrusted its total intellectual leadership to its best talents; and that nation will lose whose government represents only a common feeding trough for privileged groups or classes, without regard to the in-born talents of its individual members.

Of course, this seems impossible in the present world. The objection will immediately be raised that it's too much to expect the son of a higher civil servant, for instance, to work with his hands simply because some child of working-class parents seems more capable of a civil service job. This argument may be valid in the present estimation of manual work. Therefore the folkish State will have to take up a fundamentally different attitude towards the concept of manual labor. It will have to abolish this view of physical activity, even if a system of long-term education if needed. The individual must be valued, not by the class of work he does, but by the form and quality of his achievement. This statement may sound monstrous in an age when the most brainless columnist is more esteemed than the most expert mechanic, merely because he pushes a pen. But, as stated, this false evaluation doesn't correspond to the nature of things, but rather was artificially introduced, and at one time didn't exist at all. The present unnatural condition is based on the generally diseased phenomena of our materialistic age.

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Fundamentally, every kind of work has a double value: purely material, and ideal. The material value depends on the practical importance of the work to community life. The more people who benefit from the work, directly or indirectly, the higher will be its material value. This evaluation is expressed in the material reward that the individual receives for his labor. Contrasted to material value is the ideal. Here the work is judged not by its material importance but its necessity. Certainly the material utility of an invention may be greater than the service of an everyday workman, but it's also certain that the community needs each of those small services just as much as the greater. From the material point of view, a distinction can be made in the evaluation of different kinds of work according to their utility to the community, and is expressed by corresponding reward; but in an ideal sense, all workmen become equal the moment each strives to do his best—whatever that may be—in his own field. A man's value must be based on this, and not on his reward.

In a rational State, care must be taken that each individual is given the kind of work that corresponds to his capabilities. In other words, people will be trained for the work best suited to their natural abilities. But these abilities or faculties are innate and cannot be learned, being as they are a gift from nature and not earned by men. Therefore, men's general civic value must not be given according to the kind of work they do, because that has been more or less fated to the individual.

Since the individual's job is based on his inborn gifts and the resultant public training, he will have to be judged by the way that he performs this work entrusted to him by the community. The work that the individual performs is not the goal of his existence, but only a means. It's more important that he develops and ennobles himself, but he can only do this within his cultural community, which in turn rests on the foundation of the State. He must contribute to the preservation of this foundation. Nature determines the form of this contribution; it's the individual's duty to return to the community, zealously and honestly, what the community has given him. He who does this deserves the highest respect and esteem. Material reward may be given to him whose work has a corresponding benefit to the community; but ideal reward must lie in the public esteem

granted to all those who serve the people with the powers that nature gave them, and which were developed by the national community. Then it will no longer be a disgrace to be an honest craftsman, but it will be disgraceful to be an incompetent bureaucrat, stealing God's daylight and one's daily bread from an honest public. Then it will be obvious that men shouldn't be given tasks that they are incapable of doing.

Furthermore, this activity will be the sole criterion of the right to participate, on an equal standing, in general civil affairs.

The present age is destroying itself; it introduces universal suffrage, and chatters about equal rights, but can find no basis for this. It considers material reward as the expression of a man's value, and thus shatters the foundation of the noblest kind of equality that can exist. Equality cannot and does not depend on the work a man does, but only on the manner in which each one fulfills his special obligations. Thus, mere accident of nature is set aside as determining a man's worth, and the individual alone becomes the creator of his own importance.

In the present age, when whole groups of people estimate each other's value only by their salaries, there is—as already said—no comprehension of all this. But that's no reason why we should stop fighting for our ideas. Quite the opposite: In an age that's inwardly diseased and decaying, anyone who would heal it must have the courage to expose the root causes of the disease. And this should be the concern of the National Socialist movement: to put aside petty bourgeoisie thinking, and to join together and coordinate all those popular forces ready to become the vanguard of a new worldview.

2.23 Ideal and Reality

Of course, the objection will be made that, in general, it's hard to differentiate between the material and ideal values of work, and that the lower prestige attached to physical labor is shown by its lower wages. And that these lower wages are in turn the reason why the manual worker has less chance to participate in the national culture. And that the ideal side of human culture is less open to him because it has nothing to do with his daily activities. And

that the disgust with physical labor is justified by the fact that, because of the small income, the cultural level of manual laborers must necessarily be low, and that this in turn is a justification for the lower evaluation.

There's much truth in all this. But that's the very reason why we must see that, in the future, there shouldn't be such a wide difference in wages. Don't say that this will result in poorer achievement. It would be the saddest sign of decadence if higher intellectual work could be obtained only through higher pay. If this viewpoint had dominated the world up to now, humanity would never have acquired its greatest scientific and cultural treasures. All the greatest inventions, the greatest discoveries, the most revolutionary scientific work, and the most magnificent monuments of human culture were never given to the world under the drive for money. On the contrary, not rarely was their birth associated with a renunciation of worldly pleasures.

It may be that gold has become the lone ruler of life today, but a time will come when men will again bow to higher gods. Much that we have today owes its existence to the desire for money and wealth, but there is very little among all this that would leave humanity poorer by its absence.

It's also one of our movement's tasks to bring about a day when the individual will receive what he needs to live, while upholding the principle that man doesn't live for material pleasure alone. This principle will find expression in a wiser scale of wages that will enable everyone, down to the humblest worker, to have an honest and decent life, both as a citizen and a person.

Let it not be said that this is merely an ideal vision that the world would never tolerate in practice, and is in itself unachievable.

We aren't so simple as to believe that there will ever be a perfect age. But that doesn't absolve us from the duty to combat recognized defects, to overcome weaknesses, and to strive for the ideal. Harsh reality will always impose all-too-many limitations. But that's precisely why man must strive to serve the ultimate goal, and why failures mustn't deter him—just as we cannot abandon justice because mistakes creep in, and just as we cannot discard medical arts because there will always be illness, despite it.

Care must be taken not to underestimate the power of an idea. For those faint-hearted ones today in this respect, I would remind them, if they ever were soldiers, of the time when heroism was the most convincing proof of the power inherent in idealistic motives. It wasn't concern for their daily bread that led men to die, but love of Fatherland, faith in its greatness, and an all-round feeling for national honor. Only after the German people became estranged from these ideals and followed the material promises of the Revolution, only after they exchanged arms for rucksacks, only then—instead of entering an earthly paradise—did they sink into the purgatory of universal contempt and universal want.

That's why we must confront the calculators of the present materialist republic with a faith in an ideal Reich.

CHAPTER 3
SUBJECTS AND CITIZENS

The institution that is today erroneously called the State generally classifies people only into two groups: citizens and foreigners. Citizens are all those who possess full civic rights, either by reason of birth or by later naturalization; foreigners are those who enjoy the same rights in another State. Between these two categories, there are comet-like apparitions—the so-called stateless. They are people who have no citizenship in any present-day State and consequently no civic rights anywhere.

Today the right of citizenship, as noted above, is acquired primarily by being born within the borders of a State. Race or nationality plays no role whatsoever. A Negro who once lived in one of the German protectorates and now takes up residence in Germany, has a child that automatically becomes a 'German citizen' in the eyes of the world. Similarly, the child of any Jew, Pole, African, or Asian may automatically become a German citizen.

Apart from birthright citizenship, there is the possibility of later naturalization. This is subject to various requirements—for example that the applicant is not a burglar or pimp; that his political attitude is unobjectionable, or in other words, he must be a harmless simpleton; and that he won't be a burden to the State that grants him citizenship. In our realistic age, this means, of course, a financial burden. Yes—it's even a good recommendation if he's likely to be a good future taxpayer, and this will hasten his application for citizenship.

Racial matters play no part at all.

3.1 Citizens—Subjects—Foreigners

The whole process of acquiring citizenship isn't that different from being admitted into an automobile club, for instance. A person files his application, it's examined and sanctioned, and one day he receives a card informing him that he has become a citizen. The whole process is amusing. A former Zulu Kaffir is told: "You are hereby a German citizen!"

This magic trick is performed by the president. What the heavens couldn't do is achieved by some Theophrastus Paracelsus of a civil servant, with a wave of the hand.[1] With a stroke of the pen, a Mongolian slave is suddenly turned into a real 'German.'

Not only is there no concern with the new citizen's race, even his physical health is unexamined. His flesh may be corrupted with syphilis, but he is still welcome in the present-day State, so long as he doesn't become a financial burden or political danger.

In this way, every year, those organizations that we call States take in poisonous material that they can hardly ever overcome.

The citizen is only distinguished from the foreigner by the fact that he's open to all public offices, that he may eventually have to do military service, and that, in return, he's permitted to take a passive or active part in elections. By and large, that's all. Regarding personal rights and personal freedom, the foreigner enjoys the same amount of protection as the citizen, and frequently even more; anyway, that's how it happens in our present German Republic.

I know that no one likes to hear these things; but it would be difficult to find anything more thoughtless or more insane than our contemporary citizenship laws. At present there is one state that's making at least some modest attempts at a better conception. Naturally it's not our model German Republic, but the American union that attempts to at least partly conform to reason. By refusing immigration of those with bad health, and by excluding certain races from naturalization, the American union has begun to introduce principles that are particular to the folkish State.

The folkish State divides its inhabitants into three classes: citizens, subjects, and foreigners.

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[1] Paracelsus (1493-1541) was a well-known Swiss philosopher and alchemist.

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It's a basic principle that birth within the State gives only the status of a subject. It carries no right to fill any office in the State, or to conduct political activity, such as taking an active or passive part in elections. Another basic principle is that the race and nationality of every subject must be proven. A subject is always free to cease being a subject, and to become a citizen of the country of his own nationality. The only difference between a foreigner and a subject is that the former is a citizen of another country.

The young subject of German nationality is bound to complete the schooling that's obligatory for every German. He thus submits to the system of training that will make him conscious of his race and a member of the national community. He then must fulfill all those physical training requirements laid down by the State, and finally he enters the army. The training in the army is of a general kind; it must be given to each individual German, and will allow him to fulfill the physical and mental requirements of military service.

Then, upon completion of military service, the rights of citizenship shall be solemnly conferred on every healthy young man. This is the most precious testimonial of his whole earthly life. It entitles him to all the rights of a citizen and to enjoy all the privileges. The State must draw a sharp distinction between those who, as members of the nation, are the foundation and support of its existence and greatness, and those who only reside in the State as 'earners' of a livelihood.

3.2 The Citizen as Master of the Reich

The bestowal of a diploma of citizenship must coincide with a solemn oath of loyalty to the national community and the State. This diploma must be a common bond that unites all. It must be a greater honor, even as a street sweeper, to be a citizen of this Reich than to be the king of a foreign State.

The citizen has privileges not given to the foreigner. He's a master of the Reich. But this high honor also has its obligations. Those without personal honor or character, or common criminals, or traitors to the

Fatherland, can be deprived of this right at any time. He becomes once again merely a subject.

The German girl is a subject, and becomes a citizen only when she marries. But those female German subjects who earn an independent livelihood can also become citizens.

CHAPTER 4
PERSONALITY AND THE FOLKISH STATE-CONCEPT

If the principal task of the National Socialist folkish State is to educate and preserve the bearers of the State, it won't suffice to promote those racial elements per se, educate them, and finally train them for practical life. Rather, the State must also adapt its own organization to meet this task.

It would be absurd to appraise a man's worth by his race, and at the same time to make war against the Marxist principle that all men are equal, while being unwilling to draw the ultimate consequences. The ultimate consequence of the significance of blood, which is to say, of a racial foundation in general, is that we must apply this principle to the individual. In general, I must evaluate the worth of peoples differently on the basis of their race, and the same applies to individual men within their national community. The realization that people are not equal transfers to the individual man in the sense that one head is not equal to another because, here too, the constituent elements of the same blood vary in a thousand subtle details, though they are equal in broad outline.

The first consequence of this fact is, I should say, also the cruder one—namely, the attempt to promote the best racial elements within the national community, and especially that they should be encouraged to increase.

This task is cruder because it can be recognized and carried out almost mechanically. It's much more difficult to select from among a whole multitude of people those who are intellectually and spiritually the most valuable, and to assign them influence that not only corresponds to their superior minds, but above all is beneficial to the nation. This sifting according to capacity and ability cannot be effected mechanically, but rather is a task that can be accomplished only through the ongoing struggle of daily life.

4.1 Building on an Aristocratic Principle

A worldview that rejects the democratic mass ideal and aims at giving this world to the best people—that is, to the highest humanity—must also apply that same aristocratic principle to the individuals within the nation. It must ensure that positions of leadership and highest influence are given to the best minds. Hence it's based not on the idea of the majority, but on that of personality.

Anyone who believes today that a folkish National Socialist State should distinguish itself from other states only mechanically, through the better construction of its economic life—thanks to a better balance between rich and poor, or by extending economic power to the broader masses, or by a fairer wage through elimination of large differences in pay—understands only the most superficial features of the matter, and hasn't the faintest idea of what we mean by our worldview. All these features just mentioned couldn't in the least guarantee us a lasting existence, and certainly would be no claim to greatness. A nation that could content itself with superficial reforms wouldn't have the slightest chance of success in the general struggle among nations.

A movement that would confine its mission to such adjustments, which are certainly right, would bring about no far-reaching or profound reform in the existing order. Such activity would be limited to externals. They wouldn't give the nation the inner armament that alone would enable it to effectively overcome, I might say, the weaknesses from which we suffer today.

CHAPTER 4

4.2 Personality and Cultural Progress

In order to understand this more easily, it may be worthwhile to glance once again at the real origins and causes of human cultural evolution.

The first step that visibly brought mankind away from the animal world was that of invention. Invention itself owes its origin to the ruses and stratagems that assisted man in the life-struggle with other creatures, and that often provided him with the only means to success. Those first crude inventions cannot be attributed to the person; for the subsequent—or better, current—observer recognizes them only as mass phenomena. Certain tricks and skillful tactics that can be seen in animals catch the eye as established facts, and man is no longer in a position to discover or explain their origin; he contents himself with calling such phenomena 'instinctive.'

In our case, this last term has no meaning. Everyone who believes in the higher development of living organisms must admit that every manifestation of the life-urge and life-struggle must have had a definite beginning; and that one subject alone must have started it. It was then repeated again and again, and it spread over a widening area, until finally it passed into the subconscious of every member of the species, where it manifested itself as instinct.

This is more easily understood and believed in the case of man. His first skilled tactics in the struggle with other animals undoubtedly originated in individual and specially-capable subjects. Undoubtedly, personality was then the sole factor in all decisions and achievements, which were later taken over by the whole of humanity as a matter of course. An example of this may be found in those fundamental military principles that have now become the basis of all strategy. Originally they arose from the brain of a distinct individual, and in the course of many years—maybe even thousands—they were accepted as a matter of course and thus gained universal validity.

Man complemented his first discovery by a second: He learned how to master other things and other living beings, and to make them serve him in his struggle for existence; and thus began the real inventive activity of

mankind, as is now apparent. Those material inventions—beginning with the use of stones as weapons, the domestication of animals, the production of fire by artificial means, and the marvelous inventions of our own days—show clearly that an individual was the creator. The nearer we come to our own time, and the more important and revolutionary the inventions, the more clearly we see this. In any case, we know: All the material inventions that we see around us have been produced by the creative powers and abilities of individuals. And all these inventions help man to raise himself higher and higher above the animal world, and to separate himself from it in a definitive way. Hence they serve to elevate the human species and to continually promote its progress.

But what the most primitive artifice once did for man in his struggle for existence, as he went hunting through the primeval forest, such assistance is given him today in the form of marvelous scientific inventions that help him in the present-day life-struggle, and to forge weapons for future struggles. In their final effects, all human thought and invention help man in his life-struggle on this planet, even though the so-called practical use of an invention, discovery, or profound scientific theory may not be evident at first sight. Everything contributes to raise man higher and higher above the level of all surrounding creatures, thereby strengthening and consolidating his position, so that in every way he develops into the dominant being on this Earth.

Hence all inventions are the result of an individual's effort. And all such individuals, willfully or not, are benefactors of mankind, both great and small. Through their work, millions and indeed billions of human beings have received the means and resources to facilitate their life-struggle.

If, in the origin of today's material culture, we always find individual persons whose work supplements and builds upon one another, then we find the same thing in regard to the practical application of those inventions and discoveries. All the various methods of production are, in turn, inventions as well, and consequently dependent on the individual. Even purely theoretical work, which cannot be measured by a definite rule and which is prior to all subsequent technical inventions, is exclusively a

product of the individual. The masses do not invent, nor does the majority organize or think—but always and in every case the individual man, the person.

A human community is well-organized only when it facilitates individual creative forces in a helpful way, and utilizes them for the community's benefit. The most valuable factor of an invention, whether in the material field or in the world of ideas, is the personality of the inventor himself. The first and supreme duty of an organized folk community is to make the inventor useful to all. Indeed, the very purpose of the organization is to realize this principle. Only by so doing can it ward off the curse of mechanization and remain a living thing. In itself it must personify the effort to place thinking individuals above the masses, and to make the latter obey the former.

Therefore, not only does the organization possess no right to prevent thinking individuals from rising above the masses but, on the contrary, it must use, enable, and promote that ascension as far as possible.

It must begin with the principle that the blessings of mankind never came from the masses but from creative minds, who are therefore the real benefactors of humanity. It's in the interest of all to ensure that such people are a decisive influence, and to facilitate their work. This common interest is surely not served by allowing the unintelligent and incompetent masses to rule, and who are, in any case, uninspired. Only those who have the natural gifts of leadership should rule.

Such minds are selected mainly, as already stated, through the harsh life-struggle. Many breakdown and collapse, thereby showing that they aren't destined for the highest positions; in the end, only a few appear chosen. In the realms of thought, artistic creation, and even in economics, this same process of selection takes place, although—especially in economics—this faces a severe obstacle. The same ideas dominate in State administration and in the organized power of the national military. The idea of personality rules everywhere—in authority over one's subordinates and toward those higher personalities above.

It's only in political life that this very natural principle has been completely excluded. Though all human culture has resulted exclusively

from the individual's creative activity, it's only in the administration of the national community that the principle of the value of the majority becomes decisive, and from that high place it allows all life to be gradually poisoned; that is, in reality: dissolved. The destructive effects of the Jew's activity in other national bodies can be fundamentally ascribed to his persistent efforts at undermining the importance of personality among the host nations, and replacing it with the mass. The constructive principle of Aryan humanity is thus displaced by the destructive principle of the Jews. They become the 'ferment of decomposition' among nations and races and, in a broad sense, the dissolvers of human culture.[1]

4.3 Marxism Negates the Value of Personality

Marxism represents the most striking phase of the Jewish attempt to eliminate the dominant significance of personality in every sphere of human life, and to replace it by the numbers of the mass. In politics, this corresponds to the parliamentary form of government. We can observe its disastrous effects everywhere, from the smallest municipalities up to the highest leadership of the Reich. And in economics, we see the trade union

[1] "Ferment of decomposition" is a paraphrase of the prominent German historian Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903). In his monumental work *The History of Rome* (1856), he wrote: "Also in the ancient world, Judaism was an effective ferment of cosmopolitanism and of national decomposition" (1856/1871: 643). In original German: "*Auch in der alten Welt war das Judenthum ein wirksames Ferment des Kosmopolitismus und der nationalen Decomposition...*" This sentiment was endorsed by another major historian, Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896). In his *Die Politik* (1898; vol 1, sec. 8), he wrote: "The Jews have always been 'an element of national decomposition.' They have always worked toward this" (*Immer waren die Juden 'ein Element der nationalen Decomposition', auf ehrlich Deutsch: der nationalen Zersetzung. Hieran haben sie immer gearbeitet*). Later he added, "And now, all that's dangerous in this people comes to the fore, the decomposing power of a nation that assumes the mask of different nationalities" (*Und nun tritt alles Gefährliche dieses Volkes hervor, die zersetzende Kraft eines Volksthums, das die Maske verschiedener Nationalitäten annimmt*). In the same section, Treitschke also refers to the Jews' "enormous racial conceit" (*ungeheuerer Rassendünkel*) and "deadly hatred toward the Christians" (*tödtlicher Hass gegen die Christen*).

movement, which doesn't serve the real interests of the employees but rather the destructive aims of international world Jewry.

To the same degree that the principle of personality is excluded from the economy and replaced with the influence and activities of the masses, that which should be for the service and benefit of the entire community will gradually deteriorate. All shop committees—which, instead of caring for the interests of the employees, strive to influence production—serve the same destructive purpose. They damage the general productive system and consequently, in reality, injure the individual. In the long run, it's impossible to satisfy needs merely by theoretical phrases; this happens only through the goods of daily life. Ultimately, the system must create the conviction that the national community serves the interests of the individual.

It's irrelevant whether or not Marxism, on the basis of its mass theory, can prove itself capable of taking over and developing the present economic system. Criticism regarding the correctness or incorrectness of this principle can't be tested by asking if it can administer the existing order, but only by proving that it can create a higher culture. Even if Marxism were a thousand-times capable of taking over the present economy and guiding its operation, this activity would prove nothing. This is because, on the basis of its own principles, it could never create something like that which it overtakes today.

And Marxism itself has supplied practical proof of this. Not only has it been unable anywhere to create a culture of its own, but it hasn't even been able to sustain existing ones, according to its own principles. Rather, after a short time, it has had to make compromises and return to the principle of personality; even in its own organization, it can't dispense with it.

The folkish worldview is fundamentally distinguished from the Marxist by the fact that the former recognizes the value of race and therefore also of personality, and thus has made the individual a pillar of its structure. These are the factors that support its world-conception.

If the National Socialist movement failed to understand the fundamental importance of this essential principle, and if instead it merely

adjusted the external appearance of the present State and adopted the mass principle, then it would really do nothing more than compete with Marxism; for that reason, it wouldn't have the right to call itself a worldview. If the movement's social program consisted only in eliminating personality and putting the masses in its place, then National Socialism would be corrupted with the poison of Marxism, just as our bourgeois parties are.

The folkish State must ensure its citizens' welfare by recognizing the importance of the value of personality under all circumstances, and thus secure the highest possible individual participation by maximizing productive efficiency in all fields.

Hence the folkish State must mercilessly expunge the parliamentarian principle of majority rule—that is, of mass rule—from all leading political circles, and in its place, guarantee the right of personality.

4.4 The Best Form of State

The following conclusion results from this: The best constitution and form of State is that which naturally allows the best minds to reach positions of dominant importance and influence in the community.

Just as in economic life, where able men cannot be designated from above, but must struggle forward themselves; and just as life itself is the school whereby the real lessons—from the smallest business to the largest corporation—are taught, so is it impossible for political talent to be suddenly 'discovered.' Extraordinary geniuses can't be judged by the standards of normal men.

In its organization, the State must be established on the principle of personality, from the smallest village up to the highest leadership of the Reich.

There must be no decisions made by the majority, but only by responsible persons. And the word 'council' must be once more restored to its original meaning. Every man of responsibility will have advisors at his side, but the decision will be made by one man.

The principle that made the former Prussian army an admirable instrument of the German nation must become the basis of our state

conception: authority of every leader directed downward, and responsibility directed upward.

Even then, we won't be able to do without those corporate bodies that today we call parliaments. But then they will really have to give counsel; responsibility, however, can and must be carried by one man, and therefore he alone will be vested with authority and the right to command.

Parliaments per se are necessary because they alone furnish the opportunity for leaders to gradually arise who will be subsequently entrusted with positions of special responsibility.

This gives the following picture: From the township up to the Reich leadership, the folkish State won't have any representative body that makes its decisions through the majority, but only advisory bodies to assist the elected leader; he will distribute various duties to them. In certain fields, they may, if necessary, assume full responsibility, just as each corporate leader or president possesses on a larger scale.

On principle, the folkish State must forbid the practice of taking advice on certain political problems—economics, for instance—from persons who are entirely incompetent because they lack special training and practical experience. Consequently, the State must divide its representative bodies into political chambers and professional chambers.

To ensure effective cooperation between those two bodies, a special Senate will be placed over them.

No vote will ever be taken in the chambers or Senate. They are to be working organizations and not voting machines. The individual members will have advisory roles but no right of decision. This right is the exclusive privilege of the responsible chairman.

This principle of combining absolute authority with absolute responsibility will gradually cause a selected group of leaders to emerge, such as is unthinkable in our present era of irresponsible parliamentarianism.

The political conception of the nation will thereby be brought into harmony with that law to which it owes its greatness in the cultural and economic spheres.

4.5 National Socialism and the Coming State

Regarding the possibility of putting these ideas into practice, I would like to recall the fact that the parliamentarian principle of democratic majority rule has not always dominated. On the contrary, it's found only during short periods of history, and always during the decline of nations and states.

One mustn't believe, however, that such a transformation could be effected by purely theoretical measures, operating from above; it couldn't be limited to the State constitution but would have to include the various fields of legislation, and even civic life as a whole. Such a revolution can occur only by means of a movement that is itself organized under the spirit of these principles and thus bears the future State within itself.

Thus the National Socialist movement should familiarize itself completely with those principles today and actually put them into practice within its own organization, so that not only will it be in a position to serve as a guide for the future State, but it will have its own organization that can be placed at the disposal of the State itself.

CHAPTER 5
WORLDVIEW AND ORGANIZATION

The folkish State, which I have tried to sketch in general outline, won't become a reality simply due to the fact that we know what's necessary for it. It's not enough to know how such a State should appear. The problem of its foundation is far more important. The existing parties benefit from the State, and they cannot be expected to bring about a change in the regime or to willingly modify their attitude. This is rendered all the more impossible because the leading elements are always Jews and yet more Jews. The present trend of development would, if allowed to go on unhampered, lead to the realization of the pan-Jewish prophecy—that the Jews will one day devour the other nations of the Earth and become their master.[1]

In contrast to the millions of 'bourgeois' and 'proletarian' Germans—who are stumbling to their ruin, mostly through timidity and stupidity—

[1] In fact there has been some suggestion in recent years that Jews have become de facto masters of other nations. In late 2003, after the initiation of the second Iraq war that was heavily promoted by the American Jewish Lobby, Malaysian president Mahathir Mohamad said this in a public address: "Today Jews rule the world by proxy. They get others to fight and die for them" (AP, 16 Oct 2003). American foreign policy is almost entirely oriented toward the promotion of Jewish and Israeli interests, due to the overwhelming—and primarily monetary—influence of Jews on the US government. Unfortunately, this influence goes unquestioned and unexamined, thanks to dominant Jewish influence in American media. Through their decisive influence on the lone global superpower, Jews effectively are the masters of other nations.

the Jew persistently pursues his way and keeps his mind fixed on his future goal. Any party that's led by him can fight for no other interests than his, and his interests certainly have nothing in common with those of the Aryan nations.

If we wish to transform our ideal picture of the folkish State into reality, we must stay independent of the forces that now control public life, and seek out new forces that will be ready and capable of taking up the fight for such an ideal. It will be a struggle, insofar as the first objective isn't the creation of a folkish State-conception, but rather, above all: the elimination of the Jewish one. As so often happens in history, the main difficulty isn't establishing a new order but clearing the ground for it. Prejudices and special interests join together in forming a common front, attempting by all means to prevent the victory of any new idea that's disagreeable or threatening to them.

That's why the fighter for a new idea is unfortunately, and despite his desire for positive work, compelled to wage a negative battle first—in order to abolish the existing state of affairs.

5.1 Struggle and Criticism

As displeasing as it may be to the individual, a young doctrine of great and essential importance must adopt the sharp probe of criticism as its weapon.

It displays a very superficial insight into historical development when the so-called folkists emphasize again and again that they won't adopt the use of negative criticism, but will engage only in constructive work; this absurd, childish stammering is 'folkish' in the worst sense of the word. It's further proof that the history of our own times has made no impression on these minds.

Marxism too has had its aims to pursue constructive work (if only the establishment of despotic rule by international Jewish world-finance!); nevertheless, for the prior 70 years, its principal work was criticism—destructive, disintegrating criticism, over and over, until this corrosive acid ate into the old State so thoroughly that it finally collapsed. Only

then did the so-called 'construction' begin. And that was natural, right, and logical.

An existing order isn't abolished merely by proclaiming and insisting on a new one. It mustn't be presumed that adherents or beneficiaries of the existing order will be converted and won over to the new movement simply by demonstrating its necessity. On the contrary, it may easily happen that two different situations exist side by side, and that a so-called worldview is transformed into a party, unable to rise above its limitations. A worldview is intolerant and cannot exist as 'one party among many.' It imperiously demands its own recognition as unique and exclusive, and also a complete transformation of all public life in accordance with its views. It can never allow the previous condition to continue in existence.

The same holds true of religions.

Christianity was not content with erecting an altar of its own, but rather first had to destroy the pagan altars. It was only from this passionate intolerance that an apodictic faith could take form; intolerance is an indispensable precondition.

It may be objected here that such phenomena in world history arise from mostly a specifically Jewish mode of thought; indeed, that such fanaticism and intolerance embody the specifically Jewish mentality. This may be a thousand-times true, and it's a deeply regrettable fact. The appearance of fanatical intolerance in human history may be both deeply regrettable and foreign to human nature—but this doesn't change the fact it exists today. The men who want to liberate our German nation from its present condition shouldn't worry their heads with thinking how wonderful it would be if this or that had never arisen; rather, they must find ways to eliminate it. A worldview that's inspired by infernal intolerance can only be broken by the same spirit, by a doctrine driven by the same determined will, and which is itself a pure and absolutely true new idea.

One may today regret the fact that the advent of Christianity marked the appearance of the first spiritual terror into the much freer ancient world.[2] But the fact cannot be denied that, ever since then, the world has

[2] There is good reason to view Christianity as a specifically Jewish form of religious "terror." This was certainly Nietzsche's view; see Dalton (2010) or

been pervaded and dominated by this kind of coercion, and that violence has been broken only by violence, and terror only by terror. Only then can a new condition be constructively created.

Political parties are prone to compromises, but worldviews never. Political parties tend to reckon with their opponents, but worldviews proclaim their own infallibility.

5.2 Community as Basis for a New Worldview

In the beginning, political parties also almost always have the intention of securing an exclusive and despotic domination; they almost always show a slight tendency to become worldviews. But the limited nature of their program robs them of the heroism that a worldview demands. The conciliatory nature of their will attracts those petty and weak-hearted people who aren't fit for any crusade. And so they soon become stuck in their miserable pettiness. They give up fighting for their worldview and, by way of so-called 'positive collaboration,' they try as quickly as possible to wedge themselves into some tiny place at the feeding trough, and to stay there as long as possible. That's their whole effort.

And if they should get shoved away from the common feeding crib by a competitor with more brutal manners, then their only idea is to force themselves in again, by force or trickery, among the hungry herd, in order to get back to the front row. And finally—even at the cost of their most sacred convictions—they refresh themselves at the beloved swill bucket. They're the jackals of politics!

But a worldview will never share with another. It can never agree to collaborate with any system that it condemns, but rather it feels obliged to employ every means in fighting against the old order and the whole world of ideas; that is, to prepare for its downfall.

This purely destructive battle—the danger of which is so readily perceived by the enemy that he forms a united front for his common defense—and also the constructive battle—which must be aggressive in order to promote the new world of ideas...both of these call for a body of

(2011) for details.

resolute fighters. Any new worldview will bring its ideas to victory only if the most courageous and active elements of its time and its people are formed together in a powerful fighting organization. For this, it's absolutely necessary to select from the general world-picture a certain number of ideas that, once they are expressed in a precise and clear-cut form, will serve as articles of faith for a new human community. While the program of the solely political party is nothing but a recipe for favorable results in the next general election, a worldview's program represents a declaration of war against an existing order of things, against present conditions—in short, against the established world-conception.

It's unnecessary, however, for every individual fighter for this worldview to have a full grasp of the ultimate ideas and plans of the leaders of the movement. It's only necessary that each should have a clear notion of the fundamental ideas, and that the most fundamental principles be burned into him, so that he'll be convinced of the necessity of victory for the movement and its doctrine.

Also, the individual soldier isn't initiated into knowledge of higher strategic plans. But he is trained to submit to a rigid discipline and fanatical faith in the justice and power of his cause, and to devote himself to it unreservedly. In the same way, the individual follower must be attached to a movement of great scope, great future, and the greatest will.

If each soldier in an army were a general, and had the training and capacity for such leadership, that army would be useless. Similarly, a political movement would be useless in fighting for a worldview if it were made up exclusively of 'intellectual' people. No, we also need the simple soldier, because without him an inner discipline is unattainable.

5.3 Leadership and Following

By its very nature, an organization can exist only if leaders of high intellectual ability are served by a large and emotionally-devoted mass. A company of 200 men of equal ability would, in the long run, be harder to discipline than a company of 190 less-capable men and 10 with a higher education.

The Social Democrats have profited very much from this fact. They took the broad masses of our people who had just completed military service and thus were trained in discipline, and drew them into its equally-rigid party discipline. Its organization also consisted of an army of officers and soldiers. The German worker became the soldier, and the Jewish intellectual was the officer; the German trade union officials can be compared to non-commissioned officers.

The fact that only the so-called uneducated classes joined Marxism was the very basis on which this party achieved its success—something that was always greeted with head-shaking by our bourgeoisie. Because they mostly consisted of intellectuals, the bourgeois parties were only a feckless band of undisciplined individuals; whereas the Marxists, from non-intellectual human material, formed an army of party soldiers who obeyed their Jewish masters just as blindly as they formerly obeyed their German officers. The German bourgeoisie never worried about psychological problems because they felt themselves superior to such matters, and thought it unnecessary to reflect on the profound significance of this fact and the secret danger involved in it. On the contrary, they believed that a political movement that draws its followers exclusively from 'intellectual' circles must, for that very reason, be of greater importance and have better chances for success, and even a greater probability of taking over the government, than the uneducated masses. They never understood that the strength of a political party never lies in the intelligence and independence of its members but rather in the disciplined obedience with which they follow their intellectual leaders.

The decisive factor is the leadership itself. When two bodies of troops engage in combat, victory will fall not to that side in which every soldier has expert strategic training, but rather to that which has the best leaders and at the same time the best-disciplined, blindly-obedient, and best-drilled troops.

This is the basic knowledge that we must always bear in mind when we examine the possibility of transforming a worldview into action.

If we agree that, in order to carry a worldview to victory, it must be transformed into a fighting movement, then logically the movement's

program must take account of the human material at its disposal. Just as the ultimate aims and leading ideas must be absolutely definite and unmistakable, so the recruiting program must be adapted to those minds, without whom the most beautiful ideas would eternally remain only ideas.

5.4 Guiding Principles of the Movement

If the folkish idea, which is at present an obscure wish, is one day to attain a clear success, it must draw forth certain definite principles from its broad world of ideas—principles which, of their essence and content, are calculated to attract a broad mass of men. This mass can alone guarantee that the worldview will be fought for. This is the group of German workers.

Therefore, the new movement's program was condensed into a few guiding principles, 25 in all.[3] They are meant, first of all, to give the ordinary man a rough sketch of the movement's goals. They are, so to say, a political faith that, on the one hand, is meant to win recruits for the movement and, on the other, to unite such recruits together in a commonly-recognized covenant.

Hence we must never lose sight of the following: What we call the movement's program is absolutely right in its ultimate aims, but regarding the manner in which that program is formulated, certain psychological considerations had to be taken into account. In the course of time, the opinion may well arise that certain principles should be expressed differently and might be better formulated. But any attempt at a different formulation usually has a disastrous effect. Something that should be fixed and unshakable thereby becomes the subject of discussion. As soon as a single point is removed from the sphere of dogmatic certainty, discussion won't simply result in a new, better, and more consistent formulation, but may easily lead to endless debates and general confusion. In such cases, it remains to consider which is better: a new and more adequate formulation, though it may cause a controversy within the movement, or to retain the old formula that, though probably not the best, represents a solid, unshakeable, internally-unified organism.

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[3] See Appendix A to volume one of *Mein Kampf*.

All experience shows that the second alternative is preferable. Since one is dealing only with external change in form, such corrections will always appear desirable and possible. In the end, given that most people think superficially, there's a great danger that the merely external formulation of the program will be taken as essential to the movement. Then the will and power to fight for these ideas are weakened, and activities that ought to be directed outward are dissipated in internal programmatic squabbles.

For a doctrine that's essentially right in its main features, it's less dangerous to retain a formulation that may no longer be quite adequate, than to try to improve it—thereby allowing that which had hitherto been considered as a granite principle of the movement to become the subject of general discussion, with all its evil consequences. This is particularly impossible as long as the movement is still fighting for victory. How could we inspire people with blind faith in a doctrine's truth, if doubt and uncertainty are spread by constant changes in its external form?

The essentials of a teaching must never be sought in external formulas, but always in an inner meaning. And this is unchangeable; and in its interest, one can only wish that a movement should exclude everything that tends towards disintegration and uncertainty, in order to preserve the necessary force.

Here again we can learn from the Catholic Church. Though sometimes, and often quite unnecessarily, its dogmatic system is in conflict with the exact sciences and research, it's unwilling to sacrifice even a single syllable of its teachings. It has rightly recognized that its powers of resistance would be weakened by introducing greater or lesser adaptations to meet the temporary conclusions of science, which in reality are always fluctuating. Thus it holds to its fixed dogmas, which alone can give to the whole system the character of a faith. That's why it stands firmer today than ever. We may prophesy that, as a fixed pole amid fleeting phenomena, it will attract ever-more blind support as the phenomena rapidly change.[4]

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[4] The phrase 'fixed pole amid fleeting phenomena' is drawn from Schiller's poem *Der Spaziergang* (line 134).

CHAPTER 5

Therefore whoever really and seriously desires the victory of a folkish worldview must realize, firstly, that this can be assured only through a militant movement, and secondly that this movement must ground its strength only on the firmness of an impregnable and coherent program. It must never make concessions in form to the spirit of the time, but rather must retain its form forever, once it's found to be favorable—or in any case, until crowned by victory. Before that, any attempt to open a discussion on the expediency of this or that program point might tend to disintegrate the solidity and fighting strength of the movement, according to the degree to which its followers partake in such an internal dispute. Don't say that an 'improvement' made today will be subjected to a critical examination tomorrow, only to substitute it with something better the day after. Once the barrier has been torn down, a road is opened—the start of which is known, but the end is lost in the infinite.

This important realization had to be applied to the young National Socialist movement. In its 25-point program, the National Socialist German Workers' Party attained a foundation that must remain unshakable. The task of present and future members of the movement must never be to undertake a critical revision of these principles, but rather to be bound to them. Otherwise the next generation would, in its turn and with equal right, expend its energy in such purely formal work within the party, instead of winning new recruits and thus new power for the movement. For most of our followers, the essence of the movement will consist not so much in the letter of our principles but in the meaning that we attribute to them.

5.5 National Socialism and the Folkish Idea

The new movement owes its name to these considerations, and later on its program was drawn up in conformity with them; and in them lay its manner of dissemination. In order to carry the folkish ideal to victory, a popular party had to be founded—a party that didn't consist only of intellectual leaders but also of manual workers!

Any attempt to realize these theories without a militant organization would be doomed to failure today, as it has in the past, and would again in

the future. That's why the movement not only has the right but the duty to consider itself as the champion and representative of these ideas. Just as the fundamental principles of the National Socialist movement are folkish, so folkish ideas are National Socialist. If National Socialism wants to triumph, it will have to hold firm to this fact unreservedly and exclusively. Here again, it not only has the right but also the duty to sharply emphasize that any attempt to represent folkish idea outside of the National Socialist German Workers' Party is impossible, and in most cases fraudulent.

If anyone today reproaches our movement because it has 'monopolized' the folkish idea, there's only one answer to give: Not only monopolized, but we practically created it.

For what previously existed under this name was utterly incapable of influencing the destiny of our people, since all those ideas lacked a clear and coherent formulation. In most cases, they were nothing but isolated and disconnected notions of greater or lesser soundness, quite frequently contradictory, and in no case was there any internal cohesion among them. And even if this cohesion existed, it would have been much too weak to orient and build any movement.

Only the National Socialist movement has accomplished this.

All kinds of associations and groups, big and little, and even the 'big parties' now claim the title 'folkish,' and this is one result of the influence of the National Socialist movement. Without this work, none of these parties would even have thought of mentioning the word 'folkish' at all; that word would have meant nothing to them, and especially their leaders would have had nothing to do with it. Only the work of the NSDAP gave this idea meaning, and only then was it adopted by all kinds of people. Above all, our party has shown the force of the folkish idea by our successful activity, so that the others, in order to keep up, must seek out similar ends.

Just as before, when they exploited everything to serve their petty electoral purposes, today they use the folkish concept only as an external and empty phrase for the purpose of counteracting the attractive force of the National Socialist movement. Only the desire to maintain their

existence and the fear that our new worldview-based movement may prevail, and because they feel that its universal and exclusive character poses a danger for them—only for these reasons do they use words that they repudiated eight years ago, derided seven years ago, branded as absurd six years ago, combated five years ago, hated four years ago, persecuted three years ago, and finally, two years ago, annexed and incorporated into their present political vocabulary, as war slogans in their struggle.

And so it's necessary, even now, to call attention to the fact that not one of those parties has the slightest idea of what the German nation needs. The most striking proof of this is the superficial way in which they use the word 'folkish'!

Not less dangerous are those who run about as semi-folkish, formulating fantastic schemes based mostly on nothing other than a fixed idea that, in itself, might be right but which, because it's an isolated concept, is useless in the formation of a great unified fighting community. And in any case, it's unsuited to building one. These people who concoct a program partly from their own ideas and partly from that which they have read, are often more dangerous than the open enemies of the folkish idea. At best they are sterile theorists, but mostly they are mischievous braggarts. They believe that they can mask their intellectual and mental emptiness with flowing beards and ancient German gestures.

In the face of all those futile attempts, it's therefore worthwhile to recall the time when the young National Socialist movement began its fight.

CHAPTER 6
STRUGGLE IN EARLY TIMES: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SPOKEN WORD

Memories of our first great meeting, in the banquet hall of the Hofbräuhaus on 24 February 1920, had not yet died away when we began preparations for our next meeting.[1] Up to that time, we had carefully considered the holding of a small meeting every month, or at most every two weeks, in a city like Munich, but now it was decided that we should hold a mass meeting every week. I needn't say that, assuredly, we faced one fear over and over again: Will the people come, and will they listen? — though I was personally convinced that, once they came, they would stay and listen.

6.1 Fight against Poisonous Propaganda

During that time, the hall of the Munich Hofbräuhaus acquired an almost sacred significance for us National Socialists. There was a meeting every week, almost always in that hall, and each time it was fuller than before, and the people more attentive!

Starting with 'War Guilt'—which no one at that time cared about—and the peace treaties, we addressed almost everything that either stirred up

[1] See volume 1 of *Mein Kampf*, end of chapter 12 (12.19-12.22).

the audience or seemed ideologically necessary. We gave greatest attention to the peace treaties. Again and again, the young movement made prophecies to those great masses, and now nearly all of them have been fulfilled! Today it's easy to speak and write about these things. But in those days, a public mass meeting—not of petty bourgeoisie but agitated proletarians—with the topic 'The Peace Treaty of Versailles' meant an attack on the Republic and evidence of reactionary or monarchist tendencies.[2] The moment someone uttered the first criticism of the Versailles Treaty, one could expect an immediate and almost stereotyped reply: 'And Brest-Litovsk?' 'Brest-Litovsk?'[3] Again and again the crowd would murmur this, gradually swelling into a roar, until the speaker would have to give up his attempt to persuade them. One wanted to pound one's head against a wall in despair over these people! They would neither listen nor understand that Versailles was a scandal and a disgrace, a dictate that marked an unprecedented thievery of our people. The destructive work of the Marxists and the enemy's poisonous propaganda had robbed these people of their reason.

And we had no right to complain. The guilt on the other side was enormous! But what had our bourgeoisie done to call a halt to this terrible disintegration, to oppose it, and to open a way to the truth by giving a better and more thorough explanation? Nothing, and again nothing! At that time, the great folkish apostles of today were not to be seen. Perhaps they spoke to select groups at tea parties, or in their own little circles, but they never appeared where they should have been, namely, among the wolves; that is, unless there was a chance to howl with the pack.

As for myself, I then saw clearly that the question of war guilt had to be cleared up for the small kernel of our movement—and cleared up in light of historical truth. A pre-condition for future success of our movement was

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[2] The Treaty of Versailles was signed on 28 June 1919, and signaled the formal end of World War One. It imposed humiliating and onerous conditions on Germany, and was a source of never-ending disdain by many Germans.

[3] The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed on 3 March 1918. It marked Russia's withdrawal from World War One, and was cast in very favorable terms for Germany.

that it should impart knowledge of the peace treaty to the broadest masses. At the time, the masses viewed this peace as a success of democracy. Therefore we had to form a united front against it, and engrave ourselves into men's minds as an enemy of this treaty. Then, later on, when the harsh reality of this despicable swindle would be disclosed in all its naked hatred, a recollection of our earlier position would earn us their confidence.

6.2 Against the Tide

Even then I took my stand on those important fundamental questions where public opinion had gone completely wrong, and I opposed these wrong notions without regard for popularity, hatred, or struggle. The NSDAP shouldn't be the servant of public opinion, but rather must dominate it. It shouldn't become a slave of the masses, but rather master!

Especially for a weak movement, there's a natural temptation to conform to the tactics of a more powerful enemy, particularly when his tactics have succeeded in leading the people to insane conclusions or to adopt mistaken attitudes. This is particularly strong when reasons can be found—though they may be entirely illusory—that seem, to the young movement, to point towards the same ends. Human cowardice will then all the more readily adopt those arguments that give it a semblance of justification, from 'its own viewpoint,' for participating in such a crime.

On several occasions I have experienced such cases, in which the greatest energy was required to keep the ship of our movement from being swept into an artificial public tide, and indeed from being driven by it. The last time was when our infernal press—the Hecuba of the existence of the German nation[4]—succeeded in bringing the question of South Tyrol into a prominent position that was catastrophic for the German people. Without considering what interests they were serving, several so-called 'national' men, parties, and organizations joined in the general outcry, simply for fear of Jew-incited public opinion, and foolishly helped to

[4] Hecuba was the wife of Trojan King Priam in Homer's *The Iliad*. Hitler's phraseology here is unclear; perhaps it refers to the fact that Hecuba pleaded with her son Hector not to fight Achilles, thus mirroring the press' support for German capitulation. Both cases ended in disaster.

support the struggle against a system that we Germans should, particularly in these days, consider as the sole ray of light in this degenerating world.

While the international world-Jew slowly but surely strangles us, our so-called patriots shout against a man and his system with the courage to free themselves from the shackles of Jewish Freemasonry, at least in one corner of the Earth, and to oppose nationalist resistance against this international world-poison. But weak characters were too tempted to sail with the wind and capitulate to the clamor of public opinion. And a capitulation it was! These men are such base liars that they won't even admit it to themselves, but it remains true that only cowardice and fear of public sentiment, aroused by the Jews, induced them to join in. All other reasons are only miserable excuses of little sinners who are conscious of their own guilt.

Thus it was necessary to grasp the movement with an iron hand, in order to save it from a path of ruin. Certainly an attempt at such change wasn't popular at the time, because the great flame of public opinion was burning in only one direction; and such a decision could sometimes be fatal. Not a few men in the course of history have been stoned for an act that posterity would later kneel down and thank them for.

It's on this posterity that a movement must depend, and not on the praises of the moment. It may well be that, in such hours, individuals have to endure anguish; but they shouldn't forget that, after such hours, salvation will come, and that a movement that wants to renew the world must serve the future and not the present.

6.3 Politics of the Wide View

On this point, it may be asserted that the greatest and most enduring successes in history are mostly those that were least understood at the beginning, because they were in strongest contrast to public opinion, to its views and will.

We experienced this when we made our own first public appearance. It can truthfully be said that we didn't 'court the favor of the masses' but rather always opposed the nonsense of these people. In those years, it

nearly always happened that I faced an assembly of men who believed the oppose of what I wanted to say, and who wanted the opposite of what I believed. Then it took a couple hours to persuade two or three thousand people to give up their former opinions—to shatter, blow by blow, the foundation of their views, and to eventually lead them over to our convictions and our worldview.

I quickly learned something important, namely, to snatch the enemy's weapons of reply from his own hands. One could soon see that our adversaries—especially the discussion leaders—were furnished with a definite 'repertoire' of arguments that were being constantly repeated. The uniform character of this procedure pointed to a deliberate and unified training. And so it was. We were thus able to recognize the incredible discipline of the enemy's propaganda, and I'm proud to this day that I discovered a means, not only of making this propaganda ineffective, but of beating its makers with it. Two years later I was a master of this art.

In every speech that I made, it was important to clearly anticipate the probable form and matter of the counter-arguments to be expected in the discussion, and to dismantle them in the speech. It was thereby necessary to mention all the possible objections and show their inconsistency; this made it easier to win over an honest listener by disposing of all the doubts that had been imprinted on his memory. That which he had learned was automatically refuted, and this made him all the more attentive to the speech.

6.4 Enlightenment about the Peace Treaties

That was the reason why—after my first lecture on the 'Peace Treaty of Versailles' that I delivered to the troops while still a so-called 'instructor'—I changed the lecture and henceforth spoke of the 'Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles.' In the discussion after my first lecture, I quickly determined that people really knew nothing about the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and that clever party propaganda had succeeded in presenting it as one of the most scandalous acts of violence in the world. The persistent repetition of this lie to the broad masses caused millions

of Germans to see the Treaty of Versailles as a just retribution for the crime that *we* had committed at Brest-Litovsk. They considered all opposition to Versailles as unjust, and in many cases there was honest moral indignation. And this was also the reason why the shameless and monstrous word 'reparations' came into common use in Germany. This hypocritical lie appeared to millions of our exasperated fellow countrymen as the fulfillment of a higher justice. Terrible, but true.

The best proof of this was the propaganda that I initiated against Versailles by my enlightenment on the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. I compared the two treaties with one another, point by point, showing the immense humanity of the one treaty and the inhuman barbarity of the other—and the result was striking. When I spoke on this theme at meetings of 2,000 persons, I often saw 3,600 hostile eyes fixed on me. And yet, three hours later, I had in front of me a swaying mass of righteous indignation and fury. A great lie had once again been torn from the hearts and minds of a crowd of thousands, and a truth implanted in its place.

I considered the two lectures—'The True Causes of the World War' and 'The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles'—to be the most important of all. I therefore repeated them dozens of times, always giving them a new form until, at least on those points, a definitely clear and unanimous opinion emerged among those from whom our movement recruited its first members.

Furthermore, these gatherings gave me the benefit of gradually transforming myself into a speaker at mass meetings, and I became skilled in the pathos and gesture demanded by large halls with thousands of people.

Outside of the small circles that I mentioned, at that time I found no party engaged in explaining things to the people in this way. And yet today they speak as if *they* were the ones to bring about the change in public opinion. If a so-called nationalist politician spoke somewhere or other on this theme, it was only to circles of those who were already of the same conviction, and for whom his words were, at best, only a confirmation of their opinions. What was really needed was not this, but rather, by enlightenment and propaganda, to win over those whose education and opinion placed them firmly in the enemy camp.

CHAPTER 6

The leaflet was also put to use in this enlightenment. While still a soldier, I had written a leaflet in which I contrasted the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with that of Versailles, and it was distributed in large numbers. Later on I used it for the party, again with good success. The first meetings were distinguished by the tables covered with leaflets, newspapers, and pamphlets of every kind. But we relied mainly on the spoken word. And in fact, this is the only means of producing really great changes, for fundamental psychological reasons.

6.5 Speech More Effective than Writing

In the first volume, I have already stated that all the world-changing events were carried through, not by written text but rather the spoken word.[5] This prompted a long discussion in certain sections of the press, in which it was sharply attacked, especially by our clever bourgeoisie. But the reason for this confounded the skeptics. The bourgeois intellectuals protested against my view simply because they themselves did not have the power or ability to influence the masses through the spoken word; they always relied exclusively on literary activity, and renounced the real work of agitation through speech. In time, such habits led to that which distinguishes the bourgeoisie today, namely, the loss of the psychological instinct for mass effect and mass influence.

A speaker receives continuous feedback from the people he speaks to. He can always gauge, by the faces of his listeners, how far they follow and understand him, and whether his words are producing the desired effect. But the writer doesn't know his reader at all. Therefore, from the outset he must write in a general way, and cannot address a definite group before his eyes. Hence he must fail, to some extent, in psychological subtlety and flexibility. Therefore, in general, a brilliant speaker writes better than a brilliant writer can speak, unless he continually practices his art.

One must also realize that the mass in itself is mentally inert, that it remains attached to its old habits and isn't naturally inclined to read something that doesn't conform to its own beliefs, especially when it

[5] See section 3.22.

doesn't contain what they hoped for. Therefore, an essay with a particular tendency is for the most part read only by those who are sympathetic. Only a leaflet or poster, by its brevity, can hope to arouse a momentary interest in those who think differently. The visual image, in all its forms, has better prospects—including films. Here there's even less need of intelligence; it suffices to simply look, or at most to read a short text, and hence many are quicker to accept a pictorial presentation than to read a lengthy essay. In a much shorter time—even in one stroke, I might say—people will understand a visual image, compared with the laborious effort required to read something.

The most important point, however, is that one never knows into whose hands a piece of literature will fall, and yet it must retain the same form.[6] In general, the effect is greater when the form corresponds to the reader's mental level and nature. A book that's meant for the broad masses must try, from the very start, to have an effect, both in style and level, quite different from a work intended for higher intellectual classes.

Only through its capacity for adaptability does writing approach speech. The speaker can deal with the same subject as a book, but if he is a brilliant popular orator, he will rarely repeat the same argument or the same material twice in the same form. He will always follow the lead of the broad masses in such a way that he will instinctively speak the words necessary to reach his audience's heart. Should he ever-so-slightly err, he has the living correction before him. As already said, he can read the facial expression of the audience to see, first, if they understand what he says, second, if they grasp the whole of his speech, and third, to what extent they are convinced of the correctness of what was said.

If he sees—first—that they don't understand him, he will make his explanation so elementary and clear that even the last individual will understand; if—second—he feels that they cannot follow him, he will compose his ideas so carefully and slowly that even the weakest isn't left behind. And—third—if he feels that they aren't convinced by the

[6] This recalls Plato's critique of writing in *Phaedrus*: "And every word, when once it is written, is bandied about, alike among those who understand and those who have no interest in it, and it knows not to whom to speak, or not to speak" (275e).

soundness of his argument, he'll repeat it over and over again, always using new examples. He himself will state their unspoken objection. He'll repeat these objections, dissecting and refuting them, until the last oppositional group shows him, by their behavior and expression, that they have capitulated to his arguments.

Not infrequently, it's a case of overcoming ingrained prejudices that are mostly unconscious and are supported by emotion rather than reason. It's a thousand times harder to overcome this barrier of instinctive aversion, emotional hatred, and prejudiced dissent than to correct a faulty or erroneous scientific opinion. False ideas and ignorance may be removed by instruction. Emotional resistance, never. Only an appeal to these hidden forces themselves will be effective; and the writer can scarcely ever achieve this, but rather almost exclusively the speaker.

A very striking proof of this is found in the fact that, although we had a bourgeois press that, in many cases, was well-produced and had a circulation of millions, it couldn't prevent the broad masses from becoming the sharpest enemy of the bourgeois world. The deluge of newspapers and books produced annually by the intellectuals slide over the lower-class millions like water over oiled leather. This proves one of two things: either that the content offered in the bourgeois press was worthless, or that it's impossible to reach the heart of the broad masses solely by the written word. Especially so, where the written word shows such little psychological insight as is the case here.

6.6 Marxism's Success through Speech

It's useless to object here (as a large German-national paper in Berlin tried to do) that this statement is refuted by the fact that Marxism has exercised its greatest influence through its writings, and especially through the fundamental work of Karl Marx. Seldom has a more superficial attempt been made for an erroneous view. What gave Marxism its amazing influence over the broad masses was not the formal writings of the Jewish system of ideas, but the tremendous oral propaganda carried on for years among the broad masses. Out of 100,000 German workers, scarcely 100

know of this work. It has been studied a thousand times more by intellectuals, and especially by Jews, than by the genuine followers of the movement from the lower classes. That work wasn't written for the broad masses, but exclusively for the intellectual leadership of the Jewish world-conquering machine; and it was fueled by quite a different stuff: the press.

This is what differentiates the Marxist press from the bourgeois. The Marxist press is written by agitators, whereas the bourgeois press would like to carry on agitation by means of writers. The Social-Democrat journalist, who almost always went directly from the meeting hall to the newspaper office, knows his public like no one else. But the bourgeois writer who leaves his desk to appear before the broad masses becomes ill by the very odor of the crowd, and helplessly confronts them with the written word.

What won over millions of workers to Marxism was not the literary style of the Marxist church fathers but the formidable and truly powerful propaganda work of tens of thousands of indefatigable agitators, beginning with the great agitator and on down to the smallest trade-union official, shop steward, and platform speaker. The hundreds of thousands of meetings where these speakers, standing on tables in smoky taverns, hammered their ideas into the heads of the masses, led to an admirable knowledge of the human material they had to win over. In this way, they were able to select the best weapons for their assault on the citadel of public opinion. Furthermore, there were the gigantic mass-demonstrations, with their hundred-thousand-man processions, that impressed upon the small-hearted individual the proud conviction that, though a small worm, he was at the same time a cell of the great dragon, before whose devastating breath the hated bourgeois world would one day be consumed in fire and flame, and the dictatorship of the proletariat would celebrate its final victory.

Such propaganda influenced men so as to make them prepared and ready to read the Social Democratic press—a press, however, that's a vehicle for the spoken rather than written word. Whereas in the bourgeois camp, professors and scholars, theorists and authors of all kinds, attempt to speak, in the Marxist movement speakers sometimes try to write. And it's precisely the Jew who, because of his lying dialectical skill and subtlety

in general, is an effective writer, but in reality his role is that of an agitational speaker rather than a creative writer.

That's the reason why the journalistic bourgeois world (aside from the fact that it also is, in large part, Jewified, and therefore has no interest in instructing the broad masses) is unable to exert even the slightest influence over the opinions of the broadest section of our people.

6.7 Psychological Conditions of Effective Speech

It's difficult to remove emotional prejudices, psychological bias, feelings, etc., and to put others in their place. Success depends on imponderable conditions and influences. The sensitive speaker recognizes that even the time of day at which the speech is delivered has a decisive influence on its results. The same speech, made by the same speaker and on the same theme, will have an entirely different effect at 10:00 in the morning, 3:00 in the afternoon, or in the evening.

As a beginner, I myself first arranged meetings in the morning, and I particularly remember a rally that we held in the Munich Kindl-Keller[7] as a protest 'against the oppression of German territories.' It was then the largest hall in Munich, and our audacity was great. I set the time for 10:00 on a Sunday morning, in order to make it easy for the members of our movement and others to attend. The result was depressing, but very instructive: The hall was full, and the impression was profound, but the general feeling was ice cold; no one warmed up, and I myself, as the speaker, felt profoundly unhappy at being unable to establish the slightest contact with my audience. I don't think I spoke worse than before; but the effect was practically zero. I left the hall wholly dissatisfied, but also richer by experience. Later on I tried the same kind of experiment, but with the same result.

This was no surprise. If one goes to a theater to see a performance at 3:00 in the afternoon, and then attends an evening performance of the

[7] The Kindl-Keller was located roughly at #15 Rosenheimer Strasse, just across the Isar River from central Munich, and the present site of a Hilton hotel. It could hold up to 5,000 people. The building was demolished in the late 1960s. The meeting in question was probably held in late 1920.

same play, one is astounded at the difference in the impressions and effect. A person with sensitive feelings and the capacity to see things clearly will recognize at once the fact that the performance's impression in the afternoon isn't nearly as great as in the evening. The same is true of motion pictures. This is important because one may say of the theater that perhaps the actor makes less of an effort in the afternoon than in the evening. But a film is no different in the afternoon than at 9:00 in the evening. No, the time itself exercises a distinct influence, just as the hall does on me. There are rooms that leave one cold, for reasons that are difficult to explain, and that somehow refuse to allow a favorable atmosphere. Also, traditional memories and images that exist in someone can have a determining influence on the impression. Thus, a presentation of *Parsifal* at Bayreuth will have an effect quite different than anywhere else in the world. The mysterious charm of that House on the Festspielhügel in the old city of the margraves cannot be equaled or substituted anywhere else.

In all these cases we are dealing with the problem of influencing man's freedom of will. And this mostly applies to meetings where there are those whose wills are opposed to the speaker, and who must be won over to a new will. In the morning and during the day, it seems that human will-power rebels most energetically against any attempt to impose the will or opinion of another upon it. On the other hand, in the evening it more easily succumbs to the domination of a stronger will. Truly, such assemblies are a wrestling match between two opposing forces. The superior rhetorical art of a masterly preacher will succeed better in winning over to a new will those who have naturally been subjected to a weakening of their forces of resistance, than those who are in full possession of their intellectual and volitional energies.

The same goal is served by the mysterious artificial dimness of the Catholic churches, in the burning candles, the incense, the censers, etc.

In this wrestling match between the speaker and the opponent whom he wants to convert, he attains this marvelous sensitivity to the psychological influences of propaganda that the writer almost always lacks. Generally speaking, the effect of writing helps more to conserve, reinforce, and deepen the foundations of a preexisting viewpoint. All really

great historical changes weren't produced by the written word, but rather, at most, were accompanied by it.

Let no one believe that the French Revolution could have been carried out by philosophizing theories if they hadn't found an army of agitators led by demagogues of the grand style, who inflamed popular passions that had been already aroused, until that terrible volcanic eruption finally broke out and convulsed the whole of Europe. And the same happened in the greatest revolutionary upheaval of recent times—the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia—which wasn't due to Lenin's writings but rather to the hate-filled speeches of innumerable lesser and greater apostles of agitation.[8]

The illiterate masses weren't aroused to Communist revolutionary enthusiasm by the theoretical writings of Karl Marx but rather by the promises of paradise made to the people by thousands of agitators in the service of an idea.

Thus it has always been, and so it will remain.

6.8 Bethmann and Lloyd George as Speakers

It's typical of our stubborn German intellectuals, who live in another world, to think that a writer must necessarily be smarter than a speaker. This viewpoint was once exquisitely illustrated by a criticism published in the above-mentioned national newspaper, where it was stated that one is often disillusioned by reading the speech of an acknowledged great speaker in print. This reminded me of another article that came into my hands during the War; it dealt with the speeches of Lloyd George, who was then Minister of Munitions, and painstakingly examined them under a microscope.[9] It made the brilliant statement that these speeches showed inferior intelligence and learning, and that they were banal and commonplace

[8] The Bolshevik Revolution occurred during 7-8 November 1917. It brought Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky to power in Russia. The Revolution led directly to the creation of the Soviet Union some five years later.

[9] David Lloyd George (1863-1945) was Minister of Munitions from May 1915 until June 1916, when he was promoted to Secretary of War. He would go on to serve as Prime Minister from December 1916 until October 1922.

productions. I myself procured a small booklet of these speeches, and had to laugh at the fact that an ordinary German pencil-pusher didn't understand in the least these psychological masterpieces in the art of influencing the masses. This man criticized these speeches exclusively according to the impression they made on his own blasé mind, whereas the great English demagogue had produced an immense effect on his audience through them, and in the widest sense on the whole of the English commoners. Seen from this viewpoint, this Englishman's speeches were the most wonderful achievements precisely because they showed an astounding knowledge of the soul of the broad masses of people. Their effect was truly stunning.

Compare them to the futile stammerings of a Bethmann-Hollweg. On the surface his speeches were apparently wittier, but they just proved this man's inability to speak to the people, whom he really didn't know. Nevertheless, the average bird-brained German writer—who is equipped, of course, with a lot of formal training—judges the intelligence of the English minister's speeches for influencing the masses by the impression they made on his own calcified mind. And he compares them to the brilliant chatter of the German statesman, which naturally finds more receptive soil in him. That the genius of Lloyd George was not only equal but a thousand-times superior to that of a Bethmann-Hollweg is proven by the fact that he found a form and expression for his speeches that opened his peoples' hearts to him, and made them carry out his will absolutely. It was precisely the primitive quality of those speeches, the originality of his expressions, and his choice of clear and simple examples that proved the superior political ability of this Englishman. One must never judge a statesman's speech to his people by the impression it leaves on some university professor, but by the effect it produces on the people. And this is the sole criterion of the speaker's genius.

6.9 Necessity of Mass Meetings

The astonishing development of our movement—which was created from nothing a few years ago and is today singled out for persecution by

all internal and external enemies of our nation—must be attributed to the constant recognition and application of these principles.

A movement's literature is also important, but even more important is an equal and uniform training for the higher- and lower-level leaders, rather than converting the adversarial masses. Only in the rarest cases will a convinced Social Democrat or fanatical communist be induced to acquire an understanding of our world-conception, or to study it critically on his own, by procuring and reading one of our pamphlets or even one of our books. Even a newspaper is rarely read if it doesn't bear the party stamp. Moreover, the reading of newspapers is of little use, because the general picture given by a single newspaper is so confused and fragmentary in its effect that it really doesn't influence the reader. And when one has to count his pennies, it cannot be assumed that he will become a regular subscriber of an opposing paper simply to be objectively informed. Hardly one in ten thousand will do so. Only one who has already joined a movement will regularly read the party organ, and then only to keep up on the news of the movement.

It's totally different with the 'spoken' leaflet! Especially if given for free, it will be taken up by one person or another, and all the more if the headline is a topic on everyone's lips. Perhaps the reader, after having perused such a leaflet more or less thoughtfully, will have new viewpoints and attitudes, even toward a new movement. But these, even in the best case, will only provide the slightest impulse, and nothing definitive. The leaflet can do nothing more than draw attention to something, and can become effective only by subsequently causing the reader to become more fundamentally informed and educated. This is, and will always be, the mass meeting.

Mass meetings are also necessary for the reason that, in attending them, the individual who formerly felt ambiguous about joining the new movement, and began to feel isolated and lonely, now for the first time acquires a picture of a great community; this has a strengthening and encouraging effect on most people. The same man, in a company or battalion, surrounded by his companions, will march to battle with a lighter heart than if he had to march alone. In the crowd, he feels himself

in some way thus sheltered, though in reality there are a thousand arguments against it.

Mass demonstration communities not only reinforce the individual but they also bind him and help to create an *esprit de corps*. The man who appears as the first advocate of a new doctrine in his workplace or factory needs that reinforcement which comes from the conviction that he's a member of a great community. And only a mass demonstration can impress this upon him. If, upon leaving the small workshop or the big factory, in which he feels very small, he enters a vast assembly for the first time and sees around him thousands and thousands of men who hold the same opinions; if, while still a seeker, he's gripped by the force of suggestive intoxication that comes from the excitement and enthusiasm of three or four thousand other men; if the visible success and consensus of thousands confirm the correctness of the new teaching and for the first time raise doubts about the truth of his prior opinions—then he submits himself to the magic influence of what we call mass-suggestion. The will, the yearning, and indeed the power of thousands are accumulated in each individual. A man who enters such a meeting in doubt and hesitation, leaves it inwardly fortified: he has become a member of a community.

The National Socialist movement should never forget this, and it should never allow itself to be influenced by these bourgeois simpletons who think they know everything but who have foolishly gambled away a great State—along with their own existence and the rule of their own class. Yes, they are enormously skilled, they know everything, they understand everything—except how to prevent the German people from falling into the arms of Marxism. In this they failed most miserably and wretchedly, such that their present conceit is mere arrogance; pride and stupidity are fruits of the same tree.

If today these people try to disparage the importance of the spoken word, they do it only because they now realize—thank God—the futility of all their own speechmaking.

CHAPTER 7
CONFLICT WITH THE RED FRONT

In 1919-20, and also in 1921, I attended some of the so-called bourgeois meetings. It invariably had the same effect on me as the compulsory dose of castor oil in my youth. It has to be taken because it's supposed to be good for you, but it tastes terrible! If it were possible to rope together the German people and forcibly drag them to these bourgeois 'demonstrations,' keeping them there behind locked doors and allowing no one to leave, then it might prove successful in a few hundred years. Of course, I must frankly admit that, in such a case, life wouldn't be worth living, and I'd rather not be a German at all. But since—thank God—all this is impossible, it's no wonder that the healthy, unspoiled people shun these 'bourgeois mass meetings' as the devil shuns holy water.

7.1 Bourgeois 'Mass Meetings'

I came to know these prophets of the bourgeois worldview, and I wasn't surprised, as I knew why they attached such little importance to the spoken word. At that time, I attended meetings of the Democrats, the German Nationalists, the German People's Party, and the Bavarian People's Party (the Bavarian Center). The homogeneous uniformity of the audience was striking. Nearly always they were made up exclusively of party members. The whole thing was more like a yawning card game than an assembly of people who had just gone through a great revolution.

The speakers did all they could to maintain this peaceful mood. They spoke—or rather, read out—their speeches in the style of an intellectual newspaper article or a learned treatise, avoiding all strong expressions. Here and there, they threw in a feeble professorial joke, whereupon the honorable ones felt themselves obliged to laugh; not loudly or provocatively, but encouragingly and with subdued reserve.

What a committee!

I once saw a meeting in Munich's Wagner Hall; it was a demonstration to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Nations at Leipzig.[1] The speech was delivered or read by a venerable old professor from one of the universities. The committee sat on the platform. One monocle on the left, another monocle on the right, and in the center, one with no monocle. All three were scrupulously attired, and one had the impression of attending a judge's panel deliberating on a death penalty, or some baptism; in any case, it was more like a religious ceremony.

The so-called speech, which might have read well in printed form, had a disastrous effect. After 45 minutes the audience fell into a sort of hypnotic trance, which was interrupted only when some man or woman left the hall, or by the clatter of the waitresses, or by the increasing yawns. I posted myself behind three workmen who were present either out of curiosity or because they were working there. From time to time, they glanced at one another with an ill-concealed grin, nudged one another with the elbow, and then silently left the hall. One could see that they had no intention whatsoever of interrupting the event. And in this company, it really wasn't necessary.

Finally the meeting seemed to be drawing to a close. After the professor, whose voice had meanwhile become more and more inaudible,

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[1] Known simply as the Battle of Leipzig, this conflict, of October 1813, resulted in a Prussian-Russian alliance defeat of Napoleon and his allied forces (which included Rhineland Germans). It was Napoleon's first major military defeat, setting the stage for his initial exile to Elba the following year. The date was celebrated for decades afterward as a victory of German sovereignty and self-determination. The precise location of the "Wagner Hall" on Sonnenstrasse is uncertain, but the meeting in question apparently occurred sometime around October 1921.

finally ended his speech, the chairman—the one between the two monocle-wearers—delivered a rousing address to the assembled 'German sisters' and 'brothers.' He expressed his gratitude for the magnificent lecture that they had just heard from Professor X, and emphasized how it was in the truest sense an 'inner experience' and even an 'achievement.' Any further discussion on the lecture would be tantamount to profanity, and therefore, speaking for all present, he would dispense with it. Instead, he would ask the assembly to rise from their seats and call out: "We are all united in our brotherhood," etc. Finally he closed the meeting by asking everyone to sing the *Deutschland* song.

And then they sang, and it seemed to me that when the second verse came, the voices were fewer, and that they only swelled loudly with the refrain. By the third verse, my belief strengthened that most of those present weren't very familiar with the text.

But what does this matter, if such a song is sung wholeheartedly and fervidly by an assembly of German nationals!

Thereupon the meeting broke up, and everyone hurried to get outside—some to their beer, some to a cafe, and others simply into the fresh air.

Yes indeed, out into the fresh air! That was also my feeling. And was this the way to honor a heroic struggle in which hundreds of thousands of Prussians and Germans had fought? To the devil with it all!

Such a thing might find favor with the government. It was merely a 'peaceful' meeting. The minister for law and order need not fear that enthusiasm might suddenly get the better of public decorum; that suddenly, in a frenzy, these people might pour out of the room and, instead of heading to beer halls and cafes, march in rows of four through the streets, singing *Deutschland hoch in Ehren* and causing some unpleasantness to a police force in need of rest.[2]

No, they are quite satisfied with that kind of citizen.

[2] "Germany High in Honor"; a patriotic song written by Ludwig Bauer in 1859.

7.2 Despicable Red Posters

On the other hand, National Socialist meetings were by no means 'peaceful.' Two distinct worldviews raged in bitter opposition to one another, and these meetings didn't close with the insipid rendering of a patriotic song but rather with a passionate outbreak of folkish national feeling.

It was imperative from the start to introduce rigid discipline into our meetings and establish the absolute authority of the committee. Our speeches weren't the weak dishwater of some bourgeois 'speaker,' but rather, in content and form, intended to arouse our opponents! And there were opponents in our meetings! How often they came in masses, with a few individual agitators among them and, judging by their expressions, with the conviction: Today we'll finish you off!

Yes, how often did they show up, literally in columns, our Red friends, with instructions to smash up everything once and for all and put an end to these meetings! And how often did everything hang by a thread, with only the committee's ruthless determination and rough handling by our guards to thwart our opponents' intentions.

And they had every reason to be irritated.

Merely the red color of our posters drew them to our meeting halls. The ordinary bourgeoisie were shocked to see that we had also chosen the red of Bolshevism, and they regarded this as something dubiously ambiguous. The suspicion was whispered among German nationalist souls that we also were merely another variety of Marxism, perhaps even Marxists, or better still, socialists in disguise. The actual difference between socialism and Marxism still remains a mystery to these people. The specter of Marxism was conclusively 'proven' when it was discovered that we deliberately substituted the words 'national country-men and -women' for 'ladies and gentlemen' at our meetings, and addressed each other as party comrade. How often we roared with laughter at these silly faint-hearted bourgeoisie and their efforts to figure out our origin, intentions, and aims.

We chose red for our posters after thorough and careful deliberation, our intention being to irritate the Left, so as to arouse their attention and

drive them to our meetings—if only to break them up—so that we had a chance to talk to the people.

7.3 Vacillating Tactics of the Marxists

In those years, it was indeed a delight to follow the vacillating tactics of our perplexed and helpless adversaries. First they appealed to their followers to ignore us and keep away from our meetings.

Generally speaking, they heeded this appeal.

But as time went on, more and more of their followers gradually found their way to us and accepted our doctrine. Then the leaders became nervous and uneasy; they clung to their belief that such a development shouldn't be ignored forever, and that it must be ended through terror.

Appeals were then made to the 'class-conscious proletariat' to attend our meetings in masses, and to strike at the representatives of a 'monarchist and reactionary agitation' with the clenched fist of the proletarian.

Our meetings suddenly became packed with workers, fully three-quarters of an hour in advance. These resembled a powder keg ready to explode at any moment, with a burning fuse at hand. But it always turned out differently. People came as enemies and, when they left, if not ready to join us, were at least in a reflective mood and thinking critically about the correctness of their own doctrine. Gradually over time, my three-hour lectures resulted in supporters and opponents united into a single mass. Any signal to break up the meeting failed. The result was that the opposition leaders became frightened and once again looked for help to those who had formerly disallowed these tactics and, with some justification, had been of the opinion that workers should be forbidden to attend our meetings, on principle.

Then they stopped coming, or only in small numbers. But after awhile, the whole game started over again.

The prohibition was ignored, and comrades came in steadily increasing numbers, until finally the advocates of the radical tactic won the day. We had to be broken up.

Then, after two, three, and often eight or ten meetings, it was realized that breaking them up was easier said than done. Every meeting resulted in a decisive weakening of the Red fighting forces, and then suddenly the other catchword was reintroduced: 'Proletarians, comrades! Avoid meetings of the National Socialist agitators!'

The same eternally alternating tactics were also found in the Red press. Soon they tried to silence us, but discovered the uselessness of this effort, and then they tried the opposite. Daily 'reference' was made to us solely for the purpose of absolutely ridiculing us in the eyes of the workers. After a while these gentlemen must have figured out that no harm was being done to us, and that, on the contrary, we were reaping an advantage in that people were asking themselves why so much space was being devoted to this supposedly-absurd phenomenon. People became curious. Suddenly there was a change of tactics, and for a time we were treated as veritable criminals against mankind. In article after article, our criminal intentions were explained and proved over and over, and scandalous tales—all of them fabricated from A to Z—were expected to do the rest. But after a short time even these attacks proved ineffective; and in fact they assisted us because they concentrated public attention on us.

At that time I took up the standpoint: It's immaterial whether they laugh at us or revile us, whether they depict us as fools or criminals; the main thing is that they take notice of us. Thus, that they concern themselves with us again and again, and that we come to be regarded by the workers as the only force to be reckoned with. What we really are, and what we really want, we'll show the Jewish press hounds when the time is right.

One reason why they never got so far as to break up our meetings was undoubtedly the incredible cowardice displayed by the opposition leaders. On every critical occasion, they left the dirty work to the small-timers while they waited outside for the results of the break-up.

We were exceptionally well-informed in regard to these gentlemen's intentions. Not only because we allowed several of our party colleagues to remain members of the Red organizations for reasons of expediency, but also because the Red wire-pullers, fortunately for us, were afflicted with a

degree of talkativeness that is still unfortunately very prevalent among Germans. They couldn't keep their mouths shut, and more often than not started cackling before the egg was laid. Hence, time and again our precautions were such that the Red agitators had no idea of how near they were to being thrown out.

7.4 Illegal Police Activity

The times compelled us to take the defense of our meetings into our own hands; one can never depend on the protection of the authorities; on the contrary, experience shows that it always favors only the disturbers. The only real outcome of police intervention was that the meeting would be dissolved, that is, closed. And that was the sole aim and purpose of the opposing agitators.

Generally speaking, this led the police to adopt a procedure that was the most monstrous form of official injustice conceivable. The moment they were informed of a threat that a meeting was to be broken up, instead of arresting the would-be disturbers, they promptly advised the innocent parties that the meeting was forbidden. What's more, the mediocre police mind was proud of such wisdom. This step they called a 'precautionary measure for the prevention of illegality.'

The political work and activities of decent people could therefore always be hindered by desperate gangsters. In the name of law and order, State authority bows down to these gangsters and demands that others shouldn't provoke them. When National Socialists wanted to hold meetings in certain places and the labor unions declared that their members would resist, the police didn't jail these blackmailers but rather forbade our meeting. Yes, this organ of the law had the unbelievable impudence to inform us of this in writing, on innumerable occasions.

To avoid such eventualities, it was therefore necessary to see to it that every attempt at disturbance was nipped in the bud.

Another feature had to be considered: All meetings that rely on police protection must necessarily discredit their promoters in the eyes of the broad masses. Meetings that are only possible with the protective

assistance of a strong police force convert no one, because in order to win over the lower strata of the people, there must be a visible display of one's own strength.

In the same way that a courageous man will win a woman's heart more easily than a coward, so a heroic movement will be more successful in winning over the hearts of a people than a weak movement that's kept alive only by police protection.

7.5 Psychologically Correct Meeting Management

It's for this latter reason in particular that our young party was charged with the responsibility of assuring its own existence, of defending itself, and of smashing the enemy terror.

Meeting protection was based on the following: (1) An energetic and psychologically judicious way of conducting the meeting; (2) organized troops to maintain order.

If we National Socialists held a meeting in those days, we were its masters and no one else. And we emphasized this master right every minute. Our opponents fully realized that anyone creating a provocation would be ruthlessly thrown out, even if we were only a dozen against half a thousand.

At meetings, particularly outside Munich, we had in those days 15 or 16 National Socialists against five-, six-, seven-, or eight-hundred opponents. But we tolerated no interference, and the attendees knew that we would rather be beaten to death than capitulate. More than once, a handful of party colleagues offered heroic resistance to a raging and violent Red mob.

Those 15 or 20 men would certainly have been overwhelmed in the end. But the others knew that three or four times as many of them would have had their heads bashed, and they weren't willing to chance it.

We had done our best to learn from Marxist and bourgeois meeting techniques, and learn we did.

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7.6 Marxist and Bourgeois Meeting Techniques

The Marxists always exercised the most rigid discipline, and thus the question of breaking up a Marxist meeting could never have originated in the bourgeoisie. This gave the Reds all the more reason for acting on this plan. In time they not only became virtuosos in this art, but in certain large districts of the Reich they went so far as to declare that non-Marxist meetings were nothing less than a proletarian provocation; especially so, when the wire-pullers suspected that a meeting might call attention to their own sins and thus expose their own treachery and lies.

Therefore the moment a bourgeois meeting was announced, a howl of rage went up from the Red press. These detractors of the law nearly always turned first to the authorities and requested, in urgent and threatening language, that this 'provocation of the proletariat' be stopped forthwith in the 'interests of law and order.' Their language was chosen to fit the official blockhead that they were dealing with, and thus success was assured. If by chance the official happened to be a true German—and not a mere dolt—and he declined the impudent request, then a widely-circulated appeal to stop the 'provocation of the proletariat' was issued, together with instructions to attend such and such a meeting on a certain date, in full strength, for the purpose of 'putting a stop to the disgraceful bourgeois activity by means of the proletarian fist.'

One simply had to witness such a bourgeois meeting, and see its leaders in all their miserable fear! Very often, such threats were sufficient to call off a meeting at once. The fear was always so great that the meeting, instead of commencing at 8:00 pm, very seldom was opened before 8:45 or 9:00. The chairman thereupon did his best, by showering 29 compliments on the 'gentleman of the opposition,' to prove how he and all others present were pleased (a bald lie!) to welcome a visit from men who as yet were not in sympathy with them, for the reason that only by mutual discussion (immediately agreed to) could they be brought closer together in mutual understanding. He incidentally also assured them that the meeting had no intention whatsoever of interfering with anyone's professed convictions. No indeed, everyone had the right to form and hold

his own political views, as long as others were allowed to do likewise. He therefore requested that the speaker be allowed to deliver his speech without interruption—the speech wouldn't be long, in any case. Thus the world wouldn't come to regard this meeting as another shameful example of the internal raging hatred among German brothers... Brrr.

The brothers on the Left had little if any appreciation for that; before the speaker had even begun, he was shouted down, and not seldom, one had the impression that such speakers were grateful to Fate for quickly ending the painful procedure. These bourgeois toreadors left the arena amidst a monstrous uproar, or they were thrown down the stairs with cracked heads, which was very often the case.

Therefore, it was something quite new to the Marxists when we National Socialists organized our first meetings—and especially how we organized them. They came to our meetings in the belief that the little game they had so often played could be also repeated on us. "Today we'll finish you off!" How often did they boast this to each other upon entering our meeting, only to be thrown out with lightning speed before they had time to repeat it.

In the first place, our meeting committee was entirely different. No one courteously begged the audience for the right to speak, and we refused to give anyone the right to hold endless discussions. We simply stated that we were masters of the meeting, that we would do as we pleased, and that anyone who dared to interrupt would be unceremoniously thrown out. We further stated our refusal to accept responsibility for any such person; and if time permitted and if it suited us, we would allow a discussion; if not, then none, and Mr. Speaker So-and-so would now give his speech.

This in itself astonished them.

7.7 National Socialist Security Troop

Secondly, we had at our disposal a well-organized hall guard. With the bourgeois parties, the hall guard—or better, security service—were mostly gentlemen who, by virtue of their age, thought they were entitled to authority and respect. But as the Marxist-incited masses have little respect for age or authority, these bourgeois hall-guards were all but non-existent.

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When our large meetings first began, I made a special point to organize a suitable hall guard in the form of a security service, composed chiefly of young men. Some of them were comrades who I knew from military service, and others were new party members who, right from the start, had been trained and instructed to realize that only terror is capable of smashing terror—that only courageous and determined men had succeeded in this world, and that we were fighting for an idea so great and noble that it was worth the last drop of our blood. They were trained to realize that when force replaced common sense, the best means of defense was attack, and that the reputation of our security troops marked us as a combat group and not a debating club.

And how eagerly did this youth yearn for such an order!

How disillusioned and outraged was this war generation, how full of disgust and revulsion at bourgeois cowardice!

Thus it became clear to everyone that the Revolution had only been possible thanks to the disastrous bourgeois leadership of our people. At that time, there was certainly no lack of fists to suppress the Revolution, but unfortunately there was an entire lack of effective brain power. How often did the eyes of my young men light up with enthusiasm when I explained to them the vital nature of their mission, and assured them time and again that all earthly wisdom is useless unless it's supported by a measure of strength, that the gentle Goddess of Peace can only walk in company with the God of War, and that every great act of peace must be protected and assisted by force! How much more vital did the idea of military service now become! Not in the calcified sense of decrepit officials serving the dead authority of a dead State, but in the living realization of the duty of each man to sacrifice his life, to fight for the existence of his people, forever and always, at all times and in all places.

How those young men did their job!

Like a swarm of hornets they tackled the disrupters at our meetings, regardless of superiority of numbers, however great, indifferent to wounds and bloodshed, inspired with the great idea of creating a free path for the sacred mission of our movement.

Already in midsummer of 1920, the organization of security troops was gradually assuming a definite shape, and by the spring of 1921 they were

partitioned by hundreds, which in turn were sub-divided into smaller groups.

This was urgently necessary because our meeting activity had steadily increased. We still frequently met in the Festsaal of the Munich Hofbräuhaus, but more often in the larger city halls. In the autumn and winter of 1920-21, our meetings in the Bürgerbräu and Munich Kindl-Keller had become more massive, and the picture was always the same: NSDAP demonstrations were always overcrowded, so that the police had to close the doors before they even began.

7.8 Old and New Black-Red-Gold

The organization of our security troop cleared up a very difficult question. Until then the movement possessed no party symbol and also no party flag. The lack of these symbols was not only a disadvantage at the time but was intolerable for the future. The disadvantages were chiefly that party members possessed no outward sign of their common bond, and it was absolutely unthinkable for the future that they should remain without a symbol of the movement that could be opposed to the International.

More than once in my youth, I recognized the psychological importance of such a symbol, and it was emotionally advisable as well. After the War, I was at a Marxist mass-demonstration in Berlin, in front of the Royal Palace and the Lustgarten. A sea of red flags, red scarves, and red flowers was in itself sufficient to give that huge assembly of about 120,000 persons an outward appearance of strength. I could feel and understand how easily the man in the street succumbs to the hypnotic magic of such a grandiose spectacle.

The bourgeoisie—which, as a party, neither represents nor advocates any worldview—had therefore no flag of its own. Their party consisted of 'patriots' who went around in the Reich colors. If these colors were the symbol of a definite worldview, then one could understand the rulers of the State regarding this flag as expressive of it, seeing that, through their efforts, the official Reich flag came to symbolize their own worldview.

But this wasn't the case.

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The Reich was formed without the aid of the German bourgeoisie, and the flag itself was born of the War. Hence it was merely a State flag, possessing no importance in the sense of any particular philosophical mission.

Only in one part of the German-speaking territory—in German-Austria—was there anything like a bourgeois party flag in evidence. Here a section of the national bourgeoisie selected the 1848 colors—black, red, and gold—for their party flag, and thereby created a symbol that, though of no importance from a philosophical viewpoint, nevertheless had a revolutionary political character. The sharpest opponents of this black-red-gold flag at that time—and this shouldn't be forgotten today—were the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists or Clericals. It was those in particular who degraded and besmirched these colors, in the same way that they dragged the black-white-red into the gutter in 1918.[3]

In any case, the black-red-gold of the German parties in the old Austria were the colors of 1848—that's to say, of a period likely to be regarded as somewhat idealistic, but it was represented by honest German souls. Although even then, the Jew was lurking in the background as an invisible wire-puller. It was thus high treason and a shameful sell-out of the German people and German treasure that initially made these colors so attractive to the Marxists and the Center; so much so that today they revere them as their most cherished possession, and use them as a protection of the flag they once spat on.

Until 1920, then, there was no flag to confront Marxism that would have represented its philosophical polar opposite. After 1918, even the best parties of the German bourgeoisie were loath to accept the suddenly-discovered black-red-gold colors as their symbol. They themselves were incapable of counteracting this with a future program of their own that

[3] The black-red-gold colors were originally adopted by the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848—essentially identical to the present-day flag. When Bismarck became Chancellor of the German Reich in 1871, he adopted the North German Confederation colors of black-red-white. The Weimar regime reverted to the black-red-gold in 1919, following defeat in WWI. Hitler restored the black-red-white scheme, in the form of the swastika insignia, from 1933 until Germany's defeat in 1945. The post-war German government then switched back, yet again, to the black-red-gold.

would oppose this new development. At best, they had in mind a reconstruction of the old Reich.

The black-white-red banner of the old Reich is indebted to this idea for its resurrection, as the flag of our so-called national bourgeois parties.

It's obvious that the symbol of a State that was overthrown by the Marxists under inglorious circumstances is now unworthy to serve as a banner under which this same Marxism is to be destroyed in turn. As sacred and beloved as these old colors must be, in their youthful freshness, to every decent German who has fought under them and witnessed the sacrifice of so many lives, that flag is worthless as a symbol for a struggle for the future.

Unlike our bourgeois politicians, I've always adopted the standpoint in our movement that it was true good fortune for the German nation to have lost its old flag. It doesn't matter to us what the Republic does under its flag. But let us be deeply grateful to Fate for having so graciously spared the most glorious war flag for all time from becoming a bed sheet for prostitution. The [Weimar] Reich of today, which sells-out itself and its people, must never be allowed to adopt the honorable and heroic black-white-red colors.

As long as the November outrage endures, let it continue to bear its own external sign and not steal that of an honorable past. Our bourgeois politicians should awaken their consciences to the fact that whoever desires this black-white-red flag for the State is pilfering from the past. The old flag was suitable only for the old Reich, just as—thank God—the Republic chose the colors best suited to itself.

7.9 The National Socialist Flag

This was also the reason why we National Socialists recognized that hoisting the old flag would not symbolize our own activity. We had no wish to resurrect the old Reich from the dead, which had been ruined through its own blunders, but to build up a new State.

The movement that's fighting Marxism today along these lines must display the symbol of the new State on its banner.

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The question of the new flag—that's to say, its appearance—kept us very busy in those days. Suggestions poured in from all sides, which, although well-meant, were more or less impractical. The new banner not only had to symbolize our own struggle, but on the other hand it had to prove effective as a poster. Anyone who concerns himself with the masses will recognize the great importance of these apparently petty matters. In thousands of cases, a striking emblem may be the first cause of awakening interest in a movement.

For this reason, we declined all suggestions, by means of a white flag, for identifying our movement with the old State; or rather, with those decrepit parties whose sole political objective is the restoration of past conditions. Besides, white is not a stirring color. It's suitable only for young women's associations and not for ground-breaking movements in a revolutionary time.

Black was also suggested: certainly well-suited to the times, but nothing to embody the will of our movement. In the end, this color is also not stirring enough.

White and blue were discarded, despite their admirable aesthetic appeal as the colors of an individual German State, because of their orientation toward a particularist narrow-mindedness that had a bad reputation. And here too, it would have been hard to attract attention to our movement. The same applies to black and white.

Black-red-gold were completely out of the question.

So were black-white-red, for reasons already stated—at least, in the form previously used. But the effectiveness of these colors is far superior to all the others. They are the most strikingly harmonious combination to be found.

I myself was always for keeping the old colors, not only because I, as a soldier, regarded them as my most sacred possession, but because in their aesthetic effect, they are the most compatible with my own feeling. Accordingly I had to discard all the innumerable designs that had been proposed for the new movement, including many that had incorporated the swastika into the old banner. I, as leader, was unwilling to make public my own design, as it was possible that someone else could come forward

with one that was just as good, if not better, than my own. As a matter of fact, a dentist from Starnberg submitted a good design, very similar to mine, with only one mistake, in that his swastika with curved arms was set upon a white background.

After innumerable trials, I myself decided upon a final form: a banner of red material with a white disc, and a black swastika in the middle. After many trials, I found the correct proportions between the dimensions of the flag and the white disc, as well as the shape and thickness of the swastika.

And this is how it has remained.

Along the same lines, we immediately ordered armbands for our security squad: similar red material with a white disc and black swastika.

The party emblem was also designed along the same lines: a white disk on a red field, and a swastika in the middle. Herr Füss, a Munich goldsmith, supplied the first practical and permanent design.

The new flag appeared in public for the first time in midsummer 1920. It suited our young movement admirably. It was young and new, like the movement itself. No one had seen it before; it had the effect of a blazing torch. We ourselves experienced an almost childlike delight when one of the party women made the flag and handed it over to us. Just a few months later, we had half a dozen of them in Munich, and the new symbol of the movement was spread by the growing strength of the security troops.

And what a symbol it truly is! Not only because of those revered colors that express our glorious past and which once brought so much honor to the German people, but this symbol was also an embodiment of the movement's will. As National Socialists, we see our program in our flag. In *red*, we see the social ideal of the movement; in *white*, nationalism; in the *swastika*, the mission of Aryan humanity to fight for victory, and at the same time, for the victory of the idea of creative work, which has always been anti-Semitic and always will be anti-Semitic.

Two years later, when our security troops had long since grown into storm troops,[4] incorporating many thousands of men, it seemed necessary to give this defensive organization of a young worldview a special symbol

[4] The *Sturmabteilung*, or SA, literally means 'storm detachment,' but was more commonly referred to as storm troops or, informally, as 'brown shirts.'

of victory: the Standard. I also designed this, and entrusted it to an old party comrade, master goldsmith Herr Gahr. Since then, this Standard has been the distinctive symbol and battle sign of the National Socialist struggle.

7.10 First Meeting in the Circus

Meeting activity increased, particularly during 1920, compelling us at times to hold two meetings a week. Crowds gathered around our posters, the largest meeting halls in town were always filled, and tens of thousands of misled Marxists found their way to us and became warriors for the liberation of the German Reich. The Munich public got to know us. We were being spoken about, and the words 'National Socialist' became familiar to many, and already implied a program. Our host of supporters and members was constantly growing, so that by the winter of 1920-21 we could already be regarded as a strong party in Munich.

Apart from the Marxist parties, there was at that time no party in Munich—certainly no nationalist party—that could hold such mass demonstrations as ours. The Munich Kindl Keller, which held 5,000 people, was more than once overcrowded, and there was only one other hall that we hadn't yet used; this was the Circus Krone.[5]

At the end of January 1921 there was again great cause for anxiety in Germany. The Paris Agreement, at which Germany pledged to pay the insane sum of a hundred billion gold marks, was to be confirmed in the form of the London Dictate.[6]

Thereupon a long-established Munich working committee, representing so-called folkish groups, wanted to call a public meeting of protest. I became

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[5] The Circus Krone is an actual circus, founded in Munich in 1905. Since 1919, it has also owned the Circus Krone building—a large open-space hall in central Munich, not far from the main train station.

[6] The London Dictate, also known as the London Ultimatum or the London Schedule of Payments, reconfirmed the overall liability of the Central Powers (primarily Germany) at 132 billion marks, based on their defeat and alleged culpability for World War One. It was an absurd and utterly unrealistic figure, designed to give the impression of a severe punishment for the losers, and to hold as a perpetual threat over Germany.

nervous when I saw that time was being wasted and nothing undertaken. At first, a demonstration was suggested in the Königsplatz, but this was rejected for fear of being broken up by the Reds. Another demonstration was proposed in front of the Feldherrn Hall, but this too came to nothing. Finally a combined demonstration in the Munich Kindl Keller was suggested. Meanwhile, day after day went by, the big parties entirely ignored the terrible event, and the working committee couldn't decide on a definite date for holding the intended demonstration.

On Tuesday, 1 February 1921, I urgently demanded a final decision. I was put off until Wednesday. On Wednesday I demanded a clear determination regarding if and when the meeting was to take place. The reply was again uncertain and evasive; they said they 'intended' to arrange a demonstration the following Wednesday.

With that, I lost all patience and decided to conduct a protest demonstration of my own. At noon on Wednesday I dictated in ten minutes, by typewriter, the text of the poster, and at the same time hired the Circus Krone for the next day, Thursday, 3 February.

In those days, this was a tremendous venture. Not only because of the uncertainty of filling that vast hall, but also because of the risk of the meeting being wrecked.

Our security troops weren't adequate for this vast hall. I was also uncertain about what to do in case the meeting was broken up. At the time, I felt that it would be much harder for us in the Circus building than in a normal hall. But as it turned out, the opposite was the case. In that vast space, it was much easier to control a group of disturbers than in a cramped hall.

One thing was certain: A failure would throw us back for a long time to come. If one meeting was wrecked, our prestige would be seriously injured and our opponents would be encouraged to repeat their success. That would lead to sabotage of our future meeting work, and would have required months of difficult struggle to overcome.

We had only one day in which to display our posters, Thursday. Unfortunately it rained in the morning and there was reason to fear that many people would prefer to remain at home rather than hurry to a

meeting through rain and snow, especially when there was likely to be violence and bloodshed.

And indeed on that Thursday morning, I was suddenly struck with fear that the hall might not be filled, (which would have made me look ridiculous in the eyes of the working committee). So I therefore immediately dictated a few leaflets, and had them printed and distributed in the afternoon. Naturally they contained an appeal to attend the meeting.

I hired two trucks, which were decorated as much as possible in red, and each had our new flag hoisted on it and was filled with 15 or 20 party members; orders were given to canvas the streets thoroughly—in short, to conduct propaganda for the mass meeting that evening. It was the first time that trucks had driven through the streets with banners but without Marxists. The bourgeoisie stared open-mouthed at these red-draped cars with fluttering swastika banners, and in the outlying districts, clenched fists were angrily raised at this new evidence of 'provocation of the proletariat.' Only the Marxists had the right to hold meetings and to drive around in trucks.

At 7:00 pm, the Circus was not yet full. I was informed by telephone every ten minutes and was becoming uneasy; usually at 7:00 or 7:15 our meeting halls were already half-filled, sometimes even nearly full. But I soon found out why. I had entirely forgotten to take into account the huge dimensions of this new hall: a thousand people in the Hofbräuhaus made it impressively full, but the same number in the Circus Krone was simply swallowed up. You could hardly see them. Shortly afterwards, though, I received more hopeful reports, and at 7:45 I was informed that the hall was three-quarters filled, with huge crowds still lined up at the box offices. I then left for the meeting.

I arrived at the Circus at 8:02. There was still a crowd of people outside, some just curious, and many opponents who preferred to wait outside for developments.

When I entered the great hall, I felt the same joy I had felt a year earlier at the first meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhaus Hall. But it wasn't until I had forced my way through the solid wall of people and reached the

platform that I saw the full measure of our success. The hall was before me, like a huge shell, packed with thousands and thousands of people. Even the arena was packed solid. More than 5,600 tickets had been sold and, allowing for the unemployed, poor students, and our own security men, there must have been 6,500 present.

My theme was 'Future or Downfall,' and I was filled with joy at the thought that the future lay there before me.

I began, and spoke for about two and a half hours. After the first half-hour, I felt that the meeting was going to be a big success. Contact had been established with all those thousands of individuals. After the first hour, the speech was already being interrupted by spontaneous outbreaks of applause, but after the second hour, this died down to a solemn stillness that I was to experience so often later on, in this same hall, and which will forever be remembered by all those present. Nothing broke this impressive silence, and only when the last word had been spoken did the applause thunder forth, culminating in the "Deutschland" song, sung with the greatest fervor.

I watched the scene for almost 20 minutes, as the vast hall slowly drained a sea of humanity. Only then did I leave the platform, overjoyed, and made my way home.

Pictures were taken of this first meeting in the Circus Krone in Munich. They speak louder than words about the magnitude of the demonstration. The bourgeois papers ran pictures, but reported the meeting as having been merely a 'nationalist' demonstration, and in their usual modest fashion they omitted all mention of its organizers.

Thus for the first time, we had developed far beyond the bound of an ordinary party. We could no longer be ignored. And to dispel all doubt that the meeting was merely an isolated success, I immediately arranged for another at the Circus for the following week, and again we had the same success. Once more the vast hall was overflowing with masses of people, such that I decided to hold a third meeting in the same style. And for a third time, the giant Circus was packed full of people, bottom to top.

After this introduction to the year 1921, I further increased our activity in Munich. I not only held meetings once a week, but during some weeks even two mass meetings; yes, and in midsummer and autumn, it was

sometimes three. We met regularly at the Circus and it gave us great satisfaction to see that every meeting brought us the same success.

The result was an ever-increasing number of supporters and members for our movement.

7.11 An Attempted Disruption

Naturally, such success did not leave our opponents inactive. At first their tactics fluctuated between the use of terror and silence in our regard, but they soon recognized that neither could hinder the progress of our movement. So they had recourse to a final act of terror that was intended to put a definite end to our meeting activity.

As a pretext for this action, they used a very mysterious attack on one of the governmental deputies, named Erhard Auer.[7] It was declared that someone had shot at said Erhard Auer one evening. This meant that he was not actually shot, but that an attempt had been made to shoot him. A fabulous presence of mind and heroic courage on the part of Social Democratic leaders not only prevented the insidious attack, but also put the would-be assassins to flight. They fled so quickly and so far that subsequently the police couldn't find even the slightest trace of them. This mysterious episode was used by the organ of the Social Democratic Party in Munich to agitate against our movement, and while doing so it delivered its old hints about the tactics that were to come. Their purpose was to see to it that our movement not get out of hand, and that proletarian fists would intervene.

A few days later came the day of the disruption.

It was eventually decided to interrupt one of our meetings planned for the Munich Hofbräuhaus Festsaal, and at which I myself was to speak.

On 4 November 1921, between 6:00 and 7:00 pm, I received the first precise news that the meeting would definitely be broken up, and that to carry out this action, they decided to send in great masses of workers from certain Red factories.

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[7] Auer (1874-1945) was a Bavarian politician. He was complicit with Jewish revolutionaries like Ernst Toller and Kurt Eisner, and played a leading role in the hated Weimar government.

It was due to an unfortunate accident that we didn't receive this news sooner. On that day, we had given up our old business office in the Sternecker Gasse in Munich[8] and moved into other quarters—or rather, we had given up the old offices, and our new quarters weren't yet in working order. The telephone had been cut off by the former tenants and had not yet been reinstalled, and several attempts that day to inform us by telephone of the intended break-up didn't reach us.

Consequently our security troops were very weak at that meeting. Only one squad was present, which consisted only of about 46 men. And our warning apparatus wasn't yet sufficiently organized to be able to bring enough reinforcements within an hour or so. It must also be added that on several previous occasions we had been forewarned, but nothing special happened. The old saying, that announced revolutions rarely come off, had hitherto been proven true in our experience.

Perhaps for this reason as well, we hadn't taken sufficiently strong precautions on that day to counter the brutal determination of our opponents to break up our meeting.

Finally, we didn't believe that the Hofbräuhaus Festsaal in Munich was suitable for an attempted break-up. We were more afraid with the bigger halls, especially the Circus. But on this point, we learned a valuable lesson that day. Later, we studied this whole question according to a scientific method and arrived at results—both interesting and incredible—and which subsequently were an essential factor in our organization's leadership and in the tactics of our storm troops.

When I arrived in the entrance hall of the Hofbräuhaus at 7:45 pm, there was no doubt of the intentions. The hall was filled, and therefore the police had it closed. Our opponents, who had arrived very early, were in the hall, and our followers were for the most part outside. The small SA guard awaited me at the entrance. I had the doors leading to the main hall closed, and then asked the 45 or 46 men to come forward. I made it clear to the boys that perhaps on that evening, for the first time, they

[8] Today, known as the Sternecker Strasse. The original DAP office was in a side room of the Sterneckerbräu, a brewery on the corner of Sternecker and Tal. The building still stands, although it now is a residential and commercial unit.

would have to show their unyielding loyalty to the movement, and that not one of us should leave the hall unless carried out dead; I myself would remain in the hall and I didn't believe that one of them would abandon me; and if I saw any one of them acting the coward, I myself would personally tear off his armband and badge. Then I demanded that they should step forward if the slightest attempt were made to disrupt the meeting, and that they must remember that the best defense is always attack.

I was greeted with a triple *Heil*, which sounded more robust and violent than usual.

I then went into the hall and assessed the situation with my own eyes. Our opponents sat closely huddled together, piercing me with their eyes. Innumerable faces glowing with hatred were fixed on me, while others with sneering grimaces shouted at me in no uncertain terms. Today they would 'finish us off,' we must look out for our guts, they would smash our mouths...and other such lovely phrases. They knew that they had superior numbers and acted accordingly.

Yet we were able to open the meeting, and I began to speak. In the Hofbräuhaus Festsaal, I always stood on one of the long sides of the room, and my podium was a beer table. I was actually right in the midst of the people. Perhaps this circumstance was responsible for creating a certain mood that I never found elsewhere.

Before me, and especially to my left, there were only opponents seated or standing. They were mostly robust youths and men from the Maffei factory, from Kustermann's, from the factories of the Isaria Meter Works, etc. Along the left wall, they were thickly massed quite close to my table, and began to collect beer mugs—that is, they were ordering beer and stashing the mugs under the table. Thus, whole batteries were collected, and it would have been a miracle if the meeting ended peacefully.

After about an hour and a half—I was able to speak that long, amidst interruptions—it almost seemed as if I was going to master the situation. The leaders of the disrupters appeared to sense this themselves; they steadily became more uneasy, often left the hall, returned, and spoke to their men with obvious nervousness.

I then committed a small psychological error in replying to an interruption, which I myself realized the moment the words left my mouth, and this gave the sign for the outbreak.

There were a few angry shouts, and suddenly a man jumped on a chair and shouted: "Freedom!" At that signal, the freedom-fighters began their work.

In a few seconds, the entire hall was filled with a yelling and shrieking mob, above which flew—like howitzers—innumerable beer mugs; amid this uproar, one heard the smash of chair legs, the crashing of mugs, groans, and yells, and screams.

It was a crazy spectacle.

I stood my ground and observed my boys thoroughly doing their duty.

I would have liked to have seen a bourgeois meeting like this!

The dance had hardly begun when my storm troops—as they were called from that day forward—attacked. Like wolves they threw themselves on the enemy again and again, in packs of eight or ten, and began to steadily thrash them out of the hall. Even after five minutes, I saw hardly one of them that wasn't streaming with blood. I really came to know those men that day; first of all, my brave Maurice;[9] my current private secretary Hess;[10] and many others who, even though seriously wounded, attacked again and again, as long as their legs held out. The pandemonium continued for 20 minutes, but then the opponents, who numbered 700 or 800, were mostly driven from the hall or thrown out headlong by my men, who numbered not even 50. Only in the left corner, a big crowd still held out against our men and put up a bitter fight. Then two pistol shots suddenly rang out from the hall entrance, toward the platform, and now a

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[9] Emil Maurice (1879-1972) was a watchmaker by trade, and an early leader of the SA, and eventually of the SS. Interestingly, Maurice was later revealed to have had partial Jewish ancestry; Himmler wanted him expelled from the SS, but Hitler intervened, making an exception for him.

[10] Rudolf Hess (1894-1987) was another leader of the SA, and among Hitler's closest personal confidantes. Eventually he would become Deputy Führer of the NSDAP, one of its highest-ranking members. It was Hess who took dictation for most of *Mein Kampf* from Hitler during their time together in the Landsberg Prison.

wild din of shooting broke out. One's heart almost rejoiced at this spectacle that recalled old war memories.

At that moment it was impossible to identify who had fired the shots; but at any rate I could see that my boys renewed the attack with increased fury, until finally the last disturbers were overcome and driven out of the hall.

About 25 minutes had passed; the hall looked as if a bomb had exploded. Many of my comrades had to be bandaged, and others carried away, but we remained masters of the situation. Hermann Essen, who was chairman this evening, declared: "The meeting will continue. The speaker has the floor." And so I went on with my speech.

When we ourselves closed the meeting, an excited police officer rushed in, waved his hands and declared to the hall: "The meeting is dismissed."

Unintentionally, I had to laugh at this late-comer to the event; real police arrogance. The smaller they are, the greater they must always appear.

That evening we learned a lot, and our opponents never forgot the lesson they received.

As of the autumn of 1923, the *Münchener Post* never again mentioned the fists of the proletariat.

CHAPTER 8
THE STRONG MAN IS MIGHTIEST ALONE

In the above, I mentioned the existence of a cooperative union between the German patriotic associations. Here I will briefly address the problem of these federations.

In speaking of a cooperative union, we generally mean a group of associations that, for the purpose of facilitating their work, establish mutual relations, appoint a common directorate with varying powers, and thenceforth carrying out common actions. This alone suggests that we are dealing with clubs, associations, or parties whose goals and methods are not too far apart. It's claimed that this is always the case. The average citizen is pleased and reassured when he hears that these associations, by establishing a 'cooperative union' among themselves, have at long last discovered a 'common bond' and have 'set aside all differences.' Here arises a general conviction that such a union is an immense gain in strength, and that previously weak, small groups have now suddenly become strong.

This, however, is mostly false!

It's interesting and, in my eyes, important for a better understanding of this question, to get a clear notion of how these associations, clubs, and the like are established, when all claim to have the same goal.

In itself, it would be logical to expect that one goal should be fought for by only one association, and it would be more reasonable if several associations weren't fighting for the same goal. At first, there was

undoubtedly only one association that had this goal in view. One man proclaimed a truth somewhere and, calling for the solution of a definite problem, fixed his goal and founded a movement to realize his view.

That's how an association or a party is founded—the scope of whose program is either the abolition of existing evils or the establishment of a certain state of affairs in the future.

8.1 A Movement's Right of Priority

Once such a movement has come to life, it possesses a certain practical right of priority. It would now be obvious that all those who wish to fight for the same objective should join such a movement and thus increase its strength, to better serve the common purpose. Especially those of intelligence must feel that such conditions are necessary for practical success in the common struggle. Accordingly, it's reasonable and, in a certain sense, honest (on which much depends, as I will show) that there should be only one movement for one goal.

The fact that this doesn't happen can be attributed to two causes. The first may almost be described as tragic, while the second is pitiful and is found in human weakness. Most fundamentally, I see in both causes only facts that give still further ground for strengthening our will, energy, and intensity. Finally, through the higher development of human faculties, a solution to the problem in question becomes possible.

The tragic reason why the solution of one definite task is usually not left to one association alone is as follows: In general, every action carried out on a grand style on this Earth is the expression of a longstanding desire in millions of people, a longing silently harbored by many. Yes, it may happen that, for centuries, men may have been yearning for the solution to a definite problem because they have been suffering an intolerable burden without seeing the coming amelioration of this universal longing. Nations that are incapable of finding a heroic deliverance from such distress may be viewed as impotent. But on the other hand, nothing gives better proof of a people's vitality and the consequent guarantee of its right to exist than that, one day, Fate bestows on them a man capable of

liberating his people from some great oppression, or of wiping out some bitter distress, or of calming the national soul that had been tormented by insecurity, and thus bringing the long-yearned-for fulfillment.

8.2 The Struggle for Leadership

An essential characteristic of the so-called great questions of our time is that thousands undertake the task of solving them, and many feel themselves called to this task—yes, even that Fate itself has proposed many for the choice, so that, through the free play of forces, the stronger and bolder shall finally be victorious, and will become entrusted with the task of solving the problem.

Thus it may happen that, for centuries, many are discontented with the form of their religious life, and yearn for its renovation. And so it may happen that, through this psychic impulse, some dozens of men may arise who believe that, by virtue of their understanding and their knowledge, they are called to solve the religious distress. Accordingly, they present themselves as the prophets of a new teaching, or at least as warriors against standing beliefs.

Here too, it's certain that natural law will take its course, inasmuch as the strongest man is destined to fulfill his great mission; but usually the others are slow to acknowledge that only one is called. On the contrary, they all believe that they have been selected, and have equal right to a solution of the task at hand. Such contemporaries are generally unable to decide which among them—alone endowed with the highest ability—deserves unconditional support.

So in the course of centuries, or indeed often within the same era, different men establish different movements to struggle towards the same end—or at least, that appear the same to the great masses. The people hold vague desires and have only general opinions, without having any precise notion of their own ideals and desires or how they will be fulfilled. The tragedy lies in the fact that many men struggle to reach the same objective by different roads, without knowing one another; each holds himself duty-bound to follow his own road without any regard for the others.

These movements, parties, and religious groups, originate entirely independently of one another out of the general will of the time, and all in the same direction. It may seem a tragic thing, at least at first sight, that this should be so, because people are too often inclined to think that forces that are dispersed in different directions would succeed far more quickly and surely if they were united. This, however, is not the case. Nature herself decides according to the rules of her inexorable logic. She leaves these diverse groups to compete with one another and dispute the palm of victory, thus choosing the clearest, shortest, and surest way by which a movement attains its goal.

How could the correctness or incorrectness of a path be determined from without, if the forces at hand weren't given free play? Unless, that is, the final decision is withheld from the doctrinaire judgment of human know-it-alls, and entrusted to indisputable logic of visible success—which, in the end, always confirms the ultimate correctness of a course of action!

Hence, though diverse groups march along different paths towards the same goal, as soon as they come to know of similar efforts, they will more carefully examine their own way. Where possible, they will shorten it, and by exerting their energy they will strive to reach the goal more quickly.

This rivalry helps each individual fighter develop his faculties, and humanity frequently owes its progress to the lessons learned from the misfortunes of previous attempts.

Therefore we come to know the best ways of reaching an end through a condition that, at first sight, appeared tragic—namely, an initial, unconscious splintering of individual efforts.

8.3 Austria and Prussia

In studying history with a view to finding a solution of the German question, the prevailing opinion is that there were two possible paths, and that these two paths should have united from the very beginning.

The chief representatives and champions of these two paths were Austria and Prussia, Habsburg and Hohenzollern; in the common view, people should have entrusted themselves, with united force, to one path

or the other. But then the path of the most prominent representative—the Habsburg—would have been taken, though Austrian policy would never have led to a German Reich.

Finally, a strong and united German Reich arose out of that which many millions of Germans deplored in their hearts as the last and most terrible sign of our fratricidal strife: in truth, the German imperial crown was won on the battlefield of Königgrätz and not in the battles for Paris, as people later came to believe.[1]

Thus the foundation of the German Reich was not the consequence of any common will working along common lines, but it was much more of a conscious—and sometimes unconscious—struggle for hegemony, from which Prussia emerged victorious. Anyone who isn't so blinded by partisan politics as to deny this truth must agree that the so-called wisdom of men would never have come to the same wise decision as the wisdom of life itself—that's to say, of the free play of forces, finally brought to realization. For in the German lands of 200 years ago, who would seriously have believed that Hohenzollern Prussia, and not Habsburg, would become the germ cell, founder, and tutor of the new Reich?! And on the other hand, who would deny today that Destiny acted wiser; in fact, who could now imagine a German Reich based on the foundations of a rotten and degenerate dynasty?

No—natural development, even though it took centuries of struggle, placed the best where it belonged.

Thus it will always be, and so it will remain, as it always has been.

Therefore it mustn't be regretted if different men set out to attain the same goal: In this way, the strongest and swiftest become acknowledged, and become victorious.

8.4 Causes of Folkish Splintering

Now, there's a second cause for the fact that, often in the lives of nations, movements of the same characteristics strive along different paths

[1] The Battle of Königgrätz occurred on 3 July 1866, and ended in Prussian victory over the Austrian Empire.

to reach the same goal. This cause is not merely tragic, but is positively miserable. It arises from a sad mixture of envy, jealousy, ambition, and a thievish mentality, which are often found united in single specimens of humanity.

The moment a man arises who profoundly understands the distress of his people and, having diagnosed the disease with perfect accuracy, takes measures to cure it; when he fixes his goal and chooses the means to reach it—then small and petty minds take notice and eagerly follow the activity of this man who has attracted public attention. As with sparrows who are apparently indifferent, but in reality are firmly on the watch for a fortunate companion who has found a piece of bread, hoping to snatch it from him in an unguarded moment, so too it is with humanity. All that's needed is for one man to strike out on a new road, and then a crowd of lazy loiterers will prick up their ears and begin to sniff around for whatever little morsel may lie at the end of that road. The moment they think they have found it, they hurry to find another, quicker way of reaching that goal.

When a new movement is founded and has formulated a definite program, people of that sort come and proclaim that they are fighting for the same goal; not by honestly joining the ranks of such a movement and thus recognizing its priority, but rather by stealing the program and founding a new party on it. In doing this, they are shameless enough to assure the unthinking public that they had long intended to take the same line of action as the other has now taken—and frequently they succeed in placing themselves in a favorable light, instead of arousing the general contempt that they deserve. Is it not a piece of gross impudence to take what has already been inscribed on another's banner and display it on one's own, to steal another's program, and then to form a separate group, as though newly-created? This impudence is particularly demonstrated when those who first caused the split by their new foundation are those who, as experience shows, are the most emphatic in proclaiming the need for unity as soon as they realize they cannot catch up with their opponent.

The so-called 'folkish splintering' is due to just such a process.

Certainly the founding of a multitude of new groups, parties, etc. in 1918-19, calling themselves folkish, was a natural development of things,

for which the founders were not at fault. By 1920 the NSDAP had slowly crystallized from all these parties and become victorious. There could be no better proof of the sterling honesty of certain individual founders than that many of them decided, in an admirable way, to sacrifice their obviously less-successful movements to the stronger—that is, by joining it unconditionally or dissolving their own.

This is especially true in regard to Julius Streicher, who at that time was the chief fighter for the German Socialist Party (DSP) in Nuremberg.[2] The NSDAP and DSP had been founded with similar aims, but quite independently of each other. As mentioned, Streicher, then a teacher in Nuremberg, was the main fighter for the DSP. Initially he had a sacred conviction of the mission and future of his movement. As soon, however, as the superior strength and stronger growth of the NSDAP became clear and obvious to him, he gave up his work in the DSP and the working federation, and called upon his followers to fall into line with the NSDAP—which had come out victorious from the mutual contest—and carry on the fight within its ranks for the common cause. The decision was as personally difficult as it was profoundly decent.

From that first period of the movement, there remained no further splintering, but rather an almost completely honorable, straight, and correct conclusion, due to the honest intentions of those men. What we now call 'folkish splintering' owes its existence exclusively to the second of the two causes that I mentioned: Ambitious men who at first had no ideas—much less any goals—of their own, and felt themselves 'called' exactly at that moment that they saw the undeniable success of the NSDAP.

Suddenly programs appeared that were mere copies of ours, ideas were proclaimed that had been taken from us, goals were established that we had been defending for years, and paths were chosen that the NSDAP had long traveled. All means were attempted to explain why, although the NSADP had long been in existence, it was necessary to establish these new parties; but the nobler the motives, the falser the phrases.

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[2] Streicher (1885-1946) was a leading operative of the NSDAP, publisher of the notorious journal *Der Stürmer*, and close confidante of Hitler. Streicher was captured after the war, tried at Nuremberg, and executed in 1946.

In truth, a single basis was determinative: the personal ambition of the founders, who wished to play a part in which their own dwarfish talents contributed nothing but a boldness in appropriating the ideas of others—a boldness that, in ordinary life, is designated as thievery.

At that time, there wasn't a concept or idea of others that these political kleptomaniacs didn't quickly seize upon for their own new business. Those who did this were the same people who subsequently, with tears in their eyes, profoundly deplored the 'folkish splintering' and spoke unceasingly about the 'need for unity'—in the silent hope that they might so deceive the others that, owing to the eternal clamor, they would toss the stolen ideas and movements to the thieves.

8.5 'Working Federations'

When that didn't succeed, and the new enterprises—thanks to the paltry mentality of their owners—weren't as profitable as promised, then they became more modest in their pretenses and were happy if they could land in one of the so-called working federations.

At that time, everyone who couldn't stand on their own feet joined one such working federation; believing that eight cripples hanging on to each other could surely form one gladiator.

And if, among all these cripples, there were one healthy man, he used all his strength to sustain the others and thus was himself crippled.

We should see the joining of these so-called working federations as a question of tactics; but in this, we must never forget the following fundamental realization:

Through the formation of a working federation, weak organizations can never be made strong, whereas a strong organization can and does often become weak. It's a mistake to believe that a factor of strength results from a coalition of weak groups, because experience shows that, under all forms and conditions, the majority represents stupidity and cowardice. Hence a multiplicity of organizations, under a self-chosen directorate of many heads, is abandoned to cowardice and weakness. Also, through such a coalition, the free play of forces is paralyzed, the struggle for the selection

of the best is abolished, and thus the necessary and final victory of the healthier and stronger is always impeded. Such coalitions are inimical to natural development because, for the most part, they hinder rather than advance the solution of the problem being fought for.

It may happen that, for purely tactical considerations, a movement's top leaders, if they are future-oriented, will enter into a coalition with such associations for a short time, on the treatment of special questions and perhaps on a common platform. But such a coalition won't be permanent unless the movement wishes to renounce its liberating mission. If it becomes indefinitely tied up in such a union, it loses the capacity and the right to allow a natural development and the working-out of its own forces, so as to overcome rivals and, as victor, to achieve its own objective.

One must never forget that nothing really great in this world has ever been achieved through coalitions, but that it has always been due to the success of a single victor. Coalition successes, due to the very nature of their source, carry the germs of future disintegration—yes, even the loss of what has been achieved. Great, truly world-changing revolutions of a spiritual sort are inconceivable and impossible without titanic struggles between individual natures, but never as coalitional undertakings.

And above all, the folkish State will never be created by the compromising will of folkish working federations, but only by the steely will of a single movement that has successfully struggled with all others.

CHAPTER 9
BASIC IDEAS REGARDING THE MEANING AND ORGANIZATION OF THE S.A.

The strength of the old State rested on three pillars: the monarchical State form, the civil service, and the army. The 1918 Revolution abolished the state form, dissolved the army, and abandoned the civil service to party corruption. Thus the essential supports of the so-called State authority were shattered. This authority nearly always depends on the three elements, which lie at the basis of all authority.

9.1 Three Bases of Authority

Popularity is always the first basis for the creation of authority. But an authority resting on that basis alone is quite frail, uncertain, and shaky. Hence everyone who finds himself vested with an authority based only on popularity must improve and consolidate the foundation of that authority by the creation of power. Accordingly we must look upon *power*—that is, force—as the second basis of all authority. This is more stable and secure, but not always stronger, than the first. If popularity and force are united together and can endure for a certain time, then an authority may arise that's based on a still stronger foundation, namely, the authority of *tradition*. And finally, if popularity, force, and tradition are united together, then the authority may be seen as invincible.

The Revolution totally abolished this last case. There was no longer even an authority of tradition. With the collapse of the old Reich, the elimination of the old State form, and the destruction of the old sovereign emblems and Reich symbols, tradition was shattered. The result was the harshest shaking of State authority.

The second pillar of State authority, force, also ceased to exist. In order to carry out the Revolution, it was necessary to dissolve that which embodied the organized force and power of the State, namely, the army; indeed, some fragments of the army itself had to be used as revolutionary fighting elements. The armies at the Front weren't subjected in the same degree to this disintegration, but as they gradually receded from the fields of glory on which they had heroically fought for four-and-half years, they were attacked by the homeland's acid of disintegration. And when they arrived at the demobilizing centers, they fell into that confusion of the so-called voluntary obedience, in the time of the Soldiers' Councils.

Of course, no authority could be based on this crowd of mutinous soldiers, who looked upon military service as an eight-hour work day. Therefore the second element—that which guarantees the stability of authority—was also abolished and the Revolution had only the original element, popularity, on which to build its authority. But this basis was extraordinarily insecure. The Revolution shattered the old State structure with a single blow, but only because the normal balance within the social structure of the nation had already been eliminated by the war.

9.2 Three Classes of National Bodies

Every national body is made up of three main classes: At one extreme we have the best of the people, meaning those who possess all virtues, particularly courage and self-sacrifice. At the other extreme are the worst dregs of humanity, in whom vice and selfishness prevail. Between these two extremes stands the third class, made up of the broad middle stratum who embody neither radiant heroism nor vulgar criminality.

The times of a nation's rise are marked exclusively, and only exist, by the absolute leadership of the extreme best.

CHAPTER 9

Times of normal and balanced development, or of stable conditions, owe their existence to the dominating influence of the middle elements. Here the two extreme classes are balanced against one another, cancelling each other out.

Times of national collapse are determined by the dominant influence of the worst elements.

It must be noted here, however, that the broad masses—that which I have called the middle class—come forward and make their influence felt only when the two extreme sections are engaged in mutual struggle.

In case of victory for one of the extremes, they readily submit to the victor. If the best dominate, the broad masses will follow them; and if the worst triumph, then they will at least offer no opposition; the middle masses never fight their own battles.

9.3 Sacrifice of the Best

Now, the outpouring of blood for four-and-a-half years during the war destroyed the inner balance between these three classes, insofar as it can be said that—admitting the sacrifices of the middle—the class of the extreme best of humanity was almost completely bled out. The truly enormous amount of heroic German blood that was shed during those four-and-a-half years was irreplaceable. In hundreds of thousands of cases, it was always, again and again, a call for: 'volunteers to the Front', 'volunteers for patrol,' 'volunteer dispatch carriers,' 'volunteers for telephone squads,' 'volunteers for bridge-building,' 'volunteers for the U-boats,' 'volunteers for the airplanes,' 'volunteers for the storm battalions,' and so on. Again and again, during four-and-a-half years, and on thousands of occasions, there was always the call for volunteers and again for volunteers—and always the same result: Beardless youths or mature men, all filled with an ardent love for their Fatherland, with great personal courage or the highest sense of duty, *they* came forth. Tens of thousands—indeed, hundreds of thousands—of such cases occurred, and gradually this kind of humanity grew scarcer and scarcer. Those not actually felled were either maimed in the fight or crippled, and thus they crumbled away, due to their declining numbers.

In 1914 whole armies were composed of so-called volunteers who, owing to a criminal lack of conscience on the part of our feckless parliamentarians, had received no proper training in peacetime, and so were thrown as defenseless cannon-fodder to the enemy. The 400,000 who thus fell or were maimed on the battlefields of Flanders couldn't be replaced. Their loss was something far more than merely numerical. With their death, the scales, which were already too light on the good side, now shot upwards, toward baseness, treachery, and cowardice; in short, toward the mass of the extreme bad.

And there was something more:

While, for four-and-a-half years, our extreme best were being horrendously thinned on the battlefields, our extreme worst succeeded wonderfully in saving themselves. For each hero who made the supreme sacrifice and ascended the steps of Valhalla, there was a slacker who cunningly dodged death in order to engage in business that was more or less useful at home.

And so the end of the war gave us the following picture: The broad middle stratum of the nation gave its share of blood-sacrifice. The extreme best, with outstanding heroism, sacrificed themselves almost completely. The extreme bad preserved themselves almost completely, by taking advantage of absurd laws and because of the non-application of articles of war.

This well-preserved scum of our nation then made the Revolution, and could do so only because the extreme best elements were no longer there to oppose it: —they were no longer alive.

9.4 The Resulting Disorganization

Hence the German Revolution, from the very start, was only conditionally popular. This act of Cain wasn't committed by the German people per se, but by an obscure rabble of deserters, hooligans, and so on.

The man at the Front welcomed the end of the bloody struggle, and was happy to return home and see his wife and children once again. But he had no inner connection with the Revolution; he didn't like it, nor did he like its instigators and organizers. During the four-and-a-half years of

that bitter struggle, he forgot the party hyenas, and all their wrangling became foreign to him.

The Revolution was really popular only with a small part of the German people: namely, that class of accomplices who had selected the backpack as the hallmark of all honorable citizens in this new State. They didn't like the Revolution for its own sake—as many still erroneously believe today—but because of its consequences.

But it was very difficult to establish any authority on the popularity of these Marxist gangsters. And yet the young Republic needed authority at any cost, unless it was ready to be overthrown after a brief chaos by a retributive force assembled from the last elements among the best of our people.

Those responsible for the Revolution feared nothing more than to lose a foothold amidst the turmoil that they created, and to be suddenly seized by an iron fist—as has happened more than once at such junctures in the life of peoples. The Republic had to be consolidated at any price.

Hence it was almost immediately forced to erect, alongside its wavering pillar of popularity, an organization of force, in order to secure a firmer authority.

In those days of December, January, and February 1918-1919, the matadors of the Revolution felt the ground trembling beneath their feet, and they looked around them for men who, through love of their people, would strengthen them—by force of arms. The 'anti-militaristic' Republic needed soldiers. But the first and only pillar of their State authority—namely, their popularity—was grounded only on a society of hooligans, thieves, burglars, deserters, slackers, etc. Therefore it was useless to look within that extreme worst portion of the nation for men willing to sacrifice their lives in the service of a new ideal. The class supporting the revolutionary idea and carrying out the Revolution was neither able nor willing to call on the soldiers to protect it. This class had no wish whatsoever to organize a republican State, but to disorganize what already existed in order to better satisfy their own instincts. Their watchword was not: the organization and construction of the German Republic, but rather: the plundering of it.

Hence the cry for help sent out by the public representatives, in agony, went unheard—indeed, on the contrary, it aroused bitterness and resistance. The revolutionaries looked upon this as a breach of faith and trust. In the building up of an authority no longer based on popularity but on force, they saw the beginning of a hostile move against what the Revolution essentially meant for those elements: against the right to rob, and against unconditional rule by a horde of thieves and plunderers—in short, the worst rabble—who had broken out of prison and left their chains behind.

The public representatives could cry out as much as they liked, but no one stepped forward. Only the counter-cry, 'traitor,' came from those popular supporters.

Then for the first time, large numbers of young Germans appeared who were ready once again to button on the military uniform in the service of 'peace and order,' shouldering the carbine and rifle, and donning the steel helmet to oppose the destroyers of their homeland. As volunteer soldiers, they formed into free corps and, although hating the Revolution, began to defend and thus, in practice, to secure it.

They acted in the best of faith.

The real organizer of the Revolution and its actual wire-puller, the international Jew, had correctly sized up the situation. The German people were not yet ripe to be drawn into the bloody swamp of Bolshevism, as happened in Russia. This was because there was a closer racial union between the German intellectual classes and the manual workers. Also, the broad social strata were permeated with cultured people, such as was the case also in the other Western European countries, but was completely lacking in Russia. There the intelligentsia were mostly of non-Russian nationality, or at least they didn't have Slavic racial characteristics. The thin upper layer of intellectuals that then existed in Russia could have been abolished at any time because there was no intermediate stratum connecting it with the great mass of people. There, the mental and moral level was frightfully low.

In Russia, the moment the agitators were successful in inciting the uneducated hordes of the broad masses—who couldn't read or write—

against the thin upper layer of intellectuals who weren't in contact with the masses or permanently linked with them in any way, at that moment the destiny of the country was decided, and the Revolution succeeded. Then the illiterate Russian became the defenseless slave of his Jewish dictators who, for their part, were shrewd enough to name their dictatorship 'the people's dictatorship.'

9.5 Deserters and Revolution

In Germany there was an additional factor: Just as surely as the Revolution could be carried out only by the gradual disintegration of the army, so too the real conductor of the Revolution wasn't the soldier at the Front but the light-shy rabble who were either quartered in the home garrisons or were working as 'indispensables' somewhere in the business world. The army was reinforced by 10,000 deserters who, without running any particular risk, could turn their backs on the Front. At all times, the real coward fears nothing more than death. But at the Front he faced death every day in a thousand different ways. There has always been only one possible way of making weak or wavering men, or even downright cowards, face their duty: The deserter must understand that his desertion will bring upon him the very thing he's escaping from. At the Front, a man may die, but the deserter *must* die. Only this draconian threat against any attempt at desertion can have a terrifying effect, not merely on the individual but also on the whole.

Therein lay the meaning and purpose of the articles of war.

It was a fine belief to think that the great struggle for national existence could be fought solely on voluntary loyalty, arising from and sustained by a realization of necessity. The voluntary fulfillment of one's duty has always determined the best men, but not the average. Hence special laws are necessary, as, for instance, against stealing, which were not made for men who are fundamentally honest but for those weak and unstable elements. Such laws are meant to hinder the wrong-doer through their deterrent effect and thus prevent a condition from arising in which the honest man is considered the more stupid, and which would end in the

belief that it's better to participate in theft than to stand by with empty hands or allow oneself to be robbed.

It was a mistake to believe that—in a struggle which, according to all human foresight, might last for years to come—it would be possible to dispense with those instruments that the experience of centuries and even millennia have proven to be effective in making weak and unstable men fulfill their duty in difficult times, and at moments of great nervous stress.

For the voluntary war hero, it's obviously unnecessary to have articles of war, but it is for the cowardly egoists who value their own lives more than the whole in the hour of national need. Such spineless weaklings can be deterred from yielding to their cowardice only by the application of the harshest penalty. When men have to struggle with death every day and remain for weeks in mud-filled trenches, often with the worst of food, the wavering soldier cannot be held in line by threats of imprisonment or even penal servitude, but only by a ruthless application of the death penalty. Experience shows that, at such a time, he considers prison a thousand times more preferable than the battlefield. In prison, at least, his precious life is not in danger. The practical abolition of the death penalty during the war, and thus the suspension of the articles of war, was a terrible mistake. An army of deserters poured into the reserve stations or returned home, especially in 1918, and helped to form that huge criminal organization that we suddenly faced after 7 November 1918, and which created the Revolution.

The Front had nothing to do with all this. Naturally, those there were yearning for peace. But it was precisely this fact that presented an exceptional danger for the Revolution. When the German armies drew near to home after the armistice, the anxious revolutionaries and asked the same question again and again: What will the frontline troops do? Will the field-grays stand for it?

During those weeks, the German Revolution was forced to appear moderate, at least outwardly, if it weren't to run the risk of being wrecked in an instant by a few German divisions. At that time, if even a single divisional commander, with the help of his loyal division, had made up his mind to tear down the red rags and put the 'councils' up against the wall,

and to break any resistance with trench-mortars and hand grenades, that division would have grown into an army of 60 divisions in less than four weeks. The Jewish wire-pullers were more terrified of this than anything else. And precisely to prevent this, they had to give the Revolution a certain aspect of moderation. They couldn't call it Bolshevism, so they had to put it under a pretense of 'peace and order.' Hence many important concessions, the appeal to the old civil service, and to the heads of the old army. They were needed at least for awhile, and only after the Moors had done their duty could they [the Jews] give them the kick they deserved, and take the Republic out of the hands of the old State servants and deliver it to the claws of the revolutionary vultures.

They thought that this was the only plan that would succeed in duping the old generals and civil servants, and disarm any eventual opposition beforehand, through the apparent innocence and mildness of the new regime.

Practical experience has shown how far this succeeded.

The Revolution, however, wasn't made by the elements of peace and order but rather by those of riot, theft, and plunder. And the development of the Revolution didn't align with their intentions; nor, for tactical reasons, was it possible to explain the course of events to them, nor could it be made acceptable.

9.6 Collaboration of the Leftist Parties

As Social Democracy gradually grew, it progressively lost the character of a brutal revolutionary party. Not that it wanted any other goal than revolution, or that its leaders had any other intention; by no means.

But what finally remained was only an intention—and a body no longer suited to carry it out. A revolution cannot be carried out by a party of ten million. In such a movement, one no longer has extreme activity but rather the broad masses of the middle—and hence, inertia.

Recognizing all this already during the war, the Jews caused the famous split in Social Democracy. That is: While the Social Democratic Party, conforming to the inertia of its mass, hung like a leaden weight on national defense, the radical-activist elements were extracted from it and

formed into new aggressive assault columns. The Independent Party and the Spartacus League were the storm battalions of revolutionary Marxism. Their objective was to create a *fait accompli*, upon which the masses of the Social Democratic Party could take their stand, having spent decades preparing for this. The cowardly bourgeoisie were dismissed by the Marxists and treated '*en canaille*.' No one took any notice of them, knowing full well that, in their canine submissiveness, the representatives of an old and worn-out generation wouldn't be able to offer any serious resistance.

When the Revolution had succeeded and the main pillars of the old State had been broken down, the frontline army began to appear as a terrifying sphinx, and thus the natural development of the Revolution had to be slowed; the bulk of the Social Democratic army occupied the conquered positions, and the Independent Socialist and Spartacist storm battalions were pushed aside.

But that didn't happen without a struggle.

The activist assault formations that had started the Revolution were dissatisfied and felt betrayed. They now wanted to continue the fight on their own account, but their unruly hooliganism became odious even to the wire-pullers of the Revolution. It was scarcely over when two camps appeared: the party of peace and order, and the group of bloody terror. Was it not natural that our bourgeoisie should rush with flying colors to the camp of peace and order? Now, for once, their piteous political organizations found it possible to act, inasmuch as the ground had been prepared for them to get a new footing, and thus to a certain extent join in a power coalition that they hated but, even more so, feared. The German political bourgeoisie achieved the high honor of being able to sit at the table with the accursed Marxist leaders, to combat Bolshevism.

9.7 Capitulation of the Bourgeoisie

Thus the following state of affairs took shape as early as December 1918 and January 1919:

A minority of the worst elements had made the Revolution, and they were immediately backed by all the Marxist parties. The Revolution itself

outwardly appeared moderate, which aroused the anger of the fanatical extremists. They began to launch hand-grenades and fire machine-guns, occupying public buildings, and thus threatening the moderate Revolution. To prevent this terror from developing further, a truce was concluded between the representatives of the new regime and the adherents of the old order, in order to wage a common fight against the extremists. The result was that the enemies of the Republic ceased to oppose the Republic as such, and helped to subjugate those who were also enemies of the Republic, though for quite different reasons. But a further result was that all danger of a fight by the adherents of the old State against the new was now definitely averted.

This fact must always be clearly kept in mind. Only by recalling it can we understand how it was possible that a nation in which nine-tenths of the people hadn't joined in a revolution, where seven-tenths repudiated it and six-tenths hated it—how this Revolution could be imposed upon them by the remaining one-tenth.

Gradually the Spartacist barricade fighters petered out, as did the nationalist patriots and idealists on the other side. As these two groups steadily dwindled, the masses of the middle, as always, triumphed. The bourgeoisie and the Marxists acknowledged the facts on the ground, and the Republic began to be 'consolidated.' At first, however, that didn't prevent the bourgeois parties from propounding their monarchist ideas for a while, especially at the elections, whereby they conjured up spirits of the past to encourage and ensnare their own feeble-hearted followers.

Honesty, it was not. In their hearts they had broken with the monarchy long ago, and the filth of the new regime had begun to extend its corruptive influence to the bourgeois parties. The common bourgeois politician now feels better in the slime of republican corruption than in the harsh decency of the forgotten State.

9.8 Why did the Revolution Succeed?

As already stated, after the destruction of the old army, the Revolution led to the enforced creation of a new power factor to ensure state authority. As things were, it could do this only by winning over the adherents of a

worldview that was in direct contradiction. From those elements alone it was possible to slowly create a new army that—limited externally by the peace treaties—was subsequently transformed in spirit into an instrument of the new state conception.

Putting aside the question of how—apart from the defects of the old State, which were the real causes of the Revolution—the Revolution, as a political act, could succeed, we arrive at the following conclusions:

1. It was due to a paralysis of our conceptions of duty and obedience, and
2. It was due to the cowardly passivity of our so-called state-preserving parties.

To this, the following must be added: The paralysis that attacked our concepts of duty and obedience was fundamentally due to our wholly non-national and purely State education. From this arises the confusion of means and ends. Consciousness of duty, fulfillment of duty, and obedience are not ends in themselves, any more than the State is an end in itself. They all ought to be employed as means to facilitate and assure the existence on this Earth of a community of spiritually and physically homogeneous people. At an hour when a nation is manifestly collapsing, and when it appears as the victim of ruthless oppression—thanks to the conduct of a few scoundrels—then, to obey these people and fulfill one's duty towards them is mere doctrinaire formalism, and indeed pure folly. On the other hand, the refusal of obedience and 'fulfillment of duty' in such a case might save the nation from collapse. According to our current bourgeois state conception, if a divisional general received an order not to shoot, he acted dutifully and thus rightly in not shooting, because in the bourgeois world, blind formal obedience is more valuable than the life of a nation. But according to the National Socialist conception, it isn't obedience to weak superiors that should prevail at such moments, but obedience to the national community. In such an hour, it's the duty of personal responsibility towards the whole nation that comes to the fore.

The Revolution succeeded because that concept had ceased to be a living concept with our people—or rather, with our government—and gave way to something that was merely formal and doctrinaire.

On the second point, the following must be said: The deeper reason for the cowardice of the 'state-preserving' parties is the fact that the most active and well-intentioned section of our people died in the war. Apart from that, the bourgeois parties, which may be considered as the only political formations that stood by the old State, were convinced that they ought to defend their principles only by intellectual ways and means, since the use of physical force was permitted only by the State. That outlook was a sign of a gradually-developing weakness and decadence. But it was also senseless at a time when there was a political adversary who had long ago abandoned that standpoint and, instead, openly declared that he meant to attain his political ends by force whenever possible. When Marxism emerged in the world of bourgeois democracy, as one of its results, the bourgeois-democratic appeal to fight Marxism with 'intellectual weapons' was an absurdity that would soon bring dire consequences. Marxism always professed the doctrine that the use of arms was purely a matter of expediency, and that success justified their use.

This idea was proven correct in the days from 7 to 11 November 1918. The Marxists did not then bother themselves in the least about parliament or democracy, but they gave the death blow to both through their yelling and shooting mob of criminals. It goes without saying that, at the same time, the bourgeois talking clubs were defenseless.

9.9 Capitulation to Marxism

After the Revolution, the bourgeois parties changed the name of their firm and suddenly reappeared, with heroic leaders emerging from dark cellars and airy storehouses where they had sought refuge. But, like all representatives of such institutions, they had not forgotten their errors or learned anything new. Their political program lay in the past, even though they became reconciled to the new regime. Their aim was to participate in the new establishment, and their sole weapon continued to be, as always—words.

Also after the Revolution, the bourgeois parties capitulated miserably to the street.

When the Law for the Protection of the Republic was introduced, the majority was not at first in favor of it. But, confronted with 200,000 demonstrating Marxists, the bourgeois 'statesmen' were so terrified that they voted for the law against their wills, because they feared they might get their heads smashed by the enraged masses on leaving the Reichstag. Unfortunately this never took place.

And so the new State developed along its own course, as if there were no national opposition at all.

The only organizations that, at that time, had the strength and courage to face Marxism and its enraged masses were, first of all, the volunteer corps, and later the organizations for self-defense, the civic guards, and finally the tradition leagues.

But their existence didn't appreciably change the course of German history, for the following reasons:

Just as the so-called national parties lacked influence because they had no force that could effectively demonstrate in the street, so too the defense leagues couldn't exercise any influence because they had no political ideal and especially because they had no real political goal.

Marxism's success was due to a perfect combination of political will and ruthless brutality. What excluded nationalist Germany from shaping German development was the lack of a determined cooperation between brute force and a wise political will.

Whatever the will of the 'national' parties may have been, they had no power at all to fight for this will, least of all in the streets.

The defense leagues had power at their disposal, and they were masters of the street and of the State, but they lacked political ideals and goals, for which their forces might have been—or could have been—employed in the interests of the German nation. The cunning Jew was able, in both cases, by his clever persuasion and persistence, to reinforce a pre-existing tendency to make this unfortunate state of affairs permanent.

The Jew succeeded in using his press for promoting the idea that the defense leagues were of a 'non-political character,' just as in politics he was always astute enough to praise and encourage the 'purely intellectual' character of the struggle. Millions of German idiots then repeated this

nonsense without having the slightest idea that, by doing so, and for all practical purposes, they were disarming and delivering themselves, defenseless, to the Jew.

9.10 No Fighting Power without an Idea

But there's a natural explanation for this as well. The lack of a great, creative, renewing idea has always meant a limitation in fighting power. The conviction of the right to employ even the most brutal weapons is always associated with an ardent faith in the necessity of victory for a revolutionary new order on Earth.

A movement that doesn't fight for such highest aims and ideals will never have recourse to the ultimate weapon.

The appearance of a new and great idea was the secret of success in the French Revolution; the Russian Revolution owes its triumph to an idea. Only the idea enabled fascism to triumphantly subject a whole nation to a process of complete renovation.

Bourgeois parties are incapable of this.

It wasn't only the bourgeois parties that fixed their aim on a restoration of the past, but also the defense leagues as well, insofar as they concerned themselves with political aims at all. The old veterans clubs and Kyffhaüser tendencies lived within them, and thereby helped to politically blunt the sharpest weapons that the German nation then possessed, and allowed them to languish in the hands of republican serfs. The fact that they had the best of intentions in so doing, and certainly acted in good faith, doesn't alter in the slightest bit the foolishness of their actions.

Marxism gradually acquired the authority to enforce its power over the Reichswehr, and it then proceeded, consistently and logically, to abolish those defense leagues that seemed so dangerous. Some rash leaders who defied orders were summoned to court and sent to prison. But they all got what they deserved.

9.11 Advocacy of the Folkish Idea

The founding of the NSDAP initiated, for the first time, a movement that sought not a mechanical restoration of the past—as the bourgeois parties did—but to substitute an organic folkish State for the present absurd state mechanism.

From the first day, the young movement took its stand on the principle that its ideas had to be propagated intellectually, but that, if necessary, muscular force would be employed to defend it. Faithful to the enormous importance of the new doctrine, it naturally believed that no sacrifice was too great when it came to attaining its goals.

I have already emphasized that a movement meant to win over the hearts of the people must be ready to defend itself with its own forces against terrorist attempts by its adversaries. As always shown in world history, formal State authority can never break a reign of terror inspired by a worldview; it can only be conquered by a new and different worldview, whose representatives just are as bold and determined. Acknowledging this fact has always been very unpleasant for the bureaucratic protectors of the State, but the fact remains nevertheless. State power can guarantee peace and order only when the State embodies a worldview that's dominant at the time, so that disrupting elements can be treated as isolated criminals, instead of being considered champions of an idea diametrically opposed to official views. In such a case, the State can employ the most violent measures, for centuries, against the oppressing terror, but in the end all these measures will fail, and the State will succumb.

The German State is strongly overrun by Marxism. In 70 years of struggle, the State has been unable to prevent the triumph of this worldview—even though sentences to penal servitude and imprisonment amounted to thousands of years, and even though the bloodiest methods of repression were, in innumerable cases, applied against the champions of the Marxist worldview. In the end, the State was forced into almost total capitulation. (Ordinary bourgeois political leaders will deny all this, but they are unconvincing.)

CHAPTER 9

Seeing that the State capitulated unconditionally to Marxism on 9 November 1918, it won't suddenly rise up tomorrow as its conqueror. On the contrary: Bourgeois simpletons sitting on ministerial stools babble about the necessity of not governing against the wishes of the workers, and by 'workers' they mean Marxism. By identifying the German worker with Marxism, they are not only guilty of a cowardly falsification of the truth, but they thus try to hide their own collapse before the Marxist idea and organization.

In view of the complete subordination of the present State to Marxism, the National Socialist movement feels all the more bound not only to prepare the way for the triumph of its idea but also to take upon itself a defense against the terror of the International, intoxicated with its victory.

9.12 Necessity of Defense Troops

I've already described how practical experience in our young movement led us to slowly organize a defense system for our meetings. This gradually assumed the character of a security troop specially trained for the maintenance of order, and aimed at an organizational form.

This new formation might externally resemble the so-called defense leagues, but in reality there are no grounds for comparison.

As already shown, the German defense organizations had no definite political ideas of their own. They really were only self-defense leagues, more or less well-trained and -organized, so that they were an illegal complement to the State's legal power. Their free-corps character arose only from the way that they were constructed and from the State's situation at that time, but they certainly couldn't claim this title on the grounds that they were free formations in the struggle for their own free conviction. This, despite the fact that some of their leaders, and all associations, were definitely opposed to the Republic. Before speaking of political convictions in the higher sense, we must be more than merely convinced of an existing condition's inferiority. These higher convictions mean that one has the knowledge of a new condition, feels the necessity of establishing it, and sets oneself to carrying it out as life's highest task.

What distinguishes the security troops of the National Socialist movement from all other defense leagues is the fact that our formations weren't meant in any way to defend the conditions created by the Revolution, but rather that they fought exclusively for a new Germany.

In the beginning, this security troop merely had the character of a meeting-hall guard. Its first task was limited: making it possible for us to hold our meetings, which otherwise would have been completely prevented by our opponents. These men were at that time trained purely for attack, but they weren't taught to exclusively honor the truncheon, as was then pretended in stupid German-folkish circles. They used it because they knew that even the greatest spirit can be struck down by a truncheon. As a matter of fact, it has not infrequently happened in history that some of the greatest minds have perished under the blows of the pettiest helots. Our men didn't look at violence as an end in itself, but they did protect the prophets of spiritual goals against violent coercion. They also understood that there was no obligation to undertake a defense of a State that didn't guarantee a defense of the nation, but that, on the contrary, they had to defend the nation against those who threatened to destroy people and State.

After the meeting-hall fight in the Munich Hofbräuhaus, where the small number of our security troops won everlasting fame by their heroic storm-attacks, were called the *Sturmabteilung* (SA). As the name suggests, they represent only a section of the movement.[1] They are one link, just like propaganda, the press, educational institutes, and other sections of the Party.

We learned how necessary the formation of such a body was, not only from that memorable meeting but also when we sought to gradually spread the movement beyond Munich and into other parts of Germany. Once we began to appear dangerous to Marxism, they lost no opportunity at trying to preempt or break up any National Socialist meeting. It goes without saying that all the Marxist organizations, no matter what orientation, always blindly supported the policy and activities of their representatives. But what can be said of the bourgeois parties who, when reduced to silence

[1] '*Abteilung*' may be translated as 'section.'

by these same Marxists, and in many places didn't dare to send their speakers to appear in public, yet were pleased, in a stupid and incomprehensible manner, at every set-back we had in our fight against Marxism! They were happy that those whom they themselves couldn't defeat, but were beaten by, couldn't be broken by us either. What can be said of those State officials, police chiefs, and even ministers who showed a scandalous lack of principle in presenting themselves publicly as 'national' men, and yet, in the disputes we National Socialists had with the Marxists, acted as their stooges! What can be said of persons who debased themselves so far, for a pitiful word of praise from the Jewish papers, that they persecuted those men to whose heroism they were partly indebted, just a few years ago, for not having their tattered corpses strung up on lampposts by the Red mob!

These lamentable figures once caused the unforgettable late president Pöhner—a man whose unyielding straightforwardness compelled him to hate all low-lifes as only a man with an honest heart can hate—to say: "All my life I wished to be a German first and then an official, and I never wanted to be confused with those creatures who prostituted themselves like official whores before anyone who could play the leader of the moment."[2]

It was an especially sad thing that tens of thousands of honest and loyal German civil servants gradually came under the power of [bourgeois] people, and were slowly contaminated by their disloyalty. Such men pursued honest officials with a grim hatred, driving them from their positions, and yet passed themselves off as 'national' through their lying hypocrisy.

From such men we could expect no support, and only very rarely was it given. Our movement became secure and attracted public attention and the general respect given to those who can defend themselves when attacked, only when it built up its own defense.

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[2] Ernst Pöhner was Munich police chief from 1919 to 1922. See volume one, chapter 12, section 12.20.

9.13 Why no Defense Leagues?

As an underlying principle in the SA's internal development, we decided that not only should it be perfectly trained in physical education but it should be so instructed as to become indomitably convinced champions of the National Socialist idea and, finally, that it should be educated toward the strictest discipline. It would have nothing to do with the bourgeois type of defense organizations, and especially not with any secret organization.

My reason at that time for sharply opposing having the SA of the NSDAP appear as a so-called defense league was as follows:

Purely on practical grounds, it's impossible to conduct national military training by means of private associations, unless the State makes an enormous contribution to it. Whoever thinks otherwise overestimates his own abilities. It's now entirely out of the question to form organizations of any military worth on the principle of so-called 'voluntary discipline.' Here the chief means for enforcing orders, namely, the power to punish, is lacking. In the autumn, or rather in the spring of 1919, it was still possible to raise so-called 'free corps,' not only because most of the men who came forward at that time had been schooled in the old army, but also because that kind of duty constrained the individual to absolute military obedience, at least for a while.

This is entirely lacking in today's volunteer 'defense organizations.' The larger the league becomes, the weaker its discipline, and so much the less can one demand from the individuals. Thus the whole will all the more assume the character of the old non-political soldiers' and veterans' clubs.

It's impossible to carry out a voluntary training in military service for the great masses unless one is assured absolute power of command. There will never be more than a few men who will voluntarily and spontaneously submit to the kind of obedience that is considered obvious and natural in the army.

Moreover, real training cannot be developed where there are such ridiculously scant means as those at the disposal of the so-called defense leagues. Such an institution's principal task should be the best and most

reliable kind of training. Eight years have passed since the War, and during that time none of our German youth have received any systematic training at all. The aim of a defense league cannot be to enlist all those who have already been trained, because in that case it could be mathematically calculated when the last member would leave this association. Even the youngest soldier from 1918 will be unable to fight in 20 years, and we are approaching that moment with disturbing speed. Thus every so-called defense league must assume more and more the character of an old soldier's club. But that cannot be the meaning and purpose of an organization that calls itself, not an old soldiers' league, but a defense association—indicating by this name that it considers its task to be not only to preserve the tradition and common bond of the old soldiers, but also to propagate the military ideal and to carry this into practical effect, which means the creation of a military body.

But this implies that those elements will receive a military training that, previously, received none, and this is impossible in practice. Real soldiers cannot be made by one or two hours of training per week. In view of the enormously increasing demands that modern warfare imposes on each individual today, a two year service period is barely sufficient to transform a raw recruit into a trained soldier. All of us in the field saw the fearful consequences when our young recruits lacked a thorough military training. Volunteer formations—which were drilled for 15 or 20 weeks under an iron discipline, and demonstrated boundless devotion—proved no better than cannon fodder at the Front. Only when distributed among the ranks of the old and experienced soldiers could the young recruits, who were trained for four or six months, become useful members of a regiment; guided by the 'old men,' they gradually adapted to their task.

By contrast, how hopeless must the attempt be to create troops by a so-called training of one or two hours a week, without any definite power of command and without any considerable means! One could perhaps freshen up old soldiers this way, but never turn young men into soldiers.

That such a procedure gives utterly worthless results can also be demonstrated by the fact that, at the same time as these so-called

volunteer defense leagues, with great effort and outcry and under difficulties and grief, try to educate and train a few thousand well-intentioned men (the others are totally ignored) for purposes of national defense, the State teaches our young men democratic and pacifist ideas. It thus deprives millions and millions of their natural instincts, poisons their logical sense of patriotism, and gradually turns them into a herd of sheep who will patiently follow any arbitrary command.

Thus they render laughable all those attempts made by the defense leagues to transmit their ideas to the German youth!

Almost more important is the following consideration, which has always made me take a stand against all attempts at a so-called military training on the basis of volunteer associations:

Assuming that, despite the difficulties just mentioned, a league were successful in training a certain number of Germans every year to be efficient soldiers, not only regarding their convictions but also their physical fitness and training in the use of arms, the result would nevertheless be practically zero. In such a State, its whole tendency makes it not only look upon such military education as undesirable but even positively hates it, because it completely contradicts the innermost aims of its leaders—who are the corrupters of this State.

In any case, such a result would be worthless under governments that have demonstrated by their own acts that they don't care about the military power of the nation, and are unwilling to permit an appeal to that power, except, at best, only for the protection of their own malignant existence.

And this is the case today. Isn't it ridiculous to think of training some tens of thousands of men, surreptitiously, for a government when, just a few years earlier, the State shamefully sacrificed 8,500,000 highly trained soldiers! Not only did it not require their services anymore, but as thanks for their sacrifices, it held them up to public vilification! And now they want to train soldiers for a state regime that besmirched and spat upon our most glorious soldiers, tore the medals from their breasts, trampled on their flags, and derided their achievements? Or has the present regime ever taken one step towards restoring the old army's honor and calling out those who destroyed and reviled it? Not in the least. On the contrary: We see them

enthroned in the highest State offices. As it was said at Leipzig: "Might makes right." Since, however, in our Republic today power is in the hands of the very men who conducted the Revolution, and since that Revolution represents a most despicable act of high treason in all of German history, there can surely be no grounds for enhancing the power of these characters by the formation of a young, new army. It's against all sound reason.

The importance that this State attached to the military reinforcement of its position, after the 1918 Revolution, is clearly and unmistakably demonstrated by its attitude towards the large self-defense organizations which then existed. They were not unwelcome as long as they were of use for the personal protection of the cowardly creatures of the Revolution. But the danger to these creatures seemed to disappear as the depravity of our people gradually increased. As the national-political forces strengthened, the defense associations became superfluous. Hence every effort was made to disarm and disintegrate them, wherever possible.

9.14 No Secret Organizations

History records only a few examples of gratitude on the part of princes. But there isn't one new bourgeoisie patriot who can count on the gratitude of revolutionary assassins, plunderers of the people, and national traitors. In any case, in examining the question of the creation of defense leagues, I've not stopped asking: For whom am I training these young people? For what purpose will they be employed when they are called up? The answers to these questions provide the best rule for us to follow.

If the present State ever trained forces of this kind, it would never be for the purpose of defending national interests against outsiders, but rather to protect the internal oppressors of the nation against the danger of a general outbreak of wrath by a people who have been deceived, betrayed, and sold-out.

For this reason, the SA of the NSDAP should be nothing like a military organization. It was an instrument of defense and education for the National Socialist movement, and its duties lie in quite a different sphere from the so-called defense leagues.

It also shouldn't be a secret organization. Secret organizations have only illegal aims. Thus, such an organization's scope is necessarily limited. Considering the talkativeness of the German people, it isn't possible to build up any vast organization while keeping it secret and cloaking its purpose. Every such attempt would fail a thousand times. It's not merely that our police officials today have a staff of eavesdroppers and other such rabble who are ready to play traitor, like Judas, for 30 pieces of silver, or even invent things to betray, but it's impossible to bind even one's own followers to the necessary silence. Only very small groups can become real secret societies, and that only after many years of sifting. But the very smallness of such groups deprives them of value for the National Socialist movement. What we needed then, and need now, is not 100 or 200 reckless conspirators but 100,000 fanatical fighters for our worldview. The work mustn't be done through secret groups but through formidable mass demonstrations in public. Dagger, poison, and pistol cannot clear the way for the progress of the movement, but only by conquering the streets. We must show Marxism that National Socialism will be future master of the street, just as it will one day become master of the State.

The present danger with secret organizations lies in the fact that their members often completely misunderstand the greatness of their task, and are apt to believe that a people's fate could be favorably decided by a single murder. Such a belief may find historical justification by appealing to cases where a nation had been suffering under the tyranny of some oppressor who, at the same time, was a man of genius and whose extraordinary personality guaranteed the internal solidity and fearful oppression of his position. In such cases, a self-sacrificing man may suddenly arise who is ready plunge the deadly steel into the heart of the hated individual. And only the republican sentiment of a petty scoundrel with a bad conscience would view such a deed as abhorrent. But our people's greatest poet of freedom has dared to glorify such an action, in his *Tell*.[3]

During 1919 and 1920 there was danger that members of secret organizations, under the influence of great historical examples and overcome by the immensity of the nation's misfortunes, might attempt to

[3] The reference is to Schiller's play *William Tell*.

wreak vengeance on the destroyers of their country, believing that this would end the peoples' misery. All such attempts were sheer folly, because Marxism's triumph wasn't due to the superior genius of one remarkable person but rather to immeasurable incompetence and cowardly failure on the part of the bourgeois world. The harshest criticism that can be uttered against our bourgeoisie is the fact that they submitted to the Revolution, even though it didn't produce a single great leader. It's understandable to capitulate before a Robespierre, a Danton, or a Marat;[4] but it was utterly scandalous to crawl before the withered Scheidemann, the obese Herr Erzberger, a Frederick Ebert, and innumerable other political midgets.[5] There wasn't a single man who could be considered a revolutionary man of genius, and therein lay the country's misfortune. They were only revolutionary worms, backpack Spartacists, large and small. To suppress any one of them would have been inconsequential; the only result would be that a few other bloodsuckers, equally fat and thirsty, would be ready to take their place.

During those years we had to sharply attack an idea that owed its origin and foundation to great historical figures, but which was unsuited to our own despicable era.

The same consideration may be given to the question of eliminating so-called national traitors. It is ridiculously illogical to shoot a poor wretch who has betrayed a howitzer's position to the enemy while the highest positions of the government are occupied by scoundrels who sold out a whole Reich, who have the deaths of two million men, sacrificed in vain, on their consciences, who were responsible for millions maimed in the war, and who nonetheless carry on their republican business dealings. It's nonsense to eliminate small traitors in a State whose government has absolved the great traitors from all punishment. Then it might easily

[4] Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794), Georges Danton (1759-1794), and Jean-Paul Marat (1743-1793) were prominent figures in the French Revolution.

[5] Philipp Scheidemann (1865-1939) was a post-WWI chancellor of Germany. Friedrich Ebert (1871-1925) was a leader of the Social Democrats and the first post-war German president. Mattias Erzberger (1875-1921) was a German vice-chancellor and head of the delegation that signed the hated surrender agreement of 1918, and thus was viewed as a traitor by many, Hitler included.

happen that, one day, an honest idealist—who, from patriotism, takes out some miserable arms informer—might now be called to account by the chief traitors of the country. And thus arises an important question: Should some small traitorous creature be eliminated by another such creature, or by an idealist? In the former case, success is doubtful and the deed would almost surely be revealed later on; in the second case, a petty scoundrel is eliminated and the life of an irreplaceable idealist is put in jeopardy.

My view is that small thieves should not be hanged while big ones go free. One day a national tribunal will have to judge and sentence some ten thousand organizers who were responsible for the criminal November betrayal and all the consequences that followed. Such an example will teach the necessary lesson, once and for all, to those paltry arms traitors.

Based on these considerations, I steadfastly forbade all participation in secret societies, and I took care that the SA should not assume such a character. During those years, I kept the National Socialist movement away from those experiments that were being undertaken by idealistic young Germans, who became their own victims because they couldn't assist their Fatherland's destiny in the slightest way.

9.15 Training of the SA

If, then, the SA could be neither a military defense organization nor a secret society, the following conclusions must result:

1. Its training must not be organized from a military standpoint but from that of party expediency.

Seeing that its members must undergo good physical training, primary emphasis must not be given to military drilling but rather to athletics. I have always considered boxing and ju-jitsu more important than an inferior—and mediocre—training in rifle-shooting. If the German nation were given 6 million young men with flawless athletic training, who were imbued with an ardent love for their country and a readiness to take the initiative in a fight, then the national State could make an army of them within two years, if necessary, and given certain preconditions. Today this could only be done by the Reichswehr, and not a defense league that always

does things half-way. Physical conditioning must develop an individual's conviction of his own superiority and give him a confidence that's always based only on a consciousness of one's own powers; it must also develop that athletic agility that can serve as a defensive weapon for the movement.

2. In order to protect the SA against any tendency towards secrecy, not only must its uniform be immediately recognizable to all, but its large membership must demonstrate the movement's direction and be known to the whole public.

It mustn't hold secret gatherings but must march in the open and thus, by its actions, put an end to all legends about a 'secret organization.' In order to avoid all temptations towards finding an outlet in small conspiracies, from the very beginning we had to inculcate the great idea of the movement and educate its members so thoroughly in the task of defending this idea that their horizon became enlarged; the individual no longer considered it his mission to eliminate some scoundrel or other, but to fight for the establishment of a new National Socialist folkish State. In this way, the struggle against the present State was placed on a higher plane than that of petty revenge and small conspiracies, and was elevated to a struggle for a worldview, a war for the destruction of Marxism and its organization.

3. The form of organization for the SA, as well as its uniform and equipment, had to follow different models from those of the old army; rather, they had to be suited to functional needs.

9.16 First March in Munich

These were the ideas I followed in 1920 and 1921. I attempted to gradually instill them into the young organization, with the result that, by midsummer 1922, we had an imposing number of formations. By late autumn 1922, these formations received their distinctive uniforms. Subsequently, three events turned out to be of supreme importance for the shaping of the SA.

1. The great mass demonstration of all patriotic groups against the Law for the Protection of the Republic, held in late summer 1922 on the Königsplatz in Munich.

Munich's patriotic groups had appealed for a large demonstration to protest the introduction of the law. The National Socialist movement also participated in it. The party procession was led by six Munich blocks, followed by the political sections of the party. Two bands marched along and about 15 flags were carried. When the National Socialists arrived at the half-filled square, no flags were flying but our entry aroused unbounded enthusiasm. I myself had the honor of being one of the speakers who addressed the crowd of about 60,000 people.

The rally was an overwhelming success, especially because it proved for the first time that nationalist Munich could march on the streets, despite threats from the Reds. Red Republican defense corps tried to terrorize the marching columns, but they were scattered by SA detachments within a few minutes and sent off with bleeding skulls. The National Socialist movement had then shown, for the first time, that in the future it was determined to exercise the right to the streets and thus to take this monopoly away from the international traitors and enemies of the people.

The result of that day was an incontestable proof that our ideas for the structure of the SA were right, both psychologically and organizationally.

On the basis of this success, enlistment progressed so rapidly that within a few weeks the number of Munich blocks had doubled.

9.17 March at Coburg

2. The march at Coburg in October 1922.[6]

'Folkish' associations decided to hold a so-called 'German Day' at Coburg. I was invited to take part, with the suggestion that I should bring an escort. This request, which I received at 11:00 am, arrived just in time. Within an hour, arrangements for our participation in this 'German Day' were ready. I picked 800 SA men as my 'escort,' who were divided into about 14 blocks and had to be brought by special train from Munich to that little city that had become Bavarian. Similar orders were given to other National Socialist SA groups, which had meanwhile been formed in other places.

[6] Coburg lies about 250 km (150 miles) to the north of Munich.

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This was the first time that such a special train ran in Germany. All the places where the new SA members joined our train caused a sensation. Many people had never seen our flag; it made a very great impression.

When we arrived at the Coburg station, we were received by representatives of the 'German Day' organizing committee. They announced that they had an 'agreement' with the local trades unions—that is, the Independent and Communist Parties—that we should not enter the town with our flags unfurled or our band playing (we had a 42-piece band with us), and that we should not march in a solid column.

I immediately rejected these disgraceful conditions and did not fail to declare to these gentlemen who had arranged this event how astonished I was at their negotiating with such people and agreeing with them. Then I announced that the SA would immediately march into town in company formation, with our flags flying and band playing.

And that's exactly what happened.

As we arrived in the station yard, we were met by a howling and screaming mob of several thousand. 'Murderers,' 'bandits,' 'robbers,' 'criminals' were the names these exemplary founders of the German Republic showered on us. The young SA was a model example of order; the blocks fell into formation on the square in front of the station, and at first took no notice of the vulgar insults. The anxious police didn't guide us to our assigned quarters on the outskirts of Coburg—a city quite unfamiliar to us—but to the Hofbräuhaus Keller in the center of town. To the right and left of our march, the uproar raised by the accompanying mob steadily increased. Scarcely had the last block entered the Keller courtyard when the huge mass made a rush to get us, shouting madly. In order to prevent this, the police closed the Keller. Seeing that the position was untenable, I called the SA to attention and then asked the police to open the gates immediately. After a long hesitation, they consented.

We now marched back along the same route that we came, toward our quarters, and there we had to make a stand. As their cries and yells had failed to disturb our men's composure, those champions of true socialism, equality, and fraternity now took to throwing stones. That ended our patience, and for ten minutes long, a devastating hail of blows fell right

and left. Fifteen minutes later there were no more Reds to be seen in the street.

In the evening there were more serious clashes. SA patrols found some National Socialists who had been attacked alone and were in terrible condition. Thereupon we made short work of our opponents. By the following morning, the Red terror, which had afflicted Coburg for years, was definitely smashed.

With typical Marxist-Jewish lies, leaflets were distributed by hand on the streets, calling on all "comrades and comradesses of the international proletariat" to return to the street. Twisting the facts completely around, they declared that our "band of murderers" had begun a "war of extermination against the peaceful workers" of Coburg. At 1:30 pm that day, there was to be a "great popular demonstration," at which it was hoped that tens of thousands of workers from the whole district would turn up. I was determined to finally crush this Red terror and so I summoned the SA—whose numbers had swollen to 1,500 men—to meet at 12:00 noon. I decided to march with these men to the Coburg Fortress, crossing the big square where the Red demonstration was to take place. I wanted to see if they would try to assault us again.

When we entered the square we found that, instead of the announced ten thousand, there were only a few hundred people. As we approached, they mostly stayed silent, and some ran away. Only at certain points along the way did Red troops—who had arrived from outside and didn't yet know us—try to pester us again; but a few fists ended their enthusiasm. And now one could see how the frightened and intimidated population slowly woke up and recovered their courage, and shouted greetings to us. In the evening, on our return march, spontaneous cheering broke out at many points.

At the station, the railway men suddenly told us that our train wouldn't run. Thereupon I informed some of the ringleaders that if this were the case, I would round up all the Red bosses that fell into our hands, that we would drive the train ourselves, taking along a few dozen members of this brotherhood of international solidarity in the locomotive and luggage compartment of every car. I didn't fail to mention to these gentlemen that such a trip would undoubtedly be a very risky adventure,

and that we might all break our necks. It would be a consolation, however, to know that we wouldn't go to the Beyond alone, but in equality and fraternity with the Red gentlemen.

Thereupon the train departed punctually, and we arrived the next morning in Munich safe and sound.

Thus, for the first time since 1914, the equality of all Coburg citizens before the law was reestablished. Even if some simpleton of a higher official should assert today that the State protects the lives of its citizens, it was certainly not so in those days; at that time, the citizens had to defend themselves against the representatives of the present State.

9.18 The SA Succeeds as a Fighting Organization

At first, one couldn't fully estimate the importance of that day's consequences. The self-confidence of the victorious SA was considerably enhanced, as was their faith in their leaders. Our contemporaries began to pay special attention to us, and for the first time many recognized the National Socialist movement as an institution that, in all likelihood, was bound to bring a suitable end to the Marxist insanity.

Only the democrats lamented that we dared not allow our skulls to be cracked and that, in a democratic Republic, we had the audacity to hit back with fists and clubs at a brutal assault, rather than with pacifist chants.

Generally speaking, and as always, the bourgeois press was partly distressed and partly contemptible. Only a few decent newspapers expressed satisfaction that at least someone had dared to deal with the handiwork of the Marxist thugs.

And in Coburg itself, at least some of the Marxist workers—who could be regarded as misled—learned from the blows of National Socialist fists that these workers were also fighting for ideals, because experience shows that people fight only for something that they believe in and love.

The SA itself, however, benefited the most. It grew so quickly in numbers that at the Party Day on 27 January 1923, around 6,000 men participated in the flag dedication ceremony, and the first blocks were fully clad in their new uniform.

Our Coburg experience proved how essential it is to introduce one distinctive uniform for the SA, not only to strengthen the *esprit de corps* but also to avoid confusion and the danger of non-recognization. Until then, they had merely worn an armband, but now the jacket and the well-known cap were added.

Additionally, the Coburg experience resulted in our determination to break the Red terror in all those localities where, for many years, it had prevented men of other views from holding their meetings, and we began to restore freedom of assembly. From that time onwards, National Socialist battalions came together in such places, and gradually the red citadels of Bavaria, one after another, fell to National Socialist propaganda. The SA became more and more adept at their task, and thus increasingly lost all semblance of an aimless and lifeless defense movement, and rose to the level of a living organization in the struggle for the establishment of a new German State.

This logical development continued until March 1923. Then an event occurred that made me divert the movement from its previous course and introduce some changes.

9.19 The End of 1923

3. In the first months of 1923, the French occupation of the Ruhr district had a great significance for the development of the SA.

It's not yet possible, nor would it be in the interest of the nation, to write or speak openly on this subject. I will speak of it only as far as the matter has been dealt with in public discussions and thus brought to common knowledge.

The occupation of the Ruhr, which came as no surprise to us, gave grounds for hoping that we would at last abandon our cowardly policy of submission, thereby giving a definite task to the defense leagues.

The SA also, which now numbered several thousand powerful young men, could not be excluded from this national service. During the spring and summer of 1923, it was transformed into a fighting military organization. This caused the later development of 1923, insofar as it affected our movement.

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I'll broadly deal with the developments of 1923 elsewhere. Here I'll only state that the SA's transformation at that time would have been detrimental to the movement's interests if the conditions that had motivated the change weren't carried into effect—namely, the resumption of active resistance against France.

The close of 1923, terrible as it may seem at first sight, was almost a necessity from a higher standpoint because, in view of the attitude of the German Reich government, it ended a conversion of the SA that would have been harmful to the movement. At the same time it created the possibility that some day we could reconstruct it from the point at which we had been diverted.

9.20 The New SA of 1925

The NSDAP was re-founded in 1925, and had to reorganize and re-train its SA according to the above principles. It must return to the healthy original ideas, and must once more consider its most essential task to create, in the SA, an instrument for the conduct and strengthening of the movement in the battle of worldviews.

The SA mustn't be allowed to sink to the level of a kind of defense league or a secret organization; it must instead become a vanguard of hundreds of thousands of men, on behalf of the National Socialist—and thus folkish—ideal.

CHAPTER 10
THE MASK OF FEDERALISM

In the winter of 1919, and still more in the spring and summer of 1920, the young party felt bound to take up a definite stand on a question that already had become quite serious during the War. In the first volume [of this book], I briefly recorded certain facts that I had personally witnessed and which threatened German collapse. I made reference to the special type of propaganda that was directed by the English and the French towards reopening the breach that had existed between North and South [Germany]. In spring 1915, the first of a systematic series of leaflets appeared that were aimed to arouse feelings against Prussia as being solely responsible for the War. By 1916 this system had been perfected, as cunning as it was shameless. Appealing to the basest of human instincts, this agitation of the South Germans against the North Germans soon began to bear fruit.

10.1 Anti-Prussian Hatred as Diversionary Maneuver

Government and army officials—or rather, their Bavarian staff offices—merited reproach for having blindly neglected their duty and failed to take the necessary steps to counter this action. Nothing was done! On the contrary, in some quarters it didn't even appear to be unwelcome, and probably they were short-sighted enough to think that such

propaganda might assist the development of German unification, and even that it might automatically bring about a strengthening of the federative forces.

Scarcely ever in history has such a malicious omission brought about more evil consequences. The attempted weakening of Prussia affected the whole of Germany. It resulted in hastening the collapse, not only of Germany but, even more so, the individual states themselves.

The Revolution first broke out against the Royal House in that city where the artificially-created hatred against Prussia raged most violently.[1]

It would be false to think that enemy propaganda was exclusively responsible for creating an anti-Prussian feeling, and that there were no reasons to justify it. The incredible way in which our war economy was organized, and the absolutely insane system of centralization that constrained and exploited the whole Reich, furnished the principal grounds for the rise of anti-Prussian feelings. The average citizen looked upon the war societies—all of which had their headquarters in Berlin—as identical with Berlin, and Berlin itself as identical with Prussia. The individual didn't know that the organizers of these robbery institutions, called war societies, were neither Berliners nor Prussians, and not even German at all. People saw only the great faults and the continual encroachments of that hated institution in the Reich capitol, and naturally directed their anger towards both Berlin and Prussia—all the more because, in certain quarters, nothing was done about this, but it was even secretly and gleefully welcomed.

The Jew was far too shrewd not to understand that the infamous campaign that he had organized, under the cloak of war societies, for plundering the German nation would, and eventually must, arouse opposition. But as long as it didn't jump directly at his own throat, he had no reason to fear it. Hence he decided that the best way to forestall an explosion by the despairing and indignant masses was to cause their rage to flare up elsewhere and thus to divert it.

Let Bavaria fight as much as it liked with Prussia, and Prussia with Bavaria; the more the better! The bitterest struggle between the two meant

[1] That is, in Berlin.

the securest peace for the Jew. Thus public attention was completely diverted from this international maggot of peoples; indeed, he was all but forgotten. Then if there came a danger that level-headed people—of whom there are many to be found in Bavaria, as elsewhere—might call for understanding, reflection, and restraint, thus calming the outrage, the Jew in Berlin simply had to stage a new provocation and await results. In an instant, all those who profiteered from the conflict between North and South once again fanned the flames of indignation until they blazed.

It was a shrewd and expert game played by the Jew, to occupy and distract the different branches of the German people, in order to plunder them all the more completely.

Then came the Revolution.

10.2 Kurt Eisner, 'Bavarian Particularist'

Until the year 1918—or rather until November of that year—the average man, particularly the lower middle-class and the workers, misunderstood what was happening and didn't realize what the inevitable consequences would be, especially for Bavaria, of this internecine quarrel among Germans. But at least those sections that called themselves 'nationalist' should have recognized things on the day that the Revolution broke out. The moment the action succeeded, the leader and organizer of the Revolution in Bavaria became the defender of 'Bavarian' interests. The international Jew, Kurt Eisner, began to play off Bavaria against Prussia. This Oriental was just about the last man suited to defend Bavarian interests.

In his time as a tabloid journalist, he wandered all over Germany, and Bavaria's well-being was a matter of sheer indifference to him.

In consciously giving the Bavarian revolutionary uprising the character of an offensive against the Reich, Kurt Eisner was not acting in the least from Bavarian interests, but rather as a representative of Jewry.

He exploited existing instincts and antipathies in Bavaria as a means to break up Germany all the more easily. The shattered Reich would then have easily fallen prey to Bolshevism.

His tactics were continued for a time after his death.[2] The Marxists, who had always derided and exploited the individual German states and their princes, now suddenly appeared as an 'Independent Party' and appealed to the sentiments and instincts that had their strongest roots in the royal houses and individual states.

The fight waged by the Bavarian Republic of Councils against the military contingents sent to liberate Bavaria was represented by propaganda as mainly a 'struggle of the Bavarian worker' against 'Prussian militarism.' This explains why it was that, in Munich, the suppression of the Republic of Councils didn't have the same effect as in the other German districts; instead of bringing the masses to their senses, it led to increased bitterness and anger against Prussia.

The art of the Bolshevik agitators in representing the elimination of the Republic of Councils as a victory of 'Prussian militarism' over the 'anti-militaristic' and 'anti-Prussian' Bavarian people bore rich fruit.

Whereas Kurt Eisner, upon the elections to the Bavarian Legislative Diet, didn't have even 10,000 followers in Munich, and the Communist Party less than 3,000, after the fall of the Republic, both parties combined earned nearly 100,000 voters.

10.3 My Struggle against Anti-Prussian Hatred

It was then that I personally began to combat the insane incitement of the German people against themselves.

I believe that never in my life did I undertake a more unpopular task than when I took my stand against the anti-Prussian incitement. Even during the Soviet period in Munich, great public meetings were held in which hatred against the rest of Germany—and against Prussia in particular—were aroused to such a degree that a North German would have risked his life in attending such a meeting. These meetings often ended in mad cries of: "Away from Prussia!" "Down with Prussia!" "War against Prussia!" This feeling was expressed in the Reichstag by a particularly

[2] Eisner was shot to death in February 1919 by German soldiers who had reasserted control over Bavaria.

brilliant defender of Bavarian sovereign rights when he said: "Rather die as a Bavarian than rot as a Prussian."

One would have had to live through some of the meetings at that time in order to understand what it meant when, for the first time, and surrounded by only a handful of friends, I raised my voice against this madness at a meeting in the Munich Löwenbräukeller. Some of my war comrades stood by me, and it's easy to imagine how we felt when that crowd, which had lost all reason, roared at us and threatened to kill us. This same crowd was, for the most part, safely ensconced in reserve posts or hanging around at home as deserters and slackers, even as we were defending the Fatherland. To be sure, such scenes turned to my advantage, since my small band of comrades felt for the first time absolutely united with me, and readily swore to live or die by my side.

These struggles, which were constantly repeated in 1919, seemed to become sharper soon after the beginning of 1920. There were meetings—I remember especially one in the Wagner Hall on Sonnenstrasse in Munich—during which my group, now grown much larger, had to defend themselves against violent assaults. Not infrequently, dozens of my followers were mishandled, thrown to the floor and trampled underfoot, and were finally thrown out of the hall more dead than alive.

The struggle that I had undertaken, first by myself alone and later with the support of my war comrades, was now continued by the young movement, as, I might also say, a sacred mission.

I'm proud of being able to say today that we—depending almost exclusively on our Bavarian followers—were responsible for putting an end, slowly but surely, to this coalition of stupidity and treason. I say stupidity and treason because, although convinced that the mass of followers were just well-meaning fools, I cannot say the same about the organizers and instigators. I looked upon them then, and still do today, as traitors who were bought and paid for by France. In one case, that of Dorten, history has already pronounced its judgment.[3]

[3] Hans Adam Dorten (1880-1963) was a German lawyer who attempted to establish a secessionary "Rhenish Republic" in the Rhineland, with French support, following World War One. After some four years of trying, he fled to France in late 1923.

10.4 'Federative Activity'

The situation became particularly dangerous at that time because of the way in which real tendencies were concealed, by insisting primarily on federalistic intentions as the sole motives of the agitation. But it's quite obvious that the anti-Prussian hatred had nothing to do with federalism. Surely 'federative activities' is not the way to describe an effort to dissolve and dismember another federal state. An honest federalist, for whom Bismarck's conception of the Reich is not a counterfeit phrase, could not in the same breath want to cut off portions of the Prussian State, which Bismarck created or at least completed. Nor could he publicly support such a separatist attempt. What an outcry would have been raised in Munich if some Prussian conservative party declared itself in favor of detaching Franconia from Bavaria, or took public action to demand and promote it!

Nevertheless, one can only feel sorry for all those real and honest federalists who failed to see through this foul swindle; they were its principal victims. By thus distorting the federalist idea, its own champions dug its grave. One cannot propagandize for a federalist form of the Reich by debasing, abusing, and besmirching the essential element of such a political structure, namely Prussia—and thus making such a thing impossible, if it ever was possible. It's all the more incredible by reason of the fact that the fight carried on by those so-called federalists was directed against that Prussia which was the last that could be connected with the November 'democracy.' For the abuse and attacks of these so-called 'federalists' weren't leveled against the fathers of the Weimar Constitution—the majority of whom were South Germans or Jews[4]—but against those who represented the old conservative Prussia, who were the antipodes of the Weimar Constitution. It's no surprise that they were

[4] The two dominant parties at the time were the Social Democrats and the German Democratic Party. After the war, they joined forces in the city of Weimar, in January 1919, to write a new constitution. Jews were front and center in both of these parties: Otto Landesberg, Eduard Bernstein, and Rudolf Hilferding in the former, and Walter Rathenau in the latter. Rathenau would go on to become German Foreign Minister in 1922. His Jewish colleague, Hugo Preuss, wrote the constitution itself.

careful not to attack the Jews, and this perhaps gives the solution to the whole riddle.

10.5 Jewish Incitement Activity

Before the Revolution, the Jew was successful in distracting attention from himself and his war societies by inciting the masses, and especially the Bavarians, against Prussia. After the Revolution, he had to camouflage his new, and ten-times greater, campaign of plunder. And again he succeeded, in this case by provoking the so-called 'national' elements against one another: the conservative Bavarians against the equally conservative-minded Prussians. And again he acted with extreme cunning, inasmuch as he who held the reins of the Reich's destiny provoked such crude and tactless aggressions that they set the blood boiling of those who were affected. Never against the Jew, but always against the German brother. The Bavarian didn't see the Berlin of 4,000,000 industrious and efficient workers, but only the rotten, decadent Berlin of the vilest West Side! And his hatred wasn't directed against this West Side but against the 'Prussian' city.[5]

It really drove one to despair.

The Jew's ability to turn public attention away from himself and toward another direction may be studied again today.

In 1918 there was nothing like an organized anti-Semitism. I still remember the difficulties we encountered the moment we mentioned the word 'Jew.' We were either confronted with dumb-struck looks or else a lively resistance. Our first attempts to point out the real enemy to the public seemed to be hopeless, but then slowly things began to change for the better. As bad as the 'Watch and Resist League' was, at least it had the great merit of reopening the Jewish Question.[6] In any case, in the winter

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[5] The west side of Berlin was known as the Jewish quarter.

[6] The *Schutz- und Trutzbund*, founded in 1919, was a German nationalist group that sought to protect Germany from Jewish influences and Bolshevism more broadly. Among their symbols was the swastika—evidently the inspiration for Hitler.

of 1918-1919, a kind of anti-Semitism slowly began to take root. Later on, the National Socialist movement presented the Jewish Question in a new light. Taking the question beyond the restricted circles of the upper and lower bourgeoisie, we succeeded in transforming it into the driving impulse of a great popular movement.

But the moment we succeeded in placing this problem before the German people in the light of a great, unified struggle, the Jew reacted. He resorted to his old tactics. With amazing swiftness he hurled the torch of discord into the folkish movement and opened a rift. Bringing up the ultramontane question, and the resulting clash between Catholicism and Protestantism, was the sole possibility, at the time, of distracting public attention and thus warding off a concentrated attack against Jewry.[7] Those who dragged our people into this controversy can never atone for their wrongs. In any case, the Jew had attained his desired end: Catholics and Protestants fighting a merry war with one another, while the mortal enemy of Aryan humanity and all Christendom laughs up his sleeve.

10.6 Denominational Discord

At one time it was possible to occupy public attention for years with the struggle between federalism and centralism, wearing out its energy while the Jew trafficked in the nation's freedom and sold our Fatherland to international high finance. Now he has succeeded again, this time by raising disputes between the two German religious denominations while the foundations of both are being corroded and undermined by the poison of the international world Jew.

Look at the ravages that our people are suffering daily as a result of Jewish bastardization, and consider that this blood poisoning can only be eliminated from the national body after centuries, if ever. Think further of how the process of racial disintegration is debasing and often even destroying the fundamental Aryan values of our German people, such that our national cultural creativeness is regressing and we run the risk, at least

[7] 'Ultramontanism' refers to the old dispute between Catholics and Protestants regarding the authority and legitimacy of the pope.

in our large cities, of sinking to the present level of southern Italy. This pestilential contamination of the blood, blindly ignored by hundreds of thousands of our people, is being systematically conducted by the Jew today. These black parasites of our nation systematically corrupt our innocent blond girls and thus destroy something irreplaceable in this world.

Both, yes, both Christian denominations look on with indifference at the desecration and destruction of a noble and unique creature who was given to the world by God's grace. The future of the world, however, doesn't depend on whether Protestants defeat Catholics, or Catholic Protestants; what matters is whether Aryan humanity survives or perishes. And yet the two Christian denominations are not fighting against the destroyer of this kind of man but are trying to destroy each other. The folkish-oriented man has a sacred duty, within his own denomination, to make people stop talking about God's will and instead actually fulfill God's will, and to not let God's work be desecrated.

God's will gave men their form, essence, and abilities. Whoever destroys His work declares war against God's creation, the divine will. Therefore everyone should consider it his first and most solemn duty, within his own denomination, to oppose anyone whose conduct tends, either by word or deed, to go outside his own religious group and quarrel with another. In view of the religious schism that exists in Germany, to attack the essential characteristics of one denomination must necessarily lead to a war of extermination between the two denominations. There's no comparison between our position and that of France or Spain, or even Italy. In those three countries, one can, for instance, propagandize against clericalism or Ultramontanism without thereby incurring the danger of a national rift among the French, Spanish, or Italian people. In Germany, however, that's not the case, for here the Protestants would also take part in such propaganda. And thus the resistance, which elsewhere only Catholics would organize against political encroachment by their own clergy, would become a Protestant attack against Catholicism. What may be tolerated by the faithful in one denomination, even when it seems unjust, will at once be indignantly rejected if the opponent is of another creed.

This is so true that even men who would be ready and willing to correct an abuse within their own religious denomination will drop their own fight, and turn their activities against the outsider, the moment that such a correction is advised or demanded by someone of another faith. They consider it unjustified and inadmissible, and even indecent, for outsiders to meddle in matters that don't affect them. Such attempts are not excused even when they are in the higher right of the national community, because even in our day, religious feelings go deeper than all feeling for political and national expediency. That cannot be changed by denominations opposing each other in bitter conflict, but only if, through a spirit of mutual tolerance, the nation can be assured of a great future that would gradually operate as a conciliating factor.

I have no hesitation in saying that in these men who seek today to embroil the folkish movement in religious quarrels are worse enemies of my people than any international communist. The National Socialist movement's mission is to convert those communists. But anyone who takes the movement away from its mission is reprehensible. Consciously or unconsciously—it doesn't matter—such a person is fighting for Jewish interests. It's in Jewish interests today that the energies of the folkish movement are bled out in religious conflict, because it's beginning to become a danger for the Jews. I deliberately emphasize the phrase 'bled out'; only someone who is entirely ignorant of history could imagine that this movement can solve a problem that has defied the centuries and the greatest statesmen.

Anyhow, the facts speak for themselves. The men who suddenly discovered, in 1924, that the highest mission of the folkish movement was to fight against 'Ultramontanism' didn't smash it, but they did succeed in splitting the movement. I have to guard against any immature mind arising in the folkish movement who thinks he can do what even a Bismarck failed to do. It will be the first duty of the leaders of the National Socialist movement to unconditionally oppose any attempt to drive it into such a conflict, and to immediately expel any propagandists of such an intention.

As a matter of fact, by autumn 1923 we succeeded entirely. The most devoted Protestant could stand side by side with the most devoted Catholic

in our ranks without the slightest conflict with his religious convictions. On the contrary, the mighty common struggle that both waged against the destroyer of Aryan humanity taught them natural respect and esteem. And it was just in those years that our movement had to engage in a sharp struggle with the Center, not on religious grounds but for national, racial, and economic-political reasons. The results spoke in our favor, just as today they testify against the know-it-alls.

In recent years, things have gone so far that folkish circles, in the God-forsaken blindness of their denominational strife, didn't recognize the insanity of their conduct. This was so, even given the fact that atheist Marxist newspapers advocated the cause of one religious community or the other, when convenient, so as to create confusion through slogans and remarks that were often immeasurably stupid. They stirred the fire to keep it ablaze.

But in the case of a people like the Germans, whose history has so often shown them capable of fighting to the last drop of blood for mere phantoms, every war-cry is a mortal danger. In this way, our people have often been drawn away from the real problems of their existence. While we were exhausting ourselves in religious wars, others were carving up the world. And while the folkish movement is debating whether the ultramontane danger is greater than the Jewish, or vice versa, the Jew is destroying the racial basis of our existence and thereby destroying our people forever. Regarding that kind of 'folkish' warrior, on behalf of the National Socialist movement and therefore of the German people, I pray with all my heart: "Lord, protect us from such friends, and then we can easily deal with our enemies."

10.7 Federalized or Centralized State?

The struggle between federalism and centralization, so cunningly propagated by the Jews in 1919-1921 and onwards, forced the National Socialist movement—which rejected the dispute—to take a position on its essential problems. Should Germany be a federalized or centralized State? And what is the practical significance of these terms? It seems to me that

the second question is more important, because it's fundamental to the understanding of the whole problem and also because it has a clarifying and therefore conciliatory effect.

What is a federal State? By this term we mean a union of sovereign states that come together, of their own free will and in virtue of their sovereignty. They cede to the collective as much of their own sovereign rights as makes the existence of the union possible, and guarantees it.

But this theoretical formula does not entirely apply to any federation that exists today. And least of all, to the American Union, where it's impossible to speak of original sovereignty; many of them weren't included in the federal system until much later. The American Union's individual states are mostly just territories, more or less formed for technical administrative purposes, and their boundaries simply drawn on a map. These states did not and could not possess sovereign rights of their own. These states didn't form the Union, but rather it was the Union that created most of the so-called states. Therefore the comprehensive sovereign rights that were left, or rather granted, to the various territories correspond not only to the federation's whole character but also to its vast area, its spatial dimensions, which are continental in scope. Consequently, in speaking of the United States of America, one mustn't speak of state sovereignty but rather of states' rights—or better, privileges—established and guaranteed by a constitution.

Nor does the above definition adequately express the German state of affairs, although it's true that in Germany the individual states existed first, and that the Reich was formed from them. The Reich, however, wasn't formed by the voluntary and equal cooperation of the individual states, but rather through the hegemony of one state, Prussia. The great difference in the territorial area alone between the German states prevents any comparison with, for example, the American Union. The great difference in territorial area between the very small German states that then existed and the larger, or even the largest, demonstrates the inequality of their achievements and in their founding and shaping of the Reich. In most of these states, it cannot be maintained that they ever enjoyed real sovereignty; and 'state sovereignty' was only an administrative phrase. In

reality, in both past and present, we have eliminated several of these so-called 'sovereign states' and thus demonstrated the frailty of these 'sovereign' formations.

I cannot deal here with the historical formation of these states, but I will say that, in almost no case do they coincide with ethnic boundaries. They were purely political phenomena that, for the most part, emerged during the gloomy epoch when the German Reich was impotent and dismembered. They represented both cause and effect of the fragmentation of our German Fatherland.

The constitution of the old Reich took this partly into account, insofar as the individual states weren't granted equal representation in the Bundesrat, but rather had representation proportional to size and importance, and achievement, in the formation of the Reich.

The sovereign rights that the individual states renounced in order to form the Reich were hardly voluntarily; for the most part they were all but non-existent, or were simply taken under the pressure of Prussia's dominating power. Bismarck's principle was not to give the Reich what he could take from the individual states but to demand from the individual states only what was absolutely necessary for the Reich. This was a moderate and wise policy that, on the one hand, showed the highest regard for customs and traditions, and which, on the other, ensured a great measure of love and willing cooperation for the new Reich. But it would be a fundamental error to attribute Bismarck's decision to any conviction that the Reich thus possessed sovereign rights for all time. Bismarck had no such conviction; on the contrary, he simply wanted to defer to the future that which would have been difficult to accomplish and hard to enforce in the short run. He hoped that the slow development of compromises would be stronger than any attempt to break the resistance of the individual states. Thus he showed his great ability in the art of statesmanship. And, in reality, the Reich's sovereignty has continually increased at the cost of the sovereignty of individual states. Time has fulfilled Bismarck's expectations.

The German collapse and the destruction of the monarchical State form necessarily hastened this development. The individual German

states—which weren't grounded on ethnic foundations but arose from political causes—were bound to lose their importance upon the exclusion of the monarchical form of government and its dynasties. Many of these 'state formations' became unstable and thus were induced to voluntarily merge with larger states; the scant respect that they earned from their own citizens was the most striking proof of the exceptional weakness of these little formations.

10.8 The Policy of Redemption

Though the abolition of the monarchical State form and its representatives dealt a hard blow to the federal character of the Reich, even worse was the acceptance of the obligations that resulted from the 'peace' treaty.

It was only natural and logical that the federal states should lose all sovereign financial control as soon as the Reich, due to losing the war, was subjected to financial obligations that could never be guaranteed through separate treaties with the individual states. The subsequent steps that led the Reich to take over the postal service and railways were necessary effects of enslaving our people, gradually initiated by the peace treaties. The Reich was forced to secure a constantly-increasing store of resources in order to satisfy the demands made by further extortions.

As insane as the forms of centralization were, the process itself was logical and natural. Blame must be placed on those men and parties that failed to do everything possible to win the War. Guilt lies on those parties, especially in Bavaria, that catered to their own egotistic interests during the War and withheld from the Reich that which had to be paid ten-fold after it was lost. Avenging history! Rarely has Heaven's punishment followed so closely after the crime as it did in this case. Those same parties that, a few years previously, placed the interests of their own states—especially in Bavaria—above those of the Reich had now to look on passively while the pressure of events forced the Reich, in its own interests, to abolish the existence of the individual states. And all through their own complicity.

CHAPTER 10

It was an unparalleled example of hypocrisy to raise the cry of lamentation over the loss that the federal states suffered in being deprived of their sovereign rights. This cry was raised before the electorate, for it is only to the electorate that our contemporary parties address themselves. But these parties, without exception, outbid one another in accepting a policy of fulfillment which, by the sheer force of circumstances and in its ultimate consequences, could not but lead to a profound alteration in the internal structure of the Reich. Bismarck's Reich was free and unhampered by any obligations towards the outside world.

It's unparalleled hypocrisy to bemoan to the mass of voters (and it's only toward them that our present-day parties direct their agitation) the loss of individual state sovereignty, even as all these parties sought to outbid one another in a politics of fulfillment that could not but lead to deep-seated changes in Germany. Bismarck's Reich was free and unbound externally. It never had to bear such burdensome and unproductive financial obligations as today's Dawes-Germany.[8] Also internally, it was limited to a few matters that were absolutely necessary for its existence. Therefore it could dispense with its own financial sovereignty and live on the states' contributions; it goes without saying that, on the one hand, the retention of states' rights and the relatively small financial contribution to the Reich encouraged them to support its existence. But it's incorrect, and in fact dishonest, to claim, as some propagandists do, that the present dissatisfaction can be attributed solely to the financial bondage to the Reich. No, that's not how things are.

The lack of sympathy for the Reich political idea isn't due to the loss of state sovereign rights, but rather is a result of the deplorable manner in which the State represents the German people. Despite all the Reichsbanner rallies and constitutional celebrations, every section of the German people feels that the present Reich has become alienated from their heart's desire. Republican protection laws may prevent outrages against republican institutions, but they will never earn the love of a single

[8] Charles Dawes was vice president under Coolidge. It was his reparations plan of some $33 billion, imposed after the loss of WWI, that caused such anxiety among German nationalists like Hitler.

German. Its constant anxiety to protect itself against its own citizens by means of laws and imprisonment provides the most destructive criticism of the whole institution.

10.9 National State or Slave Colony?

For another reason as well, it's untrue to say, as certain parties do today, that present dissatisfaction with the Reich is due to its encroachment on states' sovereign rights. Even supposing that the Reich hadn't extended its authority over the states, there's no reason to believe that it would find more favor among those states, even if obligations had remained the same. On the contrary: If the individual states had to pay their increasing shares of the present slave-dictate, hostility towards the Reich would be infinitely greater. In that case, not only would it prove difficult to collect the respective contributions due to the Reich, but it would require downright coercive methods.

The Republic stands on the basis of the peace treaties, and since it has neither the courage nor the intention to break them, it must accept the obligations. Guilt for this situation is to be attributed solely to those parties who unceasingly preach to the patient electoral masses about the necessity of state autonomy, while at the same time championing and demanding a Reich policy that must necessarily lead to the elimination of the very last of those so-called 'sovereign rights.'

I say 'necessarily' because the present Reich has no other possible means of bearing the burden of an insane domestic and foreign policy. Here again, one wedge drives the next. Every new debt that the Reich contracts, through the criminal handling of German interests abroad, necessitates a new and stronger blow at home, which demands yet another step in the progressive elimination of state sovereign rights, so as to prevent germ cells of resistance from arising, or even to exist.

The chief characteristic difference between the present Reich's policy and that of former times is this: The old Reich gave internal freedom and showed strength towards the outside world, whereas the Republic shows weakness outside and oppresses its own citizens at home. In both cases,

one attitude determines the other: A vigorous national State needs fewer internal laws because of the affection and attachment of its citizens, while an international slave State can live only by coercing its citizens to render their labor.

And it's an impudent falsehood for the present regime to speak of 'free citizens.' Only the old Germany could speak that way. The Republic is a slave colony of foreigners, one that has subjects but not citizens. Hence it possesses not a national flag but only a trademark, introduced and protected by official decree and legal measures. This symbol, which is the Gessler's cap of German democracy, will always remain inwardly alien to our people.[9] The Republic, having no sense of tradition or respect for past greatness, dragged those symbols through the mud, and will one day be surprised to discover the superficial devotion of its citizens to its own symbols. It has given to itself the character of an intermezzo in German history.

And so today this State is bound to constantly restrict more and more the sovereign rights of the individual states, not only for general material reasons but also on principle. By enforcing a policy of financial blackmail in order to squeeze the last drop of blood out of its people, it's also forced to take away their last rights, lest the general discontent may one day break out into open rebellion.

We National Socialists would reverse this formula and adopt the following rule: A strong national Reich that recognizes and protects its citizens' interests to the greatest degree can allow freedom at home without trembling for the safety of the State. On the other hand, a strong national government can intervene to a considerable degree in individual freedom, as well as in the liberties of the constituent states, without thereby weakening the Reich ideal, if the individual recognizes in such actions a means of promoting his nation's greatness.

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[9] Albrecht Gessler was, according to legend, a brutal German who governed an area of (now) central Switzerland in the 14th century. As the story goes, he placed his hat atop a pole in the city of Altdorf and ordered the local people to bow before it. Among those who refused was William Tell, and he thereupon led the uprising that resulted in the formation of the early Swiss state. 'Gessler's cap' thus refers to any symbol of hated foreign rule.

10.10 Unifying Tendencies

Surely every State in the world is facing a tendency towards unification. And Germany is no exception. Today it's absurd to speak of 'state sovereignty' for the individual states because that has already become impossible on account of their ridiculously small size. Techniques of transportation and administration have steadily reduced the importance of individual states. Modern transportation and modern technology continue to shrink distances and space. What was once a State is today only a province, and the territory of a modern State was previously viewed as continental. The purely technical difficulty of administering a State like Germany is no greater than it was to govern a province like Brandenburg 120 years ago. Today it's easier to cover the distance from Munich to Berlin than it was from Munich to Starnberg a hundred years ago.[10] And the whole territory of today's Reich is smaller, relative to transport technology, than that of mid-sized German states at the time of the Napoleonic wars. Whoever ignores the consequences of these facts lives in the past. There always have been, and always will be, men who do this. They may be able to slow the course of history, but they can never bring it to a standstill.

We National Socialists mustn't allow the consequences of that truth to pass unnoticed. Here again we mustn't permit ourselves to be misled by the phrases of our so-called national bourgeois parties. I say 'phrases' because these same parties don't themselves believe that it's possible to carry out their proposals, and because they themselves are the chief culprits responsible for the present development. Especially in Bavaria, the demand for halting centralization is no more than a party maneuver that lacks any serious forethought. Every attempt to make something serious out of these phrases has failed miserably. Every so-called 'theft of sovereign rights' from Bavaria by the Reich has met with no practical resistance, except for some meaningless yelping.

Indeed, anyone seriously opposing the madness in this system was outlawed, condemned, and persecuted by these very parties for 'contempt of the existing State.' In the end he was silenced, either by imprisonment

[10] Starnberg is less than 10 miles (16 km) from Munich.

or by being illegally forbidden to speak. This above all should prove to our followers the profound hypocrisy of these so-called federalist circles. They use the federalist idea just as they use religion—as merely a means for their own base party interests.

10.11 Abuse of Centralization

A certain unification, especially in the field of transportation, seems natural. But we National Socialists feel it our duty to energetically oppose such a development in the modern State, especially when the proposed measures mask and make possible a disastrous foreign policy. And just because the present Reich has threatened to take over the railways, postal service, finances, etc.—not from the high standpoint of a national policy but only to lay its hands on the means and pledges for an unlimited policy of fulfillment [of the peace treaties]—for that reason, we National Socialists must take every step that obstructs and, if possible, prevents such a policy. Hence the struggle against the present centralization of vitally-important institutions, which is undertaken only to facilitate payment of billions of marks and other collateral for our post-war foreign policy.

For this reason, the National Socialist movement stands against such attempts.

The second reason we oppose such centralization is because it might reinforce a system of internal government that, in all its manifestations, has brought the greatest misfortune on the German nation. The present Jewish-democratic Reich, which has become a veritable curse for the German nation, is seeking to negate the criticism offered by the federal states—which are not yet imbued with the spirit of the age—by reducing them to total insignificance. In the face of this, we National Socialists must try to ground the opposition of the individual states on a basis with a good promise of success, by transforming the struggle against centralization into something that will be an expression of the higher and universal interests of the German nation. Therefore, while the Bavarian People's Party, acting from its own narrow and particularist motives, fights to

maintain the 'special rights' of the Bavarian State, we ought to use this special position in the service of the higher national interests that stand in opposition to the November democracy.

The third reason for opposing centralization is the conviction that a large part of this so-called nationalization is in reality no unification at all, and still less a simplification. In many cases it's only a means of removing certain institutions from the sovereign control of the individual states, in order to open the doors to the interests of the revolutionary parties. Never in German history has favoritism been more shameless than in the democratic Republic. A large part of present-day centralization is the work of parties that once promised to open the way for a meritocracy, but instead filled offices and posts entirely with party members. Since the founding of the Republic, Jews especially have been obtaining positions in economic institutions and administrative apparatuses taken over by the Reich, such that today both have become domains of Jewish activity.[11]

For tactical reasons, this last consideration obliges us to sharply examine every further attempt at centralization and to fight it at every step. But in doing so, our standpoint must always be that of a lofty national policy and never a petty particularism.

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[11] Statistics back up this claim. Sarah Gordon (1984: 8-15) writes: "The reader may be surprised to learn that Jews were never a large percentage of the total German population; at no time did they exceed 1.09 percent of the population during the years 1871 to 1933... [Despite this, Jews] were overrepresented in business, commerce, and public and private service... Within the fields of business and commerce, Jews...represented 25 percent of all individuals employed in retail business and handled 25 percent of total sales...; they owned 41 percent of iron and scrap iron firms and 57 percent of other metal businesses.... Jews were [also] prominent in private banking under both Jewish and non-Jewish ownership or control. They were especially visible in private banking in Berlin, which in 1923 had 150 private (versus state) Jewish banks, as opposed to only 11 private non-Jewish banks.... Jews were overrepresented among university professors and students.... [A]lmost 19 percent of the instructors in Germany were of Jewish origin.... Jews were also highly active in the theater, the arts, film, and journalism. For example, in 1931, 50 percent of the 234 theater directors in Germany were Jewish, and in Berlin the number was 80 percent."

This last observation is necessary, lest an opinion arise among our own followers that we National Socialists don't credit the Reich with the right to embody a higher sovereignty than that of the individual states. Concerning this right, we cannot and must not have the slightest doubt. For us the State is nothing but a form; its content—that is, the nation, the people—is the essential thing. It's clear therefore that every other interest must be subordinated to the State's sovereign interests. In particular, we cannot grant to any other state a sovereign power and sovereign rights within the confines of the nation, and of the State that represents the nation. The absurdity of individual states maintaining so-called missions abroad and among themselves must cease. Until this happens, we cannot be surprised if foreign countries are dubious of the Reich's stability, and act accordingly.

The absurdity of these missions is all the greater because they do harm and don't bring the slightest advantage. If a German's interests abroad cannot be protected by a Reich ambassador, much less can they be protected by the minister of some petty state that appears ridiculous in the framework of the present world order. The real truth is that these small federal states are envisaged as points of attack for attempts at secession, both from inside and outside the German Reich. We National Socialists mustn't allow some noble caste, which has become weak with age, to occupy an ambassadorial post abroad, thus providing new soil for their withered branches. Our foreign diplomatic missions were in such a sad condition, even in the time of the old Reich, that any further such experience would be totally superfluous.

10.12 Cultural Tasks of the States

The importance of the individual states in the future will be transferred to the sphere of cultural policy. The monarch who did the most to make Bavaria an important center wasn't an obstinate anti-German particularist, but Ludwig I, a man with a greater German outlook and artistic sensibilities. His first consideration was to use state powers to develop Bavaria's cultural position and not its political power, and in doing

so, he produced better and more durable results than otherwise possible. Formerly, Munich was an insignificant provincial capital, but he transformed it into the metropolis of German art, and thus it became an intellectual center strong enough to bind even the temperamentally different Franconians to the State. If Munich had remained as it was, what happened in Saxony would have been repeated in Bavaria, with the difference that Nuremberg—the Bavarian Leipzig—would have become Franconian instead of Bavarian. It wasn't the cry of 'Down with Prussia' that made Munich great, but rather that the King wished to bestow it upon the German nation as an art treasure, one that would have to be visited and respected—and it was.

Therein lies a lesson for the future. The importance of the individual states in the future will no longer lie in their political or state power; I see them as either ethnic or cultural centers. But even here, time will have a leveling effect. The convenience of modern transportation moves people around such that, slowly but surely, ethnic boundaries will fade out, and even the cultural picture will gradually become more uniform.

10.13 One People—One State

The army must definitely be kept clear of the influence of the individual states. The coming National Socialist State must not fall back into the error of the past by imposing a task on the army that it doesn't have and shouldn't have. The German army doesn't exist to be a school for the preservation of ethnic particularities, but rather as one for the mutual understanding and adaptation of all Germans. Whatever tends to have a separating influence in the life of the nation must be made a unifying influence by the army.

The army must further raise the individual youth above the narrow horizon of his own little province and set him within the German nation. The youth must come to know, not the borders of his own region but those of the Fatherland; it's these that he will have to defend one day. It's therefore absurd to have the German youth do his military training in his own native region; he needs to see Germany during his time of military

service. This is all the more important today because young Germans no longer have the time to travel and thus to enlarge their horizons. In view of this, is it not absurd to leave the young Bavarian at Munich, the Frank at Nuremberg, the Badener at Karlsruhe, the Württemberger at Stuttgart, and so on? And would it not be more reasonable to show the young Bavarian the Rhine and the North Sea, the Hamburger the Alps, the East Prussian the mountains of central Germany, and so on? Regional character ought to be maintained in the troops but not in the garrisons.

We may disapprove of every attempt at unification, but not that of the army! On the contrary, even though we welcome no other kind of unification, this one must be greeted with joy. In view of the Reich army's present size, it would be absurd to maintain the state divisions among the troops. In the unification of the German army thus far, we see something that must not be abandoned in a future national army.

Finally, a new and triumphant idea should burst every chain that tends to paralyze its efforts to push ahead. National Socialism must claim the right to impose its principles on the whole German nation without regard to prior state boundaries, and to educate the German nation in our ideas and principles. Just as the Churches don't feel themselves limited by political boundaries, so the National Socialist idea cannot feel itself limited to the individual state territories of our Fatherland.

National Socialist doctrine is not a handmaid to the political interests of the individual federal states, but rather must one day become master of the whole German nation. It must determine the life of the whole people and shape that life anew, and therefore must imperatively demand the right to overstep boundaries drawn by a development that we repudiate.

The more completely our ideas triumph, the more internal freedom we can grant in specific areas.

CHAPTER 11
PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION

The year 1921 was especially important for me and the movement.

When I entered the German Workers' Party, I immediately took charge of propaganda. I regarded this branch as by far the most important. For the time being, it was less a matter of racking one's brains over organizational problems than of spreading our ideas to a large number of people. Propaganda must go well ahead of organization and gather together the human material to be worked upon. I'm an enemy of hasty and pedantic organizing. It usually results in merely a dead mechanism, and only rarely a living organization. Organization is something that owes its existence to organic life, to organic development. Ideas that have gripped a certain number of people tend to form some degree of order, and out of this inner formation comes something very valuable.

Here, too, one must take account of those human weaknesses that make men hesitate, especially at the beginning, to submit to a superior mind. If an organization is mechanically organized from above, there's always the danger that some unevaluated person will press forward and, out of jealousy, try to hinder abler persons from rising in the movement. The damage that results from that kind of thing can have terrible consequences, especially in a young movement.

11.1 Theoretician—Organizer—Agitator

For this reason it's advisable at first to propagate the ideas on which the movement is founded from a central point, and then to sift through the gathering human material to look for leading minds. It sometimes happens that apparently insignificant men will nevertheless turn out to be born leaders.

But it would be quite a mistake to suppose that those who show an intelligent grasp of theory thus possess leadership qualities and abilities.

The contrary is often the case.

Great theoreticians are only very rarely great organizers. The greatness of the theorist and system-founder consists in the recognition and establishment of abstract and correct laws, whereas the organizer must first of all be a psychologist. He must take men as they are, and therefore must know them. He must not have too high or too low an estimate of human nature. On the contrary, he must take account of their weaknesses and bestiality, so as to form a living organism, endowed with strong powers of resistance, suited to be the carrier of an idea, and strong enough to ensure its success.

Even more rarely is a great theorist also a great leader. The latter is more likely an agitator, a fact that those who deal with questions scientifically will not want to hear; and yet this is understandable. An agitator who shows himself capable of transmitting ideas to the broad masses must always be a psychologist, even though he may only be a demagogue. Therefore he will always be a much more capable leader than the theorist who is abstract and alienated from the people. Being a leader means: to be able to move the masses. The gift of formulating ideas has nothing to do with leadership abilities.

It would be useless to discuss the question as to which is the more important: to set up ideals and human aims, or to realize them. Here, as so often in life: one would be entirely meaningless without the other. The noblest conceptions of human understanding remain without purpose or value if the leader cannot move the masses towards them. And conversely, what would it avail to have all the genius and energy of a leader if the

intellectual theorist doesn't set the aims for which mankind must struggle? But when the theorist, organizer, and leader are united in one person, then we have the rarest phenomenon on this earth; this combination creates the great man.

11.2 Propaganda and Organization

As I've already said, during my first period in the party I devoted myself to propaganda. I had to gather together a small nucleus of men who would accept the new doctrine, and in this way provide the human material that subsequently would form the elements of the organization. Thus the goal of propaganda lay far beyond that of the organization.

If a movement proposes to overthrow a certain world order and construct a new one in its place, then the leader must clearly understand the following principles: Every movement that has gained its human material must first divide them into two groups: supporters and members.

The function of propaganda is to attract supporters; the function of organization is to win members.

A movement's supporter is one who understands and accepts its aims; the member is one who fights for them.

The supporter is one who has been converted to the movement through propaganda. The member is one who will be charged by the organization to collaborate in winning over new supporters, from whom new members can be formed.

Supporters need only a passive recognition of the idea, while membership demands an active advocacy and defense. For every ten supporters there will be at most one or two members.

Supporters are rooted only in understanding; membership implies the courage to actively participate in diffusing that which has been understood.

In its passive form, understanding is sufficient for the majority of humanity, who are generally lazy and timid. Membership requires intellectual activity, and therefore applies only to a minority of men.

Consequently, propaganda must seek to win new supporters for an idea, whereas the organizer must diligently seek out the best among them

and turn them into members. Propaganda need not trouble itself about the importance of each individual, regarding his ability, capacity, understanding, or character; whereas the organization will have to carefully select those elements that are most capable of actively bringing the movement to victory.

Propaganda aims at inducing a whole people to accept a teaching; organization includes in its scope only those who, on psychological grounds, won't be an impediment to the further diffusion of the idea.

Propaganda works on the whole from the standpoint of an idea, preparing the way for its victory; whereas the organization achieves victory through the persistent, organic, and militant union of those supporters who have proven willing and able to carry the struggle to victory.

An idea's victory will be made all the easier if propaganda has effectively converted the people as a whole, and if the organization that actively conducts the fight is focused, vigorous, and unwavering.

As a result, there's no limit to the number of supporters, but the number of members can more easily be too large than too small.

When propaganda has converted a whole people to an idea, the organization can draw the consequences with a mere handful of men. Propaganda and organization—therefore, supporter and member—then stand in a definite mutual relationship. The better the propaganda has worked, the smaller can be the organization. The greater the number of supporters, the smaller can be the number of members. And conversely: The poorer the propaganda, the larger the necessary organization. And the smaller the number of the movement's supporters, the larger the membership must be, if it really counts on being successful.

The first task of propaganda is to win over people for subsequent organization; and the first task of organization is to win men who can continue the propaganda. The second task of propaganda is to disrupt the existing order of things and thus make room for the penetration of the new doctrine, while the second task of the organization must be the struggle for power, so that the doctrine may finally triumph.

A philosophical revolution will always achieve decisive success when the new worldview has been taught to all men, or subsequently forced

upon them, if necessary. Whereas the organization of the idea—that is, the movement—must embrace only those few men who are absolutely indispensable for occupying the nerve-centers of the coming State.

In other words, this means the following: In every great world-altering movement, the idea of this movement must always first be spread by propaganda. It must relentlessly attempt to make the new ideas clearly understood, drawing others to its ground, or at least to make them uncertain of their prior convictions. Since the dissemination of an idea—that is, propaganda—needs a backbone, it must be based on a solid organization. The organization chooses its members from among those supporters won by propaganda. That organization will grow faster if the work of propaganda is intensively promoted, and the propaganda will work all the better when the organization behind it is powerful and strong.

Hence the organization's highest task is to ensure that any discord that may arise among the movement's members won't lead to a split and thereby weakens its work; moreover, it's the organization's duty to see that the fighting spirit does not die out but is constantly renewed and strengthened. The number of members need not grow indefinitely. On the contrary: Since only a fraction of humanity is energetic and courageous, a movement that increases its own organization indefinitely must necessarily become weak.

Organizations—that is to say, groups of members—that grow beyond certain dimensions gradually lose their fighting force and are no longer able to aggressively support the propaganda of an idea.

The greater and more revolutionary an idea is, the more active will be its members, because a doctrine's subversive force becomes a danger to the small-minded and faint-hearted. Some will privately be supporters but are afraid to acknowledge their belief publicly. By reason of this very fact, however, an organization inspired by a veritable revolutionary idea will attract into its membership only the most active of those supporters who have been won over by propaganda. It's precisely in this activity of the movement's membership, guaranteed by natural selection, that we may find the preconditions for the continuation of an active propaganda and also the victorious struggle for the realization of the idea.

11.3 Limitation of Membership

The greatest danger that can threaten a movement is an abnormal increase in the number of its members, due to its too-rapid success. So long as a movement is carrying on a bitter fight, people of weak and egotistic temperament will shun it. But these same will rush to be accepted as members the moment the party achieves a manifest success through its development.

This is why so many movements that were initially successful slowed down before fulfilling their purpose and, from an inexplicable inner weakness, gave up the struggle and finally died out. As a result of their early successes, so many undesirable, unworthy, and especially timid individuals entered the organization that they finally secured the majority over the militants. They then turned the movement to the service of their personal interests, debased it to the level of their own miserable heroism, and no longer struggled for the triumph of the original idea. The fanatical goal was lost, and the fighting force paralyzed, or, as the bourgeois world says in such cases: "The wine has been mixed with water." When that happens, trees no longer grow to the heavens.

It is therefore necessary that a movement should, from a sheer instinct for self-preservation, block its enrollments the moment it becomes successful. And any further increase in its organization should be allowed to take place only with the most careful foresight and after a painstaking sifting of those who apply for membership. This is the only way to keep the kernel of the movement truly fresh and sound. Care must be taken that the movement is led exclusively by this core—that is, that it must direct the propaganda that aims at a universal recognition. And, with power secured in hand, it must undertake the actions necessary for the practical realization of its ideas.

The original core should occupy all the important positions of the conquered territory, and should form the basis of the entire leadership. This should continue until the party principles and doctrines have become the foundation and policy of the new State. Only then can the reins be gradually handed over to the constitutional State that the movement has created. But

this usually happens through a process of mutual rivalry, because it's less a question of human intelligence than of the play and effect of forces whose development can be guided, perhaps, but never controlled.

All great movements, whether of a political or religious nature, owe their imposing success to the recognition and adoption of these principles. And all lasting success is inconceivable without observing these laws.

11.4 Frightening the Faint-Hearted

As propaganda director for the party, I took care not only to prepare the ground for the movement's future greatness, but I also adopted the most radical measures to ensure that the organization acquired only the best material. The more radical and inflammatory my propaganda was, the more it frightened away any weak and hesitant characters, thus preventing them from entering the core of our organization. Perhaps they remained supporters, but not loudly. Rather, they were discreetly silent about the fact.

Many thousands assured me at that time that they were in full agreement with us but that they could, on no account, become members. They said that the movement was so radical that membership would expose them to the gravest difficulties and dangers, so that they would rather continue on as honest and peaceful citizens and remain aside for now, though at heart devoted to our cause.

And that was good.

If all these men who, in their hearts, were not in favor of the Revolution became party members at that time, we would be seen today as a pious fraternity and not as a young militant movement.

The lively and combative form that I gave to all our propaganda fortified and guaranteed the radical tendency of our movement. The result was that—with a few exceptions—only radicals were ready for membership.

Within a short time, this propaganda had the effect that hundreds of thousands became convinced in their hearts that we were right and wished us victory—even though they were personally too timid to make sacrifices for our cause or even participate in it.

11.5 Reorganization of the Movement

Up to the middle of 1921, this simple activity sufficed to benefit the movement. But in the summer of that year, certain events happened that suggested that the organization should be aligned with the gradual success of the propaganda.

An attempt by a group of folkish dreamers, supported by the then-party chairman, to take over leadership led to the breakup of this little intrigue. By unanimous vote at a general meeting, members gave me leadership of the whole movement. At once, a new statute was passed that invested sole responsibility in the chairman of the movement. It also replaced the committee decision process with a system of division of labor, which has worked excellently since then.

From 1 August 1921 onwards, I undertook this internal party reorganization and was supported by a number of excellent men, whom I will mention later on.

In my attempt to turn the results of propaganda to an organizational advantage and thus to stabilize them, I had to abolish a number of old habits and introduce principles that none of the other parties possessed or would even have recognized.

In the years from 1920 to 1921, the movement was controlled by a committee elected by the members at a general meeting. It had a first and second treasurer, a first and second secretary, and a first and second chairman at its head. Additionally there was a membership secretary, propaganda director, and various committeemen.

Strangely enough, the committee actually embodied that which the movement was fighting against, namely, parliamentarianism. It was obvious that this principle embodied the very system under which we all suffered, and still suffer—from the smallest local groups, through the districts, counties, and provinces, up to the Reich leadership.

It was imperative to change this, if this poor foundation in the internal organization was not to ruin the movement forever, thus making it impossible to fulfill its high mission.

Committee sessions were ruled by a protocol in which decisions were

made according to majority vote, presenting in reality a miniature parliament. Here too, there was no such thing as personal responsibility. Here too reigned the same absurdities and unreasonableness as in our great State representative bodies. Secretaries, treasurers, membership secretaries, propaganda agents, and God knows what else, were named. And then they all deliberated together on every single question and decided it by vote. Accordingly, the propaganda man voted on things that concerned the finance man, and the latter in turn voted on things that concerned only the organization, and the organizer voted on things concerning only the secretary, and so on.

Why appoint a special man for propaganda if treasurers, secretaries, etc., could deliver judgment on questions concerning it? To one with a sound mind, such a thing seems as incomprehensible as it would be if, in a great industrial firm, the board of directors or engineers were to decide on questions that they had nothing to do with.

I refused to submit to that kind of nonsense, and after awhile I avoided the meetings. I did only my propaganda work, and didn't permit any incompetent to poke his head into my activities. Conversely, I didn't interfere in the affairs of others.

11.6 Responsibility of the Leader

When the new statute was approved and I was appointed as first chairman, I had the necessary authority and right to end all that nonsense. In place of committee decisions, the principle of absolute responsibility was introduced.

The chairman is responsible for overall control of the movement. He apportions the work among the committee members under him and among others as needed. Each of these gentlemen is solely responsibility for the task assigned to him. He is subordinate only to the chairman, whose duty is to supervise overall coordination, by selecting personnel and giving general directions for this.

This law of fundamental responsibility is gradually being adopted throughout the movement, at least within the party leadership. In the

small local groups—and perhaps in the counties and districts—it will take years before this principle can be imposed, because cowards and incompetents are naturally opposed to it; for them, sole responsibility for an act is always unpleasant; after every hard decision, they always feel freer and better when hiding behind the majority of a so-called committee. But it seems to me necessary to take a decisive stand against that view. We must not make any concessions to cowardice in the face of responsibility, even though it takes some time to achieve a conception of a leader's duty and ability. Ultimately this will bring forth leaders who are truly called and chosen for the role.

In any case, a movement that wants to fight against this parliamentary nonsense must be immune from this sort of thing. Only thus will it win the strength for its struggle.

At a time when majority rule dominates all, a movement that's based on the principle of the leader-ideal, and the corresponding responsibility, will one day overcome the present situation and emerge victorious. This is a mathematical certainty.

11.7 Building the Movement

This idea made it necessary to internally reorganize our movement. The logical development of this led to a sharp distinction between the business activities of the movement and the general political leadership. The principle of personal responsibility was extended to all party activities, bringing a healthy liberation from political influences and allowing them to operate solely on economic principles.

When I joined the six-man party in the fall of 1921, we had neither headquarters nor clerks, no forms or even a stamp, and no printed material of any sort. The committee at first met in a tavern on the Herrengasse and then in a café on Gasteig. It was an impossible condition. I quickly set to work, going around to several Munich restaurants and taverns with the idea of renting a room for use by the party. In the former Sterneckerbräu on Tal, there was a small room with arched roof that had previously been used as a sort of festive tavern for the Bavarian counselors. It was gloomy

and dark, and accordingly as well-suited to its former uses as it was ill-suited to its new purpose. Its only window looked out on an alley that was so narrow that the room remained dim and gloomy even on the brightest summer day. This was our first business office. Rent came to 50 marks per month (an enormous sum for us!), but we couldn't make many demands. We dared not complain even when, before we moved in, they removed the wooden paneling that was intended for the Imperial counselors. The place began to look more like a basement vault than an office.

Still it marked an enormous step forward. Slowly we got electric light, and slower still a telephone; a table and some borrowed chairs were brought in, finally an open bookstand and later a closet; two cupboards belonging to the landlord held our leaflets, posters, etc.

The previous system of running the movement with weekly leadership meetings was unsustainable. Only a paid official of the movement could guarantee ongoing operation.

But that was difficult at the time. The movement still had so few members that it was hard to find among them a suitable person who would make few demands for himself, and yet could meet the innumerable demands of the movement.

After long a search, we found a soldier and old war comrade of mine, Schüssler, to be our first business manager. At first he came to our new office daily between 6:00 and 8:00 pm, later from 5:00 to 8:00, and ultimately every afternoon. Finally it became a full-time job and he worked from morning until late at night. He was an industrious, upright, and thoroughly honest man, faithful and devoted to the movement itself. Schüssler brought with him his own small Adler typewriter. It was the first machine to be used in the service of the movement. Later the party acquired it through installment payments. We needed a small safe in order to protect our papers and membership roles from thieves. It certainly wasn't needed for any large sum of money that we might have had. On the contrary, we were always quite poor, and I often contributed from my own small savings.

A year and a half later, our business office had become too small, so we moved to a new place in the Corneliusstrasse. Again our office was in a tavern, but instead of one room we now had three smaller rooms and one

large room with great windows. At the time, it was very nice. We stayed there until November 1923.

In December 1920, we acquired the *Völkischer Beobachter*.[1] This newspaper, which, as its name implies, championed folkish interests, was now to become the organ of the NSDAP. At first it appeared twice weekly, but it became a daily at the start of 1923, and by late August 1923 appeared in the well-known large format.

As a complete novice to journalism, I learned many a costly lesson.

The fact that, in contrast to the enormous Jewish press, there was hardly a single significant folkish newspaper, was a matter of concern. As I later learned by experience, the reason for this can be attributed to the incompetent management of the so-called folkish enterprises. These were conducted too much according to the view that conviction should prevail over achievement. A totally wrong standpoint, because conviction of itself is something internal and is best expressed in achievement. The man who does valuable work for his people expresses his valuable convictions, whereas another who merely talks about convictions and does nothing really useful for his people is opposed to real conviction. And his conviction is a burden for the community.

The *Völkischer Beobachter* was a so-called 'folkish' organ, as its name indicates. It had all the advantages, but still more the faults and weaknesses, inherent in all folkish institutions. Though its contents were sincere, its business management was simply impossible. Here too, the underlying idea was that folkish newspapers should be subsidized by folkish contributions, without recognizing that it had to compete with the others and that it was dishonest to expect the subscriptions of good patriots to make up for negligence or errors.

As soon as I recognized these conditions, I promptly tried to eliminate them. Luck was on my side here, insofar as it brought me the man who, since that time, has rendered invaluable services to the movement—not only as business manager of the paper but also the party. In 1914, in the battlefield, I made the acquaintance of Max Amann (then my superior),

[1] Literally, "The People's Observer."

who is today general business manager of the party.[2] During four years in the war, I had occasion to continually observe the unusual ability, diligence, and rigorous conscientiousness of my future collaborator.

In midsummer 1921, when the movement was in a grave crisis, I turned to my old regimental comrade, whom I met one day by chance, and asked him to become business manager of the movement. I was quite dissatisfied with several of our employees, particularly with one of whom I had had a very bitter experience. After a long hesitation—Amann then held a good position—he agreed to my request, but only on the condition that he not be at the mercy of incompetent committees. Rather, he wanted to answer only to one single leader.

It is to the inestimable credit of this first business manager of the movement—a man of comprehensive business knowledge—that he brought order and integrity into the party's business affairs. Since then, these have remained exemplary and unequaled by any other branches of the movement. But, as often happens in life, great ability provokes envy and disfavor. That also had to be expected in this case and borne patiently.

Already by 1922, firm regulations existed for both the commercial and purely organizational development of the movement. There now exists a central filing system covering all enrolled members. Financing of the movement is now to be on a sound basis. Current expenses are covered by current receipts, and special receipts can be used only for special expenditures. Thus, notwithstanding the difficulties of the time, the movement remained practically debt-free, except for small current accounts. Indeed, there was even a steady increase in the funds. Things work as in a private business: Employees hold their jobs by virtue of their achievement and can in no sense take cover behind that famous 'conviction.' The conviction of every National Socialist lies in his willingness to work, and in his diligence and ability at accomplishing the duties assigned to him by the community. He who doesn't fulfill his duty in the job he holds cannot boast of his conviction—against which, in reality, he sins.

[2] Amann (1891-1957) ultimately became head of the NSDAP press office, overseeing all official publications. He survived WW2, was captured, and spent 10 years in a prison camp. It was Amann who suggested to Hitler the title of the present work.

Opposing all possible influences, and with the utmost energy, the new business manager firmly supported the view that there were no meaningless positions in the party administration for supporters and members who don't want to work. A movement that fights so sharply against party corruption of our civil service must keep its own apparatus pure of such vices. It happened that some men were taken on the staff of the paper who had formerly been adherents of the Bavarian People's Party, but their work showed that they were excellently qualified for the job. The result of this experiment was generally outstanding. It was owing to this honest and frank recognition of individual efficiency that the movement won the hearts of its employees more swiftly and more profoundly than had ever been the case before. Subsequently they became good National Socialists and remained so—not only in word, but they proved it by the conscientious, steady, and honest work that they performed in the service of the new movement. Naturally, a well-qualified party member was preferred to another, equally-qualified but non-party member. But no one got a position based solely on party membership.

The firmness with which our new business manager applied these principles and gradually enforced them, despite all opposition, later worked to the movement's greatest advantage. To this alone was it possible—during the difficult inflation period, when thousands of businesses failed and thousands of newspapers closed—for the movement's leadership to not only keep the business afloat and meet all its obligations, but also to steadily expand the *Völkischer Beobachter*. It thereby ranked among the great newspapers.

The year 1921 was of further importance because, in my position as party chairman, I gradually succeeded in ending the criticisms and the intrusions of many committee members regarding various party activities. This was important because we couldn't get a capable man to take on a job if incompetents were constantly interfering, pretending that they knew better than anyone else and creating a hopeless mess. Then these know-it-alls modestly retired, seeking another field for their inspiring supervisory activities. Some men seemed to have a pathology for looking for something behind everything; they were, so to say, always pregnant

with magnificent plans, ideas, projects, and methods. Naturally, their noble aims and ideals were always the formation of a committee that could pretend to be a controlling organ in order to nose its way into the serious work of others. But it's offensive and un-National Socialist when incompetent people constantly interfere in the work of capable persons. But this doesn't even enter their consciousness. In any case, I felt it my duty in those years to protect all those who were entrusted with regular and responsible work from such elements, to give them cover and to leave them free to do their work.

Such committees—which either did nothing or cooked up impractical decisions—were best made harmless by giving them real work to do. It was then laughable to see how the membership would silently fade away and was suddenly nowhere to be found. It made me think of our great institution of the same kind, the Reichstag. How quickly they would evaporate if they had some real work to do instead of talking, especially if each of those braggarts were made personally responsible for the work assigned to him.

I always demanded that—just as in private life, so too in the movement—we should keep seeking until we found a capable and honest clerk, administrator, or leader for the various business units. Once installed in his position, he was given absolute authority and full freedom of action towards his subordinates but full responsibility towards his superiors. No one was placed in authority over his subordinates unless he himself knew the work better than they. In the course of two years, I put my views more and more into practice; today, at least concerning the highest leadership, they are taken for granted.

The visible success of this attitude was shown on 9 November 1923: Four years earlier, when I entered the movement, it didn't even have a rubber stamp. On 9 November 1923, the party was dissolved and its property confiscated. The total sum of all the objects of value and the newspaper amounted to more than 170,000 gold marks.

CHAPTER 12
THE TRADE UNION QUESTION

Due to the rapid growth of the movement, we felt compelled in 1922 to take a position on a question that has not yet been fully resolved.

In our efforts to discover the best way for the movement to reach the hearts of the broad masses, we always confronted the objection that the worker could never completely belong to us as long as his purely vocational and economic interests were handled by our opponents and their political organization.

This was quite a serious objection. The general belief was that a workman engaged in some trade could not exist if he didn't belong to a union. Not only were his professional interests thus protected, but a guarantee of steady employment was simply inconceivable without union membership. The majority of workers were in unions. In general, the unions had successfully conducted the battle for wages, and had concluded agreements that guaranteed the worker a steady income. Undoubtedly the workers in the various trades benefited from the results of that struggle. And especially for honest men, conflicts of conscience must have arisen if they took the wages that the union had won for them, but had withdrawn themselves from the fight.

It was difficult to discuss this problem with the average bourgeois employer. He hadn't (or didn't wish to have) any understanding for either the material or moral side of the question. Finally he declared that his own

economic interests were in principle opposed to every kind of organizational grouping of workers under him. Hence it was impossible for him to take an impartial view. Here, as so often, it was necessary to appeal to disinterested outsiders who would not be tempted to miss the forest for the trees. With some good will, they could much more easily understand a matter that is of the highest importance for our present and future life.

12.1 Are Trade Unions Necessary?

In the first volume of this book, I already expressed my views on the nature, purpose, and necessity of trade unions.[1] There I explained that unless measures are undertaken to change the employer's attitude toward the worker, either by the State (usually futile, for the most part) or a comprehensive new education, the worker has no recourse except to appeal to his equal rights as a contracting party within the economic sphere. I further stated that this would conform to the interests of the national community if, in consequence, social injustices could be addressed that would otherwise cause serious damage to the whole social structure. I stated, moreover, that the worker would always find it necessary to undertake this protective action as long as there were some among the employers who had no sense of their social obligations, or even of the most elementary human rights. And I concluded by saying that if such self-defense was considered necessary, it could only exist in the form of a workers' association on a trade-union basis.

Nothing changed this general conception of mine in 1922. But now it was necessary to find a clear and precise formula regarding these problems. We couldn't be satisfied with mere knowledge, but rather we had to arrive at some practical conclusions.

The following questions had to be answered:

(1) Are trade unions necessary?

(2) Should the NSDAP itself operate on a union basis, or direct its members to participate in any such form?

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[1] See sections 2.17-2.18 and 11.19.

(3) What would be the nature of a National Socialist union? What are our tasks and aims?

(4) How could we establish such unions?

I think I've adequately answered the first question. As things stand, I'm convinced that we cannot dispense with unions. On the contrary, they are among the most important institutions in the economic life of the nation. Not only are they important in the social policy sphere but even more so, in overall national politics. When the broad masses of a nation see their vital needs satisfied through a sound trade union movement, the whole nation will be exceptionally strengthened in its struggle for existence.

Above all, trade unions are necessary as building stones for the future economic parliament or chambers, representing the various professions.

The second question is also easy to answer. If the trade union movement is important, then it's clear that National Socialism ought to take a definite stand on it—not only theoretically but also in practice. But the 'How' is harder to explain.

The National Socialist movement, which aims at establishing a National Socialist folkish State, must always bear in mind that every future institution in that State must grow from the movement itself. It's a great mistake to believe that, once in possession of power, and out of nothing, we can bring about a definite reorganization without the help of a certain reserve stock of men who have been trained in their conviction. Here too we uphold the principle that the spirit that fills a form is more important than the form itself, which can be created mechanically and rapidly. For example, the leadership principle can be imposed on a state organism in a dictatorial way. But it comes alive only by passing through the necessary stages of development, starting from the smallest cell. It must pass through a process of selection lasting over several years and be tempered by the hard realities of life, thus obtaining the necessary leadership material to carry the principle into practical effect.

One also must not imagine that a state constitution can suddenly be pulled out of a briefcase into the daylight, and 'introduce' it by decree. One can attempt such a thing, but the result will always be incapable of survival, something like a stillborn infant. This reminds me of the origins

of the Weimar constitution and the attempt to impose a new constitution and new flag on the German people, but without any inner relation to our people's experiences during the past half century.

The National Socialist State must guard against all such experiments. It must grow out of an organization that has already existed for a long time. This organization must possess National Socialist life in itself, so as to create a living National Socialist State.

12.2 National Socialist Unions?

As already stated, the germ cells of this State must lie in administrative chambers that will represent the various occupations and professions and, above all, the trade unions. If this subsequent representational body and the central economic parliament are to be National Socialist institutions, these important germ cells must embody a National Socialist conviction and conception. The movement's institutions are to be transferred into the State, but the State cannot suddenly call these into existence from nothing, unless they are to remain completely lifeless structures.

Looking at it from the highest standpoint, the National Socialist movement will have to recognize the necessity of its own trade-union policy.

It must furthermore do this because a real National Socialist education for the employer as well as for the employee—in the spirit of mutual cooperation within a common framework of the national community—cannot be secured by theoretical instruction, appeals, and exhortations, but only through the struggles of daily life. In and through this spirit, the movement must educate the several large economic groups and bring them closer to one another on the main issues. Without this preparatory work, it would be sheer illusion to hope that a real national community could someday arise. Only the great worldview-ideal that the movement fights for can steadily form that general style which will show that the new age rests on internally sound foundations, and not merely on an external façade.

Hence the movement must adopt a positive attitude towards the trade-union idea per se. But it must also provide its members and supporters with a practical education for the coming National Socialist State.

CHAPTER 12

The answer to the third question follows from what has been already said.

The National Socialist trade union is not an instrument for class warfare, but a representative organ of the various occupational interests. The National Socialist State recognizes no 'classes,' but, politically speaking, it recognizes only citizens with absolutely equal rights and corresponding equal duties. And alongside these, it recognizes State subjects who have no political rights whatsoever.

The National Socialist conception of the union doesn't have the function of banding together certain men within the national community and thus gradually transforming them into a class, so as to struggle against other similarly-organized groups. We certainly cannot assign this task to the union per se, but it became this when it was transformed into an instrument of Marxist struggle. The union is not a tool of 'class struggle,' but the Marxists made it into an instrument for use in their own class struggle. They created the economic weapon that the international world-Jew uses for the purpose of shattering the economic foundations of free and independent national states, and for destroying national industry and trade, and thereby enslaving free peoples to serve a supra-state Jewish world-finance.

By contrast, the National Socialist trade union must organize definite groups of participants in the nation's economic life. It will thus enhance the security of the national economic system itself, reinforcing it by the elimination of all those anomalies that ultimately exercise a destructive influence on the national body—by damaging the vital forces of the national community, prejudicing the well-being of the State and, last but not least, bringing evil and ruin upon the economy.

Therefore, for the National Socialist union, the strike is not an instrument for disturbing and dislocating national production, but for increasing it and making it run smoothly by fighting against all those abuses which, by reason of their antisocial character, hinder economic efficiency and thereby the existence of the whole nation. Individual efficiency always stands in a causal relation to the general social and legal position of the individual in the economic process. It's the sole basis for the conviction that the nation's economic prosperity must necessarily benefit the individual citizen.

The National Socialist employee must recognize the fact that national economic prosperity brings with it his own material happiness.

The National Socialist employer must recognize that the happiness and contentment of his employees are necessary prerequisites for the existence and development of his own economic prosperity.

National Socialist employees and employers are both servants and guardians of the whole national community. The large measure of personal freedom accorded to them for their activities can be explained by the fact that, as experience has shown, individual efficiency is more enhanced by a generous measure of freedom than by coercion from above. Furthermore, such freedom promotes the natural selection process that brings forth the ablest, most capable, and most industrious people.

For the National Socialist union, therefore, the strike is a means that may, and indeed must, be enacted only as long as a National Socialist State does not yet exist. Once existing, the State will replace the mass struggle between the two great groups—employers and employees—(which has always resulted in a decline in production and injury to the national community!) with a concern and defense of the rights of all. The Economic Chamber's duty will be to keep the national economy operating and to remove any injurious defects or errors. That which is now fought over through a quarrel among millions will then be settled in the Trades Chambers and in the Central Economic Parliament. In this way, executives and employees will no longer be drawn into a mutual conflict over wages and pay scales, damaging the economic interests of both. Rather, they will solve these problems together on a higher plane, with the welfare of the national community and of the State as their shining ideal.

Here again, as everywhere, the iron principle must be observed, that the interests of the Fatherland come before party.

The National Socialist union's task will be to educate and prepare for this goal itself, which is: All must work together for the maintenance and security of our people and our State, each according to their inborn abilities and powers, which have been trained by the national community.

CHAPTER 12

12.3 No Dual Unions

The fourth question: 'How can we establish such unions?' seems more difficult to answer.

Generally speaking, it's easier to establish something on new ground than on an old terrain that already has something. In a place where there's no existing shop, it's easy to establish one. But it's harder if a similar enterprise already exists, and it's hardest of all when the conditions are such that only one alone can prosper. Here the founders not only must introduce their own business, but they also must destroy the one that's already there, if they are to exist.

It would be senseless to have a National Socialist union alongside other unions. It must have a thorough feeling for its philosophical task and the resulting obligation not to tolerate other similar or hostile organizations. It must insist on the necessity of itself alone. It can come to no understanding and no compromise with related efforts but must assert its own absolute and exclusive right.

There are two ways that might lead to such a development:

(1) We could establish our own union and then gradually take up the fight against the international Marxist unions. Or we could

(2) Enter into the Marxist unions and infuse them with a new spirit, with the idea of transforming them into instruments of a new ideal.

The first way was not advisable, for the following reasons: Our financial situation was still the cause of much worry to us at that time and our resources were quite slender. The effects of the steadily increasing inflation made the particular situation still more difficult for us, because in those years one could scarcely speak of any material benefit for a union member. From his point of view, the individual worker had no reason to pay his union dues. Even the existing Marxist unions were on the brink of collapse until, as the result of Herr Cuno's enlightened Ruhr policy, millions suddenly poured into their laps. This so-called 'national' Reich chancellor should be designated as the redeemer of the Marxist unions.[2]

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[2] Wilhelm Cuno (1876-1933) served as German chancellor for a short period in late 1922 and early 1923. He was in office when France occupied the Ruhr

At that time, we couldn't count on similar financial possibilities; and no one could be induced to enter a new union that, on account of its financial weakness, couldn't offer the slightest benefit. On the other hand, I felt bound to oppose creating any such organization that would only be a shelter for more or less great minds.

Overall, the question of personnel played the most important role. I didn't have then a single man whom I could call upon to handle this important task. Whoever could have succeeded at that time in shattering the Marxist unions to make way for the triumph of the National Socialist union idea, and thereby displaced the destructive class struggle, would have ranked among the greatest men of our nation; and his bust would have deserved a place in the Walhalla at Regensburg for the admiration of posterity.[3]

But I knew of no one who qualified for such a pedestal.

It's totally false to be led astray by the fact that the international trade unions are conducted by men of only mediocre minds. In reality, this means nothing at all; when they were founded, there was nothing else. Today the National Socialist movement must fight against a long-standing and monstrous organization that is developed down to the smallest details. The conqueror must always be smarter than the defender, if he is to subdue him. The Marxist trade-union fortress can be governed today by mediocre leaders, but it can only be stormed by the dauntless energy and genius ability of a great leader on the other side. If such a man cannot be found, it's futile to bicker with Fate, and even more foolish to force the issue without adequate replacement.

Here one must apply the maxim that, in life, it's often better to let something go than to try it half-way, or to do it poorly, due to a lack of suitable forces.

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valley, beginning on 11 January 1923. This was also the time at which the infamous German hyperinflation first took hold. Thanks to these disastrous events, Marxist unions experienced a surge in support.

[3] The Walhalla is a neo-classical building in Regensburg that houses plaques and busts honoring a variety of German national heroes. It is named after the Valhalla of Norse mythology.

CHAPTER 12

12.4 Battle of Worldviews Comes First

To this we must add another consideration, which is not at all demagogic. At that time I had—and still have today—a firm conviction that it's dangerous to mix up a great politico-worldview struggle with economic questions at an early time. This applies particularly to our German people. In such a case, the economic struggle would divert energy from the political fight. Once the people come to believe that they can buy a little house with their savings, they'll devote themselves solely to this task; no spare time will be left for the political struggle against those who, one way or another, will some day take away their savings. Instead of fighting in the political conflict on behalf of the opinions and convictions they have won, they'll surrender to their 'settlement' idea, and in the end will lose out.

Today the National Socialist movement is at the beginning of its struggle. In large part, it must first shape and finalize its worldview picture. It must employ every fiber of its energy in the struggle for acceptance of its great ideals, and success is conceivable only if its total strength is put into service of this fight.

We have today a classical example of how active fighting strength becomes paralyzed by being preoccupied with purely economic problems:

The Revolution of November 1918 wasn't made by the trade unions, but rather was carried out against them. And the German people didn't wage any political fight for the future of Germany because they thought that they could secure it sufficiently by constructive economic work.

We should learn from this experience; it would be no different for us. The more the combined strength of our movement is concentrated on the political struggle, the sooner we can count on success down the line; but the more we prematurely busy ourselves with union, settlement, and other problems, the less will be the benefit for our cause as a whole. These are important matters, but they cannot be resolved until we put political power to use in the service of these ideas. Until then, these problems can only paralyze the movement, and if it takes them up too soon, they will prove a hindrance to the philosophical will. It may then easily happen that union motives would control the political movement, instead of the worldview directing the union.

The movement and the nation can derive advantage from a National Socialist trade union movement only if, in its worldview, it's so thoroughly inspired by National Socialist ideas that it runs no danger of falling into Marxist tracks. A National Socialist union movement that considered itself only as a competitor to the Marxist unions would be worse than none at all. It must declare war against the Marxist unions, not only as an organization, but above all, as an idea. It must strike down the promoter of the class-idea and class warfare, and in its place, declare itself as the defender of the occupational interests of the German people.

12.5 Better No Foundation than a Failed One

All these viewpoints argued then—and still argue—against the founding of our own trade union. Unless, that is, someone suddenly appears who is obviously called by Fate to solve this particular problem.

Thus there are only two other possibilities: Either we recommend that our own party members leave the unions, or that they remain in them for now, while working as destructively as possible.

In general, I recommended the latter way.

Especially in the years 1922-23 we could easily do that; during the inflation period, the financial advantage to the union from our members was almost zero, due to the few individuals in our young movement. But the damage to the union was great because the National Socialist supporters were its sharpest critics.

At the time I had already rejected all experiments that were destined to fail. I would have considered it criminal to deprive a worker of his scant earnings for an institution that I felt offered no real advantages to its members.

If a new political party should fade out of existence one day, no one would be injured and some would have profited, but none would have a right to complain; that which each individual gives to a political movement, he gives *à fonds perdu*.[4] But he who pays his dues to a union

[4] French catchphrase, lit. "lost funds"—that is, money given with no expectation of return.

has the right to expect some guarantee in return. If this is not done, then the union leaders are swindlers or at least careless people who ought to be held responsible.

We acted on these views in 1922. Others thought differently and founded trade unions. They attacked us for being short-sighted and mistaken. But wasn't long before these organizations disappeared, and the same would have happened to us. But only with one difference: we would not have deceived ourselves or others.

CHAPTER 13
GERMAN POST-WAR ALLIANCE POLICY

The erratic conduct of Reich foreign affairs was due to a lack of sound guiding principles for an effective alliance policy. Not only did this continue after the Revolution, but it became even worse.

13.1 Reasons for the Breakdown

The confused state of our political ideas in general before the War may be regarded as the chief cause of our defective leadership, but in the post-war period, it was a lack of honest intentions. It was natural that those circles who had fully achieved their destructive goal by means of the Revolution had no interest in an alliance policy that would ultimately result in the restoration of a free German State. Not only would a development in this direction have run opposed to the inner sentiment of the November crime, not only would it have interrupted and indeed put an end to the internationalization of the German economy and labor: but mainly, the domestic political effects of a successful fight for freedom from foreign countries would, in the future, be disastrous for those who now hold power in the Reich.

One cannot imagine the revival of a nation unless preceded by a process of nationalization, just as, conversely, every important success in the field of foreign politics must produce a favorable reaction at home.

Experience proves that every struggle for freedom increases the national sentiment and self-consciousness, and therefore gives rise to a shaper sensibility towards anti-national elements and tendencies. Conditions and persons who are tolerated, and even pass unnoticed, in peacetimes will not only become the object of aversion when national enthusiasm is aroused, but will even provoke a resistance that not seldom brings their doom. One may recall, for example, the spy-scare that prevails when war breaks out, when human passions suddenly reach such heights that they lead to the most brutal, and even unjust, persecutions—although everyone knows that the danger of spies is greater during long periods of peace. But for obvious reasons, they don't then receive the same attention.

For this reason, the subtle instinct of the State parasites who surfaced during the November events makes them feel at once that an intelligent alliance policy that would restore our people's freedom and awaken national sentiment might possibly destroy their own criminal existence.

Thus we may understand the fact that, since 1918, governmental authorities have failed us in foreign affairs, and that State leaders have almost constantly and systematically worked against the interests of the German nation. That which at first sight seems a matter of chance has proven, on closer examination, to be a logical advance along the path that was first opened by the 1918 November Revolution.

Undoubtedly a distinction should be made between the responsible—or better, 'should-be-responsible'—leaders of our State affairs; the average contemptible parliamentary politicians; and the great, stupid herd of our patient sheep-like people.

The first know what they want. The second play along, either because they know it or because they're too cowardly to oppose that which they know and feel to be detrimental. The others just submit from incomprehension and stupidity.

13.2 Aim of Foreign Policy: Freedom Tomorrow

While the National Socialist German Workers' Party was only a small and practically unknown group, foreign policy problems had only a

secondary importance in the eyes of many of its members. This was the case especially because our movement has always proclaimed—and must proclaim—the principle that external freedom is not a gift from heaven or any earthly powers, but can only be the fruit of a development of our inner strength. Only by the elimination of the causes that led to our collapse, and the destruction of all those who profit from it, can we fight for the restoration of our external freedom.

One can easily understand therefore why we didn't place much value on foreign affairs during the early period of our young movement, but preferred to work on internal reform plans.

But when the small and insignificant group expanded and finally broke its bounds, the young organization assumed the importance of a great association, and the necessity arose of taking a stand on questions regarding developments in foreign policy. It was necessary to lay down the main lines of action that would not only be in accord with the fundamental views of our world-concept, but would actually be an expansion of it.

Precisely due to our lack of public education in foreign affairs, it was necessary to teach the leaders in our young movement, and also the broad masses, the chief principles that should guide the development of our foreign relations. This is the prerequisite for the practical implementation of a foreign policy that would win back national independence and thus restore the real sovereignty of the Reich.

The fundamental and guiding principle that we must always bear in mind when studying this question is that foreign policy is only a means to an end, and that the sole end is the promotion of our own people.

All consideration of foreign policy must proceed from only this viewpoint: Does it benefit our people now or in the future, or will it be harmful?

This is the sole preoccupation that must occupy us in dealing with this question. Party politics, religion, humanitarianism—all other viewpoints are totally irrelevant.

13.3 Pre-condition for the Liberation of Lost Regions

Before the War, the purpose of German foreign policy should have been to assure the sustenance of our people and their children by preparing a way that would lead to this goal. And we should have established the necessary alliances to assist us. Today it's the same, but with one difference: In pre-war times, it was a question of caring for the maintenance of the German people, supported by the power of a strong and independent State, but today we must make our nation powerful once again by reestablishing a strong and independent State. This is the prerequisite for implementing a practical foreign policy that will preserve, promote, and sustain our people in the future.

In other words: The goal of today's German foreign policy must be to prepare for the recovery of its freedom tomorrow.

There's a fundamental principle that we must always keep in mind: The possibility of winning back national independence is not absolutely bound up with territorial reintegration. It will suffice if a remnant of this nation and State, no matter how small, exists—provided it possesses the necessary independence to not only embody the common spirit of the whole people but also to prepare the military fight for freedom.

When a nation of a hundred million people tolerates the yoke of common slavery in order to preserve territorial integrity, it's worse than if such a state and such a people were dismembered while only one fragment retained complete freedom. Of course, the condition here is that this fragment must be inspired by a holy mission, not only to proclaim its spiritual and cultural unity, but also to prepare the military for the final liberation and reunion of the oppressed fragments.

One must also bear in mind the fact that the question of restoring lost regions that were formerly parts of the people and the State must primarily be a question of winning back political power and independence for the Motherland itself, and that in such cases the interests of the lost regions must be uncompromisingly subordinated to regaining freedom for the main territory. The detached and oppressed fragments of a nation or an imperial province cannot be liberated through the yearnings and protests

of the oppressed and abandoned, but only through the means of force and of re-conquering the more or less sovereign remnants of the common Fatherland.

Therefore, in order to re-conquer lost regions, the pre-condition is the intensive promotion and strengthening of that portion of the remnant State. The unquenchable yearning that slumbers in the heart must dedicate the new arising force, when the hour comes, to the freedom and unification of the whole people: Therefore, the interests of the separated regions must be subordinated to the one purpose of acquiring sufficient political power and strength for the remnant State to correct the hostile will of the victorious enemy. Not flaming protests, but only the mighty sword will restore oppressed territories to the bosom of a common Reich.

The forging of this sword is the task of a nation's internal political leadership; to secure this task, and to seek out comrades in arms, is the task of foreign policy.

13.4 Mistaken Continental Policy before the War

In the first volume of this work, I discussed the inadequacy of our pre-war alliance policy.[1] Of the four possible ways to secure the future preservation and sustenance of our people, the fourth and least favorable was chosen. Instead of a healthy European land policy, we adopted a colonial and commercial policy. This was all the more mistaken inasmuch as it was presumed that armed conflict could be avoided. The result of the attempt to sit on many chairs at once led us to fall to the ground amidst them all, and the World War was only the final reckoning presented to the Reich for its foreign policy failure.

The right way would have been the third: strengthening our continental power by acquiring new territory in Europe. And at the same time, the subsequent acquisition of colonial territory might thus be brought within range of natural possibility. Of course, this policy could only have been carried out in alliance with England, or by devoting such abnormal efforts to the increase of military power that, for 40 or 50 years,

[1] See sections 4.2 and 4.3

all cultural undertakings would have to be pushed to the background. This responsibility might very well have been accepted. A nation's cultural importance is almost always dependent on its political freedom and independence—and the former is a necessary precondition for the existence (or better, creation) of the latter. Therefore no sacrifice is too great for the securing of political freedom.

What might be lost from cultural purposes, in order to meet demands for increasing the State's military power, can be generously paid back later on. Indeed, one can observe that, after a concentrated effort for the purpose of securing its political independence, a certain period of ease and compensation often sets in, in which the previously-neglected cultural forces of the nation now suddenly burst forth and bloom. Out of the Persian Wars, Greece witnessed the blossom of the Age of Pericles, and after the sorrow of the Punic Wars, the Roman state system began to dedicate itself to the service of a higher culture.[2]

Of course, it couldn't be expected that a parliamentary majority of idiots or good-for-nothings would be capable of subordinating all other national interests to the one sole task of preparing for a future arms conflict that would establish State security. The father of Frederick the Great sacrificed everything for that conflict, but the fathers of our democratic parliamentary nonsense of the Jewish variety, could never do it.

That's why, in pre-war times, the military preparation for an acquisition of European territory was very limited, and thus allied support was indispensable.

Unfortunately our leaders wouldn't even consider the idea of systematically preparing for war. They rejected the acquisition of European territory and, by preferring a colonial and trade policy, they sacrificed an

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[2] Ancient Greece was engaged in a series of military conflicts with Persia from roughly 500 to 450 BC, peaking in two major wars, in 490 BC and 480 BC. The great Athenian statesman, Pericles, was influential from the end of the wars to his death in 429 BC, and oversaw a period of remarkable cultural flourishing. The Punic Wars were a series of three major battles between Rome and Carthage, of North Africa, between 264 and 146 BC. With the final defeat of Carthage, Rome assumed dominant power in the larger Mediterranean region for some 500 years.

alliance with England that would then have been possible. They also neglected Russian support, which would have been logical. Finally they stumbled into the World War, abandoned by all except the ill-fated Habsburgs.

13.5 Present European Power Relations: England and Germany

The characteristic of our present foreign policy is that there are no discernible or even intelligible lines of conduct. Whereas before the war, the fourth way was mistakenly followed—and this only in a halfhearted manner—not even the sharpest eye can detect any path that's being followed since the Revolution. Even more than before the war, there's no systematic plan, except the attempts to smash the last possibility of a national revival.

An objective assessment of present-day European power relations leads to the following results:

For the past 300 years, the history of our continent has been fundamentally determined by England's efforts to keep the European states opposed to one another in an equilibrium of forces, thus assuring the necessary protection of its own rear while pursuing the great aims of British world-policy.

The traditional tendency of British diplomacy ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth[3] has been to systematically employ every possible means to prevent any one European power from dominating over the others and, if necessary, to break it by means of armed intervention. The only parallel to this has been the Prussian army's tradition. England made use of various military means to carry out its purpose, choosing them according to the actual situation or the task to be faced; but the determination and willpower to use them has always been the same. Indeed, the more difficult England's position became in the course of history, the more the leadership of the British Empire considered it necessary to maintain a condition of political paralysis among the various European states, as a result of their mutual rivalries. The political independence of the North

[3] Reigned from 1558 to 1603.

American colonies made it even more necessary to use every effort to maintain the defense of Britain's flank in Europe. And so—after the destruction of Spain and the Netherlands as great sea powers—England concentrated all its forces against the increasing strength of France, until, with the downfall of Napoleon, the hegemony danger of this perilous military power was finally broken.

The shift in British policy against Germany took place only very slowly. This was true not only because the German nation did not represent an obvious danger for England as long as it lacked national unification, but also because British public opinion, steered by propaganda toward other goals, was slow to move in a new direction. The calm knowledge of the statesman is transformed into popular sentiment, which is not only more effective but also more durable. When the statesman has attained one of his goals, he can immediately turn his thoughts to new ones. But only by the slow work of propaganda can mass sentiment be shaped into an instrument for the leaders' new view on life.

As early as 1870-71, England had decided on its new stance. At times, minor policy fluctuations were caused by the growing importance of America in the world economy and also by the increasing political power of Russia. Unfortunately, though, Germany didn't take advantage of these events and, therefore, the original tendency of British diplomacy was only reinforced.

England saw Germany as a power of commercial and world-political importance, partly because its enormous industrialization was increasing to such threatening proportions that the two countries were already contending as equals. The 'peaceful economic' conquest of the world—which, in the eyes of our leaders, represented the highest peak of wisdom—was what led English statesmen to adopt a policy of resistance. The fact that this resistance assumed the form of a vast organized aggression was in full conformity with a type of statesmanship that aimed not at the maintenance of a dubious world peace but at the consolidation of British world-domination. England thus allied itself with those countries that had a definite military importance, and this was consistent with its traditional caution in estimating the adversary's power and also in recognizing its own temporary weakness. This cannot be called 'unscrupulous,' because

such a comprehensive organization for war purposes must not be judged from the heroic viewpoint but from that of expediency. Diplomacy must see to it, not that a nation goes down heroically, but rather that it survives in practice. Hence every road that leads to this goal is expedient, and the failure to take it must be seen as a criminal neglect of duty.

When the German Revolution occurred, England's fears of a German world hegemony came to a satisfactory end.

Since then, it has not been in English interests to see Germany totally erased from the geographic map of Europe. On the contrary, the astounding collapse that took place in November 1918 confronted British diplomacy with a situation that at first appeared impossible.

For four-and-a-half years, the British Empire fought to break the presumed prevalence of a continental power. A sudden collapse now occurred that removed this power from the picture. That collapse exposed the lack of even a basic instinct of self-preservation, such that European equilibrium was unhinged within 48 hours: Germany destroyed, and France the first European continental power.

The enormous propaganda that was carried on during this war for the purpose of encouraging the British public to hold out, aroused all the primitive instincts and passions of the populace and was bound to eventually hang as a lead weight on the decisions of British statesmen. With the colonial, economic, and commercial destruction of Germany, England's war aims were attained. Anything beyond this was a hindrance to British interests. Only England's enemies could profit by the disappearance of Germany as a continental power in Europe. Nonetheless, from November 1918 through mid-summer 1919, it was no longer possible for England to change its diplomatic attitude because it had expended the emotional energy of the broad masses. It wasn't possible from the viewpoint of existing attitudes of its own people, and it wasn't possible due to the military relation of forces. France took the initiative and could impose upon others. During those months of negotiations and bargaining, the only power that could have altered the course of things—Germany itself—was torn asunder by a civil war, and its so-called statesmen declared themselves ready to accept any dictate.

Now, in the life of peoples, if one nation loses its instinct for self-preservation and ceases to be an 'active' ally, it sinks to the level of an enslaved people and its territory must suffer the fate of a colony.

13.6 England's War Aim Not Achieved

To prevent France from becoming too great a power, England had to participate in a predatory lust.

In fact England did not attain its war aim. Not only was it impossible to prevent the rise of a European power above the continental state system, but it was given increased support.

In 1914, Germany, considered as a military State, was wedged between two countries, one of which had equal power and the other greater. Then there was England's overwhelming sea power. France and Russia alone hindered and opposed the development of German greatness. The Reich's unfavorable military-geographical situation might be looked upon as another coefficient of security against an exaggerated increase of power. From a naval viewpoint, the coastline was unfavorable for a conflict with England, as it was short and cramped. The land frontier, by contrast, was widely extended and open.

France's position is different today: It is the first military power without a serious rival on the continent; it's almost entirely protected along its southern border with Spain and Italy; against Germany, it's safeguarded by the prostrate condition of our Fatherland; and a long stretch of its coastline faces the vital nerve system of the British Empire. Not only could French airplanes and long-range batteries attack the vital centers of England, but submarines could threaten its sea lanes. A submarine campaign based on the long Atlantic coast and on the European and North African coasts of the Mediterranean would have disastrous effects.

Thus the political result of the war to prevent the development of German power was French hegemony on the continent. The military result: the consolidation of France as the first continental power and the recognition of the Union as an equal sea power. The economic result: the surrender of great spheres of British interests to former allies.

CHAPTER 13

13.7 Political Goals of France and England

Just as England's traditional political goals wanted and required the Balkanization of Europe, France's desired the Balkanization of Germany.

England's wish is, and remains, to prevent any one continental power from attaining a position of world importance—that is, the maintenance of a definite balance of power among the European States; this seems to be a precondition for British world-hegemony.

France's wish is, and remains, to prevent Germany from becoming a unified power. It wants to maintain a system of small German states with balanced power relations and without central leadership, and it wants to possess the left bank of the Rhine as a prerequisite for the establishment and safeguarding of hegemony in Europe.

The final aims of French diplomacy will be in perpetual opposition to the final tendencies of British statesmanship.

13.8 Alliance Possibilities for Germany

Taking this as a starting-point, anyone who investigates alliance possibilities for Germany must come to the conclusion that there remains no other option except to approach England. The consequences of England's war policy were, and are, disastrous for Germany, but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that, today, England has no necessary interest in the destruction of Germany. Indeed, on the contrary, England's diplomacy must, from year to year, tend more towards curbing France's unbridled lust after hegemony. Now, an alliance policy cannot be pursued by bearing grudges, but it can be rendered fruitful by taking account of past experiences. Experience should have taught us that alliances formed for negative purposes suffer from intrinsic weakness. The destinies of nations can be welded together only under the prospect of a common success, of common gain and conquest—in short, a mutual extension of power.

The ignorance of our people on foreign politics is clearly demonstrated by current press reports about "friendship towards Germany" by one or the other foreign statesman, whereby this is taken as a special guarantee of a

policy that will be beneficial to our people. This is absolutely unbelievable nonsense—mere speculation of unparalleled simplicity by the average German man. No British, American, or Italian statesman ever was 'pro-German.' Every English statesman will naturally be English first of all, every American American, and no Italian statesman would be prepared to adopt a policy that wasn't pro-Italian. Therefore, anyone who expects to form alliances with foreign nations on the basis of a pro-German feeling among their statesmen is either an ass or a deceiver.

The premise for linking together the destinies of nations is never mutual esteem or mutual sympathy, but rather the prospect of advantages for both contracting parties. That is: It's true that an English statesman will always follow a pro-English and not a pro-German policy, but so too is it true that certain definite interests involved in this pro-English policy may coincide on various grounds with German interests. Naturally this can be true only to a certain degree, and may one day be completely reversed; but the art of statesmanship is shown when, at certain periods, allies are found who must take the same road in order to defend their own interests.

The practical application of these principles at the present time depends on the answer given to the following questions: What States at present have no interest in allowing French military and economic power to achieve hegemony, through the total exclusion of a German Central Europe? Indeed, which states see this as a threat to their own future, based on their own requirements for existence, and on their previous political tradition?

Ultimately we must be very clear on this point: France is, and will remain, Germany's implacable mortal enemy. It doesn't matter what governments have ruled or will rule France, whether Bourbon or Jacobin, Napoleonic or Bourgeois-Democratic, Clerical Republican or Red Bolshevik: Their foreign policy will always be directed towards acquiring possession of the Rhine frontier, and to consolidating France's position on this river by dismembering and shattering Germany.

England doesn't want Germany to be a world power, but France wants no power at all called 'Germany': quite an essential difference! Today we are not fighting for our position as a world power but rather only for the

existence of our Fatherland, for national unity, and for our children's daily bread. From this viewpoint, only two European states remain as possible allies: England and Italy.

England doesn't want to see a French military fist unchecked by the rest of Europe, one that might adopt a policy that would clash with English interests one day. England never wants to see France possess the immense western European iron and coal deposits that would make it possible for it to gain a threatening economic world position. And England furthermore never wants a France whose continental political position, owing to the dismemberment of the rest of Europe, seems so absolutely assured that it is not only enabled, but compelled to resume a French world-policy on great lines. Zeppelin bombs might be multiplied by the thousand every night; France's military predominance weighs heavily on the heart of Great Britain's world empire.[4]

And Italy cannot and will not want any further strengthening of France's power in Europe. Italy's future will always be conditioned by the development of events in the Mediterranean basin. It wasn't a desire to build up France that drove Italy into the war, but rather to deal a mortal blow to its hated Adriatic rival. Any further strengthening of France on the Continent would hamper the development of Italy's future, and we mustn't deceive ourselves by thinking that national relations will in any way exclude rivalries.

Serious and cool-minded consideration shows that these two states, England and Italy, have natural self-interests that not only are not in opposition to Germany's essential conditions for existence, but are indeed, to a certain extent, identical with them.

[4] It's hard today to envision the extent of the British Empire at the time this was written. It encompassed over 400 million people, about 20% of the global total. It covered roughly a quarter of the Earth's entire land surface area, including such present-day nations as Canada, Australia, India, Pakistan, Egypt, South Africa, Sudan, and Kenya, among many others.

13.9 Is Germany Capable of Alliance Today?

But when we consider the possibilities of alliances, we must be careful not to overlook three factors. The first concerns ourselves, and the other two the states in question.

Can anyone ally themselves with present-day Germany? Can a power, one that seeks an alliance for the purpose of securing assistance in carrying out offensive aims, form an alliance with a State whose rulers have, for years, presented a spectacle of deplorable incompetence and pacifist cowardice, and where the majority of the populace, in a democratic-Marxist blindness, betrays the interests of their own people and country in a way that cries to high heaven? Can any power today hope to establish useful relations in the fight for common interests when this State obviously has neither the courage nor the desire to lift a finger even in the defense of its own naked existence? Can such a power—for which an alliance must be much more than a pact to guarantee a state of slow decay, like the disastrous old Triple Alliance[5]—associate itself for better or worse with a State whose most characteristic signs of life consist of a rampant servility in external relations and a scandalous repression of national virtues at home? Or can it be associated with a State that possesses no greatness because its whole behavior shows that it doesn't deserve it? Or can alliances be made with governments that are despised by their own citizens and thus have no possibility for respect abroad?

No—any self-respecting power that expects something more from alliances than commissions for greedy parliamentarians will not ally itself with our present-day Germany; indeed, it cannot. Our present inability to form alliances furnishes the deepest and ultimate principle for the solidarity of the enemy thieves. Because Germany doesn't defend itself in any other way except the flamboyant 'protests' of our parliamentarian elect, there's no reason why the rest of the world should fight in our defense. And God does not follow the principle of granting freedom to a

[5] The Triple Alliance was a pact between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. It was formed in 1882 and survived until the start of World War One. See volume one, sections 4.1 and 4.9.

nation of cowards—despite all the whimperings of our patriotic associations. Therefore, even for those states that don't have a direct interest in our total destruction, no other course remains except to participate in France's campaign of plunder, or at least to prevent the exclusive strengthening of France alone.

Second, we must not overlook the difficulty in overcoming the mass propaganda of our former enemies, which have turned popular opinion toward a fixed direction. When a nationality has been represented to the public for years as a horde of 'Huns,' 'robbers,' 'vandals', etc., they cannot suddenly overnight be presented as something else, and the former enemy cannot be recommended as the ally of tomorrow.

13.10 Divergence Between British and Jewish Interests

But the third factor deserves greater attention, since it is of essential importance for establishing future alliances in Europe:

From a British state viewpoint, even though there isn't much interest in the further destruction of Germany, such a development is greatly in the interests of the international stock-exchange Jews. The cleavage between the official, or rather traditional, British statesmanship and the controlling Jewish stock-exchange powers is nowhere so clearly manifested as in the various attitudes on the questions of British foreign policy. Contrary to the interests and welfare of the British state, Jewish finance desires not only the absolute economic destruction of Germany but its complete political enslavement. The internationalization of our German economy—that is, the transference of our productive forces to Jewish world finance—can only be completely carried out in a politically Bolshevik state. But the Marxist fighting forces of international Jewish stock-exchange capital cannot finally smash the German national State without friendly help from outside. French armies must therefore first besiege the German state-structure, and then the exhausted Reich would succumb to the Bolshevik fighting troops of international Jewish world finance.

Hence it is that the Jew today is the great agitator for the complete destruction of Germany. Whenever in the world we read of attacks against

Germany, Jews are their fabricators. In peacetime and during the War, Jewish stock-exchange and Marxist press systematically stirred up hatred against Germany, until one state after another abandoned its neutrality and placed itself at the service of the world war coalition, renouncing the real interests of people.

13.11 Jewish World Incitement Against Germany

The Jewish way of reasoning thus becomes clear. The Bolshevization of Germany—that is, the rooting out of national folkish German intellectuals to make it possible for the German labor force to bear the yoke of Jewish world finance—is only a prelude to an extension of the Jewish tendency for world conquest. As so often in history, Germany is the great pivot in this mighty struggle. If our people and our State should become victims of these bloodthirsty and avaricious Jewish tyrants of nations, the whole Earth would fall prey to this polyp; and if Germany were to be freed from its grip, this greatest of dangers to nations would be broken for the whole world.

It is certain that Jewry uses all its agitational efforts not only to maintain national animosity toward Germany but, if possible, to increase it even more; and it's equally certain that only a fraction of these activities are in keeping with the true interests of the poisoned peoples. In general, Jewry carries on its campaign in the various countries by the use of weapons that are calculated to appeal to the mentality of the respective nations and are most likely to produce the greatest success. In our blood-diluted, exceptionally-torn national body, it is the more or less 'cosmopolitan,' pacifist-ideological thoughts that arise; in short, the internationalist tendencies that they use in their struggle for power. In France, they exploit the well-known and accurately-estimated chauvinism, and in England, the commercial and world-political outlook; in short, they always work with the essential qualities that belong to each national mentality. When they have in this way achieved a decisive influence in economic and political spheres, they discard the limitations of their borrowed weapons, and expose, to the same degree, the true inner purposes of their will and their struggle. Their destruction then

accelerates, reducing one state after another to a mass of ruins, upon which they will erect the sovereign and eternal Jewish Empire.

In England and Italy, the contrast between the view of the better kind of statesmanship and the policy of the Jewish world stock-exchange is clear—indeed, sometimes strikingly obvious.

Only in France today does there exist, more than ever before, a profound accord between the views of the Jew-controlled stock exchange and the chauvinistic national statecraft. This identity constitutes an immense danger for Germany. For this reason, France is and will remain by far the most terrible enemy. This people, who are becoming more and more niggarized, represent an enduring danger to the existence of the white race in Europe because they are bound up with the Jewish goal of world domination.[6] Contamination through Negro blood on the Rhine, in the very heart of Europe, is in accord with the sadistic and perverse lust for vengeance by this hereditary enemy of our people, just as an ice-cold Jewish calculation uses this to begin a bastardization at the center of the European continent, and to deprive the white race of the basis for a sovereign existence by infection with a lower humanity.

France's activities in Europe today, spurred on by their lust for vengeance and systematically led by the Jews, are a sin against the existence of white humanity. These actions will one day arouse a spirit of vengeance against them by a race that has recognized racial pollution as the original sin of mankind.

For Germany, however, the French danger involves a subordinating of all sentiment, and extending a hand to those who are threatened with the same menace and who are unwilling to suffer or tolerate France's lust for domination.

For the foreseeable future, there will only be two European allies for Germany: England and Italy.

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[6] France today has by far the highest percentage of black population in Europe: 5.6%, or some 3.8 million people. Next highest is the UK (3.8%, or 2.5 million), followed by Italy (1.8%) and Spain (1.5%). Germany today has around 1% black population. By comparison, the current US black population is about 12.3% (40 million).

13.12 Pandering to France

If we take the trouble to cast a backwards glance at German foreign policy leadership since the Revolution, we must—in view of the constant and incomprehensible failure of our governments—either lose heart or, in a flaming rage, take up the fight against such a regime. Their actions cannot be attributed to a lack of understanding: What seemed inconceivable to every thinking man was accomplished by these intellectual Cyclopses of our November parties: They courted France's favor. Yes indeed—during all these years, with the touching simplicity of incorrigible visionaries, they pandered to France again and again, they bowed to the 'great nation,' and they believed that they saw a visible change of feeling in every shrewd trick of the French hangman.

Naturally, the actual political wire-pullers never shared in this absurd belief. For them, pandering to France was only an obvious means of thwarting every attempt at a practical alliance policy. They had no illusions about French aims or those of the men behind the scenes. What induced them to act as if they honestly believed that the fate of Germany could possibly be changed, was the sober calculation that otherwise our people might head off in another direction.

Naturally it's hard for us, within our own movement, to propose England as a possible future ally. Our Jewish press has always been adept at concentrating hatred against England in particular, and many of our good German simpletons have willingly fallen into the Jewish trap. They babble about a 'strengthening' of German sea power and protest against the theft of our colonies, and thus they furnish material that the Jewish scoundrel transmits to his English clansmen for purposes of practical propaganda. Our simple-minded political bourgeoisie cannot grasp the idea that today we don't have to fight for 'sea power.' Even before the War, it was absurd to direct German national energies towards this end without first having secured our position in Europe. Such a hope today rises to a stupidity that, in the political field, may be called criminal.

It often becomes maddening to see how the Jewish wire-pullers succeed in concentrating the people's attention on things that are only of

secondary importance today. They incited them to demonstrations and protests, while at the same time France was tearing away at our national body, piece by piece, systematically removing the very foundations of our independence.

13.13 The South Tyrol Question

Here I must recall a special hobby horse that the Jew has ridden in recent years with amazing skill: South Tyrol.[7]

Yes indeed, South Tyrol. The reason why I take up this question here is because I want to call to account that shameful rabble who relied on the forgetfulness and stupidity of large sections of our people, and who stimulated a national indignation that is as foreign to the real character of our parliamentary swindlers as the idea of private property is to a magpie.

I would like to emphasize that I was one of those, at the time when the fate of South Tyrol was being decided—that is, from August 1914 to November 1918—who went where that place was being effectively defended, namely, in the army. I did my share of fighting during those years, not merely to save South Tyrol from being lost but also to save it, like every other German province, for the Fatherland.

The parliamentary shysters took no part in that battle, but simply played party politics. On the contrary, we carried on the fight in the belief that a victorious outcome of the war would preserve South Tyrol for the German nation, while those loud-mouthed Ephialteses[8] agitated and plotted against victory, until the fighting Siegfried succumbed to the stab in the back. It was only natural that the lying inflammatory speeches of the parliamentarians on the Vienna Ballhausplatz or in front of the Munich Feldherrnhalle couldn't save South Tyrol for Germany. Only the fighting battalions at the Front could do that. Those who broke up that Front betrayed South Tyrol, as they did all other German districts.

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[7] South Tyrol is a semi-autonomous province in northern Italy, comprised primarily of German-speakers. Current population is around 525,000.

[8] Ephialtes was a notorious traitor of ancient Greece.

Anyone who believes that the South Tyrol question can be solved today by protests, declarations, and organizational parades is either a completely exceptional scoundrel or merely a German philistine.

It must be made clear that we cannot recover lost territories by depending on solemn appeals to Almighty God or on pious hopes in a League of Nations, but only by force of arms.

So the only remaining question is: Who's ready to take up arms for the restoration of these lost territories?

Concerning myself personally, I can state with a clear conscience that I would have enough courage to take part in a campaign for the victorious conquest of South Tyrol, at the head of parliamentarian storm battalions consisting of parliamentarian big-mouths and other party leaders, along with the various state councilors. The Devil knows that I would love to see a few shrapnel shells suddenly burst over this 'flaming' protest demonstration. I think that if a fox were to break into a henhouse, the rush to safety would be no quicker than the scurrying of such a wonderful 'protest coalition.'

The vilest part of all this is that these gentlemen themselves don't believe that anything can be achieved in this way. Each one of them knows very well the impossibility and ineffectiveness of their action. They do it only because it's easier now to babble about the restoration of South Tyrol than it was to fight for keeping it. Everyone plays their part; in those days we sacrificed our blood, and today this crowd merely sharpens their beaks.

It's particularly interesting to note today how Viennese legitimist circles bristle with work for the restoration of South Tyrol. Seven years ago, their noble and illustrious monarchy helped, by an act of perjury and treason, to make it possible for the victorious world-coalition to take away South Tyrol. At that time, these circles supported the perfidious dynasty and didn't give a damn about South Tyrol or any other province. Naturally it's easier today to take up the fight for this territory, since the present struggle is waged only with 'intellectual' weapons. And it's easier to talk yourself hoarse in a 'protest meeting'—out of noble, heartfelt indignation—or to wear down your fingers in the writing of a newspaper article than, say, to blow up a bridge during the occupation of the Ruhr.

CHAPTER 13

13.14 Who Betrayed South Tyrol?

It's obvious why certain circles have made the 'South Tyrol' question the pivot of German-Italian relations during the past few years. Jews and Habsburg legitimists are greatly interested in preventing Germany from pursuing an alliance policy that might one day lead to the resurgence of a free German Fatherland. It isn't out of love for South Tyrol that they raise this fuss—which hurts instead of helps—but through fear of a possible German-Italian agreement.

The generally hypocritical and slanderous tendencies of these circles explains how they can calmly and brazenly attempt to make it appear that we have 'betrayed' South Tyrol.

It must be said to these gentlemen: South Tyrol was 'betrayed,' first, by every German of sound limbs who did not offer himself for service to his Fatherland at the Front during the years 1914-1918;

Second, by every man who, during those years, didn't help to reinforce the national body's power of resistance, so as to enable the country to carry through the fight to the very end;

Third, South Tyrol was betrayed by everyone who took part in the November Revolution—either directly by his act or indirectly by a cowardly toleration of it—and thus broke the sole weapon that could have saved South Tyrol.

And fourth, South Tyrol was betrayed by those parties and their followers who signed the disgraceful treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

Yes indeed, that's how things stand, my brave lip-service gentlemen!

Today I am guided only by a sober recognition of the fact that the lost territories cannot be won back by the sharpened tongues of parliamentary big-mouths but only by the sharpened sword—in other words, through a bloody fight.

Now, I have no hesitation in saying that today, once the die has been cast, it's not only impossible to win back South Tyrol through a war but I should definitely reject it, because I'm convinced that it would not be possible to arouse the German people's national enthusiasm over this question to the degree necessary for success. On the contrary, I believe that

if we have to shed blood once again, it would be criminal to do so for the sake of liberating 200,000 Germans, when more than seven million next door are suffering under foreign domination, and a vital artery of the German nation has become a playground for hordes of African niggers.

If the German nation wants to end a condition that threatens to root it out of Europe, it mustn't fall prey to errors of the pre-war period and make enemies of God and the world, but rather it must determine the most dangerous enemy, and then concentrate all its power to strike at it. And if this victory is obtained through sacrifices elsewhere, future generations won't condemn us. In light of the miseries and anxieties that led us to make such a bitter decision, they will more clearly recognize the brilliancy of our success.

Once again, we must always be guided by the fundamental principle that the political independence and power of the Motherland must first be restored, if we are to win back lost provinces of the Reich.

Hence the first task of powerful leadership in foreign affairs is to make this possible by a wise alliance policy.

We National Socialists must particularly guard against being dragged along by Jewish-led bourgeois patriots in word only. Woe to us if, instead of preparing for the coming struggle, our movement also busied itself in mere protest!

It was the fantastic idea of a Nibelungen alliance with the cadaver of the Habsburg State that brought about Germany's ruin.[9] Fantastic sentimentality in dealing with today's foreign policy possibilities would be the best means of forever preventing our revival.

13.15 Three Questions on an Alliance Policy

Here it's necessary for me to briefly respond to objections to the three questions I have raised:

First, whether it's even possible to form an alliance with present-day Germany, whose weakness is so visible to all;

[9] A 'Nibelungen alliance' refers to any such policy based on naiveté and misplaced trust.

Second, whether the enemy nations can change their attitude towards Germany; and Third, whether Jewish influence is stronger than all understanding or good will, and thus will frustrate and nullify all plans.

I think I've sufficiently discussed one half of the first question. Of course, no one will enter into an alliance with present-day Germany. No power in the world would link its destiny with a state whose government would destroy all confidence. Regarding the attempt by many of our compatriots to explain the government's conduct by referring to our peoples' woeful mentality and thus to excuse it, one must strongly object to this view.

Certainly the lack of our people's character for the last six years is deeply distressing. Their indifference toward the most urgent national necessities has been crushing, and their cowardice has sometimes cried out to high heaven. But one must never forget that we are dealing with a people who gave to the world, a few years earlier, an admirable example of the highest human qualities. From the first days of August 1914 to the end of the tremendous struggle between nations, no people on Earth gave better proof of manly courage, tenacity, and patient endurance, than this German people who today have become so pathetic. No one will dare to assert that the present lack of character is typical of our people. What we have to endure today, among us and around us, is due only to the horrible, maddening, and infuriating influence of that treasonous deed of 9 November 1918. More than ever before, the poet's word is true: evil begets evil.

But even in this time, our people haven't entirely lost those fundamentally sound qualities. They slumber in the depths, and sometimes we can see these virtues, like shining lights in a cloudy firmament, that a future Germany will someday recall as the first signs of a revival. More than once, thousands and thousands of young Germans have come forth and resolved to sacrifice their young lives on the altar of the Fatherland, just as they did in 1914. Millions of men have resumed work, wholeheartedly and zealously, as if the destructive revolution had never occurred. The blacksmith is at his anvil once again, the farmer drives his plow, the scholar is in his study—all with the same devotion to duty.

Our oppression at the hands of our enemies is no longer taken, as it formerly was, with laughter, but rather with bitter and angry faces. Undoubtedly a great change of attitude has taken place.

None of this has yet taken the shape of a rebirth in our national conception of political power and self-preservation. And the blame falls to those who, since 1918, and less by the grace of heaven than self-appointment, have governed our people to death.

Yes indeed, if anyone accuses our people today, he should be asked: What's being done to help them? What of the feeble support that the people give to any governmental decisions—decisions that in fact hardly exist? Is this a sign of our lack of vitality, or is it not a sign of the complete failure of the management of this valuable trust? What have our governments done to reawaken in the people a proud spirit of self-assertion, manly defiance, and righteous hatred?

13.16 Neglected Exploitation of the Versailles Treaty

In 1919, when the peace treaty was imposed on the German people, there were grounds for hoping that this instrument of unrestricted oppression would help to reinforce the outcry for German freedom. Peace treaties whose demands fall like a whiplash on the people turn out, not infrequently, to be the signal of a future uprising.

What one could have done with this Peace Treaty of Versailles!

In the hands of a willing government, this instrument of unlimited blackmail and shameful humiliation could have aroused nationalist passion to its highest pitch! A well-directed system of propaganda could have utilized this sadist cruelty to change the people's indifference into indignation, and then that indignation into the most blazing fury!

Each point could have been burned into the minds and hearts of this people, until 60 million heads, both men and women, would find their souls aflame with a common feeling of hatred and shame, and a torrent of fire would burst forth, and one common will would arise from it, hard as steel. Then the people would cry: "To arms again!"

Yes indeed, that's what such a peace treaty can do. Its boundless oppression and impudent demands are the greatest propaganda weapons for awakening the life-spirit of a nation.

Then, from the child's storybook to the last newspaper, and every theater and every cinema, every pillar and every open billboard must be placed into service of this one great mission. Then the faint-hearted cry of our present-day social patriots—"Lord, make us free!"—would be transformed into an ardent prayer: "Almighty God, bless our arms when the hour comes; be just, as thou hast always been; judge now if we deserve our freedom; Lord, bless our struggle!"

All this was neglected and nothing was done.

Who will be surprised now if our people are not such as they should be, or could be? If the rest of the world looks upon us only as a stooge, as an obedient dog that licks that hand that has just beaten him?

Certainly our capacity for forming alliances with other nations is hampered by our own people, but much more by our governments. They in their corruption are guilty of the fact that, after eight years of indescribable oppression, there exists so little will to freedom.

In order that our nation may undertake an alliance policy, it must restore its prestige among other nations, and it must have an authoritative government that's not a handyman of foreign states and the taskmaster of its own people, but rather a herald of the national conscience.

If our people had a government that saw this as its mission, six years would not have passed before a courageous Reich foreign policy would find an equally bold will among a people thirsting for freedom.

13.17 Inversion of Anti-German Psychosis

The second objection—the difficulty of changing enemy nations into friendly allies—can be answered as follows:

The general anti-German psychosis cultivated by war propaganda in other countries must inevitably continue to exist until there is a renaissance of a German will to self-preservation, such that the German Reich once again becomes a state that can play on the European

chessboard, and with whom one can play. Only when the government and the people are fit to undertake an alliance policy can one power or another, whose interests coincide with ours, think of changing public opinion through propaganda.

Naturally this will take years of clever and continuous work. Because a long period is needed to change public opinion, it's necessary to be cautious before undertaking such work—that is, one mustn't begin the task unless one is absolutely convinced of its value and of the fruit that it will bear in the future. One mustn't try to change national sentiment based on the empty bragging of a more or less brilliant foreign minister, but only if there's a tangible guarantee of the value of the new orientation. Otherwise there could be a complete shattering of public opinion.

The most reliable guarantee that can be given for the possibility of a future state alliance cannot be found in the bombastic phrases of some individual member of the government, but in the manifest stability of a definite and practical governmental tendency, and in supportive public opinion. Faith in this will be strengthened all the more if the government, through propaganda, prepares to explain its efforts and secure public support for them, and if public opinion favorably reflects this governmental tendency.

Therefore a nation—in our situation—will be seen as a possible ally if government and public opinion are both are united in the same enthusiastic determination to fight for freedom. This must be firmly established before any attempt can be made to change public opinion in other countries, which, for the sake of defending their interests, are inclined to travel alongside a partner who seems suitable to them—that is, to conclude an alliance.

For this purpose, however, there's one more thing: Given that the task of bringing about a radical change in the spiritual attitude of a people calls for hard work, and that many don't understand it at first, it would be both stupid and criminal to commit mistakes that could be used as weapons by those who are opposed to such a change.

CHAPTER 13

13.18 Concentration on One Enemy

One must recognize the fact that it takes a long time for a people to completely understand the inner purposes of a government, because one cannot explain the ultimate aims of preliminary political work; rather, one either has to count on the blind faith of the masses or on the intuitive instinct of the intellectually-superior ruling class. But since many people lack this political insight, and since political considerations forbid a public explanation, a certain portion of intellectual leaders will always oppose new tendencies that can be viewed as mere experiments, because they aren't easily grasped. Thus the concerned, conservative state elements began to resist.

For this reason, our highest duty is to keep any weapons from falling into the hands of those who would interfere with a mutual understanding among nations. This is especially so in our case, where we have to deal with the impractical and fantastic talk of our social patriots and petty bourgeoisie café politicians. The cry for a new battle fleet, the restoration of our colonies, etc., is simply nonsense and impractical, as any serious thinker would realize. These harmless and sometimes half-crazy spouters in the protest fight are serving the interests of our mortal enemy; their words are exploited in England in a way that cannot be considered as advantageous to Germany. They squander their energies in futile demonstrations against God and the whole world, and they forget the fundamental principle that is a precondition for every success, namely: Whatever you do, do it thoroughly! By howling against five or ten states, we fail to concentrate all the forces of our will and physical strength for a blow to the heart of our bitterest enemy, and we sacrifice the possibility of strengthening ourselves through an alliance.

Here, too, is a mission for the National Socialist movement. It must teach our people to overlook the small things and focus on the great ones; to not become divided over minor issues; and to never forget that the object for which we fight today is the naked existence of our people, and that the sole enemy that we must confront is and remains that power which is robbing us of this existence.

Some things may become hard to bear. But this is by no means an excuse for renouncing reason and for raising senseless outcries against the whole world, instead of concentrating all our forces against the most deadly enemy.

13.19 Reckoning with the Traitors

Moreover, the German people have no moral right to complain of the manner in which the rest of the world acts towards them, as long as they themselves have not called to account those criminals who sold and betrayed their own country. We cannot hope to be taken very seriously if we indulge in long-range abuse and protests against England and Italy, and then allow those scoundrels to circulate undisturbed in our own country who were in the pay of the enemy war propaganda, who took away our weapons, broke our moral backbone, and bartered away the Reich for 30 pieces of silver.

The enemy only did what was expected. And we should learn from his conduct and actions.

Anyone who cannot rise to the level of this outlook must realize that, otherwise, nothing would remain than to renounce the idea of any alliance policy in the future. If we cannot form an alliance with England because it has stolen our colonies, or with Italy because it has South Tyrol, or with Poland or Czechoslovakia, then there remains no one else in Europe except France—which, incidentally, robbed us of Alsace-Lorraine.

There can scarcely be any doubt as to whether this serves the German people. But if one thing is in doubt, it's whether such an opinion comes from a mere simpleton or an astute adversary.

When it comes to the activities of leaders, I always believe the latter.

A transformation in the individual psyche of those formerly enemy peoples, whose true interests may well correspond with ours in the future, may be possible if our State's internal strength and our will to self-preservation show that we could be a worthy ally once again. Moreover, our incompetence and criminal conduct shouldn't provide grounds to be used by those who would oppose our alliance with former enemies.

CHAPTER 13

13.20 Fascist Italy and Jewry

The hardest to answer is the third objection.

Is it conceivable that those who represent the true interests of those alliance-possible nations could uphold their views against the will of the Jewish mortal enemy of free peoples and nation-states?

For example, could the forces of traditional British statesmanship break the disastrous Jewish influence, or not?

This question, as already said, is very difficult to answer. It depends on too many factors to form a conclusive judgment. In any case, one thing is certain: In one state, governmental power is so stabilized, and is so absolutely at the service of the country's interests, that one cannot speak of a real and effective obstruction of political necessities by international Jewish forces.

The fight that fascist Italy is waging against the Jews' three principal weapons—though perhaps in the deepest sense unconsciously (but I don't believe this myself)—furnishes the best proof that the poisonous fangs of this supra-state power are being torn out, albeit indirectly. The prohibition of Freemason secret societies, the suppression of the supra-national press, and the continuous demolition of international Marxism, together with the steady reinforcement of the fascist state-concept—all this will, over the years, enable the Italian government to more and more serve the interests of the Italian people, without regard to the hissing of the Jewish world-hydra.

13.21 England and Jewry

Things are harder in England. In that country of 'the freest democracy,' the Jew exerts an almost unlimited dictatorship, indirectly, through public opinion.[10] And yet there is a perpetual struggle between

[10] Jewish influence in Britain has been significant ever since their 'emancipation' there in 1858. Important early figures included Isaac Goldsmid, David Salomons, and Benjamin Disraeli. The Rothschild family established banking enterprises there already in the 1790s, and through their profits in the Napoleonic wars in the early 1800s, gained considerable wealth and influence. By 1880,

advocates of British state interests and the proponents of Jewish world-dictatorship.

After the War it became clear for the first time how sharp this contrast is, when British state leaders took one stand on the Japanese problem and the press took another.

Just after the end of the War, the old mutual antipathy between America and Japan began to reappear. Naturally the great European powers couldn't remain indifferent to this new war danger. Despite ties of kinship, there was a certain amount of jealousy in England over the growing importance of the American Union in all spheres of international economics and politics. The former colonial territory, child of a great mother, seemed about to become the new world-master. It's quite understandable that today England should reexamine her old alliances, and that British statesmanship should look nervously to a point in time when it won't be said: "Britain rules the seas!" but rather: "The seas for the American Union!"

British writer Laurence Oliphant could write of the Jews' "financial operations on the largest scale" and "the powerful influence which they wield in the press of many countries." He adds, "Owing to the financial, political, and commercial importance to which the Jews have now attained, there is probably no one power in Europe that would prove so valuable an ally...as this wealthy, powerful, cosmopolitan race" (1880: 503). A decade later, Oxford historian Goldwin Smith observed that, "almost without exception, the press throughout Europe is in Jewish hands, and is largely produced from Jewish brains. International finance is captive to Jewish energy and skill. In England, the fall of the Barings [bank] has left the lonely supremacy of the house of Rothschild, unchallenged and unassailable. ... Judaism is now the great financial power in Europe, that is, it is the greatest power of all" (1893: 260-280). Winston Churchill was closely tied to Jewish influence from at least 1904. Martin Gilbert (2007: 9) notes that Churchill's political opponents accused him "of being in the pocket, and even in the pay, of wealthy Jews." Michael Makovsky (2007: 46) writes that Churchill "came to count many of [his father's] wealthy Jewish friends as his own." As Hitler was well aware, Britain sought and obtained the aid of "world Jewry" in fighting World War One. David Lloyd George was particularly eager to engage American Jews' assistance, to draw in the neutral Americans. The end result was a "contract with Jewry": to offer them a Zionist homeland in Palestine if they would help England win the war. This 'contract' was codified in the infamous Balfour Declaration of 1917. For details, see Dalton (2013). In sum, Hitler was certainly correct: Jews did indeed have a virtual dictatorship over Britain by the 1920s. It continues to this day.

CHAPTER 13

The gigantic American state-colossus, with its enormous wealth of virgin soil, is much harder to attack than an encircled German Reich. If the die were to be cast and an ultimate decision reached, England would be doomed if it stood alone. Therefore they eagerly reach for the yellow fist and cling to an alliance that, from a racial viewpoint, is perhaps unpardonable; but from a political viewpoint it represents the sole possibility of reinforcing Britain's world position in the face of the up-surging American continent.

Despite a common struggle on the European battlefields, the English government did not conclude an alliance with their Asiatic partner, and the whole Jewish press jumped on this idea from behind.

How is it possible that, up to 1918, Jewish organs championed the British struggle against the German Reich, and then suddenly became disloyal and went their own way?

The destruction of Germany was not an English interest, but primarily a Jewish one—just as today the destruction of Japan less serves British interests than it does the broader wishes of the leaders of the anticipated Jewish world-empire. While England endeavors to maintain its position in the world, the Jew organizes his attack for its conquest.

He already sees the present European states as pliant tools in his hands, whether indirectly through so-called Western democracy or in the form of direct domination by Russian Bolshevism. But it's not only the Old World that he holds in his snare; rather, the same fate holds for the New. Jews control the stock-exchange forces of the American Union.[11] Every year they increase their control over the labor force, in a nation of 120 million

[11] Jewish influence in America at this time went well beyond the stock exchange, and was almost certainly more extensive than Hitler realized. Jewish population was rising rapidly, from 0.5% of the country in 1880 to 2.9% by 1918. The partly-Jewish Teddy Roosevelt became president in 1901, after the Jewish-inspired assassination of President William McKinley. Jewish bankers like Paul and Felix Warburg, Jacob Schiff, and Bernard Baruch exercised considerable influence. Jewish lawyers such as Oscar Straus, Louis Marshall, Henry Morgenthau Sr., Louis Brandeis, and Samuel Untermyer all had substantial clout in finance and government. Such individuals were decisive in persuading Woodrow Wilson and Congress to enter World War One. For more information, see Dalton (2013).

people; only very few, to their chagrin, still remain fully independent.[12]

They show consummate skill in manipulating public opinion and using it as an instrument in the fight for their own future.

Jewry's greatest heads see the pending fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy about the great devouring of nations.[13]

Among this great herd of denationalized colonial territories, one independent state could bring about the ruin of the whole structure at the last hour. A Bolshevik world cannot exist unless it encompasses everything.

If only one state preserves its national strength and greatness, the Jewish satrapy world empire, like every other tyranny in the world, would have to succumb to the force of the nationalist idea.

13.22 Japan and Jewry

Now, due to his thousand years of adaptation, the Jew knows very well that he can undermine European nations by racial bastardization, but that he could not subject an Asiatic national state like Japan to the same fate. Today he can mimic the ways of the German and the Englishman, the American and the Frenchman, but he has no means of approach to the yellow Asiatic. Therefore he seeks to break the Japanese national state by using other such formations, so that he may rid himself of a dangerous opponent before he transforms the last state power in his fist into a tyranny over the defenseless.

In his millennial Jewish empire, he dreads a national Japanese state, and therefore wants to destroy it before establishing his own dictatorship.

And so he incites nations against Japan today, as he once did against Germany. Thus while British statesmen are still trying to establish an alliance

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[12] The original first edition of this volume had the words "only a single great man, [Henry] Ford, remains fully independent." Ford was a noted critic of Jewish influence in America, and was long praised by Hitler for standing up to them. For further details on Ford's views, see Dalton (2012).

[13] See for example: *Genesis* (27:29): "Let peoples serve you, and nations bow down to you". *Deuteronomy* (15:6): "You shall rule over many nations," and (28:10) "they shall be afraid of you". *Isaiah* (60:10): "Foreigners shall build up your walls, and their kings shall minister to you...that men may bring you the wealth of nations," and (61:5) "you shall eat the wealth of nations."

with Japan, the British-Jewish press is leading a fight against the ally, and prepares for a war of destruction under the proclamation of democracy, and by using the war-cry: "Down with Japanese militarism and imperialism!"

That's how insubordinate the Jew has become in England today.

And for this reason, the struggle against the Jewish world-danger will begin there.

13.23 Our Fight Against the World-Enemy

And here again, the National Socialist movement has a tremendous task to fulfill: It must open our peoples' eyes in regard to foreign nations, and it must continually remind them of the true enemy of the present-day world. In place of hatred against Aryans—from whom we may be separated on almost every other ground but with whom the bond of common blood and kindred civilization unite us—we must devote ourselves to arousing a general wrath against the maleficent enemy of mankind, as the real author of all our sufferings.

We must see to it that, at least in our own country, the mortal enemy is recognized, and that the fight against him may become a beacon of light toward brighter days, showing other nations the way of salvation for an embattled Aryan humanity.

Finally, may reason be our guide and will-power our strength. May the sacred duty to act give us determination, and may our faith be our supreme protection.

CHAPTER 14
GERMANY'S POLICY IN EASTERN EUROPE

Two considerations induce me to make a special analysis of Germany's relationship to Russia:

(1) This may perhaps prove to be the most decisive concern of Germany's foreign policy, and

(2) This problem is also a touchstone for the political capacity of the young National Socialist movement as to clear thinking and correct action.

14.1 Prejudice in Questions of Foreign Policy

I must confess that the second point has sometimes been a source of great anxiety to me. The members of our movement are not recruited from those who are indifferent, but rather mostly from among those with very extreme worldviews. It's only natural that their understanding of foreign politics should suffer from prejudice and inadequate knowledge, due to the political and philosophical ties of those circles to which they were formerly attached. And this isn't true merely of those who come to us from the Left. On the contrary. However harmful their previous teaching may have been about such problems, in many cases this was at least partly balanced by a residue of sound and natural instincts. Then it was only necessary to substitute a better teaching in place of the earlier influences, and the instinct of self-preservation could be considered as the best ally.

On the other hand, it's much harder to impress clear political ideas on men whose earlier political education was no less nonsensical and illogical. They sacrificed the last residue of their natural instincts on the altar of objectivity. It's particularly difficult to compel these representatives of our so-called intelligentsia to take a clear and logical view of their own interests and those of their nation. They are burdened with a dead-weight of prejudice and senseless conceptions, and worst of all they have lost or renounced every instinct of self-preservation. The National Socialist movement has to fight a hard battle with these people because, despite total incompetence, they are so self-conceited that, without the slightest justification, they look down with disdain on ordinary and healthier people. These arrogant know-it-alls are wholly incapable of calm analysis and consideration, which are the necessary preliminaries of any will or action in foreign politics.

It is these very circles that are beginning today to divert our foreign policy toward most disastrous directions and turn it away from any real defense of the folkish interests of our people. Instead they serve their own fantastic ideologies, and I thus feel myself obliged to offer to my own colleagues a clear exposition of the most important problem in foreign policy, namely, our relation to Russia. I'll deal with it as thoroughly as necessary to make it generally understood, as far as possible in a work such as this.

Let me begin with the following remarks: By 'foreign policy' we understand to be the managing of a nation's affairs in its relations with the rest of the world, based on certain definite facts. Moreover, as National Socialists, we must lay down the following principle regarding the nature of the foreign policy of a folkish State:

A folkish State's foreign policy must first of all bear in mind the duty of securing the existence of the race on this planet, which is embodied in this State. And this is done by establishing a healthy and natural relation between the number and growth of the population on the one hand, and the quantity and quality of the soil on the other.

CHAPTER 14

14.2 Significance of the State's Area

The only healthy condition is one that assures a people's sustenance on their own soil. Any other situation is unhealthy, even though it may endure for centuries or even thousands of years. Sooner or later, this will lead to the decline or even destruction of the people concerned.

Only a sufficiently large space on this Earth can assure a peoples' free existence.

The necessary extent of territorial expansion for settlement must not be estimated by present requirements nor even by the magnitude of its agricultural productivity in relation to the population.

In the first volume, under the heading "Germany's Alliance Policy before the War," I have already explained that a state's land area is of importance, not only as the source of the nation's food, but also militarily and politically.[1] Once a people is assured of its sustenance by the amount of soil, it must consider how to defend it. This depends on a state's power-political strength, which in turn depends on the military-geographical possibilities.

Thus the German nation can assure its own future only as a world power. For nearly 2,000 years, the defense of our national interests was a matter of world history, as can be seen from our more or less successful activities in the field of foreign politics. We ourselves have been witnesses to this: The gigantic struggle of nations from 1914 to 1918 was only the struggle of the German people for their existence on this globe, but we designated this type of event as a World War.

Germany entered this struggle as a presumed world power. I say 'presumed' because, in reality, it was no such thing. In 1914, if there had been a different relation between our area and population, Germany really would have been a world power and, aside from other factors, the war would have ended in our favor.

It's neither my task nor my intention here to discuss what would have happened 'if' in case the 'but' did not exist. But I feel it absolutely necessary to show the present conditions in their bare and unadorned reality, pointing out the weakness inherent in them, so that, at least in the

[1] An apparent reference to chapter 4; see in particular sections 4.2 and 4.3.

ranks of the National Socialist movement, they should receive the necessary insight.

Germany today is no world power. Even if our present military weakness could be overcome, we still would have no claim to this title. What importance does a State have on this planet in which the relation of population to area is so miserable as in the present German Reich? In an era in which the world is being gradually divided among states—many of whom almost embrace whole continents—one cannot speak of a world power in the case of a structure whose political Motherland is confined to the laughable area of barely 500,000 square kilometers.[2]

14.3 French and German Colonial Policy

From a purely territorial point of view, the area of the German Reich is vanishingly small compared with the other so-called world powers. England mustn't be cited as a proof to the contrary, for the English Motherland is in reality the great capital of the British world empire, which owns almost a fourth of the Earth's surface. Furthermore we must consider the American Union as foremost among the colossal states, also Russia and China. Some of these spatial areas are more than ten times greater than the present German Reich.

And France itself must also be ranked among these states. Not only is it adding to its army's strength in a constantly increasing measure by recruiting colored people from its gigantic empire, but also racially its niggarization is progressing, such that one can now actually speak of the creation of an African state on European soil. France's present-day colonial policy cannot be compared with that of Germany in the past. If France continues to develop in the present manner for the next 300 years, all traces of French blood will finally be submerged in the growing Euro-African mulatto state. This would be a formidable, self-contained settlement area from the Rhine to the Congo, filled with an inferior race that gradually emerged through a process of continuous bastardization.

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[2] For reference, the area of present-day Germany is around 357,000 square kilometers. If we include Austria, the total comes to 441,000 sq km.

This distinguishes French colonial policy from the old German one.

The former German colonial policy, like everything, was carried out half-way. It neither increased the settlement area of the German race, nor did it attempt—as criminal as it would have been—to strengthen the Reich through the use of black blood. The Askari in German East Africa represented a small and hesitant step along this road. But in reality they served only for the defense of the colonies themselves. The idea of importing black troops into a European battlefield—entirely aside from its practical impossibility in a world war—was never entertained as a proposal to be realized under better circumstances; whereas, on the contrary, the French always looked upon this as fundamental to their colonial activities.

Thus the world today has not only a number of states that are much greater than our German nation in population, but they also have a land area that is, above all, the basis of their political power. Never has the relation between area and population in the German Reich been as unfavorable relative to other world states as at the beginning of our history 2,000 years ago, and again today. Formerly we were a young people, storming into a world of crumbling great states, whose last giant, Rome, we helped to bring down. Today we find ourselves in a world of great power-states, in which our own Reich is constantly sinking into insignificance.

14.4 The Historical Mission of National Socialism

We must always face this bitter truth clearly and calmly. We must study the population and area of the German Reich in relation to other states, and compare them down through the centuries. I know that everyone will then come to the same sad conclusion that I did at the start: Germany is no longer a world power, regardless of whether its military strength is strong or weak.

There's no comparison between us and the other great states on Earth, thanks to the wholly catastrophic leadership of our people in foreign policy, to our lack of—I should almost say—a testamentary goal in foreign policy, and to the loss of every sound impulse and instinct for self-preservation.

If the National Socialist movement wants to be recognized by history as having a great mission for our people, it will have to painfully recognize the real truth of our situation in the world. It must courageously fight against the aimlessness and incompetence that has hitherto guided our German nation in foreign policy. Then, without respect for 'tradition' or preconceptions, it must find the courage to organize our national forces and set them on a path that will lead them away from the present restricted living space and toward new land and soil. Thus will the movement save us from the danger of perishing from this Earth or of serving others as a slave nation.

The National Socialist movement must seek to abolish the present disproportion between our population and land area, considering the latter as the source of our sustenance and as a basis of political power. And thus it must abolish the contrast between past history and the hopelessness of our present impotence. In doing so, it must bear in mind the fact that we are members of the highest humanity on this Earth, that we have a correspondingly high duty, and that we will fulfill this duty only if we inspire the German people with a racial sensitivity, so that they will not only breed good dogs, horses, and cats, but also care for their own blood.

14.5 Enduring Fruits of a Millennial Policy

When I say that German foreign policy until now has been aimless and ineffectual, the proof of my statement is found in the actual failures of this policy. If our people were intellectually inferior or cowardly, the final results of their struggle on this Earth couldn't have been worse than what we see today. What happened during the last decades before the War should not deceive us; we must not measure a Reich's strength taken by itself, but only in comparison with other states. Such a comparison shows that the other states increased their strength such that they not only were equivalent but ultimately became greater; so that, contrary to the apparent rise, Germany's true path diverged more and more from other states and fell behind—in short, there was a large margin in our disfavor. Indeed, even our population remained far behind and lost ground. Though it's true that

our people's heroism is unsurpassed by that of any other on Earth—yes, that they poured out more blood than any other nation on Earth in defense of their existence—their failure was due only to the erroneous manner in which it was applied.

In this connection, if we examine the political experiences of our people during more than a thousand years, recalling the innumerable wars and struggles, and scrutinizing it all in light of present results, we must confess that this sea of blood has produced only three phenomena that we may consider as lasting fruits of specific actions in foreign policy and overall politics:

(1) The colonization of the *Ostmark*, mostly by the Bavarians;

(2) The conquest and settlement of the territory east of the Elbe; and

(3) The organization of the Brandenburg-Prussian state by the Hohenzollerns, which became the model for the crystallization of a new Reich.

An instructive warning for the future!

The first two of these great foreign policy successes have remained the most enduring. Without them our people would play no role today. These were the first, and unfortunately the only, successful attempts to establish a harmony between our increasing population and the quantity of land and soil. And we must look upon it as truly disastrous that our German historians have never correctly appreciated these two achievements, which were so full of importance for the following generations. By contrast, they praised many other things—fantastic heroism, innumerable adventures and wars—but without understanding how insignificant these were for the main line of our national development.

The third great success achieved by our political activity was the establishment of the Prussian State and the development of a particular state-concept. This also resulted in the German army's instinct of self-preservation and self-defense, which was suited to the modern world. The transformation of the idea of individual self-defense into the duty of national defense is derived from every state structure and state-conception. The significance of this development cannot be overestimated. Disrupted by excessive individualism, the German people became disciplined under

the organization of the Prussian army, and in this way recovered at least some of their long-lost organizational capacity. What other people still authentically possess as a herd-society, we, at least partially, recovered for our national society through military training. Consequently, the abolition of universal compulsory military service—which may have no meaning for dozens of other nations—had fatal consequences for us. Ten generations of Germans without corrective and educational military training, leaving us to the evil effects of racial, and hence philosophical, division—and our people would lose the last remnant of an independent existence on this planet. The German spirit could then make its contribution to civilization only through individuals living under the rule of foreign nations, and their origin would remain unknown: mere cultural fertilizer, until the last residue of Aryan-Nordic blood became corrupted or extinguished.

It's remarkable that the real political successes achieved by our people during their millennial struggles are better appreciated and understood by our adversaries than ourselves. Even today, we still grow enthusiastic about a heroism that robbed our people of millions of their best blood, but turned out to be completely fruitless.

The distinction between our people's real political successes and the futile ends for which our national blood was shed is of supreme importance for our present and future conduct.

We National Socialists must never join in the common hurrah-patriotism of the contemporary bourgeois world. It would be a mortal danger for us to look upon immediate pre-war developments as constituting even the slightest obligation in our path forward. From the entire historical period of the 19th century, we do not accept a single obligation that was based in that period itself. In contrast to the policy of those who represented that period, we must take our stand on the highest viewpoint regarding all foreign policy, namely: to bring the land into harmony with our population. Indeed, from the past we can only learn that the aim of our political conduct must lie in two directions: (1) land and soil as the objective of our foreign policy, and (2) a new, philosophically-established, uniform foundation as the goal of domestic political activity.

CHAPTER 14

14.6 A Call for the Old Borders

I still want to briefly take a stand on the question of how far our territorial aims are ethically and morally justified. This is necessary because, unfortunately in our so-called folkish circles, there are all kinds of plausible big-mouths who try to persuade the German people that the aim of their foreign policy ought to be to right the wrongs of 1918, while at the same time they find it necessary to assure the whole world of folkish brotherhood and sympathy.

In regard to this point I want to make the following statement: To demand the restoration of the 1914 borders is a political absurdity that's fraught with such consequences as to appear criminal. The 1914 Reich borders were anything but logical. They were not really complete, in the sense of including all the members of the German nation, nor were they reasonable, in light of military-geographical effectiveness. They were not the result of a well-considered political plan, but were temporary borders established in virtue of an unfinished political struggle—and indeed they were partly the result of chance. One could, with equal (and in many cases better) right, choose some other representative year in German history, and demand that our foreign policy goal should be the restoration of those conditions. Such demands are quite characteristic of our bourgeois world, who in such matters take no political thought of the future, but live only in the past and, indeed, only in the immediate past; even their retrospection doesn't go back beyond their own times. The law of inertia binds them to the present order of things, leading them to oppose every attempt to change this, but without crossing over into any kind of active defense beyond mere stubbornness. It's obvious that the political horizon of such people doesn't reach beyond the year 1914. In proclaiming the aim of their political activities to restore those borders, they only help to repair the rifts in our league of enemies. Only this can explain the fact that, eight years after a world struggle among states with widely varying wishes and goals, the coalition of victors still remains more or less intact.

Each of these states benefitted from the German collapse, at some time or other. Fear of our strength caused the great powers to stay silent about

their greed and envy towards one another. They felt that the best guarantee against a future resurgence would be to dismember as much of the Reich as possible. A bad conscience and fear of our people's strength is the durable cement that has held the members of that league together, even to today.

And we don't disappoint them. By setting up the restoration of the 1914 borders as the aim of Germany's political program, each member of the enemy coalition, who otherwise might be inclined to withdraw from the league, fears that he might be attacked by us if isolated, thus losing support of his allies. Each individual state feels itself targeted and threatened by this slogan.

This is absurd, for the following two reasons:

(1) The means of power are lacking to draw it from the evening air into reality, and

(2) Even if it could be really carried out, the result would be so miserable that, by God, it wouldn't be worthwhile to risk our people's blood for it.

There can scarcely be any doubt whatsoever that only through bloodshed could we restore the 1914 borders. Only a child-like mind believes that the Versailles Treaty can be corrected by indirect means or begging. This is aside from the fact that any such attempt would require a man of Talleyrand's character, which we don't have.[3] Half of our politicians consist of characterless shysters who are quite hostile to our people, while the other half is made up of well-meaning, harmless, and easy-going soft-heads.

Times have changed since the Congress of Vienna:[4] It's no longer princes or their courtesans who contend and bargain about state borders, but rather the inexorable world-Jew who fights for his dominion over nations. No nation can remove this fist from its throat except by the sword. Only an organized and concentrated national sentiment, turned into an

[3] Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838) was a French diplomat and politician, including under Napoleon. He was known for his cynical and crafty but effective diplomacy.

[4] Held in 1814-15.

effective force, can defy the international enslavement of peoples. This path is, and remains, a bloody one.

If we are convinced that the German future calls for the highest sacrifice, in one way or another, then we must set aside considerations of political expediency, establish a worthy goal, and fight for it.

The 1914 borders are of no significance for the German future. They neither served to protect us in the past, nor do they offer any strength for the future. With these borders, the German people cannot attain an inner unity, nor can they assure their sustenance, nor, from a military viewpoint, are they advantageous, nor can they improve our relations with the other world powers—or better, with the *real* world powers. We won't narrow the gap with England, and we won't achieve the size of the American Union; indeed, not even France would be diminished in terms of world-political importance.

Only one thing is certain: The attempt to restore the 1914 borders, even if successful, would demand so much of our people's blood that no further sacrifice would be possible for such measures needed to really secure the life and future of the nation. On the contrary, intoxicated by such a superficial success, further aims would be renounced—all the more so because the 'national honor' would seem to be repaired and new doors would be opened, at least for the moment, to commercial development.

14.7 No Sentimentality in Foreign Policy

Against all this, we National Socialists must stick firmly to our foreign policy goal, namely, that the German people must be assured of the land and soil entitled to it on this Earth. And only this action, before God and our German posterity, would justify any sacrifice of blood: Before God, because we are sent into this world with the mission to struggle for our daily bread, as creatures to whom nothing is given, and who must be able to win and defend their position as lords of the Earth only through their own intelligence and courage; and before German posterity insofar as that, for each one who has shed his blood, a thousand others will be bequeathed to posterity. The land on which our German peasants will one day be able

to bring forth their sturdy sons justifies the investment of our sons today. And even though the responsible statesmen may be persecuted by their contemporaries, posterity will absolve them from all blood-guilt for this sacrifice of their people.

Here I must offer the sharpest protest against those folkish pencil-pushers who pretend that such territorial extension would be a 'violation of sacred human rights,' and attack it as such. One never knows who stands behind such persons. But it's certain that the confusion they provoke is desirable and convenient for the enemies of our nation. By taking such an attitude, they help to internally weaken and destroy the will of our people to promote, in the only effective way, their own vital interests. No nation on Earth possesses even a square meter of land by decree of a higher Will or a higher Right. Just as Germany's borders are the outcome of chance, and are only temporary ones that were established by political struggles at various times, so too are the borders of other nations' living space. And just as only an imbecile could look upon the Earth's geography as unchangeable as granite—which, in reality, represents a definite stage in a given development, created by the mighty forces of Nature, and which may be altered tomorrow by greater forces of destruction and change—so too the borders of living spaces in the lives of nations.

State borders are made by man, and can be changed by man.

The fact that a nation has acquired an enormous area is no reason why it should hold it forever. At most, it proves the strength of the conqueror and the weakness of the defeated. And in this strength alone lies the right. If the German people are imprisoned within an impossible area, and face a miserable future, this is not by the command of Fate, anymore than to oppose such affairs is to disobey it. Just as no higher power has promised more territory to other nations than to the German, so it cannot be blamed for an unjust distribution of soil. Just as the soil on which we now live was not bestowed by Heaven on our forefathers—but had to be conquered by mortal risk—so too in the future our people will not obtain territory, and thus life, as a favor from above, but must win it by the power of a triumphant sword.

Today we're all convinced of the need to reckon with France, but this would be broadly ineffective if it were the sole aim of our foreign policy. It

can and will have significance only if it serves as a rear cover in the struggle for an enlargement of our peoples' living space in Europe. Colonial acquisitions won't solve that problem. This will happen only by the winning of settlement territory for our people, such as will extend the area of the Motherland and thereby not only keep the new settlers in the closest communion with the land of their origin, but will guarantee to this region the advantages that arise from a unified expanse.

The folkish movement mustn't be an advocate for other nations, but rather a protagonist for itself. Otherwise it would be superfluous and, above all, would have no right to clamor about the past. For then it would be acting the same as before. The old German policy was unjustly determined by dynastic considerations, and future policy mustn't follow the sentimentality of cosmopolitan folkishness. We must especially not be security police for the well-known 'poor, small nations,' but rather soldiers of ourselves.

We National Socialists must go still further: The right to land and soil becomes a duty when a great nation seems destined to go under, unless its land is extended. And that's particularly true when the nation at hand is not some little group of Negroes but the Germanic mother of all life, which has given cultural shape to the modern world. Germany will either be a world power, or not at all. But in order to become a world power, it needs that size which gives it the necessary importance today, and gives life to its citizens.

14.8 Resumption of Eastern Policy

Therefore we National Socialists have purposely drawn a line through our pre-war conduct of foreign policy. We resume where we left off, six centuries ago. We put an end to the perpetual Germanic march towards the south and west of Europe, and turn our eyes towards the land of the East. We finally shut off the colonial- and trade-policy of pre-war times, and pass over to the land-policy of the future.

But when we speak of new land and soil in Europe today, we must principally think of Russia and its subject border states.

Destiny itself seems to wish to point the way for us here. In delivering Russia over to Bolshevism, it robbed the Russian people of that intelligentsia that had once created and secured the Russian state. The organization of the Russian state-structure was not a result of Russian Slavic political ability, but rather was a marvelous example of the state-building capacity of the Germanic element amidst an inferior race.

Many powerful empires were created on the Earth in this way. More than once, lesser peoples with Germanic organizers and leaders became formidable states, and endured as long as the racial nucleus of the state-creating race survived. For centuries, Russia owed its sustenance to the Germanic nucleus of its ruling upper class.

Today this class has been almost completely rooted out and extinguished. The Jew has taken its place. As impossible as it is for the Russian himself to shake off the Jewish yoke, so too is it impossible for the Jew to keep this mighty empire forever. He himself is no organizing element, but rather a ferment of decomposition.[5] This colossal Eastern Empire is ripe for dissolution. And the end of Jewish rule in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state. We are chosen by Fate to be witnesses of a catastrophe that will afford the strongest confirmation of the folkish race-theory.

Our task, and the mission of the National Socialist movement, is to develop the political insight in our people that will enable them to realize that their future aim is not the fulfillment of some new and wildly adventurous March of Alexander, but rather as the industrious labor of the German plow, for which the sword will provide the soil.

14.9 Bismarck's Russia Policy

It's self-evident that Jewry should offer the harshest opposition to such a policy. They know better than anyone else the significant of this action for their own future. That very fact should teach all nationalist-minded men about the correctness of this new orientation. Unfortunately, the

[5] 'Ferment of decomposition' is a reference to a famous phrase by prominent German historian Theodor Mommsen. See chapter 4, note 1.

opposite is the case. Not only among German nationalists but also in 'folkish' circles, violent opposition is raised against this Eastern policy. And as in nearly all such cases, higher authorities are invoked. The spirit of Bismarck is cited in defense of a policy that's as stupid as it is impossible, and is in the highest degree detrimental to the German people.

They say that Bismarck laid great importance on good relations with Russia. To a certain extent, that's true. But they forget to add that he laid equal stress on the importance of good relations with Italy, for example; indeed, the same Herr von Bismarck once concluded an Italian alliance so that he might more easily settle accounts with Austria. Why isn't this policy continued? "Because present-day Italy is not the Italy of that time," one says. Good. But then, good sirs, permit me to reply that present-day Russia is no longer the Russia of that time. Bismarck never laid down a tactical principle that would be permanently binding. He was too much the master of the moment to restrict himself in this way. Therefore, the question is not: What did Bismarck do then? but rather: What would he do today? And this question is easier to answer. His political astuteness would never allow him to ally himself with a state that's doomed to go under.

Moreover, Bismarck looked upon the colonial and trade policy of his time with mixed feelings, because he only wanted to assure the best possibilities for consolidating and internally strengthening the state system that he had created. That was the sole reason he welcomed the Russian rear defense, so as to give him a free hand in the West. But what was advantageous then to Germany would now be detrimental.

14.10 The 'League of Oppressed Nations'

As early as 1920-21—when the young National Socialist movement slowly began to appear on the political horizon, and was spoken of here and there as a freedom movement for the German nation—the party was approached from various quarters in an attempt to connect it with liberationist movements in other countries. This was in line with the much-promoted 'League of Oppressed Nations.' It was principally

composed of representatives of various Balkan states, and also of Egypt and India, but these individuals always impressed me as arrogant charlatans without any real background. Not a few Germans, however, especially in the nationalist camp, allowed themselves to be taken in by these pompous Orientals, and accepted any wandering Indian or Egyptian student as a 'representative' of India or Egypt. They didn't realize that in most cases they were dealing with persons who had no backing whatsoever and who were not authorized by anyone to conclude any sort of agreement whatsoever, so that the practical result of every negotiation with such individuals was nothing, and the time spent was an utter loss. I always resisted such attempts. Not only that I had better things to do than waste weeks in such fruitless 'discussions,' but also because, even if we were dealing with genuine representatives, the whole affair would be futile—indeed, harmful.

In peacetime, it was already lamentable enough that the German alliance policy, because it had no assertive aims in view, ended in a defensive association of antiquated states that had been pensioned off by world history. The alliance with Austria, as well as that with Turkey, was not very helpful. While the great military and industrial states on Earth came together in an active, aggressive union, we collected a few old and impotent states, and with this decaying rubbish made an attempt to face an active world coalition. Germany paid dearly for that mistaken foreign policy. But it wasn't bitter enough to prevent our eternal visionaries from falling back into the same error again. The attempt to disarm the all-powerful victors through a 'League of Oppressed Nations' is not only ridiculous but disastrous. It's disastrous because it continually diverts the German people from real possibilities, which they abandon for the sake of fruitless hopes and illusions. In reality, the German of today is like a drowning man that clutches at any straw. And this is true even among those who are otherwise highly educated. Wherever some unrealistic hope appears, these people immediately set off to chase the phantom. Be it a League of Oppressed Nations, a League of Nations, or some other fantastic new invention, thousands of credulous souls will always be found.

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14.11 Is England's Rule in India Tottering?

I remember well the childish and incomprehensible hopes that suddenly arose in folkish circles in the years 1920-21, to the effect that England was nearing collapse in India. A few Asiatic fakirs put themselves forward as Indian 'freedom fighters,' and then began to wander around Europe and persuaded otherwise quite reasonable people of the fixed notion that the British Empire, which had its pivot in India, was just about to collapse there. It naturally never entered their minds that, here again, their own wish was the father of all ideas. Nor did they consider the absurdity of their hopes. For inasmuch as they expected that the collapse of English rule in India meant the end of the British Empire and English power, they themselves admitted that India was of greatest importance for England.

It's likely that this vitally important question was no secret among German-folkish prophets, but rather was also known to the directors of English history. It's really quite childish to suppose that those in England cannot adequately appreciate the importance of the Indian realm for the British world-union. And it's a bad sign of having learned nothing from the World War, and of thoroughly misunderstanding or knowing nothing about Anglo-Saxon determination, to imagine that England could lose India without risking everything. Moreover, it shows the total ignorance prevailing in Germany regarding the manner of England's penetration and administration of this empire. England will only lose India if it allows racial degeneration in its administrative machinery (which is presently out of the question in India) or if it's overcome by the sword of some powerful enemy. But Indian agitators will never bring this about. We Germans have sufficiently learned how hard it is to coerce England. And apart from all this, I, as a German, would far rather see India under English rule than under any other.

Hopes of an epic uprising in Egypt are just as lamentable. The 'Holy War' may bring the pleasing illusion to our German blockheads that others are now ready to shed their blood for us—indeed, this cowardly speculation has always been the silent father of such hopes. But in reality it would soon be brought to an end under fire of a few English machine-gun battalions and a hail of bombs.

It's impossible for a coalition of cripples to attack a powerful state, if it's determined to shed the last drop of its blood for its existence. As a folkish man who appraises the value of humanity by their race, I must recognize the racial inferiority of the so-called 'oppressed nations,' and this prevents me from linking my own peoples' destiny with theirs.

14.12 German Alliance with Russia?

Today we must adopt the same position towards Russia. Present-day Russia, deprived of its Germanic ruling class, is not a possible ally in the struggle for German freedom, even setting aside the inner intentions of its new rulers. From a purely military viewpoint, a Russo-German coalition waging war against Western Europe, and probably against the whole world, would be catastrophic. The struggle would be played out on German, not Russian, soil, and without the slightest support from Russia. The means of power of the present German Reich are so miserable and so inadequate for a war that it would be impossible to defend our borders against Western Europe, England included. And Germany's industrial area would lie undefended to the concentrated attack of our adversaries. Additionally, the Polish state lies between Germany and Russia, and it's completely in French hands. In case of a German-Russian war against Western Europe, Russia would have to defeat Poland before their first soldier could arrive on the German Front.

But it's not so much a question of soldiers as of technical equipment. In this regard, the World War situation would be repeated, but in a more terrible manner. German industry then was drained to help our glorious allies, and from the technical side, Germany had to conduct the war almost alone. Likewise here, Russia, as a technical factor, would count for nothing. We would have practically nothing to oppose to the general motorization of the world, which in the next war will appear in an overwhelming and decisive form. In this most-important field, Germany has not only shamefully lagged behind, but with the little it has it would have to reinforce Russia, which at present doesn't possess a single factory capable of producing a functioning motor vehicle. Thus any such war would assume

the character of a sheer massacre. German youth would have to shed even more blood than before, because, as always, the honor of fighting would fall on us alone, and the result would be an inevitable defeat.

But even allowing that a miracle occurred and that this war did not end in the total destruction of Germany, the final result would be that the German people would be bled white, and, surrounded by great military states, its real situation would remain unchanged.

It's useless to object here that, in case of a Russian alliance, we shouldn't immediately think of war, or that, if we did, we could thoroughly prepare for it. No. An alliance whose goal isn't a view to war is senseless and worthless. Alliances are formed only for struggle. And even if, at the moment, the prospect for war is a distant one, the alliance still must focus on a view to military involvement. And don't think that any power would ever interpret an alliance in any other way. A German-Russian coalition would either remain on paper, and thus would have no meaning for us, or the letter of the treaty would be visibly put into practice—and the rest of the world would be warned. How naïve to think that, in such a case, England and France would wait a decade for the German-Russian alliance to complete its technical preparations. No; the storm would break over Germany with lightning-speed.

Therefore the fact of forming an alliance with Russia would be a plan for the next war. The result would be the end of Germany.

Furthermore, consider the following:

(1) Those in power in Russia today have no thought of forming an honorable alliance, let alone observing one.

One must never forget that the present rulers of Russia are blood-stained criminals, that they are the dregs of humanity which, favored by circumstances in a tragic hour, overran a great state, extinguished and rooted out millions of the leading intelligentsia out of sheer blood-lust, and that now, for nearly ten years, they have ruled with the most savage tyranny of all time. One must also never forget that these rulers belong to a people in whom the most bestial cruelty is allied with an inconceivably artful lying, and which is, today more than ever, conscious of a mission to impose its bloody oppression on the rest of the world. One must never

forget that the international Jew, who is today the absolute master of Russia, regards Germany not as an ally but as a state condemned to the same fate. One does not form alliances with someone whose only aim is the destruction of its partner. Above all, one doesn't form alliances with subjects for whom no treaty is sacred, because they don't live on this world as agents of honor and sincerity but rather as the representatives of lies, deception, thievery, plunder, and robbery. The man who thinks that he can bind himself by treaty with parasites is like a tree that believes it can form a profitable agreement with mistletoe.[6]

(2) The danger to which Russia succumbed is ever-present for Germany.

Only a bourgeois simpleton could imagine that Bolshevism has been banished. With his superficial thinking, he doesn't suspect that we are dealing here with an instinctive process—that is, the striving of the Jewish people for world domination, a process that's as natural as the Anglo-Saxon impulse to dominate the Earth. And just as the Anglo-Saxon chooses his own way of reaching those ends and fights for them with his own weapons, likewise the Jew. He goes his own way—the way of sneaking in among nations and boring from within; and he fights with his own weapons—lies and slander, poison and corruption, intensifying his struggle to the point of bloodily rooting out his hated opponents. In Russian Bolshevism we see an attempt undertaken by Jewry in the 20th century to secure world domination—just as, in other epochs, they worked towards the same goal but with different, though related, means.

[6] As Hitler was well aware, it was the Jewish-dominated Bolsheviks that had conducted the Russian Revolution in 1917, overthrowing and eventually murdering Czar Nicholas and his family. The Bolsheviks were led by the quarter-Jewish Vladimir Lenin, full Jew Leon Trotsky, and a large number of ruthless Jewish accomplices, including the likes of Zinoviev, Sverdlov, Kamenev, Radek, Krassin, Litvinov, and Kaganovich. The *Times of London* reported that "not less than 75 percent [of Bolshevik leaders] are Jews... The Jews provide the executive officers" (29 Mar 1919, p. 10). Churchill concurred: "The majority of the leading figures are Jews," adding that, in Soviet institutions, "the predominance of Jews is even more astonishing" (1920/2002: 25). Lenin died in 1924, and thus, at the time of this writing, in 1926-27, the Soviet government was being run by Trotsky and (non-Jewish) Joseph Stalin. For more details, see Dalton (2013). (Mistletoe, incidentally, is a parasitic vine that can strangle its host tree.)

CHAPTER 14

Their efforts are fundamentally grounded in the nature of their being. As little as any other nation would voluntarily renounce its own impulse towards expanding its nature and power, but would only do so when compelled by external circumstances or senile impotence, so little too will the Jew abandon his path toward world dictatorship by voluntary renunciation or self-suppression. He too will either be thrown back on his path by external forces, or will end his quest for world domination by dying out. But the impotence of nations, their death through senility, only comes with loss of blood purity. And this is something that the Jew has preserved better than anyone else on Earth. Therefore he advances along his destined road until he is opposed by a superior force, which, in a mighty struggle, casts the heaven-stormer back to Lucifer.

Germany is today the next great war-aim for Bolshevism. All the force of a fresh missionary idea is needed to raise up our nation once again, to rescue it from the coils of this international snake, and to stop the inner contamination of our blood. Thus the forces of our nation, once liberated, may be employed to preserve our nationality and prevent the repetition of the recent catastrophe, even in the most distant future. If this would be our goal, it would be insanity to ally ourselves with a power whose master is the mortal enemy of our future. How can we release our people from this poisonous grip if we turn ourselves over to it? How can we teach the German worker that Bolshevism is an accursed crime against humanity if we ally ourselves with this hellish monstrosity and thus recognize its legitimacy? By what right can we condemn the members of the broad masses who sympathize with a certain worldview, if our State leaders choose the representatives of that worldview as their allies?

The fight against Jewish world-Bolshevization demands a clear stance towards Soviet Russia. One cannot cast out the Devil with Beelzebub.

If folkish circles today grow enthusiastic about the idea of a Russian alliance, then let them look around Germany and become aware of who is supporting them. Or do these folkish people believe that a policy recommended and acclaimed by the international Marxist press can be beneficial to the German people? Since when has the Jew acted as shield-bearer for the militant nationalist?

14.13 Germany and Russia Before the War

There's one main reproach that could be made against the old German Reich, with regard to its alliance policy: that it spoiled its relations with everyone by leaning this way and that, and by its pathological weakness in trying to preserve world peace at any price. But it cannot be said that it failed to maintain good relations with Russia.

I frankly admit that, in pre-war times, I thought it would have been better if Germany had abandoned its senseless colonial policy and its naval policy, and had allied with England against Russia—thereby replacing its weak world policy with a determined European policy of territorial acquisition on the Continent. I can't forget the constant insolent threats that Pan-Slavist Russia made against Germany.

I haven't forgotten the continual, impudent threats issued by the then pan-Slavic Russia against Germany. I haven't forgotten the constant practice military mobilizations that served only to antagonize Germany. I cannot forget the tone of Russian public opinion which, in pre-war days, excelled in hateful outbursts against our nation and Reich. Nor can I forget the big Russian press, which was always more favorable to France than us.

But despite everything, there was still a second way possible before the war. We could have relied upon Russia and turned against England.

Circumstances are different today. If, before the war, we could have thrown all sentiment to the winds and marched aside Russia, this is no longer possible today. The hand of the world-clock has moved forward since then. The hour is striking loudly, in which our peoples' destiny must be decided one way or another. The present consolidation of the great states of the world is the last warning signal for us to look to ourselves and bring our people back from their dream-world to hard reality, and to point the way to a future that alone will lead the old Reich to a new blossoming.

If, in view of this great and most important task, the National Socialist movement sets aside all illusions and takes reason as its sole guide, the catastrophe of 1918 may turn out to be an infinite blessing for the future of our nation. From that collapse, it may formulate an entirely new orientation for its foreign policy conduct. Furthermore, and internally

reinforced through its new worldview, the nation may reach a final stabilization of its policy. Ultimately it will gain what England has, what even Russia had, and what France again and again utilized to base correct decisions for its own interests, namely: a political testament.

In its dealings with the outside world, the political testament of the German nation should, and must always be, the following:

> Never permit two continental powers to arise in Europe! Any attempt to organize a second military power on the German border by the creation of a state capable of military strength, will be viewed as an attack against Germany. Such a situation confers not only the right but the duty to use every means, including armed force, to prevent it from happening—and to crush such a state, if it has already arisen.
>
> See to it that our nation's strength is grounded not on colonial foundations but on the soil of our European homeland! Never consider the Reich secure unless, for centuries to come, it can give every descendant of our people his own piece of land and soil! Never forget that the most sacred right in the world is man's right to the Earth that he tills himself; and that the holiest of all sacrifices is the blood that one sheds for the Earth!

14.14 The German-English-Italian Alliance

I don't want to conclude these thoughts without referring once again to the sole possibility for alliances that exists for us in Europe at the moment. In the previous chapter, I examined the German alliance problem, and cited England and Italy as the only two European states that would be desirable and advantageous allies.[7] Here I want to again emphasize the military importance of such an alliance.

The military consequences of forming this alliance would be the direct opposite of the consequences of a Russian alliance. Most important of all is the fact that an approach to England and Italy would in no way involve

[7] See section 13.8.

a danger of war. The only power that could oppose such an arrangement, France, would be in no position to do so. But the alliance would give Germany the possibility of peacefully preparing for a reckoning with France, which would be required within the framework of such a coalition. The full significance of such an alliance lies in the fact that, upon conclusion, Germany would no longer be exposed to a sudden, hostile invasion. Rather, the opposing alliance would automatically break down. The Entente, which brought such misfortune to us, would dissolve, and France—the mortal enemy of our people—would be isolated. And even if at first this success would only have a moral effect, it would suffice to give Germany unimaginable freedom of action. The upper hand would lie with the new European Anglo-German-Italian alliance, and no longer with France.

A further result would be that, at one stroke, Germany would be freed from its unfavorable strategic position. The beneficial effects of this new state organization would be, on the one hand, that our flank would be strongly protected and, on the other, the complete assurance of food and raw materials.

But almost more important would be the fact that this new league would include states with technical qualities that mutually complement each other. For the first time, Germany would have allies who would not be like leeches on our economy but who can and would contribute their part to complete our technical arms.

And we mustn't overlook a final fact, namely, that in both cases we'd be working with allies who cannot be compared with Turkey or present-day Russia. The greatest world power on this Earth and a young nationalist state would offer different conditions for a European struggle than the putrid state carcasses that Germany allied itself with in the last war.

14.15 Conditions for Eastern Policy

Assuredly, as I emphasized in the previous chapter, the difficulties opposing such an alliance are great. But was the formation of the Entente any less difficult? What King Edward VII achieved, partly against natural

interests, we must and will achieve, if the recognition of the necessity of such a development so inspires us that we act with skill and, with astute self-control, act accordingly. And this will be possible the moment when, incited to action by misery, we adopt a single conscious goal instead of the aimless foreign policy of past decades.

The future goal of our foreign policy must be neither West- nor East-oriented, but rather must be an Eastern policy in the sense of securing the necessary soil for our German people. For this we need force, but the mortal enemy of our nation, France, now strangles us and robs us of our strength; hence we must stop at no sacrifice in our effort to destroy French striving towards hegemony in Europe. Our natural ally today is every power who feels that French domination on the Continent is unacceptable. No attempt to approach those powers should appear too difficult for us, and no sacrifice too great, if the final outcome makes it possible for us to defeat our grimmest enemy. Then, if we can cauterize and close the biggest wounds, the minor ones will be cured by the beneficent effects of time.

14.16 The Foreign Policy Stamp of National Socialism

Today, naturally, we are subjected to the hate-filled jabbering of the internal enemies of our people. But we National Socialists will never allow this to stop us from proclaiming the absolute necessities of our innermost convictions. Today we must oppose the current of public opinion, confounded by Jewish cunning in exploiting German thoughtlessness. The waves sometimes break harshly and angrily against us, but he who swims with the current attracts less attention than he who bucks it. Today we are an obstacle; but in a few years, Fate may raise us up as a dam that will break the general current, only to flow into a new bed.

Therefore it's necessary that, in the eyes of the rest of the world, our National Socialist movement should be recognized as establishing a definite political intention. Whatever Heaven has in store for us, let everyone recognize us by our aim.

When we ourselves recognize the great necessity that determines our foreign policy actions, this knowledge will fill us with the determination

to withstand the bombardment launched against us by the mob of a hostile press. We must also hold firm when someone is inclined to make a concession here or there, and to howl with the wolves, simply in order to not have all against us.

CHAPTER 15
THE RIGHT TO EMERGENCY DEFENSE

With the lay-down of arms in November 1918, a policy was adopted that, in all likelihood, was bound to gradually lead to our complete subjugation. Historical examples show that nations that voluntarily lay down their arms subsequently prefer to submit to the greatest humiliations and extortions rather than try to change their fate by a renewed appeal to force.

This is humanly explicable. A shrewd victor will always enforce his demands on the conquered only in stages, wherever possible. Then he can be sure that a people who have lost all character—which is always the case with every nation that voluntarily submits—won't find any one or more of these oppressive acts to be sufficient grounds for taking up arms again. The more numerous the extortions thus passively accepted, the less will resistance appear justified by the people—and especially so, if they have already patiently and silently accepted greater misfortune.

The fall of Carthage is a most terrible instance of the slow, self-earned execution of a people.[1]

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[1] Carthage was an ancient Phoenician city-state founded in the 800s BC in the area of present-day Tunisia. For centuries it was one of the most powerful cities in the world, eventually coming into conflict with the Roman Empire. Rome defeated Carthage in 146 BC in the Third Punic War, utterly destroying the city.

15.1 Cowardly Submission Brings No Mercy

Clausewitz expressed this idea admirably in his *Three Confessions* and gave it an eternal form when he said: "The shame of cowardly submission can never be effaced; the drop of poison which thus enters the blood of a nation will be transmitted to posterity, and will undermine and paralyze the strength of later generations." But on the other hand, he added: "Even the loss of its liberty after a bloody and honorable struggle assures the rebirth of the nation, and is the kernel of life from which one day a new tree can establish firm roots."[2]

Naturally, a nation that has lost all honor and character won't feel the force of such a doctrine. But any nation that takes it to heart will never sink very low; and only those who forget it or don't wish to know it will collapse. Hence those who embody a characterless submission cannot be expected to suddenly begin to reflect, using reason and all human experience, and act differently than before. On the contrary, they will repudiate such a doctrine, until the people either become permanently habituated to the yoke of slavery, or the better forces push forward and forcibly take power from the hands of the notorious corrupters. In the first case, they will be pleased because the conquerors often entrust them with supervising the slaves—and these utterly characterless beings then rule over their own people more cruelly than any foreign beast installed by the enemy himself.

Developments in Germany since 1918 prove that the hope of winning the victor's favor by voluntary submission has the most disastrous influence on the political views and conduct of the broad masses. I say the broad masses explicitly, because I cannot persuade myself that the things that were done or neglected by our peoples' leaders can be attributed to a similar disastrous insanity. Seeing that the direction of our post-war historical destiny was now openly controlled by the Jews, it's impossible to admit that defective knowledge was the sole cause of our misfortune. Rather, we must

[2] Karl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) was a general and preeminent military strategist. His *Three Confessions* appeared in 1812, and his most famous book, *On War*, was published posthumously in 1832.

conclude that our people were intentionally driven to ruin. From this point of view, we find that the apparent foolishness of our nation's leadership in foreign policy was really a shrewd, ice-cold logic, carried out in service of the Jewish idea of, and struggle for, world domination.

15.2 Seven Years to 1813 – Seven Years to Locarno

From 1806 to 1813, Prussia came back from a state of total collapse to acquire new life-energy and determination for struggle. But an equal time-span today has not only passed unused, but, on the contrary, has led to an ever-greater weakening of our State.

Seven years after November 1918, the Locarno Treaty was signed![3]

Thus the development was as indicated above: Once the shameful armistice was signed, our people were unable to raise sufficient courage and energy to suddenly halt the oppressive measures of our opponents, which were thus constantly renewed. The enemy was too shrewd to put forth all his demands at once. He confined his extortions to those which, in his opinion—and that of our German leadership—were momentarily bearable, such that they didn't risk an explosion of popular feeling. But the more such individual impositions were endorsed and tolerated, the less justified they seemed. Especially so, due to the lack of a single individual imposition or humiliation to do what had not previously been done: to offer resistance. This is the 'drop of poison' that Clausewitz speaks of: Once this lack of character is manifested, the condition becomes steadily aggravated, weighing like an evil burden on all future decisions. It becomes a lead weight that the nation cannot shake off, and which ultimately drives it down to the condition of a slave race.

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[3] The Locarno Treaty was a series of seven compacts signed in October 1925 in Locarno, Switzerland. Its purpose was to formalize post-WWI borders and to promote reconciliation, but Hitler and the German nationalists saw it as a further surrender of vital German interests. The primary German signatory was Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann, who was viewed by nationalists as a key member of the traitorous Weimar regime; notably for Hitler, Stresemann's wife, Käte Kleefeld, was Jewish. Hitler would ultimately repudiate the Treaty on 7 March 1936, and militarily re-occupy the Rhineland.

Thus in Germany, edicts for disarmament, enslavement, and political and economic plundering followed one after the other. Finally they created a mood that caused many to look upon the Dawes Plan as a blessing, and the Locarno Treaty as a success. From a higher standpoint, we may speak of one sole blessing amidst so much misery, namely that, although men can be fooled, Heaven cannot be bribed. It withheld its blessing: Since then, misery and worry have been the constant companions of our people, and our one loyal ally has been distress. Destiny made no exceptions in this case, but rather gave us what we deserved. Since we forgot how to value honor, at least it taught us to value freedom as bread. Now our people have learned to cry for bread, but one day they may pray for freedom.

As bitter and apparent as was our national collapse in the years after 1918, anyone who dared to prophesy what later happened was violently persecuted. As incompetent as the leaders of our people were, they were equally conceited, especially regarding taking care of unwelcome—because unpleasant—prophets. We then witnessed (as we do today!) the spectacle of our greatest parliamentary blockheads, truly common saddlers, and glove-makers—not merely by trade, for that would mean little—suddenly raised to the rank of statesmen, and sermonizing from that pedestal to ordinary mortals below.

It didn't, and doesn't, matter that such a 'statesman,' having displayed his talents for six months or so, is revealed as a mere windbag, becoming the object of public ridicule and contempt, nor that he has provided unmistakable proof of his complete incompetence! No, that doesn't matter at all; on the contrary: The less real service provided by the parliamentary statesmen of this Republic, the more savagely they persecute all who expect accomplishments, and who dare to point out their failures, and to predict more failure in the future. If we finally succeed in nailing down one of these parliamentarians, so that this political artist can no longer deny the collapse of his whole activity, he will then find thousands of grounds for excuse, but will never admit that he himself is the chief cause of all evil.

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15.3 France's Inevitable Political Goals

By the winter of 1922-23, at the latest, it should have been generally recognized that, even after the conclusion of peace, France was still endeavoring, with iron consistency, to attain its original war aims. No one could believe that France continued to pour out its precious supply of national blood, for four and a half years of the most decisive struggle in its history, simply to be compensated by war reparations. Even Alsace-Lorraine in itself couldn't account for the energy with which the French conducted the war, if it hadn't been part of a truly great, future-oriented French foreign policy. The aim was: Disintegration of Germany into a collection of small states. That's what chauvinist France fought for, although in truth it sold its people as serfs to the international world-Jew.

French war aims would have been obtained if, as originally hoped in Paris, the struggle had occurred on German soil. Imagine that the bloody battles of the World War took place not on the Somme, in Flanders, in Artois, near Warsaw, Nizhny-Novgorod, Kaunas, and Riga, but in Germany, in the Ruhr and the Maine, on the Elbe, outside Hanover, Leipzig, Nuremberg, etc. And then you can see the possibility of the break-up of Germany. It's very questionable whether our young federal State could have survived the same test, for four and a half years, as did the centuries-long centralized France with its undisputed center in Paris. That this titanic conflict of nations occurred outside the borders of our Fatherland is not only to the immortal credit of our old army, but was also the greatest good luck for Germany's future. I'm fully convinced that if things had taken a different course, there would no longer be a German Reich today, but only 'German states.' And that's the only reason why the blood of our fallen friends and brothers was at least not shed in vain.

And so everything turned out differently! In November 1918, Germany did indeed collapse with lightning speed. But when the catastrophe took place at home, the field armies were still deep in enemy territory. At that time, France's first concern was not the dismemberment of Germany, but rather much more: How to get the German armies out of France and

Belgium as quickly as possible? And so the first action for the Paris state-leadership after the end of the World War was to disarm the German armies and push them back into Germany if possible; until then, they couldn't devote their attention to fulfilling their own specific and original war aim. In this sense France was already paralyzed. For England, the war was really won when Germany was destroyed as a colonial and commercial power, and was reduced to the rank of a second-class state. It wasn't in their interest to wipe out the German State altogether, but rather they had every reason to want a future rival against France in Europe. Therefore French policy was forced to carry on by peaceful means the work that the war had begun, and Clemenceau's statement—that peace was merely a continuation of the war—thus acquired an enhanced significance.[4]

Persistently and at every possible opportunity, they tried to shatter the Reich's framework. By repeatedly sending new disarmament notes, on the one hand, and on the other, by the economic extortion thus made possible, Paris hoped that the Reich's framework would gradually fall apart. The more the Germans lost their sense of national honor, the more that economic pressure and distress could be effective factors of political destruction. Such a policy of political oppression and economic plunder, carried out for 10 or 20 years, must gradually ruin even the best national body and, under certain circumstances, dismember it. Then the French war aims would have finally been attained.

By the winter of 1922-23, French intentions must have been long known. Only two possibilities remained: Either one might hope to gradually blunt French will by the tenacity of the German nation, or to do, once and for all, what was bound to happen one day—namely, to pull the helm of the Reich ship around and ram the enemy. This would naturally involve a life-and-death struggle. And the prospect for survival depended on whether France could be so isolated that, in this second battle, Germany wouldn't have to fight against the whole world, but rather in our own defense against a France that was persistently disturbing world peace.

[4] Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929) was French Prime Minister from 1917 to 1920. The source of the cited passage is unclear. Clemenceau said, "It is far easier to make war than peace." And Clausewitz wrote, "War is the continuation of politics by other means." Perhaps Hitler conflated the two.

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I emphasize, and am firmly convinced, that this second alternative will one day occur, whatever happens. I'll never believe that France will ever change its intentions towards us because they are, essentially, only an expression of the self-preservation of the French nation. Were I a Frenchman, and were the greatness of France so dear to me as that of Germany actually is, I couldn't and wouldn't act otherwise than Clemenceau. The French nation is slowly dying out, not so much through depopulation as through losing the best racial elements, and it can continue to retain its world position only by shattering Germany. French policy can make a thousand detours, but in the end, this will be its ultimate goal—the fulfillment of its final wish and deepest desire.

However, it's incorrect to believe that a purely passive will, intent only on self-preservation, can continually resist an equally powerful but active will. As long as the eternal conflict between France and Germany is waged only in the form of a German defense against French aggression, it can never be decided, and over the centuries, Germany will lose one position after another. If we study the changes in the German language boundaries that have taken place from the 12th century up to now, we can hardly hope for a successful result of a development that has previously been so detrimental for us.

Only when the Germans have fully understood this will they stop allowing the national will-to-life to wear itself out in merely passive defense, but will rally together for a final active contest with France; and on the German side, this will reflect our greatest ultimate aims. Only then will it be possible to put an end to the eternal struggle between France and ourselves that has proven so fruitless—presuming, of course, that Germany sees France's destruction as a means to make it possible for our people to finally expand elsewhere. Today there are 80 million Germans in Europe! And our foreign policy will only be recognized as correct if, after barely a hundred years, there are 250 million Germans living on this continent—not packed together as the factory coolies for the rest of the world, but rather: as farmers and workers, whose labor guarantees each others' existence.

15.4 Occupation of the Ruhr

In December 1922 the situation between Germany and France became particularly threatening. France had new and vast extortions in mind, and needed sanctions for them. Political pressure had to precede economic plunder, and the French believed that only a violent attack against the central nervous system of German life would make our 'recalcitrant' people bow to their sharper yoke. With the occupation of the Ruhr district, France hoped that not only would the moral backbone of Germany be finally broken, but that we'd be reduced to such a grave economic condition that, for better or worse, we'd be forced to submit to every obligation, even the worst.

It was a matter of bending and breaking. Germany bent at first, and later broke into pieces.

With the occupation of the Ruhr, Fate once more reached out its hand to the German people and helped them arise. What first appeared as a great misfortune was found, upon closer examination, to hold extremely encouraging possibilities for ending Germany's sufferings.

Regarding foreign policy, the occupation of the Ruhr really alienated England from France for the first time. And not merely in British diplomatic circles, which had initiated the French alliance and upheld it through calm and objective calculation, but also among large sections of the English people. The English economy in particular scarcely concealed its displeasure at this incredible strengthening of French continental power. From a purely military-political standpoint, France now assumed a European position such as Germany itself had not previously held. Moreover, France thus obtained economic foundations that combined a position of economic monopoly with a capacity for political competition. The largest iron mines and coal fields of Europe were now united in the hands of one nation that, in contrast to Germany, had always defended its life-interests with determination and action, and whose military efficiency in the Great War was still fresh in the memories of the whole world. The French occupation of the Ruhr coal fields deprived England of all the successes it had gained in the war. And the victors were now Marshal Foch

and the France he represented, rather than calm and industrious British diplomacy.[5]

In Italy too, the attitude towards France, which hadn't been very favorable since the end of the war, now became a veritable hatred. A great historic moment arrived when the Allies of yesterday might become the enemies of tomorrow. That things happened otherwise, and that the Allies did not suddenly come into conflict with one another—as in the Second Balkan War—was due to the fact that Germany had no Enver Pasha but merely a Reich Chancellor Cuno.[6]

15.5 What Should Have Been Done After the Ruhr Occupation?

Nevertheless, the French invasion of the Ruhr opened up great possibilities for the future—not only in Germany's foreign policy but also internally. A considerable section of our people who, thanks to the persistent influence of our lying press, saw France as the champion of progress and liberalism, were suddenly cured of this illusion. In 1914 the dream of international solidarity suddenly vanished from the heads of our German workers, and they were brought back into the world of eternal struggle, where one creature feeds on the other and where the death of the weaker implies the life of the stronger. The same happened in the spring of 1923.[7]

When the French put their threats into effect and penetrated, at first hesitatingly and cautiously, into the lower German coal district, the great and decisive hour of destiny had struck for Germany. If at that moment our people had changed not only their attitude but also their conduct, the

[5] Marshal Ferdinand Foch (1851-1929) was a French general during WWI, and in the final year of that war, he was promoted to Commander-in-Chief of all Allied forces. Foch was effectively given primary credit for the defeat of Germany.

[6] Enver Pasha (1881-1922) was the functional leader of the Ottoman Empire during WWI, who fought on the side of the Germans. Upon their collective defeat in 1918, Pasha was exiled and fled to Germany. He returned to Turkey in 1921, and was killed in a battle skirmish in 1922. On Cuno, see chapter 12, note 2.

[7] France moved forces into the Ruhr region on 11 January 1923.

German Ruhr district could have become a Napoleonic Moscow for France. Indeed, there were only two possibilities: either let the action stand and do nothing, or turn the gaze of the German people toward that region of sweltering forges and flaming furnaces, and set their wills afire with determination to end this persistent disgrace, confronting a momentary terror rather than submitting to an endless one.

Reich Chancellor Cuno can claim the 'immortal merit' of having discovered a third way, and our bourgeois parties merit the still 'more glorious' honor of having admired it and collaborated with him.

Here I'll deal with the second way as briefly as possible: By occupying the Ruhr, France committed a glaring violation of the Versailles Treaty. This action brought it into conflict with several of the signatory powers, especially England and Italy. France could no longer hope that those states would back it up in its selfish campaign of robbery. It would have to rely on itself to bring this adventure—and that's what it was at first—to a satisfactory conclusion. For a German national government, there was only one option, namely, that which honor prescribed. Certainly at the beginning we could not have opposed France with an active force of arms; but it should have been clearly recognized that any negotiations that weren't backed by force would be ridiculous and fruitless. Without the possibility of active resistance, it was absurd to take up the standpoint "We shall not enter into any negotiations." But it was still more absurd to finally enter into negotiations after all, without having organized the necessary power.

Not that it was possible for us to prevent the occupation of the Ruhr militarily. Only a madman could have recommended such a decision. But under the impression produced by this French action, and while it was being carried out, measures could have, and should have, been undertaken without any regard to the Versailles Treaty—which France itself had shredded—to provide those military resources that would serve to back up later negotiations. It was quite clear from the beginning that the fate of this district occupied by the French would one day be decided at some conference table. But it must have been equally clear that even the best negotiators would have little success as long as the ground on which they stood, and the chair on which they sat, weren't under the armed protection

of their own people. A weakling cannot contend against athletes, and a defenseless negotiator must always yield when a Brennus throws his sword onto the scales of the enemy's side—unless he has his own to throw.[8] Or was it not truly distressing to observe the comedy of negotiations that, ever since 1918, regularly preceded each dictate?

We presented a sorry spectacle to the whole world when we were invited, for the sake of derision, to attend conference tables simply to be presented with decisions and programs prepared long before, and which we were permitted to discuss, but from the start had to be considered as unalterable. It's true that in scarcely a single instance did our negotiators prove to be of more than mediocre abilities. And for the most part, they justified only too well the insolent observation made by Lloyd George when he sarcastically remarked, in the presence of former Reich Minister Simons, "that the Germans aren't able to choose intelligent men as their leaders and representatives."[9] But in view of the enemy's determined will-power and the lamentable defenselessness of our own people, even geniuses couldn't have achieved much.

In the spring of 1923, however, anyone who might have wanted to make France's Ruhr occupation an occasion for reconstructing our military means of power would first have had to restore the nation's spiritual weapons, to strengthen its will-power, and to destroy the corrupters of this most valuable national strength.

15.6 Failure to Reckon with Marxism

Just as in 1918, when we had to pay with our blood for the failure to crush the Marxist snake once and for all in 1914 and 1915, so we now have

[8] Brennus was a 4th-century BC leader of the Gauls who led a successful attack on Rome in 387 BC. As the Romans were on the brink of defeat, they offered a large amount of gold in exchange for freedom. A dispute about the process of weighing the gold caused Brennus to throw his sword onto the scales, in his own favor, exclaiming "Woe to the conquered!"

[9] Walter Simons (1861-1937) was Foreign Minister in the Weimar government from 1920 to 1921. ('Simon' is either an alternate spelling or a typographical error.)

to suffer retribution for the fact that, in the spring of 1923, we didn't seize the opportunity to finally halt the handiwork of the Marxist traitors and murderers of our people.

Any idea of resisting French aggression was pure nonsense, as long as the fight hadn't been taken up against those forces that, five years earlier, broke the German resistance on the battlefields from within. Only bourgeois minds could have arrived at the unbelievable opinion that Marxism might perhaps have changed, and that the lowly leadership-creatures of 1918—who callously trampled on two million dead as stepping-stones by which to climb into various government positions—would now, in the year 1923, suddenly become ready to pay tribute to the national conscience. It was an unbelievable and truly insane thought—the hope that these traitors would suddenly turn into fighters for German freedom! They never had any such intention! Just as a hyena won't leave its carrion, so a Marxist won't give up treason.

One needn't bother with that stupidest of arguments: that so many workers gave their blood for Germany. German workers, yes indeed, but they were no longer international Marxists. If the German working class in 1914 had consisted of real Marxists, the war would have ended within three weeks. Germany would have collapsed before the first soldier had set foot beyond the border. No—the fact that the German people were still fighting proved that the Marxist delusion hadn't yet been able to penetrate deeply. But in the course of the war, German workers and soldiers gradually fell back into the hands of the Marxist leaders, and in the same proportion were lost to the Fatherland. If, at the beginning of the war, or even during the war, 12- or 15,000 of these Hebraic corrupters of the people were held under poison gas—as happened to hundreds of thousands of our best German workers in the field—then the sacrifice of millions at the Front would not have been in vain.[10] On the contrary: If 12,000 of these

[10] As surprising as it may be, this appears to be the only time, in print or speech, that Hitler explicitly called for the death of Jews. And by poison gas, no less (recalling the gas attacks of WWI). Notably, it's not all of the Jews, or even most of them, that he suggests be killed; just one or two percent of the then-existing population in Germany. That would have sufficed to strike fear in the militant Jews, to demonstrate German resolve, and likely to preempt any Jewish

scoundrels had been eliminated in time, it would have saved the lives of perhaps a million decent men—men who would have been of great value for the future. But it was in accordance with bourgeois 'statesmanship' to subject millions to a bloody end on the battlefield, all without batting an eye, while they looked upon 10- or 12,000 traitors, profiteers, usurers, and swindlers as precious national treasures, and thus openly proclaiming their inviolability. One never knows which is greater in this bourgeois world: imbecility, weakness, and cowardice, or a thoroughly sleazy attitude. It's a class that's certainly doomed to go under, but unfortunately it drags the whole nation down with it into the abyss.

The situation in 1923 was the same as in 1918. No matter what form of resistance was decided upon, the first prerequisite was always the elimination of the Marxist poison from our national body. And in my opinion, the first task then of a truly national government was to seek and find those forces that were determined to wage a war of destruction against Marxism, and to give these forces a free hand; it was their duty not to bow down before the idiocy of 'peace and order' at a moment when the enemy was dealing the Fatherland a most destructive blow, and when high treason lurked behind every street corner at home. No—a truly national government should have welcomed *dis*order and *un*rest, if this turmoil would have afforded a principled reckoning with the Marxist mortal enemies of our people. If this were not done, then it was pure madness to think of resisting, no matter what form.

Of course, such a reckoning of real world-historical importance couldn't be conducted by some secret council or a shriveled-up cabinet minister; rather, it would have to be in accordance with the eternal laws of life on this Earth, which are and will remain those of a struggle for life. It must always be remembered that a hardy and healthy nation has often emerged from the bloodiest civil war, while an artificially-constructed peace has, more than once, produced a rottenness that reeked to the skies. A nation's fate cannot be changed with kid gloves. And so in the year 1923,

thoughts of revolt—as ultimately happened in 1918. All of Hitler's other threatening terminology toward the Jews, including *vernichten* ('destroy') and *ausrotten* ('root out'), were expressed in non-lethal or non-genocidal contexts. For further details, see Dalton (2015: 100-104).

brutal action was required to seize the vipers that fattened themselves on the body of the nation. If so, then the precondition for an active resistance would have been met.

At that time I often talked myself hoarse in trying to make clear, at least to the so-called national circles, what was then at stake, and that by repeating the errors of 1914 and the following years, we would come to the same end as in 1918. I frequently implored them to let Fate have a free hand and to make it possible for our movement to settle with the Marxists; but I preached to deaf ears. They all knew better, including the army chief, until finally they faced the vilest capitulation of all time.

I then realized in my innermost consciousness that the German bourgeoisie had come to the end of its mission and had no further calling. I then also saw how all the bourgeois parties had been fighting Marxism merely from a spirit of competition without sincerely wishing to destroy it; for a long time they had been accustomed to assist in the destruction of the Fatherland, and their one great care was to partake in the funeral banquet. For this alone did they 'fight.'

At that time—I openly admit—I conceived a profound admiration for the great man south of the Alps, whose ardent love for his people inspired him not to bargain with Italy's internal enemies but rather to use all ways and means to destroy them. What places Mussolini in the ranks of the world's great men is his decision not to share Italy with the Marxists, but to destroy internationalism and save the Fatherland.

What miserable dwarves our sham German statesmen appear by comparison, and how nauseating it is to witness the conceit of these non-entities in criticizing a man who is a thousand times greater than them; and how painful it is to think that this takes place in a land that could point to a Bismarck as its leader barely half a century ago!

The bourgeoisie attitude in 1923, and the sparing of Marxism, decided from the outset the fate of any active resistance in the Ruhr. With that deadly enemy in our own ranks, it would have been sheer lunacy to fight against France. The most that could then have been done was to stage a sham fight in order to partly satisfy the German nationalistic element, or in reality to deceive the 'boiling soul of the people.' Had they really

believed in what they did, they would have recognized that national strength lies, first of all, not in its weapons but in its will, and that before conquering the external enemy, the internal enemy must be destroyed; otherwise, victory would have to be achieved on the very first day! The shadow of a single defeat is sufficient to break the resistance of a nation that hasn't been freed from its internal enemies, thus making the opponent the final victor.

One could have predicted all this by early 1923. Let no one ask about the questionability of a military success against France! If the result of German action regarding the French invasion of the Ruhr had only been the destruction of Marxism at home, success would have been on our side. A Germany liberated from the deadly enemies of its existence would possess forces that the whole world could not have stopped. On the day that Marxism is broken in Germany, its chains will be smashed forever. Never in our history have we been conquered by the strength of our foes, but always by our own failings, and by the enemies in our own camp.

Since the German government was unable to take such heroic action at that time, it could only have chosen the first way: namely, to do nothing at all and let things take their own course.

15.7 Cuno's Way

But at that great hour, heaven gifted Germany with a 'great' man, Herr Cuno. He was neither a statesman nor a politician by profession, still less by birth. Rather, he belonged to that type of political hack who is suited only for certain specific tasks; otherwise he was more suited for business. And therefore he was a curse for Germany, because this politicized businessman saw politics as an economic undertaking, and acted accordingly.

"France has occupied the Ruhr district; what's in the Ruhr district? Coal. Thus France has occupied the Ruhr for the sake of its coal?" Nothing was more natural for Herr Cuno than the idea of a strike, which would prevent the French from obtaining any coal. And therefore, in the opinion of Herr Cuno, they would one day have to leave the Ruhr when the enterprise proved

to be unprofitable. Such were the lines of thought of this 'eminent' 'national' 'statesman,' who was allowed to speak to 'his people' in Stuttgart and other places, and at whom this people gazed in rapt admiration.

Of course they needed the Marxists for a strike, because the workers would be the first to go on strike. Therefore it was necessary to bring the worker (who is the same as a Marxist, in the brain of a bourgeois statesman) into a united front with all other Germans. One should have seen the glow of these moldy bourgeois political-party hacks at the mere mention of this brilliant slogan! 'National' and 'brilliant' at once—at last they discovered what they had so long sought! The bridge to Marxism was found, and the national swindler was enabled to wear a 'Teutonic' face and use nationalist phrases while holding out a friendly hand to the international traitors. And they readily seized it. Just as Cuno needed the Marxist leaders for his 'united front,' the Marxist leaders needed Cuno's money. Thus it was a benefit to both parties. Cuno obtained his united front, consisting of nationalist charlatans and anti-national swindlers, and the international fraudsters received state funds to conduct the supreme mission of their fight, namely, to destroy the national economy, literally at the expense of the State. An immortal idea: purchasing a general strike to save a nation. In any case, it was a slogan that even the most apathetic loafer could enthusiastically support.

15.8 Passive Resistance

Everyone knows that prayers will not free a nation. But perhaps one could be freed by doing nothing, and that had never been tested historically. Instead of promoting a paid general strike at that time, and making it the basis of his 'united front,' if Herr Cuno had demanded two more hours of work from every German, then the swindle of the 'united front' would have been exposed by the third day. Nations are not freed by doing nothing, but rather by sacrifice.

Anyhow, the so-called passive resistance couldn't have lasted long. Only a man entirely ignorant of war could imagine that occupying armies could be frightened away by such ridiculous means. And yet this could have

been the only purpose of an action that cost billions, and which helped to destroy the basis of the national currency.

Of course the French were able to make themselves almost at home in the Ruhr district the moment they saw the resistance using such measures against them. They learned from us the best way to bring a recalcitrant civil population to their senses, whenever that populace represented a serious danger to the occupying authorities. Nine years earlier, and with lightning-speed, we wiped out the Belgian *franc-tireur* bands and made the civil population clearly understand the seriousness of the situation when they presented a danger to the German army.[11] Similarly, if passive resistance in the Ruhr became really dangerous for the French, the occupying troops would have needed no more than eight days to bring this childish nonsense to a gruesome end. The final question is always this: What would we do if the passive resistance came to the point where it really got on the nerves of our opponents, and they suppressed it with bloody force? Would we still continue to resist? If so, then, for better or worse, we would have to submit to a severe and bloody persecution. And in that case, we'd be in the same situation as with active resistance—namely, directly in the fight. Thus any so-called passive resistance would have an inner meaning only if supported by the determination to wage an open fight, if necessary, or to conduct guerilla warfare. Generally speaking, one undertakes such a struggle when there is a possibility of success. The moment a besieged fortress is taken by assault, there's no practical alternative for the defenders except to surrender—especially if they are assured of their lives rather than probable death. Rob the garrison of a surrounded fortress of the hope for possible freedom, and the defense forces will suddenly collapse.

Therefore passive resistance in the Ruhr—considering the final consequences that it might and must necessarily have, if it were to turn out really successful—would have had no practical meaning unless an active front were built behind it. Then one might have demanded immense efforts from our people. If each of these Westphalians knew that the

[11] *Franc-tireurs*, or 'free-shooters,' were groups of civilian resisters who took up arms against the invading German troops early in WWI.

homeland had mobilized an army of 80 or 100 divisions to support them, things would have gotten thorny for the French. There are always more courageous men willing to sacrifice themselves for success than for something obviously futile.

This was a classic case that induced us National Socialists to take the sharpest position against the so-called national slogan. And so we did. During those months I was attacked by people whose patriotism was a mixture of stupidity and outward falsehood, and who took part in the uproar because of the thrill of being able to appear as nationalists without any danger. I regarded this most-despicable of all united fronts as one of the most ridiculous things, and history proved me right.

As soon as the unions had filled their bank accounts with Cuno's funds, and the passive resistance was faced with the decision of transforming from inert defense to active aggression, the Red hyenas suddenly bolted from the national sheep herd and returned to what they always were. Calmly and quietly, Herr Cuno returned to his ships, and Germany was richer by one experience and poorer by one great hope.

15.9 November 1923

Up to midsummer, several officers—who certainly weren't the worst—really hadn't believed in such a shameful development. They all had hoped that, if not openly, then at least secretly, precautions would be taken to make this insolent French invasion a turning-point in German history. Even in our ranks, many at least put their faith in the Reichswehr. This conviction was so ardent that it decisively influenced the conduct and especially the training of innumerable youth.

But when the disgraceful collapse set in and the humiliating capitulation followed, indignation against such a betrayal of our unfortunate nation burst into a blaze at the sacrifice of billions of marks and thousands of young Germans—who were foolish enough to believe the promises of the Reich leaders. A bright and clear conviction suddenly arose in billions of heads that only a radical elimination of the entire ruling system could save Germany.

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There never was a better time for such a solution. On the one hand, naked treason against the Fatherland was shamelessly revealed, and on the other, a people were economically driven to slow starvation. Since the State itself had trampled all concepts of faith and loyalty, made a mockery of citizens' rights, rendered the sacrifice of millions of its truest sons worthless, and robbed other millions of their last penny, it could no longer expect anything but hatred from its subjects. And this hatred against those who had ruined the people and Fatherland was bound to find an outlet. At this point I can only point to the closing sentence of my last speech in the great trial of spring 1924:

"The judges of this State may calmly condemn us for our conduct at that time, but History—as goddess of higher truth and better justice—will smile as she tears up this verdict, acquitting us all of guilt and blame."

But History will then also summon before her own tribunal those who, vested with power today, have trampled on law and justice, condemning our people to misery and ruin, and who, amidst their Fatherland's misfortune, valued their own ego more than the life of the whole.

I won't here relate the course of events that led to, and brought about, 8 November 1923. I won't do so because I cannot see any use for the future, and also because no good could come of reopening old wounds that have scarcely healed. Moreover, it would be pointless to talk about the guilt of men who perhaps in the depths of their hearts have an equal love for their people, but who merely didn't follow, or failed to understand, the common road.

In view of the great common misfortune of our Fatherland, I must abstain from offending and perhaps alienating those who must, at some future date, form one great united front of truly loyal Germans, against the common front of the enemies of our people. I know that a time will come when even those who treated us as enemies will venerate the men who traveled the bitter path of death for the sake of the German people.

Here at the end of this second volume, let me again bring to mind the memory of those 16 fallen heroes[12] to whom I dedicated the first volume, in order to remind our supporters and champions of those who, in the

[12] See the Dedication for volume one.

clearest consciousness, sacrificed their lives for us all. We do so in order to encourage the weak and wavering among us to fulfill their duty—a duty that those heroes fulfilled with absolute faith, even to its final consequences. And among them, and as one of the best of all, I wish to mention a man who devoted his life to reawakening his—our—people, through his writing, his ideas, and finally his deeds: Dietrich Eckart.[13]

[13] Eckart (1868-1923) was one of the three traditional founders—along with Gottfried Feder and Anton Drexler—of the German Workers' Party (DAP), the precursor to the NSDAP. Eckart died of a heart attack in 1923 at age 55.

CONCLUSION

On 9 November 1923, four and a half years after its founding, the National Socialist German Workers' Party was dissolved and forbidden throughout the whole of the Reich. Today, in November 1926, it again stands free before us, stronger and internally more solid than ever before.

All persecutions of the movement and its individual leaders, all vilifications and slander, have been unable to harm it. Thanks to the correctness of its ideas, the purity of its will, and the spirit of self-sacrifice that animates its members, it has emerged from all oppression stronger than before.

If, in the world of our present parliamentary corruption, our movement always remains aware of the deepest essence of its struggle, feels itself to embody the value of race and personality, and acts accordingly—then it will, with almost mathematical certainty, someday emerge victorious from its struggle. In the same way, Germany must necessarily win its rightful place on this Earth if it is led and organized by the same principles.

A State that, in an age of racial poisoning, devotes itself to preserving its best racial elements must one day become ruler of the Earth.

Our movement's adherents must never forget this, whenever they may have misgivings, lest the greatness of the sacrifices seem unjustified by the possible success.

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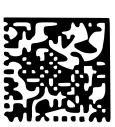
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